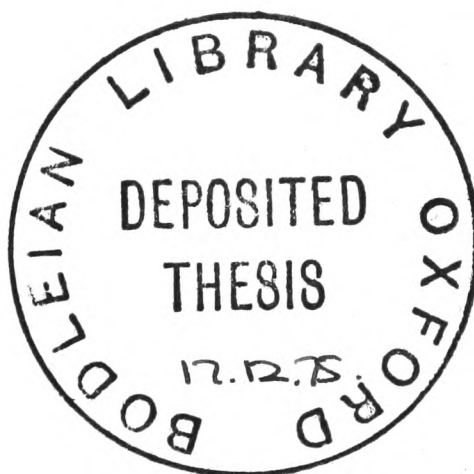


LESTERS

A CRITICAL EDITION



Thesis submitted for the degree of
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by

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of

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A CRITICAL EDITION OF LES CHÉTIFS

A B S T R A C T

Les Chétifs is an episode in the twelfth century Crusade Cycle describing the fictitious adventures of a group of prisoners captured during the First Crusade.

The present edition is based on all the known verse manuscripts, one manuscript in prose and a medieval Spanish translation. These versions have been compared in an analysis of the manuscript tradition and in detailed notes on the text. The edition itself has been laid out with the base text on one page, and the variants on the facing page, whilst the prose version has been edited separately in an appendix. The texts have been provided with paleographic and literary notes, a full Table of Proper Names and a selective glossary.

A full description of each manuscript is followed by an examination of a few facts preserved concerning some further manuscripts now lost.

In the introduction all the major problems regarding the origins and development of the branch have been re-examined.

The extant poem can be divided into three distinct

episodes, each dominated by a different "Chétif". In the first, Richard de Chaumont fights a judicial duel on behalf of Corbaran, the captor of the prisoners, thereby securing their release. The second section sees Baudouin de Beauvais ridding the country of a terrible dragon, while in the third, Harpin de Bourges rescues Corbaran's nephew from a series of abductions.

We have shown how the second of these episodes was interpolated after the composition of the other two.

It has been claimed by many that Les Chétifs was written entirely, or mainly, in the orient. It is the contention of this thesis that this claim is unjustified and that the branch was composed in North Eastern France.

Our refutation of the theory of oriental composition begins with a study of the provenance of the heroes, which illustrates how the original tale did indeed recount a real captivity, but that of a party of pilgrims from Fécamp, in Normandy, to Jerusalem, well before the First Crusade. The tale commemorating this event, long since lost, was to be incorporated, along with distant reminiscences of the "Arrière-croisade" of 1101, into an early Cycle of the Crusade, which was later cast into a new cycle by Graindor de Douai in about 1190.

Despite the oriental appearance of these original first and third episodes, it is certain that both were composed in France and based on medieval feudal and folk themes. Nevertheless there was no doubt a conscious effort on the part of successive authors and remanieurs to colour their work with genuine details of oriental life. The poem also includes certain topographical features of Syria and the Holy Land, but the overall impression is that they are vague and were probably borrowed from the Chanson d'Antioche and the Chanson de Jérusalem.

In the early thirteenth century the cycle was subject to a further revision (probably at the time when the originally independent Swan-knight Cycle was affixed to it), and the episode of Baudouin de Beauvais and the dragon, which is of Armenian origin, was interpolated into it. It is this remaniement (and not that of Graindor de Douai, as has been hitherto supposed) that has survived and which is given in this edition.

The general conclusion is that the branch of Les Chétifs was composed in various stages in Northern France. The language of the poet and that of most of the scribes localises the extant version to Picardy.

The combined Swan-knight and Crusade Cycles, including

Les Chétifs, were later abridged into a prose version, translated into Spanish and ~~was~~ recast into a final reworking known as the Second Cycle of the Crusade, in the mid-fourteenth century. The relationship between these three versions and the original verse redaction is the subject of one chapter, whilst another examines the extent to which Les Chétifs has left any influence on other works of the period.

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Mme Duparc, the doyenne of Crusade Cycle studies, has given me great help and encouragement in the conversations we had in Paris.

This thesis was executed without the help of a Government grant and many debts of financial assistance have to be acknowledged, especially to my parents, who supported the first year of research, and to my wife. The Zaharoff fund, the Board of Graduate Studies and

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ABBREVIATIONS

AOL	Archives de la Société de l'Orient Latin.
BEC	Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes.
CFMA	Classiques Français du Moyen-Age.
Gdf	Frédéric Godefroy, Dictionnaire de l'Ancien Français.
GS	A. J. Greimas, Dictionnaire de l'Ancien Français.
HLF	Histoire Littéraire de la France.
MGSS	Monumenta Germanica Historica Scriptorum.
PL	Patrologia Latina
PMLA	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America.
RHC	Recueil des Historiens des Croisades:
Arm.	Documents Arméniens (2 vols).
Occ.	Documents Occidentaux (5 vols).
Or.	Documents Orientaux (3 vols).
Rom. Forsch.	Romanische Forschungen.
SATF	Société des Anciens Textes Français.
SHF	Société de l'Histoire de France.
TL	Tobler-Lommatzsch, Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch.

A NOTE ON PROPER NAMES

The standardisation of the orthography of proper names is an evident necessity in a work which deals with genuine historical characters on the one hand and their epic imitations on the other, and which quotes Latin, Old French and Arabic names, often through the medium of French. We have therefore devised the following guide.

- 1) O.F. epic names have been modernised when quoted out of context, eg. Baudouin de Beauvais, Foucher de Meulan for O.F. Bauduin de Biauvés, Folcier de Melant.
 - 2) The names of historical characters have been given their English equivalent as found in Steven Runciman's History of the Crusades¹. Hence Baldwin of Boulogne and Kerbogha refer to historical participants in the First Crusade, Baudouin de Boulogne and Corbaran to their epic counterparts.
 - 3) All oriental names have been transcribed according to Runciman.
 - 4) The name of Guillaume d'Aquitaine is retained in French on the grounds that he is here considered as a poet rather than a Crusader, and for O.F. authors their French name is used.
- Finally, the disastrous expedition of 1101 is usually referred to by its French name, "Arrière-Croisade".

1 3 vols., (Cambridge, 1951-54).

I N T R O D U C T I O N

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The Versions of Les Chétifs.

It was Paulin Paris¹ who first gave the title of Les Chétifs to those episodes falling between the Chanson d'Antioche² and the Chanson (or Conquête) de Jérusalem³, which he recognised as being a separate branch of the First Cycle of the Crusade. Like the Antioche which precedes it and the Jérusalem which follows, Les Chétifs was based on previous epic tales, now lost, skilfully woven into the fabric of the historical branches by the late twelfth century jongleur, Graindor de Douai⁴. These three chansons de geste combined form a substantial epic, semi-historical, semi-legendary, recounting

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1. Paulin Paris in MLF, XXII (1852), 384-88.
 2. Ed. Paulin Paris, La Chanson d'Antioche, 2 vols., (Paris, 1848). A new edition of this work has now been prepared by Mme Duparc-Quioc for the SATF and is currently sous presse: La Chanson d'Antioche (Paris, 1974).
 3. Célestin Hippeau, La Conquête de Jérusalem, (Paris, 1868). A large extract is edited critically by S. Duparc-Quioc, Le Cycle de la Croisade, (Paris, 1955), pp. 275-379. Fascicule 305 of the Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes.
 4. This, at least, is the traditional theory. It will be one of the basic aims of the present work to call into question the supremacy hitherto attributed to Graindor in the formation of the cycle.

the events of the First Crusade. At some unknown period Graindor's epic was prefaced by the legendary branches of the Swan-Knight Cycle, themselves based on previous material, which establish the chivalric ancestry of Godefroy de Bouillon, the hero of the Crusade in Graindor's remaniement¹. It is this combined Swan-Knight - Crusade Cycle which has come down to us, and the fusion must have taken place some time before the middle of the thirteenth century, the date of the earliest cyclical manuscript.

This epic cycle, in monorhymed Alexandrine^{laisses}, which has been dubbed "la quatrième geste épique"², and which survives in its entirety in eight manuscripts, is found in three other forms. Towards the end of the thirteenth century it was abbreviated and turned into French prose, while at about the same time a Spanish writer incorporated it, along with other works, into a vast compilation entitled La Gran Conquista de Ultramar³. In the middle of the fourteenth century the

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- 1 For a more detailed account of the development of the cycle see Henri Pigeonneau, Le Cycle de la Croisade et la Famille de Bouillon, (Saint-Cloud, 1877) and Anouar Hatem, Les Poèmes épiques des Croisades; genèse, historicité, localisation, (Paris, 1932).
 - 2 Robert F. Cook and Larry S. Crist, Le Deuxième Cycle de la Croisade, (Geneva, 1972), p. 82, n. 34.
 - 3 Ed. Pascual de Gayangos, La Gran Conquista de Ultramar, (Madrid, 1858), pp. 291-318. Vol. 44 of the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles.

whole cycle, together with several legendary continuations which already appear in some of the later First Cycle manuscripts, was recast into a more up-to-date French epic cycle, known variously as the Second Cycle of the Crusade, the "Poème de 1356" and the Chanson du Chevalier au Cygne et de Godefroid de Bouillon, abbreviated to CCGB¹.

Previous Editions of Les Chétifs.

Whereas the version of Les Chétifs in the Spanish compilation and the CCGB have been published, neither the branch in Graindor's remaniement nor its prose redaction has ever been fully edited, and it is the purpose of the present undertaking to provide complete critical texts of both these versions. If there have been a number of critical discussions of various aspects of the epic, all of which will be evaluated in due course², the two previous attempts at editing have been largely abortive. The only published text hitherto available to scholars is that included by C. Hippeau as an appendix to the second volume of his

1 Ed. F. de Reiffenberg and A. Borgnet, Le Chevalier au Cygne et de Godefroid de Bouillon, 3 vols., (Brussels, 1846-59). We have adopted the term CCGB proposed by R. F. Cook in Le Deuxième Cycle, p. 9, n. 1.

2 See below Chapter Four, pp. 120-45.

Chanson du Chevalier au Cygne et de Godefroi de Bouillon¹.

This consists of large fragments of the poem, edited, very uncritically, from a sole manuscript, MS. B. N. fonds français, 1621, which does not have the soundest readings. This edition has been the object of severe criticism ever since it first appeared. Hippeau omits *laisses* 1-11, 25-35, 38-52, 71-73, 89-107, of which he only briefly summarises the content of the first two lacunae. The remaining 2200 lines of the text are plagued with the omission of whole lines and misreadings which it would be pointless to enumerate.

Some fifty years later a second edition was prepared, by a Mrs Lucy Wenhold, for a Doctoral Thesis for the University of North Carolina (1928) under the supervision of the late Professor U. T. Holmes. This edition, taken solely from MS. B. N., fonds français 12558, (the same base manuscript as our edition), follows the fortunes of the "*Chétifs*" from the beginning of their adventures, including part of the first Chant of the Antioche, which describes their defeat and capture at the battle of Civetot, through the Chétifs branch proper, and ends with their deeds wrought in the first 450 lines of the opening Chant of the Jérusalem. Information about this edition is very scanty and is derived from an article by Holmes and McLeod written some time after the

1 C. Hippeau, La Chanson du Chevalier au Cygne et de Godefroi de Bouillon, 2 vols., (Paris, 1874-77), 11, pp. 193-273.

edition¹. At the same time Professor G. Northup inquired about this edition in connection with work he was doing on the Gran Conquista and received a reply from Holmes to the effect that "this dissertation has not been published, nor is it likely to be"². We were ourselves in communication with Holmes about Mrs Wenhold's work just before his death and received a somewhat guarded response, implying that it was not up to the standard of a modern critical edition. It would therefore appear that this work were best passed over in silence.

A third edition was announced, by Anouar Hatem³, which for some reason never materialised. Quite possibly the announcement dissuaded would-be editors with the result that more than forty years have elapsed since then without any edition forthcoming.

The Boundaries of Les Chétifs

There is general agreement as to where Les Chétifs

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- 1 U. T. Holmes Jr. and W. M. McLeod, "Source problems of the Chétifs, a Crusade chanson de geste", Romanic Review, XXVIII (1937), 99-108.
 - 2 G. T. Northup, "La Gran Conquista de Ultramar and its problems", Hispanic Review, II (1934), 293, n. 1.
 - 3 Op. cit., p. 240, n. 12.

proper should begin. The opening of this branch is usually clearly designated in the decorated manuscripts by a miniature or large capital at the head of the *laisse* in "-ie":

Or s'en fuit Corbarans tos les plains de Surie,
N'enmaine que .II. rois ens en sa compaignie.

and this is also the point at which the Oxford fragment begins. The division between Les Chétifs and the Jérusalem, on the other hand, is a modern convenience and does not correspond to any demarcation in the manuscripts themselves. It is likely that Graindor sought to effect a smooth transition from the fabulous interlude to the quasi-historical branch. For the scribes of three manuscripts the next significant change of material comes at the moment when the Crusaders finally reach Jerusalem and have the Holy Places pointed out to them from afar by Peter the Hermit¹. Indeed the whereabouts of a division for editorial purposes - the indications in the manuscripts are not being followed on this occasion - is a disputed point, and it seems that despite some opposition the place chosen by Hippeau in his editions of fragments of Les Chétifs and the Jérusalem is the most favourable, this being the first *laisse* in which attention is directed away from the

1 Hippeau, Jérusalem, p. 37.

"Chétifs" to the advancing Crusaders' army. Although the "Chétifs" continue to play a role after this, it gradually diminishes as the transition becomes complete. Mme Duparc has suggested¹ that Les Chétifs should end when the newly released prisoners take their leave of Corbaran and set out for Jerusalem, but we prefer to retain this section describing the journey to Jerusalem on the grounds that the "Chétifs" are still the sole Christian protagonists. Paul Meyer's criticisms² of Hippeau's choice of beginning for the Jérusalem (and by implication, the end of Les Chétifs) are invalid because he never accepted the division into branches made by P. Paris and called the whole Crusade nucleus the Chanson de Jérusalem.

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At about the same time as the present work was begun three American scholars, Professors Jan Nelson, Emanuel Mickel Jr. and Peter Grillo decided to embark on a full scale

1 Le Cycle, p. 18.

2 P. Meyer's compte-rendu of Hippeau's Jérusalem in BEC, XXXI (1870), 227-31.

edition of the entire First Cycle of the Crusade under the general title The Old French Crusade Cycle¹. We were later invited to participate in the project and contribute this edition of Les Chétifs, part of which (the description of the manuscripts) has already been published in the first volume in the series. The remainder is scheduled for publication in 1976/7.

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- 1 The full titles of the series are as follow: Vol. I; La Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne, Part I, Elixo, ed. E. J. Mickel, Part II, Beatrix, ed. J. A. Nelson, with an essay on the manuscripts of the Old French Crusade Cycle, by G. M. Myers. Vol. II; Le Chevalier au Cygne and La Fin d'Elias, ed. J. A. Nelson. Vol. III; Les Enfances Godefroi, ed. E. J. Mickel. Vol. IV; La Chanson d'Antioche, ed. J. A. Nelson with an Introduction by E. J. Mickel; Vol. V; Les Chétifs, ed. G. M. Myers. Vol. VI; La Chanson de Jérusalem, ed. N. R. Thorp. Vol. VII; La Chrétienté de Corbaran, ed. P. R. Grillo. Vol. VIII; La Mort de Godefroi et la fin de Baudouin, ed. P. R. Grillo.
(The University of Alabama Press, 1974 -).

C H A P T E R O N E

ANALYSIS OF LES CHÉTIFS

The analysis begins with a general account of events leading up to Les Chétifs, as related in the Chanson d'Antioche.

In 1095, prompted by a dream he had had in Jerusalem during a pilgrimage, Pierre l'Ermite sets out from France at the head of an expedition to rescue the Holy City from the Turks. In his army is a group of Frankish knights who will be known as the "Chétifs". These are Richard de Chaumont, Harpin de Bourges, Jean d'Alis, Baudouin de Beauvais, Foucher de Meulan and Renaud de Pavie, in whose company ride the Abbé de Fécamp and the Evêque du Forez, together with Baudouin's brother, Ernoul, who, though not one of the "Chétifs" does appear in the poem.

But Pierre's army is annihilated in the Battle of the Pui de Civetot, where the "Chétifs" are taken prisoner. According to the Chanson d'Antioche, though not to history, it was the news of this disaster, broadcast by Pierre l'Ermite, who, being absent from his army at the time, escaped death and capture, that incited the Frankish chivalry to take up arms and drive the Turks out of Jerusalem and avenge their compatriots. Thus, after the Council of Clermont, a vast

Christian army is assembled, led by Godefroi de Buillon, Bohémond and Tancred, Robert de Normandie, Robert de Flandre and Raymond de Saint Gilles, who cross Europe by different routes and unite at Constantinople. Eventually they lay siege to the city of Antioch.

Meanwhile the "Chétifs" have been led off into captivity by Corbaran, King of Oliferne, in whose dungeons they remain, subjected during the day to hard manual labour.

At Antioch events progress from bad to worse for the beleaguered Turks, and their leader sends a message for help to his overlord, the Soudan de Persie, at his capital, Sermasane. The Soudan assembles an army which he places under the command of his liegeman Corbaran. The Soudan's young son, Brohadas, newly dubbed knight, begs his father to let him go with the army to try his fortune in battle against the Christians. Reluctantly the Soudan agrees and names Corbaran personally responsible for the boy's safety.

The reinforcements set out for Antioch but arrive to find it occupied by the Christians who have just taken it by trickery with inside help. Corbaran invests Antioch and the Crusaders, on the point of starvation, decide in favour of a pitched battle with the besieging army. A furious encounter takes place outside the city walls in which the Christians

decimate Corbaran's army. In the mêlée Brohadas is killed. Corbaran finds his body and with that he and two other kings, sole survivors of the slaughter, flee from Antioch. The episode of Les Chétifs¹ begins with Corbaran's flight.

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The fugitives, taking with them the body of Brohadas, ride back to Sormasane and relate the bad news. After the dead prince has been buried, the Soudan accuses Corbaran of treason, claiming that he was bribed by the Christians to lose the battle. Corbaran's protestations are to no avail but one of his kinsmen, Brudalan, obtains for him a truce in which he can prepare his defence. It is finally agreed that Corbaran must return to court in six weeks' time with one Christian knight to fight on his behalf in a judicial duel against two of the Soudan's Turkish champions. (1-10)

On his return to Oliferne, Corbaran informs his mother, Calabre, a sorceress, of his intention to find his Christian champion among the leaders of the Crusaders' army at Antioch.

1 This branch is divided into three major parts, which in future will be referred to as: 1) The Richard de Chaumont or judicial duel episode, (laisses 1-51). 2) The Baudouin de Beauvais or dragon (Sathanas) episode (52-103). 3) The Harpin de Bourges episode, (104-139).

But Calabre tells him of one of the Christian knights in his own dungeons who recently killed a Turk while at work, thereby furnishing proof of his strength and courage. Corbaran invites his prisoner, Richard de Chaumont, to undertake the duel in return for the freedom of all the prisoners. Richard accepts and he and the "Chétifs" are properly dressed and fed. They reside comfortably at Oliferne for a month while Richard trains for the duel (10-23).

At the appointed time Corbaran leads his men and the "Chétifs" to Sormasane. He again declares his innocence but the Soudan persists in pressing the charge of treason and orders his two Turkish champions, Sorgalé and Golias, to prepare for battle. In the ensuing struggle Richard kills Golias by his first blow, but only after a hard fight does he finally overcome Sorgalé, who is, however, converted to Christianity before being decapitated (24-37).

The Soudan is thus reconciled to Corbaran and forgives him the death of Brohadas. All sit down to a banquet.

In the meantime, however, the relations of the dead Sorgalé, led by Lyon de la Montagne, plan to avenge their kinsman's death and secretly leave the city to lay an ambush for Corbaran on his way back to Oliferne.

During the banquet one of the sons of Golias, Arfulan,

intends to stab Richard to death, but his uncle prevents him in time and has him removed from the palace. Immediately the youth rallies round him all his kinsmen and they, too, leave the city to ambush Corbaran. The forces of Lyon de la Montagne and Arfulan happen to meet up by a ford and the two rebels decide on joint action.

After the banquet Corbaran leads his men and the "Chétifs" out of Sormasane. The king has foreseen the forthcoming ambush in a dream and takes the precaution of making everyone arm for battle. Lyon and Arfulan launch their attack and after a series of fierce mêlées in which Corbaran is narrowly saved from death by the timely intervention of the "Chétifs", the enemy is put to flight. The Soudan, who has heard news of the ambush in the meantime, has the ringleaders of the plot put to death. Corbaran returns to Sormasane to rest awhile and nurse his wounds. (37-51)

Once more he and his men start out for Oliferne. But they have not gone far when they lose their way in a storm and wander into the domain of a certain King Abraham, under the lee of the Mont de Tigris, the home of a fabulous dragon, the Sathanas, which has laid waste the countryside all around. The travellers find an oasis and pitch their camp for the night.

At the same time Abraham is preparing to dispatch his

annual tribute to the Soudan, his overlord, and confides this mission to one of his Christian prisoners, Ernoul de Beauvais, brother of Baudouin, one of the "Chétifs", and like him captured at Civetot. Ernoul sets out for Sormasane with an ass loaded with riches.

It appears that some time previously, Abraham, after several unsuccessful attempts to rid himself of the Sathanas, had finally appealed to the Soudan for help. Now the Soudan has just assembled a large force and is heading towards the Mont de Tigris in answer to the king's request.

But Ernoul loses his way in the desert and comes upon the dreaded mountain where he is attacked and killed by the Sathanas. However, Corbaran and the "Chétifs" hear his screams for help and Baudouin recognises his brother's voice (52-61).

After some reluctance Corbaran permits Baudouin to go up the mountain to avenge his brother's death. Before he sets out the Abbé de Fécamp gives him a talisman containing the ninety-nine names of God, which is an infallible charm against evil. Baudouin then climbs the mountain, delivers a long prayer, and is reassured by Saint Michael, disguised as a dove, that God will come to his aid. The Sathanas appears and Baudouin, after cursing it in the name of Christ and the saints, fires an arrow which, however, makes no impression on

the marble-hard skin of the beast which roars with rage at this attack (62-77).

The noise reaches the ears of Corbaran who concludes that Baudouin's defence was short-lived. But the "Chétifs" are convinced that he is still alive and decide to rally to his support. Corbaran joins them with his men and, leaving Richard de Chaumont and the other wounded behind to guard the camp, they start to climb the mountain.

The dragon- fight continues until Baudouin's sword becomes firmly wedged in the beast's mouth. He then shouts aloud the names of God inscribed on his parchment, which exorcises the devil inside the Sathanas. It comes out in the guise of a crow with an attendant whirlwind and goes swirling down the mountainside wreaking havoc among Corbaran's men. Finally the Sathanas, weak through loss of blood, falls to the ground dead.

Corbaran and his men reach Baudouin and marvel at his survival. They all proceed to the dragon's lair and discover a fabulous treasure. But as they are about to go back down to the camp, Corbaran sees the Soudan's army approaching and is convinced that it is Arfulan and Lyon still out to get revenge, since he has no knowledge of the Soudan's mission. He instructs his men to prepare for a last stand against the enemy (78-94).

In the meantime those guarding the camp establish mutual

recognition with the Soudan, who orders his men up into the mountain to help Corbaran fight the Sathanas. Corbaran is relieved when he discovers their identity and everyone descends to the camp. After due homage has been paid to Baudouin they all return home (94-103).

Back in Oliferne the "Chétifs" remember the purpose of their pilgrimage and decide it is time to fulfil their vows. Corbaran consents to set them free, as promised, and invites them to stay awhile to rest.

Harpin de Bourges goes outside the city for a ride and passes by a group of noble boys, among whom is Corbaran's nephew, bathing in the river. Suddenly a wolf appears, snatches up the youth and makes off into the forest. Harpin sets off in a long pursuit until eventually a large monkey seizes the child from the now tired wolf. The monkey climbs up into a tree with the child while Harpin waits below for the animal to come down. As he waits he is attacked by four lions against which he defends himself and his horse until he invokes the aid of Saint Jerome at the mention of whose name the beasts flee. The next morning the monkey makes a dash to escape, but Harpin reacts quickly and the monkey drops the boy. Harpin repels the beast and he and the boy ride off to find a suitable place to rest.

While they are taking their ease a band of robbers descends on them. Harpin rushes to his horse but the child, momentarily unguarded, is captured by the assailants. A skirmish follows in which several thieves are killed; Harpin is hard pressed but climbs on to a rock from which he commands an unassailable position. The robbers ask him who he is and he gives an account of his capture and adventures. On hearing that the child is Corbaran's nephew they threaten certain death for him as they bear a grudge against Corbaran who has exiled them and confiscated their lands (104-122).

But Corbaran is hot on the trail and is guided to Harpin by three white stags, all saints in disguise. At his approach the robbers retreat with the child to a large cave, well supplied for all their needs and they are easily able to withstand the assault mounted by Corbaran's men. Seeing the futility of his attack, Corbaran decides to treat with the robbers, and the child is restored, whilst they in return are reconciled to the king. (122-127).

Once more in Oliferne, Corbaran promises the "Chétifs" a safe conduct wherever they choose to go, and after some deliberation as to whether they should rejoin the Crusaders' army at Antioch or ride straight to Jerusalem, the latter course is adopted and they duly leave with an escort. They

pass the River Jordan and ride until they come to the Rouge Cisterne where they encounter a party of Turks sent by Cornumaran, son of the King of Jerusalem, to find help from his allies against the approaching Crusaders. This troupe is annihilated by the "Chétifs" and only one man returns to Jerusalem to tell the tale. Furious at this bad news, Cornumaran prepares for battle and orders his men to do likewise. (127-139).

*

* *

At this point the present edition of Les Chétifs ends. While the Saracens are in Jerusalem arming for the forthcoming affray, the Crusaders' army comes within striking distance of the city. The "Chétifs" are reunited with the army during the ensuing battle, but after various noble feats of arms wrought by them, the heroes of Les Chétifs are eclipsed by the Crusaders and gradually fade out from the Chanson de Jérusalem, although they re-emerge in the later continuations.

C H A P T E R T W O

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF LES CHÉTIFS

The discussion of the manuscripts of Les Chétifs is divided into two parts. The first deals with the physical state of the manuscripts, questions of dating and provenance, and the particular problems relating to each one. The second considers the various versions of the poem contained in the manuscripts and compares them with those found in the Prose abbreviation and in the Spanish Gran Conquista de Ultramar, in an attempt to classify the texts and establish the manuscript tradition.

A physical description of all the manuscripts and fragments concerned with the First Cycle of the Crusade has been given in our "Manuscripts of the Old French Crusade Cycle"¹, and the present chapter extracts from that study those manuscripts containing Les Chétifs and follows it

1 In Mickel and Nelson, La Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne. This first volume in the series of editions devoted to the Old French Crusade Cycle, including our study of all the manuscripts, was scheduled for publication some time in 1974, and we originally intended to give full cross-references to it. However, the appearance of this work has been unaccountably delayed and it will not now be available in time for the presentation of this thesis. All references to it have therefore been omitted.

	BN 12558	BN 786	BN 795	BN 1621	BN 12569	ARS 3139	BM ROYAL 15EVI	BM ADD 36615	BERN 320	BERN 627	TURIN LII125	BODLEY HATTON 77	PROSE BN 781
Elioxe	X												
Beatrix		X	X	X	X		X				X		X
Elioxe-Beatrix						X		X					
Chevalier au Cygne	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X
Fin d'Elyas		X	X		X	X		X	X		X		
Enfances Godefroi	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X
Retour de Cornumarant		X	X	X	X	X		X			X		X
Chanson d'Antioche	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X		X		X
Chétifs	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X		X	X	X
Chanson de Jérusalem	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X		X
Chrétienté Corbaran					X	X		X					
Prise d'Acre					X			X					
Mort Godefroi					X								
Chanson des Rois Baudouin					X								
Cont. 2								X			X		

closely except in certain cases where it has been deemed desirable to abbreviate or omit parts which are irrelevant to the branch in question.

For ease of reference we have drawn up, on the opposite page, a table containing a list of all the branches of the Cycle together with the manuscripts which carry them, (but omitting four minor fragments).

Les Chétifs in verse is found complete in seven manuscripts: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français 786, 795, 1621, 12558, 12569; Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 3139; and Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, L - III - 25; and in incomplete or fragmentary form in three others: Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 320; London, British Museum, Additional MS. 36615, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 77. There is one manuscript containing an abbreviated prose version, Paris, B.N. fonds fr. 781. In conformity with modern practice we are applying the system of sigla worked out by G. A. Krüger¹ which runs as follows: -

1 Die Quellen der Schwanritterdichtungen, (Hannover, 1936), Chap. III, "Die Handschriften des Kreuzzugszyklus", p. 25 ff. These sigla are in turn based on those used by H. A. Smith, "Studies in the epic poem Godefroi de Bouillon", PMLA, XXVII (1912), 142-67, XXVIII (1913), 56-78. No one has yet classified the Hatton MS. in Oxford, to which we are giving the siglum O.

Paris,	B.N.	fr.	12558	<u>A</u>
"	"	"	786	<u>B</u>
"	"	"	795	<u>C</u>
"	"	"	1621	<u>D</u>
"	"	"	12569	<u>E</u>
Bern,	Burgerbibliothek		320	<u>F</u>
Paris,	Arsenal		3139	<u>G</u>
London,	B. M. Add.		36615	<u>I</u>
Oxford,	Hatton		77	<u>O</u>
Turin,	B.N.U.	L - III - 25		<u>T</u>

Prose

Paris,	B.N.	fr.	781	<u>P</u>
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The present physical description of the manuscripts of Les Chétifs is based on the formula adopted by Miss A. de la Mare in her catalogue of the Lyell Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library¹. However, as all the manuscripts were written within a period roughly between the middle of the thirteenth and the first quarter of the fourteenth centuries, no reference has been made to the material on which they were

1 Albinia de la Mare, Catalogue of the Collection of Medieval Manuscripts Bequeathed to the Bodleian Library, Oxford, by James F.R. Lyell, Oxford, 1971. Form of Catalogue Entry, pp. xxx - xxxiii. We have preferred the use of Roman numerals in describing the collation.

written, since they are all on parchment or vellum, or to the type of script.

All these manuscripts have been described before¹, the Paris ones more than the others, with a greater or lesser degree of accuracy, and no attempt has been made to evaluate all the

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- 1 The following works are the principal descriptions of the ensemble of manuscripts. References to articles on individual manuscripts will be found in the relevant section. Leroux de Lincy, "Analyse du Roman de Godefroi de Bouillon", BEC, II (1840), 441-44. He considers five manuscripts. P. Paris describes at length three manuscripts of the Royal collection in Les Manuscrits Français de la Bibliothèque du Roi, 7 vols, (Paris, 1836-48), vol VI. In his edition of the Chanson d'Antioche he describes the six Paris verse manuscripts in a section entitled: "Indication des Manuscrits", vol I, pp. lxxvii-lxx. Up to this time the MSS. are found under their old catalogue number: B.N. fr. 781 (ex 7188⁵); 786 (ex 7190); 795 (ex 7192); 1621 (ex 7628); 12558 (ex Ancien Supplément 5408¹); 12569 (ex Anc. suppl. 105); Arsenal 3139 (ex Belles-Lettres 165). H. Omont, Catalogue des Manuscrits Français, 5 vols, (Paris, 1868-1902), vol I; H. Omont, Catalogue de l'Ancien Supplément Français. 3 vols, (Paris, 1895-96), vol II. A. Hatem includes a description of the six Paris verse MSS. pp. 87-116. S. Duparc-Quôic studies the MSS. relating to the Jérusalem, Romania, LXV, (1939), 183-203. This article reappears in substantially the same form in Mme Duparc's Le Cycle de la Croisade, pp. 9-17. References to the later work only are given. L.A.M. Sumberg describes eight manuscripts in La Chanson d'Antioche, (Paris, 1968), pp. 32-138. (Unfortunately this is a work which has to be treated with the utmost caution).

Other scholars Pigeonneau, p. 9, and M. Einstein, "Beiträge zur Ueberlieferung des Chevalier au Cygne und der Enfances Godefroy", Romanische Forschungen, XXIX (1911), 725-27, have also mentioned the manuscripts, but since these works are largely based on that of their predecessors and do not contribute anything original to the study of the MSS., reference to them will not normally be given.

previous polemics devoted to them. The purpose of this study is to assemble as much factual information about the manuscripts as possible and to deal at greater length with some aspects which have been hitherto neglected.

Where no precise information is available the provenance of the manuscripts has been judged from the dialect of the scribe(s) and the style of decoration, if any. Except for T and Q, all the manuscripts appear to have been copied in North Eastern France, in that area otherwise known as Picardy.

The analysis of the flourishing of certain manuscripts is based on the work of Mrs. Sonia Patterson¹, the only substantial study in this field, and on personal observations.

1 Paris and Oxford University Manuscripts of the Thirteenth Century, unpublished B. Litt. thesis deposited in the Bodleian Library, (1970). (MS. B.Litt. d. 1457). See also the same author's "Comparison of Minor Initial Decorations; a Possible Method of Showing the Place of Origin of Thirteenth-century Manuscripts", The Library, XXVII (1972),^{which} appears to be as yet the sole work in the field of flourishing in the thirteenth century, and because she restricts herself to Paris and Oxford University MSS., it can only be taken as a rough guide to the type of flourishing in other MSS. Most useful is the "Catalogue of Components of Decoration" drawn up in the second part of the thesis, and the comparison between English and French flourishing on p. 127, plate XLIII. It is to be hoped that more work can be done in this hitherto neglected field of manuscript decoration and that the results will be published.

The manuscripts now have "modern" (i.e. post-medieval) bindings. They are of various sorts which have not been described. The only exception is Hatton 77 which has retained its medieval binding. Where possible some account of the history of the manuscript has been given.

The manuscripts are arranged alphabetically according to their sigla except for P, the Prose version, which has been placed last. The section ends with an analysis of some manuscripts of the First Cycle which are now lost.

Paris Bibliothèque Nationale MS fonds français 12558 (A)

This manuscript¹ was copied by a single scribe in the North East of France in the middle of the second half of the thirteenth century; the last five folios have been recopied by a second scribe about a century later². It measures 330 x 240 (230 x 160) mm. It is composed of IV parchment endleaves (I pastedown, II canc.) + 192 + II parchment endleaves (II pastedown. The folios are numbered 1-94, 96-193). Collation: i⁸-vi⁸, vii¹⁰, viii⁸-ix⁸, x⁸ (1 missing after fol 74), xi⁸-xxiii⁸, xxiv⁸ (8 canc. after fol 193). The quire signatures have been preserved. The text is distributed in two columns of 45 lines.

1 For previous descriptions see: L. de Lincy, p. 443; P. Paris, Ant., vol. 1, p. lxviii; Omont, Anc. Suppl., vol. 11, p. 558; Hatem, p. 87-97; Duparc-Quioç, Le Cycle, p. 10-11; Sumberg, p. 61-85;

2 This ms. has been dated variously from the beginning of the thirteenth century to the middle of the fourteenth. The latter date, given in Omont's Anc. Suppl., has persisted unchallenged until now. Mme Duparc, who originally supported the late date has told us that she has since changed her opinion on the dating of A and now places it in the second half of the thirteenth century. Certainly, the writing, the somewhat primitive miniatures, more especially the style of the faces and hair together with the very neatly executed flourishes (cf. note 2 p.27 below), point to the middle of the second half of

Generally held to offer the oldest version of the First Cycle of the Crusade, MS A is the only manuscript to contain the Elioxe version of the Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne, beginning:

Segnor, or escotés, por Deu et por son non,
Par itel covenant Dex vos face pardon.

(fol 1^r col 1)

There follow: Le Chevalier au Cygne, (20^v col 1 - 45^v col 2); Enfances Godefroi, (45^v col 2 - 58^r col 1); fol 58^r col 2 is blank and fol 58^v has a full page of miniatures. The Crusade Cycle proper begins with the Antioche, (59^r col 1 - 113^v col 2). There is a lacuna of one folio between fols 74 and 75¹. Chétifs, (113^v col 2 - 136^v col 2); Jérusalem, (136^v col 2 - 192^v col 2)² which ends:

that century. On the other hand, the last five folios, written in a slightly forward sloping hand, with loosely, hastily drawn flourishes in red and brown, are characteristic of the mid-fourteenth century. The variant in the name of the remanieur of the Antioche, Graindor de Dijon for Douai (fol 59^r col 1), has been usually taken as a sign that A is a "Burgundian version" of the Cycle. However, A contains all the features common to Picard although diluted to a great extent with francien forms. But because it does not exhibit regularly the features characteristic of the N.E. Picard region, as found in B and G (q. v.) it should probably be placed in the S.W. area, as defined by C. T. Gossens, Grammaire de l'Ancien Picard, Paris, 1970, p. 147.

- 1 Corresponding to material in P. Paris, Ant., I, 211-220.
- 2 The first scribe ends on fol 187^v col 2. Fols 188-193 are a different parchment from the rest of the ms.,

Ci finerai mon livre ou dit en ay assés,
 Tous ceulz qui l'ont oy et celles de tous lés,
 Soient après leurs jours es sains cielx couronnés.¹

Fol 193^r and 193^v are blank except for some jottings described below.

The initial capitals of each laisse are blue and red alternately, and flourished. The finely executed flourishing of this manuscript shows a combination of components of both French and English design². MS A is one of the few to divide

whiter and thinner. It seems certain that the second scribe has transcribed the end of the poem from a damaged original, probably embellishing it a little, and inserted his six folios into the remains of the extant 24th quire, of which fol 187 and the corresponding stub, which is still visible after fol 193, constituted the outside bifolium.

- 1 The claim that the second scribe, if he was copying the original text of A, made embellishments is based on the fact that the final laisse, although the same in essence, is not the same in detail as that of A's closest neighbours in the Jérusalem, C and D, or, indeed all the other mss. which include this laisse. For example there is no reference to the "moniage" traditionally attributed to Harpin de Bourges found elsewhere - "Al Temple pour servir fu Harpins adonés" - and the last three lines quoted above are unique to A. This seems the only explanation of why A, so reliable a base for the majority of the Cycle, differs so widely in this laisse, where most other mss. concur.
- 2 Although the characteristic French components, the Hair-pin and Hair-pin Prolonged (Mrs Patterson's "H" and "H^P") feature at the top of the design, the corresponding English one, the Open Loop "A", especially surmounting a Long-stalked Bulb "B", is

the branches formally with miniatures, and contains several other illuminations apart from these. Of the thirty one scenes depicted, four relate to Les Chétifs.

Fol 113^v col 2; Corbaran flees from Antioch with two kings and the body of Brohadas.

Fol 122^v col 1; Corbaran leads the "Chétifs" home from Sormasane.

Fol 128^v col 2; Baudouin de Beauvais exorcises the devil by thrusting his sword into the Sathanas' mouth.

Fol 133^r col 1; Harpin de Bourges looks up into the tree in which the monkey is sitting with Corbaran's nephew.

The miniatures are depicted against backgrounds of solid gold or of plain blue and dull red, speckled with white stars, or of rather thickly drawn grills of the same colours, and sometimes orange, on a coloured fond.

On fol 193^v are two jottings: "Vostre bon maistre Lippe que (?) sonne"¹ and "J'en suis de Luxembourg".

predominant. The same goes for the design at the bottom, where the components "B" and "A" are far more common than the corresponding French Long Flourish "E". On the other hand the predominantly French component, the Cat's Paw "D", is found in abundance.

- 1 Sumberg (p. 62) suggests that this "maistre" is "soit le jongleur (au sens précis que je lui donne) ou le protecteur du copiste, le 'maistre' pour qui le scribe aurait fait sa transcription", and hints at a relationship between the "maistre" and one mentioned in the Antioche, but fails to take into account that the inscription was written by a different scribe, in the C15th.

It is also possible to make out a faint inscription in very large handwriting, probably done in charcoal, "ladādo pot" (possibly "Cadādo"). The same words are found on the recto of endleaf IV at the beginning of the volume, there in full, "ladando pot". The one in charcoal is the earliest of these writings, as the lower of the ones in ink slightly covers it, and they all appear to have been executed in the early fifteenth century.

With the knowledge that MS. A at one time belonged to Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, it is possible that the manuscript was formerly in the possession of the famous Pot family, advisers and ambassadors to the Valois Dukes of Burgundy throughout their existence. Especially prominent in the affairs of state were Regnier Pot (1362-1432)¹ and his grandson Philippe Pot (1428-1494)², both Knights of the Golden Fleece, with a less distinguished son, Jacques Pot, in between. It is difficult to interpret

1 See J. Pot, Histoire de Regnier Pot, (Paris, 1929).

2 The life of this statesman is found in H.A. Simpson, Simpson and Allied Families, 2 vols.; vol. II, Philippe Pot Grand Seneschal of Burgundy, (Somerville, N. J. 1935). Both of these Pots had the spirit of the Crusade at heart. Regnier accompanied John the Fearless (then John of Nevers) on the ill-fated Crusade of 1396 and was held prisoner by Bajazet (J. Pot, p. 43 ff.) Philippe, if he never actually participated in a Crusade, at least pledged his support with a display of somewhat rash enthusiasm for the one Philip the Good proposed at the Banquet of the Pheasant in 1454, described by R. Vaughan, Philip the Good, (London, 1970), p. 298.

"ladando"; it is not the family motto which during Regnier's life was "A la Belle" and later "Tant L Vault"¹. Possibly it is a corruption of "laudando". "Maistre Lippe" appears to be a nick-name for Philippe. The note "J'en suis de Luxembourg" is not unexpected considering the relationship between Burgundy and that Duchy which was finally annexed in 1443².

In 1467 this manuscript belonged to the Library of Philip the Good. In Joseph Barrois' edition of the inventory taken in that year after the Duke's death³, it appears with the number 1347, described as:

"Ung livre en parchemin couvert de cuir rouge intitulé au dos: Le Chevalier au Cysne, escript a deux coulombes en prose, bien historié au commenchemant; commenchant Seigneur or m'escoutez pour Dieu et pour son nom, et le dernier feuillet, ains povres ne riches".

It appears again in the 1487 inventory, (Barrois no. 1797):

"Ung autre grant volume couvert de cuir rouge a deux cloans et cinq boutons sur chacun costé, historié et intitulé: Le Livre du Chevalier au Cigne, comenchant ou second feuillet: Es cavernes del mont la ot habitement, et finissant ou dernier: Soyent apres leurs jours es sains cyeulx coronez".

1 The origin of the motto "Tant L Vault" is discussed by J. Pot, p. 53. For "A la Belle", see the same page, note 1.

2 R. Vaughan, p. 278 ff.

3 Joseph Barrois, Bibliothèque Prototypographique, Paris, 1830. Cf. R. F. Cook in Le Deuxième Cycle. p. 40, note 91.

The fact that it is described as being in prose is misleading and illustrates the need for great caution when examining medieval catalogue descriptions, but there is no doubt whatever that B.N. fr. 12558 is the volume in question, since all four references concur exactly with those in the manuscript. It remained in the ducal library until at least 1643 when it appears in the catalogue of Sanderus¹. It does not figure in the next catalogue, of Franquen (1731)², and by 1774 it is already in the Royal Collection in Paris. (The medieval binding described in the old inventories has been replaced by the usual red morocco found on B.N. manuscripts, with a design characteristic of the work done during the reign of Louis XV). What happened to this manuscript between 1643 and 1774 we have not been able to trace³.

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- 1 Antonius Sanderus, Bibliotheca Belgica Manuscripta, Insulis (Lille), 1641, 2 vols; vol. II no. 222. The manuscript is also mentioned in the handwritten catalogue drawn up by the librarian Viglius in 1577. A concordance of all these catalogues, together with that of Barrois, is found in Fr. J. Marchal, Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale des Ducs de Bourgogne, 3 vols., Brussels, 1842; vol. I p. ccliv.
 - 2 Ed. in Marchal, loc. cit.
 - 3 Presumably it entered the B.N. after the early 1740's, the time when the Ancien Supplément Français was being formed, in which this ms. bore the number 540⁸⁽¹⁾.

Paris Bibliothèque Nationale MS. fonds français 786 (B)

B.N. fr. 786¹ was copied in Tournai by a single scribe in the middle of the second half of the thirteenth century. Its measurements are: 310 x 230 (260 x 180) mm. It is composed of II paper endleaves + 273 + II paper endleaves, collating: i⁴ (Icanc.), ii⁸-v⁸, vi⁶, vii⁸-x⁸, xi⁴, xii⁸, xiii⁶, xiv⁸-xxv⁸, xxvi⁸ (7, 8 canc. after fol 273). Most quire signatures and some catchwords have been preserved. The First Cycle material is written on quires numbered from i - xxii in the manuscript and the Roman d'Alexandre begins on the quire originally numbered xxiii. From this it is clear that the scribe intended the Crusade material to be the first literary item of the volume followed by the Alexandre. The present inversion of this order probably dates from the first binding. The text is distributed in two columns of 60 lines.

Folios 1 - 3 contain a Calendar of Saints in black, blue and red, drawn up after the usage of Tournai. Evidence of provenance is provided by the name of the patron saint of

1 For previous descriptions see P. Paris, Les Manuscrits, vol. VI, pp. 165-200; Omont, Catalogue, vol. I, p. 81; P. Meyer, Romania, XI (1882), p. 264; Hatem, pp. 102-106; Duparc-Quioc, Le Cycle, p. 12; Sumberg, pp. 33-48.

that town, "Lehire", (Eleutherius) noted in blue against the 20th of February. Against the 9th of May there is the entry, in red, of "La ducasse Nostre Dame", in other words the dedication of the Cathedral of Tournai. Unfortunately the scribe does not provide any of the keys necessary for dating the calendar. All we have to go on is a definite terminus a quo, provided by the entry against the 25th of August of the translation of Saint Lehire, which took place in 1247^{*}, and a possible terminus ad quem, in the omission against the same date of Saint Louis, canonised in 1298, who usually appears on Tournai calendars¹. In fact the style of handwriting and miniatures of this manuscript point to a date roughly between the two.

Beside each month is a small miniature depicting the seasonal activities. P. Paris (Les Manuscrits, p. 165) lists some of these but not altogether accurately, so we will enumerate them here. January: an old woman sitting in front of a fire, drinking. February: a man holding a torch, representing

1 Tournai calendars are described by Abbé V. Leroquais, Les Breviaires Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France, 6 vols, (Paris, 1934), vol. I, p. 199; vol. II, pp. 66, 158, 162; vol. IV, p. 281, and the same scholar's Les Psautiers Manuscrits Latins des Bibliothèques Publiques de France, 3 vols, (Macon, 1940), vol. I, pp. 189, 220, 230.

* The terminus a quo can be advanced to 1253, date of the canonization of St Pierre de Melans (St Peter of Milan), entered against April 29th.

Candlemas. March: a man digging. April: a young man holding a flower in his right hand. May: a knight on horseback with a falcon on his wrist. June: a man carrying a bundle of wood (or a large basket?) on his shoulders. July: two people haymaking. August: a man cutting the corn. September: a man sowing. October: someone picking grapes. November: a swineherd with a pig, gathering acorns. December: a man baking bread¹.

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- 1 P. Paris expresses some surprise at seeing someone digging in a miniature for March. However, numerous examples are attested in Leroquais' Les Livres d'Heures Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, 3 vols, (Paris, 1927). (See the reference for March in the index). The picture for June poses more of a problem. We have not found any examples of anyone carrying anything except hay in June. It seems as though this illustration is out of season. If the man is carrying "échalias pour vignes", as Paris suggests, then March is the month traditionally reserved for this activity. If it is meant to be a large bundle of faggots then an autumn month would be more timely. The miniature for November is a combination of two scenes usually given independent treatment, namely the "élevage des porcs" and "la glandée". The activity for December is clearly the popular "enfournement du pain". The round objects in the foreground are loaves of bread not horseshoes as Paris conjectures. There are no examples in Leroquais of the shoeing of horses depicted as a seasonal occupation.

From fol 4^r col 1 MS. B contains four branches of the Roman d'Alexandre¹, by Alexandre de Paris beginning:

Qi viers de rice estore viut on entendre et oïr,
Pour prendre bon exemple de proecce aquellir...

and continuing on fol 84^v col 1 with Le Vengement Alixandre,
by Gui de Cambrai, ending on fol 91^v col 2:

Tresc'a l'our kes ocist tous Judas Macabés,
Et conquist lor roiaumes, çou dist l'autorités.
Explicit d'Alexandre.

This volume contains the complete First Cycle of the Crusade, with all its branches, but without any post-Jérusalem continuations, beginning on fol 92^r col 1 with the Beatrix version of the Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne:

Signour, or ascoutés, ke Dex vous doinst science,
De lui croire et orer en boine providence.

which ends on fol 105^r col 2. Le Chevalier au Cygne
follows, (105^v col 1 - 124^v col 1); Fin d'Elyas,
(124^v col 1 - 134^v col 2); Enfances Godefroi,
(134^v col 2 - 153^r col 1); Retour de Cornumarant,
(153^r col 1 - 160^v col 2); Antioche,
(160^v col 2 - 209^r col 2); Chétifs,
(209^r col 2 - 232^r col 2); Jérusalem,

1 A more detailed account of the Roman d'Alexandre contained in this MS. is found in P. Meyer, loc. cit. pp. 214-219 and 264, and also in D.J.A. Ross, Alexander Historiatus, The Warburg Institute Surveys 1, (London, 1963), pp. 10-14. The text of B has been edited, by H. Michelant, Le Roman d'Alexandre, (Stuttgart, 1846).

(232^r col 2 - 273^r col 1). The rest of fol 273 is dotted with illegible scrawls (the parchment is rubbed) and the outside edge is torn.

The scribe divides all the material in this volume into chapters, headed by rubrics in red which do not necessarily correspond to modern critical divisions. All these rubrics are immediately above miniatures¹ depicting the same subject in pictorial terms. They are as follow for Les Chétifs:

Fol 209^r col 2: Ci dist si con Corbarans s'en fuit, s'enporte
Brohadas ki n'a point de tieste.

Fol 214^r col 1: Ci dist si con Ricars de Caumont se combat
a Sorgalé et li trança l'orelle toute jus.

Fol 218^r col 1: Ci dist si con Corbarans s'en reva et Bauduins
(MS. Ricars) a faite la bataille.

Fol 223^r col 1: Ci dist si con Bauduins se combat a .I.
serpent en une roce et li cies sen frere
gist encoste lui.

Fol 227^r col 1: Ci dist si con une serpente enporte Jehan
d'Alis, et Harpins de Beorges en demaine
grant doel.

There are 44 rubrics and miniatures for the Cygne-Crusade Cycle and 23 for the Roman d'Alexandre. The miniatures are all drawn against a dark blue or red background, speckled with

¹ These miniatures are more accurately termed historiated capitals, except for the first two in the Alexandre.

groups of three white dots. The majority of them are placed in the interior of a large capital letter at the beginning of a *laisse*, and accompanied by an illuminated border. Other *laises* begin with alternate red and blue flourished initials.

This manuscript is entitled, after its first major item, Le Roman d'Alexandre, and is not easily identifiable in medieval catalogues due to the vast number of Alexander manuscripts. However, in a handwritten catalogue of the library of Henry III¹, dated 1589, there is the mention of a "Roman du roy Alexandre", (no. 1540). By the process of eliminating all other manuscripts classified under the heading of "Alexandre" it is likely that this refers to B.N. fr. 786. Evidence that the manuscript was accessible in court circles at that time is that, as P. Meyer has already pointed out², at the top of the first folio of the Alexandre there is the sixteenth century rubric : "Rommant d'Alexandre qui fut sire de tout le monde" written in the hand of Claude Fauchet³. This manuscript is not definitely listed as having been in Fauchet's collection⁴, and he has not claimed

1 MS. B.N. fr. 5585; ed. in Omont, Inventaires, vol.1.

2 loc. cit. p. 264.

3 For other references to Claude Fauchet see also the descriptions of D, and E and the section on lost manuscripts.

4 There is a list in Mme Espiner-Scott's Documents concernant la vie et les oeuvres de Claude Fauchet, (Paris, 1938). "La bibliothèque de Claude Fauchet", pp. 205-213.

She has shown that Fauchet did not use this MS. for any of his quotations from the Roman d'Alexandre.

possession of it as he often did in his own books by signing his own name, nor are there the characteristic underlinings found in the volumes which he read pen in hand. The same folio also bears the figure 194 which is the number of this manuscript in the Second Catalogue by Pierre and Jacques Dupuy (1645) of the Royal Collection¹. MS B is thus the first manuscript of the First Cycle to find its way into the Bibliothèque Nationale. It must have been a mid sixteenth century acquisition, because it is not found in the Catalogue of the Royal Collection at Blois, in 1544³.

1 Omont, Inventaires, vol.III, p. 13.

2 Ibid., vol.I.

Paris Bibliothèque Nationale MS. fonds français 795 (C)

This manuscript¹ was executed by three scribes, working probably in central Picardy towards the end of the thirteenth century. It measures 320 x 240 mm. (written space, fols 11-70: 220 x 155 mm; fols 71-256: 220-260 x 165 mm.). It is composed of IV paper endleaves (I pastedown) + 256 + II paper endleaves, collating: i¹² (1, 5 missing), ii¹² - ix¹², x⁴, xi¹², xii¹⁰, xiii⁸, xiv¹² - xvii¹², xviii⁸ (8 cut out after fol 195), xix¹², xx⁸, xxi¹² - xxiii¹², xxiv⁶ (6 canc. after fol 256). Catchwords, but no quire signatures appear on some fols, (140^v, 152^v, 164^v, 188^v, 207^v (traces), 227^v, 251^v). The text is written on two columns to the page, with 40 lines a column from fol 11-70 and 34-40 lines from fol 71 to the end.

This volume has the same contents as B, namely all the branches of the Cycle without any later continuations. The first quire, fol 1-10 presents problems and will be discussed in detail later. The First Cycle begins on fol 11^r with the Beatrix version of the Naissance, beginning:

Signeur, oiés canchon ki mout fait a loer,
Par iteil couvenent le vos puis je conter...

There follow , Chevalier au Cygne, (26^r col 1 - 50^v col 1);

1 See also de Lincy, p. 443; P. Paris, Les Manuscrits, vol. VI, pp. 221-228; Omont, Catalogue, vol. I, pp. 83; Hatem, pp. 106-108; Duparc-Quêc, Le Cycle, p. 11; Sumberg, pp. 85-95.

Fin d'Elyas, (50^v col 1 - 64^r col 1); Enfances Godefroi, (64^r col 1 - 88^r col 2); Retour de Cornumarant, (88^r col 2 - 98^r col 1). After the end of the Retour is the explicit "Chi faut li estoire del chevalier au cisne", and the word "Explicit", followed by the quatrain:

A la fin de cest livre ou j'ai pené jour
 Voil prier a la dame ou toute douchours
 Que deprit a son fil doucement que tant
 Que me giet de pechiet et que m'ame el ciel

maint.

Fol 98^r col 2 is blank and Antioche occupies 98^v col 1 - 165^r col 1; Chétifs (165^r col 2 - 192^r col 2); Jérusalem, (192^r col 2 - 256^v col 1). There is a lacuna of one fol after 195, corresponding to the material in Hippeau, pp. 23-9. Fol 256^v col 2 is blank.

The "Cygne-Godefroi de Bouillon" material was written by three scribes; scribe A from fol 11^r - 48^v. Scribe B takes over on fol 49^r, the second folio of the quire, and continues to fol 70^v. The third scribe C, inferior both in ability to copy correctly and in quality of handwriting, begins on a fresh quire at fol 71^r and executes the rest of the manuscript.

The first quire as it stands is something of a problem. The first three folios are now given over to various poems in French and Provençal, written by several scribes in the fourteenth century, all of which have been described elsewhere and none of which concerns us here¹. What is of concern to us is that originally

1 For a description of these additions see P. Paris, loc. cit. p. 221ff. and P. Meyer in "Les Saluts d'Amour", Bibliothèque de l'Ecole de Chartes, 6^e serie, III, vol XXVIII (1897), 139.

these folios together with fols 4^r and ^v, 5^r, 10^r, col 2 and 10^v were blank¹. The texts which were originally in this quire now fall between fol 5^v and 10^r col 1, in other words, in the second half of the quire only. On fol 5^v col 1 there is, headed by a large miniature, and in the hand of scribe C, the usual proem to the Beatrix beginning:

Or escoutés, signour, que Dieus vous doinst science,
De lui croire et amer en boine providence...

and containing three laisses followed by fol 6^r col 1 - 7^r col 1.

a Salut d'Amour² beginning:

Dieus qui le mont soustient et garde,
Soustiegne m'amie en sa garde,

and ending:

Ami amés, ami avés,
Quant mius porrai sel troverés.

On fol 7^r col 2 is Le Dit de Blancheflour et de Florence beginning:

El mois de mai avint l'autrier,
.II. pucheles en .I. vregier...

and ending on fol 10^r col 1:

Ichi est Florenche enfoie,
Qui au chevalier fu amie.
Explicit

- 1 Note that this quire originally had 12 folios of which the first and the fifth, presumably blank, were cut out.
- 2 P. Meyer gives the full text of this piece in the article mentioned above, pp. 139-145.

This is followed on col 1 by an extract from the Dits de Droit du Clerc de Voudroi¹, beginning:

Drois dist et jel ferai estable,
Que puis que li hons siet a table...

and ending:

Sot debonaire deporter,
Et sage debonaire ~~cher~~.

Of this material, that on fol 6^r col 1 is the work of scribe B, while the rest is that of scribe C. This close collaboration between the two scribes, both in the poetic material in the first quire and (together with scribe A) in the rest of the manuscript suggests strongly that this particular volume is the product of a scriptorium.

W.R.J. Barron has discussed the problem of the first quire at some length². His main theory is that the Beatrix on fol 11 begins with the proem normally reserved for the Chevalier. Because of this someone later might have thought that the "manuscript had lost a leaf containing the three opening laisses found in other Beatrix texts and have arranged for them to be copied from such a source", (p.521), because the first line of the

1 Ed. P. Ruelle, Les Dits de Droit du Clerc de Voudroi, (Brussels, 1969). See esp. p. 15.

2 Versions and Texts of the Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne, Romania, LXXXIX (1968), 520-21.

Chevalier proem - "Signeur, oiés canchon ki mout fait a loer" - is also the first line of the fourth laisse of the Beatrix proem¹.

Barron states that the "material of the first gatherings is extraneous, disparate in nature and apparently copied at a later date than the body of the manuscript", (ibid). But the copyists of this material in quire one are in fact the very scribes who did write the body of the manuscript. (Possibly Barron, concerned only with the Naissance, did not examine the rest of the text). However, he is right in claiming that the material on fol 5^r was added expressly to fill the supposed lacuna at the beginning of the Naissance, and should, therefore, as such, "be facing the assumed continuation".

The problems can be reduced to three. Why do the added laisses appear on fol 5 and not facing fol 11? Why is the rest of the material extraneous? and why were the first four fols and fol 5^r originally blank? We believe that these questions can be answered. The fundamental error which resulted in the present confusion in the first quire lay probably with the initial binder. Originally one bbifolium (present 4 + 5 which form the middle bbifolium) which contained the Beatrix proem and nothing else was

1 It follows from our argument that the person who thought that the manuscript was deficient and arranged to make good the lacuna was none other than the third scribe, C, witness the fact that the addition is in his hand.

prepared in such a manner that the text would appear on the verso of the second folio, i.e. facing present fol 11^r. It is possible, if we are dealing with a scriptorium, that several manuscripts were waiting to be bound. At some stage this isolated bifolium was mixed up with some pages of a collection of "chansons" which were waiting to be bound at the same time¹. In the confusion that ensued the bifolia containing the "chansons" were inverted, so that the blank folios which were originally at the end of the "chanson" manuscript, and would probably have been cut out, became the opening folios of quire one². This is the only logical way to explain how there is extraneous material beginning half way through the quire, and why the Beatrix proem is not in its rightful place. The binder could hardly have been expected to be acquainted with all the contents of the books he was to bind - especially if he was an itinerant craftsman - so he may not have realised his mistake.

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- 1 Possibly the three short pieces noted above were intended to form part of a "recueil" similar to that found in B.N. fr. 25566 - the sole MS. of the Jeu de Saint Nicholas.
 - 2 A simple experiment with pieces of paper is sufficient to demonstrate that this claim is perfectly possible.

B.N. fr. 795 is decorated with alternate blue and red flourished capitals at the beginning of each *laisse*, the work of two artists, the first to fol 106^v, the second from fol 107^r to the end. The manuscript is illuminated but only in the part written by scribe C. It was evidently up to the scribe to decide whether there should be a miniature or not, so the scribes A and B only leave enough space for large flourished initials, of which there are two in the first part of the manuscript, on fol 11^r col 1 and fol 50^v col 1, the beginning of the Naissance and the Fin d'Elyas respectively. Scribe C favours both the large flourished initial and the miniature and leaves space for both - including a miniature on fol 5^v. There are fifteen miniatures in all, mostly enclosed in a capital letter, and some accompanied by an illuminated border. The four scenes depicted in Les Chétifs are:

Fol 165^r col 2: Corbaran and four knights flee from the Battle of Antioch¹.

Fol 169^r col 2: Corbaran takes the "Chétifs" from Oliferne to Sormasane for the duel judiciaire.

Fol 170^r col 1: Corbaran presents his champion to the Soudan.

1 Despite the fact that at the beginning of Les Chétifs it clearly states that he fled with only two others!

Fol 175^r col 2; Corbaran leads the "Chétifs" away from Sarmasane.

These miniatures are all depicted on a solid gold background and are characterised by the use of vivid red and yellow colours, especially for shields and the protective covering on the horses. On the whole the Christians, symbolically, carry pointed écus anciens often with a lion in them, whilst the Turks use the round targe, emblazoned with a scorpion.

The manuscript was given to the B.N. by an anonymous donor at some period between 1645 and 1682¹.

¹ It is not in Dupuy's 1645 catalogue, but it is in the inventory of Nicholas Clément in 1682, ed. in Omont, Inventaires, vol.VI, (ancien, 7192).

Paris Bibliothèque Nationale MS. fonds français 1621 (D)

B.N. fr. 1621 was copied by a single scribe in the middle of the thirteenth century in the North East of France¹. It measures 285 x 210 mm. (written space; fols 1-207, 215-245 x 170-180 mm.; fols 208-225, 210 x 150-160 mm.) It is composed of II paper endleaves + 225 + II paper endleaves (the first of which is numbered 226), collating: i^{8(?)} (missing), ii⁸ - xiv⁸, xv⁸ (4 cut out after fol 107), xvi¹² (2,6,7 canc. 11 missing; see below), xvii⁶ + I; (The binding is too tight here to allow us to establish the true relationship of this single leaf to its neighbours); xviii⁸ - xxvi⁸, xxvii⁶, xxviii⁶ (4,5,6 canc. after fol 207), xxix⁸ - xxx⁸, xxxi². The top and bottom of the folios have been cropped so as to remove all trace of the quire signatures and catchwords, except at the bottom of fol 32^v where the indication .v.⁹ and the top half of the word huimais (the correct catchword for fol 33) has been preserved.

The manuscript lacks a quire at the beginning. As it stands the text begins in the middle of the Beatrix version of the

1 Cf. de Lincy, p. 441-442; P. Paris, Ant., vol. I, xviii Hatem, p. 97-102; Duparc-Quioc, Le Cycle, p. 9; Sumberg, p. 49-60; All scholars agree with Leroux de Lincy's statement that this manuscript was "exécuté vers l'année 1250". It is certainly one of the earliest manuscripts of the Cycle, together with Hatton 77 and Bern 627.

Naissance with the lines:

Si qu'il en a colpé .II. des bendes d'arjant
Le fu en fait voler si qu'il virent la jant.

This branch continues up to fol 10^r col 2; there follow Chevalier au Cygne, (10^r col 2 - 36^r col 1); Enfances Godefroi, (36^r col 1 - 60^r col 1); Retour de Cornumarant, (60^r col 1 - 69^r col 2); Antioche, (69^r col 2 - 128^r col 1). There are lacunae in the text of the Antioche. In quire xv, the fourth leaf, between fols 107 and 108 has been cut out, leaving a gap corresponding to the material in Paris, Ant., II, 117-125. The outside edge of fol 108 has been torn off so that the final words on recto col 2 and the initial words on verso col 1 are missing.

Quire xvi (fols 112-119) originally had 12 folios, three of which presented a stub. Two of these stubs remain, between fols 116 and 117, which are the stubs of fols 115 and 116. However, the folio which should follow fol 118 has been lost and with it the corresponding stub which should appear between fols 112 and 113. Whereas there is a textual lacuna between fols 118 and 119, corresponding to the material in Paris, Ant., II, 218-225, there is no lacuna between fols 112 and 113, which is evidence that the missing leaf in that place originally consisted of a stub.

Finally in the Crusade Cycle come Les Chétifs, (128^r col 1 -

152^v col 2) and Jérusalem, (152^v col 2 - 207^v col 1) which ends in conformity with all the manuscripts terminating at this point. Fol 207^v col 2 is blank and the three remaining folios of the quire (xxviii) have been cut out. There are no formal divisions between any of the branches of the First Cycle. The last eighteen folios of the manuscript contain the prose Chronique de Turpin, (208^r col 1 - 225^r col 1) beginning:

Chi commenche l'estoire que Torpins li archevesques de
Rains fist et traita du bon roi Charlemagne.

and ending:

Et mainte paine avoit fait et enduré por essaucher saint
crestienté a l'onor Deu et mon Segnor saint Jaqueme et le
bon roi Charlemagne et saint Denise de Franche.

Fols 218-223 have all had the top outside corner torn away so that parts of the text are missing. Fol 225^r col 2 and verso are blank except for some scrawls in a fifteenth century hand¹.

1 It is possible to decipher the cryptic notes: "de normandie .xix. l. .ix. s. ix. d." at the bottom of the text in col 1, and the inscription: "tiengz tes filles trop mielx (...?)/ que jou abreames ne (penes?)/ say leur apenre byau (manieres?)/ Et pour oyseuze ne les tieng". It seems from this that the manuscript was still circulating in Picardy, to judge by the language, in the fifteenth century.

The manuscript is not illuminated but the initial capitals of each *laisse* are blue and red alternately, and flourished. The Chronique de Turpin, although copied by the same scribe has been decorated by a different flourisher¹. The Chronique begins with a large flourished blue and red capital with red infillings.

Across the top of fol 1 is a sixteenth century rubric in the hand of Claude Fauchet: "C'est la conquête de Jérusalem & origine de Godefroi de Boulongne ou Bouillon. Il a esté composé après le voyage que Philippe Auguste fit en Surie"², to

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- 1 The repertoire of components of the second flourisher is less varied than that of his predecessor, and his lines are much thicker. His designs are characterised by frequent use of serrated components, totally absent from the work of the first flourisher, of the sort found, for example, in the Infilling Components 2, 2ⁿ, in Mrs. Patterson's "Components of Decoration", p. iii.
 - 2 The mention of Philippe Auguste's crusade in the title is traditionally interpreted as a reflection of the passage from the Enfances Godefroi, unique to this manuscript, in which Calabre predicts the Third Crusade under the French king; (this whole episode of Calabre's prophecy has been studied by L.S. Crist in Le Deuxième Cycle, pp. 114-119. The *laisse* in question is edited as an appendix, p. 176, *laisse VI*). However, since this reference to Philippe Auguste is not found in any other MS. there is no reason to suppose that the cycle was written after 1191, as implied by the rubric. It shows rather that a well informed jongleur or scribe associated with the tradition of D if not the scribe of the MS. himself, has taken Calabre's prophecy as an opportunity to display his erudition and to bring his version "up to date". On the contrary, lack of any mention of Philippe Auguste in the other MSS. implies that the cycle was composed before his crusade.

which a second hand has added in the right hand margin. "avec l'ystoire de Charlemagne". The manuscript actually belonged to the celebrated scholar, as illustrated at the bottom of fol 1 by the inscription: "C'est à moi, Claude Fauchet, 1596"¹. The volume is filled with the underlinings and crosses commonly found in Fauchet's manuscripts, and the recto of the first back endleaf he has drawn up a list of the events to which the crosses refer, (discussed and edited by Espiner-Scott, Claude Fauchet, p. 163 and Documents, pp. 201-202). MS. D later passed (indirectly) into Cardinal Mazarin's collection, where it bore the number 194², and then entered the Royal Library in 1668 and is found under the number 7628 in the 1682 catalogue.

1 We are inclined to take this as the date of acquisition. At all events he did not use this MS. for quotations concerning the First Cycle in his works (for references and argument see p.100-1). But it is possible that the MS. was one of the few that remained after the pillaging of his substantial library by the forces of the Duke of Mayenne in 1591 (of J.G. Espiner-Scott, Claude Fauchet sa vie son oeuvre, Paris, 1938, p. 86; Documents, p. 87) on which he then put his name and the date as a sure means of identification lest a similar catastrophe should overtake him again, given the instability of the times; for it seems that despite his appeals very few of his MS. were returned to him.

2 Omont, Inventaires, vol. IV, p. 288.

Paris Bibliothèque Nationale MS. fonds français 12569 (E)

MS. E¹ was executed by a single scribe working in the middle of the second half of the thirteenth century, probably in central Picardy. It measures 320 x 240 (225 x 180) mm. It is composed of IV paper endleaves (I, II pastedown) + 265 + IV paper endleaves (III, IV pastedown), collating: i⁸ - xxv⁸, xxvi¹⁰, xxvii⁸ - xxxii⁸, xxxiii⁸ (7 canc. after fol 264). There are quire signatures and catchwords, except on fols 64 (where one has been added later, see below), 72 and 128. The text is distributed in two columns of 40 lines.

This is the most complete extant manuscript, for it contains all the branches of the First Cycle, together with a set of Continuations, and is not physically damaged like the Turin or B.M. Add. manuscript. MS. E opens with the Beatrix version of Naissance, beginning:

Or entendés, segnour, que Dius vous doinst sience,
S'oiies boine canchon de mout grent sapience..."

1 Previous descriptions: P. Paris, Ant., I, p. lxx; Omont, Anc. Suppl. II, p. 562; Hatem, p. 112-116; Duparc-Quoic, Le Cycle, p. 13; J. Porcher, Les Manuscrits à Peintures en France (Catalogue of an exhibition of illustrated MSS. held in the B.N. in 1955) Part II "du XIII^e au XVI^e" (Paris, 1955), p. 32 (no. 59); Sumberg, pp. 103-114. Porcher dates MS. E "vers 1270", whilst Sumberg suggests "vers 1275" as a rough date on the strength of a mention of "Julien Cesaire", pp. 103, 109.

(1^r col 1 - 20^v col 2); Chevalier au Cygne, (20^v col 2 - 49^r col 2); Fin d'Elyas, (49^r col 2 - 60^v col 2); Enfances Godefroi, (60^v col 2 - 76^r col 2); Retour de Cornumarant, (76^r col 2 - 85^r col 2); Antioche, (85^r col 2 - 133^v col 2); Chétifs, (133^v col 2 - 158^r col 1); Jérusalem, (158^r col 1 - 215^v col 1); Chrétienté Corbaran, (215^v col 1 - 221^v col 2); Prise d'Acre, (221^v col 2 - 233^v col 2); Mort Godefroi, (233^v col 2 - 244^r col 2); Chanson des Rois Bauduin, (244^r col 2 - 264^v col 2), which ends:

Pour chou a trives rendus, asi long terme mis,
Et no bon crestien se garnissent toudis.

After this the scribe has written an explicit of his own composition:

"C'est de Godefroi de Buillon, de le premiere (ceval) erie ki onkes fust outremer, et s'en i a plus k'en livre c'on truist, car c'est li prise d'Acre et de Nike et de Cesaire et de Barut et d'Andioce, de Jérusalem, d'Oliferne, d'Aubefort, d'Ermenie, li crestientes de Corbaran d'Oliferne et des .II. rois de Nubie et de tous leur roiaumes, et du mariage Godefroi de Buillon ki eut le sereur Corbaran, roine d'Alenie; et du patriacle premier ki fu en Jerusalem ki enpuisouna Godefroi pour les reliques qu'il envoia a Bouloigne et a Lens, et tant de roi en roi ki se combatirent a Salehadin".

The scribe is quite aware, and even proud of the novelty of the latter part of his book - "et s'en i a plus k'en livre c'on truist" - an aspect which is singled out in another inscription, (fol 255^v) in which he states: "Je n'aitant plus

en ce nouviel livre ke Blugasdas feri .I. François en l'escu, biel voisin, et ci fenist li prumiers livers (sic) de G(odefroï) de Buillon". (This is a commentary on the action at the bottom of col 2 of that page). The true novelty of the material lies in the continuations after the Chrétienté, a version of which already existed in 1268, in MS. G, usually taken to be an earlier manuscript than E. Certainly of the three extant manuscripts to contain post-Chrétienté material E is markedly older than I or T.

The folio after 264 has been pulled out and fol 265^r contains a fourteenth century catalogue of "romances", forming a collection along with E beginning: "Vecit les nonz dez romans qui sont Monseigneur..."¹. G. Paris wonders if any of these manuscripts have come down to us, but does not attempt to satisfy his curiosity. We have not managed to trace any manuscripts containing these various "rommans", in an examination of certain B.N. manuscripts, in an effort to discover the same hands that have contributed marginalia in E.

Sumberg considers the manuscript to be intended for reading,

1 ed. G. Paris, Romania, XVII (1888), 104-105. He identified these "rommans" as the history of "Orose", Marques de Rome, Anseïs de Carthage, Auberi de Bourguignon, Lancelot du Lac, Garin de Loherain, Partonopeus de Blois, Le Somme le Roi, and "Le Chevalier qui ala en Enfer", which Paris takes as "le chevalier 'Owen' qui descendit...dans le 'puits de Saint Patrice'..." (p. 105).

and it has every indication of being much read. J. Porcher qualifies it as "malheureusement très usé, comme beaucoup de ces romans fort lus". As a matter of fact its state of preservation is far better than implied in that statement. Evidence of its wide readership is found in the large number of annotations and inscriptions. Apart from that on fol 255^v and the catalogue we can read on fol 62^v the line in a cursive hand: "Hic fuit Guido dictus Flamingus qui fecit istam cedula". This has been generally taken to refer to the scribe. This attribution is, however, unjustified. The inscription is accompanied, to the left, by a large black .VIII. in Roman numerals, unique in the manuscript. The scribe, who normally includes small Roman quire signatures, has omitted to do so on this occasion and it is probable that Guido made good the omission by drawing this large quire signature and signing his effort. The writing is cursive, whereas when the scribe writes in the margin he does so in his usual gothic hand. The misleading word is "cedula" which is out of place here whatever it is meant to refer to. A volume of these dimensions is unmistakably a "liber", as the scribe himself calls it. We believe that Guido was referring to his large Roman quire signature, erroneously describing it as a "cedula".

On the blank verso of fol 210 the name "Guillaume de la Fontaine" occurs twice¹. Unfortunately neither he nor Guido have been identified. More interesting than these examples is that of the person who has written six annotations at the bottom of various folios of the manuscript. Sumerberg (p.112) draws our attention to only two of these notes, claiming that "La main qui a écrit ces deux dates semble être la même qui a indiqué le nom du copiste, c'est-à-dire Guy le Flamand". This is not the case. The duct of the two hands is completely different.

These six notes relate to some of the high points of the First Crusade: the fall of Nicaea, the fall of Antioch, the defeat of Kerbogha (Corbaran of the epic), the encampment of the Crusaders before Jerusalem, the fall of the Holy City and the death of Godefroi de Bouillon. All are precise dates and all follow, almost verbatim, the French translation of William of Tyre². Whether or not this historically minded reader was the

1 Sumerberg claims that this may be the jongleur. In view of the fact that he states that the manuscript was intended for reading - and in addition the fact that the hand is fourteenth century - this seems improbable.

2 ed. in Recueil des Historiens des Croisades (Occidentaux) vol I. These notes appear on fols 94^v, 115^r, 133^r, 157^v, 185^r and 239^r.

Monseigneur referred to in the catalogue it is impossible to tell, since there is no mention of a copy of this work; it may have been a later acquisition.

This manuscript has no formal divisions between the branches. Initial capitals of each *laisse* are in gold, enclosed in a coloured framework roughly equivalent to the shape of the letter, alternately red and blue, with one colour for the interior of the capital and one for the exterior. There are no flourishes. A miniature at the beginning of the text (fol 1^r col 1) shows Beatrix and Oriant in the tower looking down on the woman holding twins. The elaborate architectural framework of trefoiled gothic windows points to its Artesian origin. There are also five miniatures on fol 210^r and eight on fol 234^v, which depict scenes from the Chrétienté Corbaran and the Prise d'Acre.

On the bottom of fols 62^v, 87^r and 132^v is a single escutcheon consisting of six trefoils arranged three, two and one underneath each other, with two bars between the three at the top and two in the middle. These are not coloured. The owner of this heraldic design has so far not been established.

This manuscript probably entered the B.N. at the end of the eighteenth or beginning of the nineteenth century, but no information is available as to its provenance.

Bern Burgerbibliothek MS. 320 (F)

The surviving parts of MS. F¹ were written by a single scribe in the North East of France in the middle of the second half of the thirteenth century. Its measurements are 255 x 180 (205 x 150) mm. and the text is distributed in two columns of 40-41 lines per page. It is composed of VI paper endleaves (I,II pastedown) + 103 + VI paper endleaves (V, VI pastedown).

This manuscript was rebound in the early seventeenth century in such a way that the little that remained of the original content was bound haphazardly with a great number of bifolia misplaced and some odd folios stuck in out of order. The following is an attempted reconstruction of the original collation, based on data provided by the manuscript itself in the way of quire signatures and catchwords and for the rest, by a close comparison with other manuscripts. The surviving complete quires are all of twelve folios and computation of missing parts suggests that the whole manuscript was composed of regular quires of twelve folios.

1 Previous descriptions: H. Hagen, Catalogus Codicum Bernensium, (Bern, 1875); M. Einstein, p. 72; Duparc-Quoic, Le Cycle, pp. 14-15; Sumberg, pp. 120-131; P. Grillo, quoted in Cook et Crist, Le Deuxième Cycle, p. 80, note 14.

It is impossible to tell whether this manuscript contained material after the Jérusalem¹, but, excluding that possibility for the present study, it seems that the original number of folios was 216.

Collation: i¹² (missing); ii¹² (all missing except present fol 13 which came near the end); iii¹² (all missing except present fol 14 which came at or near the beginning - the original distance between fols 13 and 14 was two folios); iv¹² (1 = fol 15(?); 2-9 missing, 10 = fol 16; 11 missing, 12 = fol 78); v¹² (complete = fols 1-12); vi¹² (complete = fols 17-28); vii¹² (1,2 = fols 29-30; 3-10 missing; 11,12 = fols 31-32); viii¹² (1-4 missing; 5 = fol 79; 6,7 missing; 8 = fol 80; 9-12 missing); ix¹² (1-8 = fols 33-40; 9-12 cut out, stubs visible); x¹² - xii¹² (complete = fols 41-76); xiii¹² (1-5 missing; 6,7 = fols 81-82; 8-12 missing; ?); xiv¹² (complete = fols 92-103); xv¹² (1-4 = fols 84-85, 88-89; 5-8 missing; 9-12 = fols 90-91,

1 Mme Duparc believes that it did; Le Cycle, p. 15. We are inclined against this view on the grounds that an "annonce" in the text is no guarantee of the existence of the material announced. The most developed "annonce" of the Chrétienté Corbaran is in A 129^r col 2 and 135^v col 2 (this one unique to A). Since A is the oldest version of the cycle it is the least likely to have continuations, and indeed does not. All the MSS. contain the first "annonce" whether they have the Chrétienté or not.

86-87); xvi¹² (1 = fol 83; 2-12 missing); xvii¹² (missing);
xviii¹² (1 = fol 77 ?¹; 2-12 missing).

The extant quire signatures and catchwords are as follow:

Fol	78 ^v	.IIII.	le fist en mariage.
Fol	12 ^v	.V.	del maltalent quele ot.
Fol	28 ^v	.VI.	corb' fist loier.
Fol	32 ^v	.VII.	or oies qe dix fist.
Fol	52 ^v	.X.	et li rouges lions.
Fol	64 ^v	.XI.	as dens li a lescine.
Fol	76 ^v	.XII.	richars et li caitif.
Fol	103 ^v	.XIV.	cascuns des mors coulons.
Fol	87 ^v	.XV.	luns va en caneloingne.

It is certain that the manuscript commenced with one of the versions of the Naissance, probably the Beatrix, which is the shortest. Without drastic cuts Bern 320 would not have had room for either of the other two versions. What remains now is three folios of the Chevalier au Cygne; fol 13 (corresponding to material in Hippeau, I, pp. 140-146); fol 14 (Hippeau, I, pp. 158-64);

1 A comparison with the other MSS. shows that this odd folio 77 must have come very near the end of quire xvii or beginning of quire xviii. There are no quire signature or catchwords on it, so it is probably the first of quire xviii.

fol 15 (Hippeau, I, pp. 230-37). The beginning of the Fin d'Elyas is lacking. An isolated folio, 16, contains material corresponding to B fols 126 and 127^r. The first complete section of this episode begins on fol 78:

N'ainc ne vot ses voisins guerroier ne grever,

(B fol 127^v col 2)

and continues on fol 1^r col 1 - 9^v col 2); Enfances Godefroi, (9^v col 2 - 25^v col 2); Antioche has lacunae; the extant folios can be grouped: 26^r col 1 - 30^v col 2 (the beginning of the branch); 31-32; 33-34; 41-51^v col 2; Chétifs, (51^v col 2 - 76^v col 2; only the last few laisses of this branch are missing); Jérusalem has a lacuna at the beginning and others throughout the text; folios can be grouped: 81-82; 92-103; 84-86; 88-89; 90-91; 86-87; 83; 77.

The initial capitals of each laisse are in red only, and not flourished except for one poorly flourished black and red capital at the beginning of the Antioche.

At the top of fol 1 is the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century rubric "Poemata Rythmica de bello sacro ubi singulos carminum versus eodem rythmo desinunt", which may be in the hand of the former owner of the manuscript, Jacques Bongars,

who, it is known, took an active interest in the crusades¹.

It is possible that this manuscript at some time belonged to Claude Fauchet, mentioned earlier in conjunction with MSS. B and D or that he at least had access to it. The rubric is probably not by Fauchet, as the hand is slightly different from his, and furthermore he normally wrote in French on his manuscripts and would have certainly identified the material more precisely than the latin title does. Because the manuscript is bound with the same white cardboard that characterises many of the manuscripts in Bongar's collection, it seems that the rebinding and at the same time the misplacement of the folios and possible loss of some of them occurred^r at a date after it had passed out of Fauchet's hands.

That Fauchet used the manuscript, together with the other First Cycle manuscript in Bern, 627 (siglum S), is illustrated

1 He was the editor of many of the latin chronicles of the crusades, some of which, e.g. James of Vitry, are still only available in this early edition: Gesta Dei per Francos sive Orientalium Expeditionum et regni Francorum Hierosolimitani Historia, (Hannover, 1611).

by the great number of underlinings which occur in both of them, of precisely the sort encountered in other Fauchet manuscripts, and treating those subjects which are known to have aroused his curiosity¹. It is probable that he looked at these two manuscripts together or one soon after the other, as in many places the words underlined are exactly the same in both volumes².

It is not known how the books passed into Bongars' hands but it is well attested that he possessed some manuscripts which had formerly belonged to Fauchet³.

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- 1 Fauchet's interest lies particularly in customs, the structure of medieval society, the names of characters and places, armour and weaponry. See Espiner-Scott, Claude Fauchet, p. 323ff.
 - 2 The line Pain beneoit lor donne et vin sacré pour boire is in F 13^r col 1, S 19^v; the names of characters: Aynors d'Espine, Joserans li fiers, Mirabaus de Taburs, Foucars de Riniers, Segars de Monbrin, F 14^r col 1, S 28^{r/v}; medieval offices, "le chastellain Guion", S 93^v, F 17^v col 2; the celebrated line from the Enfances: "Que j'ai sous mon mantel un duc, un conte, un roi", in S 91^r F 17^r col 1. Further common underlinings: "Ses elmes fu perciés", S 98^r, F 19^r col 1; "et l'onor de Boilon", S 100^r, F 19^v col 2; et passim. On F 13^r col 1 we also find "cambrelains", (cf. quotation (4) below p. 101).
 - 3 MSS. 163, 309, 340, 451.

Paris Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal MS. 3139 (G)

This manuscript¹ was copied by a single scribe, probably in the North-Eastern region of Picardy², in the year 1268. It measures 300 x 220 (225 x 170) mm. and is composed of VI paper endleaves (I pastedown) + 243 + IV paper endleaves (III, IV pastedown), collating: $i^8 - xxx^8, xxxi^4$ (2canc.). There are quire signatures in red but no catchwords. The text is distributed in two columns of 39-40 lines.

The manuscript together with I contains the composite Elioxe-Beatrix version of the Naissance beginning:

Signor, oiés cancon ki mout fait a loer,
Par itel couvenent le vos puisce conter.

from fol 1^v col 1 (fol 1^r is blank) - fol 28^r col 2, followed by

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- 1 Previous descriptions: L. de Lincy, p. 444; P. Paris Ant., I p. lxix; H. Martin, Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 9 vols, Paris, vol. III, 1887, p. 254; Hatem, pp. 108-112; Duparc-Quêc, Le Cycle, p. 13; Sumberg, pp. 95-103.
 - 2 The provenance of MS. G has been determined by the prevalence of the very strong north-eastern Picard/Walloon feature of the diphthongisation of the blocked tonic open "e", e.g. "apriés", (cf. Gossen, p. 59). He claims that this is characteristic of the Lille, Tournai, Mons, Douai area. MS. B from Tournai, also exhibits this feature, but to a lesser extent.

Le Chevalier au Cygne, (28^r col 2 - 55^r col 2); Fin d'Elyas,
 (55^r col 2 - 70^r col 2); Enfances Godefroi, (70^r col 2 - 86^v
 col 1); Retour de Cornumarant, (86^v col 1 - 95^r col 2); Antioche¹,
 (95^r col 2 - 145^r col 1); Chétifs, (145^r col 1 - 170^v col 2);
Jérusalem, (170^v col 2 - 231^r col 1); Chrétienté Corbaran,
 (231^r col 1 - 243^v col 2), ending :

Puis l'ot rois Corbarans batisie et levee,
 Et apriés le rendi et fist noune velee,
 Ensi com vos orés, baron, s'il vos agree.

followed by the colophon :

Cest livre fu fais en l'an de l'Incarnation Nostre
 Seigneur Jhesu Crist .M.CC. et .LXVIII.

Like B this manuscript is divided into chapters, headed by a rubric in red, covering both columns at the head of the page, in most cases accompanied by a large horizontal miniature likewise covering both columns, placed now at the top, now in the middle of the page, which expresses the same subject as the rubric in pictorial terms. Sometimes there are also isolated "drolerie" figures in the lower margin. The miniatures, eighteen in all, are usually narrative, in other words, the beginning of the scene is depicted on the left, the ending on the right. Four of these are concerned with Les Chétifs.

¹ The transitional laisse in "-ee" between the Retour and the Antioche has been taken as marking the beginning of the latter branch.

Fol 145^r; (Top cropped) C'est chi coument Corberans s'en va...

et coument il portoit (Brohadas) mort que Godefroi
ot) ocis en le bataille, si con le livres devisera.

Fol 151^r; (Top cropped) C'est ci coument Richars de Chaumont....

as deus Turs pour le...Courbaran, si con le livres
devisera ci apriés.

Fol 161^v; (Top cropped) C'est si coument Bauduins de Biauvais

se conbati au serpent ki avoit son frere mangiét
si con le livres devisera.

(In the bottom margin there is an isolated figure
carrying a sword and shield confronting a dragon
monster, now erased).

Fol 167^r; C'est chi coument Harpins de Borges rescaut l'enfant

(ms. les enfant) que li singes enportoit.

(In the bottom margin is the figure of an archer
who has just sent an arrow into the monster, in the
shape of the back of a horse.)

The miniatures, many of which are now very rubbed, are
all executed against a solid gold background. The manuscript is
also decorated with alternating red and blue flourished capitals
at the beginning of each laisse and often at regular intervals
in the middle of long laisses, so that an exceptionally long
laisse may contain up to seven flourished initials.

This volume was in the possession of Armand-Gaston,

Cardinal de Rohan, in 1749¹ and the arms of the Rohan-Soubise family figure on the back of the binding. It was acquired for the Arsenal on the sale of the Soubise library in 1786.

1 See B.N., MS. Nouvelles Acquisitions françaises, 3203, (vol.XX), fol 145. We are indebted to Peter Grillo for this reference.

London British Museum Additional MS. 36615 (I)

This manuscript¹, executed by several scribes working at the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century, is of uncertain provenance². The scribal divisions of the volume are: scribe A, fols 1-24; scribe B, fols 25-91, 97-136; scribe C, fols 137-164, scribe D, fols 92-96 (this is a separate quire written by D and added in later), fols 165-281. Its measurements are 260 x 185 mm. (written space; scribe A, 200 x 145; B, 200-225 x 145-150; C, 225 x 150; D, 225-230 x 140-160 mm.) The manuscript is composed of I modern parchment endleaf, + 281 + I modern parchment endleaf; collating i⁸ (the fols are out of order and should read 1, 2, 5-8, 3, 4), ii⁸ - iii⁸ (both missing), iii⁸ - vi⁸, vii¹⁰, viii⁸ - xii⁸, xiii⁸ (missing except for one leaf which is fol 83); xiv⁸, xv⁶ (6 canc. after fol 96),

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- 1 Previous descriptions: H. L. D. Ward, Catalogue of Additional Manuscripts in the British Museum for the years 1900-1901, (London, 1905), pp. 157-59. See also Cook and Crist, p. 32. An article on this manuscript by Mickel and Nelson has been announced.
 - 2 It is difficult to guess at the provenance of the MS. since it is so heterogeneous linguistically. Four scribes, exhibiting different ~~dialectal~~ features, have copied from several models. The predominant features in the scribe of Les Chétifs (B) are Picard. Other scribes and certain marginalia in the MS. point possibly to a South Norman origin (see below).

xvi⁸ - xxiii⁸, xxiv⁴, xxv⁸ - xxviii⁶ (6 canc. after fol 193),
 xxix⁸ - xxxv⁸, xxxvi¹⁰ (1 canc. after fol 249), xxxvii⁸ (missing),
 xxxviii⁸ - xxxix⁸, xxxx⁸ (8 missing after fol 281). This manu-
 script has a lot missing, but reconstruction is usually possible
 thanks to the contemporary foliation, which is wanting, however,
 in the last part because of the severe cropping of the top
 edges. Originally the volume consisted of 313 fols of text. The
 majority of quire signatures and catchwords have been preserved.
 The text is distributed in two columns of 48-51 lines.

When complete, this was the longest of all the extant
 manuscripts, containing some 62,560 lines, nearly 20,000 lines
 more than E¹, most of it post-Jérusalem continuations. What
 remains is the Elixo-Beatrix composite version of the Naissance,
 (1^r col 1 - 8^v col 2). It is this branch which has suffered the
 severest mutilation. To start with, fol 1^r is badly stained and
 totally illegible². It seems that there was a miniature across
 the top of both columns, below which a red capital "S" can be
 faintly discerned. The top of 1^v col 1 is also damaged and the
 first lines at all visible are:

1 Cf. Cook et Crist, p. 81.

2 Barron has discussed the first folio of I in detail,
 p. 495.

Tient l'emperere (cort a Nimaie) estableie,
La furent assanlé

After fol 8 (fol 4 in the present, incorrect, order) there is a lacuna of two quires which means that the end of the Naissance, and a substantial part of the Chevalier au Cygne are missing. The quire containing the former end on fol 8 with the catchwords "Les ongles ont agus...", while the remains of the latter branch run from fol 9^r col 1 - 19^v col 1, beginning with the lines:

Quant li roys ot mangié et puis li a lavé,
On a es coupes d'or novel vin aporté.

(Hippeau I, p. 156)

There follow, Fin d'Elyas, (19^v col 1 - 31^v col 1): Enfances Godefroi, (31^v col 1 - 40^v col 2): Retour de Cornumarant, (40^v col 2 - 47^r col 1); Antioche, (47^r col 1 - 81^r col 1); Chétifs, (81^r col 1 - 101^v col 1); after fol 82 there is a lacuna of 7 fols (lines 209 - 1366 of our edition). Fol 83, which is an isolated leaf, however, was probably not the last of the quire, but the seventh, the last being originally blank. This conclusion is arrived at from the fact that MS. B, to which I is closest at this point, has a total of 1227 lines corresponding to the lacuna in I, (not counting the "Chainan" episode (Appendix VII) unique to B, which would have exceeded the eight fols of the quire).

In six fols I would have covered 1200 lines, which is close to the figure in B, given that the version in B usually contains a few short additions not in I. Hence fol 83 was the seventh, and the eighth would doubtless have been excised, because the material on fol 83 on recto col 1 and part of col 2 only, leads straight into the text on fol 84 col 1. This mysterious procedure of covering part of the end of a quire, leaving the rest blank and then continuing on a fresh quire is found on two other occasions in the manuscript. On fol 164^v scribe C writes only 26 lines of text which is then continued by scribe D on fol 165^r. This is understandable with a change of scribe, but later, scribe D copies only a few lines on to fol 193^v, leaves the rest blank, and continues on 194^r. In the case of a change of scribe this suggests a miscalculation in the allotment of material to be copied. But why scribes should leave blank spaces in the middle of a section they copied themselves seems inexplicable. The remainder of fol 83^r is filled with a few jottings including the name Jehan Fagot (or Sagot) and a square of words reading:

s	a	t	o	r
a	r	e	p	o
t	e	n	e	t
o	p	e	r	a
r	o	t	a	s

Fol 83^v contains a charm against illness in French prose beginning: "axci verrament come Dieux fust et serra", and consisting mainly of a paraphrase of the Apostles' Creed¹. The interesting fact about this is that it is written in a characteristic English hand of the end of the first quarter of the fourteenth century.

The text of Les Chétifs ran originally from fol 91^v - 97^r, as found in all other versions except that of MS. B. However, scribe D has copied out the "Satanas mere" episode as found in B, and arranged for this extra quire to be inserted at this point, making the note at the foot of fol 91^v: "quant vous avez commencié a cest seaume (.....the words at the end of the lines of his note are now all covered with parchment), sy tournez a une crois jusques a une (.....) Et est en la paige mesuré et (quaré?.. ..; with the rest of the text cropped), and indeed he has drawn a large cross on fol 97^r, to indicate the spot where this additional episode falls.

The Jérusalem runs from fol 101^v col 1 - 146^r col 1, followed by Chrétiente Corbaran, (146^r col 2 - 153^v col 1);

1 Cat. of Additions, p. 158.

Prise d'Acre, (153^v col 1 - 165^r col 1). After that I ceases to align itself with the version in E and continues with the text found in T under the name Cont.² (165^r col 1 - 281^v col 2)¹. MS. I is damaged at the end. The last pages are very rubbed, with some parts of the text torn away and the final folio missing altogether. The last lines are illegible but I and T both end at the point where Saladin has made his preparation for the murder of the mulane².

On the blank part of fol 164^v is some advice on a herbal stimulant, written possibly in the same hand the text on fol 83^v, beginning: "que home ne se lasse en cheminant prenez (.....?) l'erbe qui est apellé mere des hardis (?) ceste assavoir arceneke, et celle herbe mengue.....", followed by a nonsense poem of 28 lines, written by a different hand beginning:

Je chevaucaille mon chemin de Blais a Corpie
Si encontre li rois et tout sa meingnie.....

As stated above, fol 1^r was originally decorated with a large miniature, the only one in the manuscript. Initial capitals of each laisse are red and blue alternately, but not flourished except for two large capitals, one at the beginning of the second

1 Cook et Crist, p. 89.

2 Ibid, p. 90.

part of Les Chétifs (84^v col 2) and one in the middle of Cont.² (214^r col 1).

It was Robert Cook who first drew attention to the composite nature of this volume: "....il s'agit selon toute apparence, d'un manuscrit factice, constitué par un bibliophile ou un jongleur dans l'intention de présenter une suite complète de tous les récits épiques de la croisade...." (Le Deuxième Cycle, p. 33). Cook's argument implies that the three series of quires (the first, fols 1-164; second, 165-193; third 194-281) are assembled somewhat gratuitously, if we have construed correctly the phrase "d'une origine différente", referring to a second group of quires. This volume is certainly the work of several people, but it seems that they were working together with a purpose in mind, and with a fair degree of cohesion, despite certain places where, as illustrated above, the continuation^{it} has been unaccountably interrupted. It should be noted that the format of all component parts is roughly the same, similarly the formula of writing fifty lines to the column. Furthermore the albeit bare decoration of red and blue initials appears to have been carried out by the same artist. What is certain is that the scribes were copying from (at least) two different manuscripts, which would partly explain the highly complex tradition of transmission found in I, which begins close to G is close to B in

the middle of the old nucleus of the First Cycle (e.g. Chétifs), follows E in the first two post-Jérusalem continuations and ends up reading with T for the rest. This would also possibly explain why the "Sathanas mere" episode has been added into Les Chétifs; scribe B was using a manuscript which did not have it; scribe D, using one which did, copied it out from his own model.

The margins of this manuscript have been liberally dotted with fourteenth century jottings, some insignificant like "Ego sum bonus puer" (30^V) others of a more interesting nature, consisting of the repetition throughout the volume of the following people. "A mon bon ami Colin de Meausse de Marco(uville)", (1^V); "A mon bon ami Jehan de Meausse est (....cropped)", (2^R); "Jehan de Meauce", (58^V); "A mon tres chier ami Jehan de Marcouville" (61^V) and again on 71^V and 76^V; "Marcouville" (145^R); "Jehan de Meauce" (170^V) and finally "A mon tres chier amy Guillaume de (muy ?)" (267^V).

It is possible that this is a reference to members of the Meaucé family¹ of Eure-et-Loir. Meaucé itself is situated 2 kms. N.W. of La Loupe whilst Marcouville lies 5 kms. E. of Brezolles, the two only 25 kms. apart². This family appears to have been

1 We are indebted to Peter Grillo for this suggestion.

2 See L. Merlet, ed. Dictionnaire Topographique du Département d'Eure-et-Loir comprenant les noms de lieu anciens et modernes (Paris, 1861).

founded by Guillaume de Meaucé in 1250¹ and there are traces in 1432 of another Guillaume, who was supposedly father of a Jehan de Meaucé (traces in 1455). All are noted as being "Ecuyer"².

The elaborate modern binding of this manuscript, inlaid with ivory panels, is described in the catalogue. This volume was in the collection formed (in a somewhat infamous manner) by Joseph Barrois, and sold to the Earl of Ashburnham in 1849 , (MS. 14 in the Fonds Barrois)³. It entered the B.M. in 1901, being lot 238 in the sale at Sotheby's of the Earl's library. So far no information is available as to how Barrois acquired this manuscript.

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- 1 De la Chenaye-Desbois et Badier, Dictionnaire de la Noblesse, vol. XIII, (Paris, 1868), p. 564.
 - 2 Henri Jouglar de Morenas, Grand Armorial de France, vol. V, (Paris, 1948), p. 30.
 - 3 See L. Delisle, Manuscripts du Cte. d'Ashburnham, (.....) observations sur les plus anciens manuscrits du fonds libri et sur plusieurs manuscrits du fonds Barrois. (Paris, 1883), p. v.

Oxford Bodleian Library MS. Hatton 77 (O)

(Summary Catalogue 4093)

MS. Hatton 77¹ was copied in England by a single scribe in the middle of the thirteenth century, in a hand which has been described as "typical of the 'professional' romance scribes of the time"². It measures 275 x 155 (205-215 x 85-95) mm. It is composed of I parchment endleaf + 197 + II parchment endleaves, collating: i⁸ - viii⁸, ix⁸ (7 missing after page 140), x⁸ - xxiii⁸, xxiv⁴, xxv⁸, xxvi⁸ (missing), xxvii². This manuscript is paginated from 1-393 but there are three pages numbered 337 in error. Page 393 is the first of the back endleaves. There are some quire signatures. The text is written on 40 long lines per page.

Pages 1-371 contain a crusade epic of some 15,000 lines beginning:

Seignurs, bien est seü, et n'est pas lungement,
Estoient cil proisié et servi largement.....

which P. Meyer has named the Poème de la Première Croisade imité

1 This MS. was described by P. Meyer in Romania, V (1876), 1-63.

2 Mr. M.B. Parkes, (personal communication).

de Baudri de Bourgueil. Between pages 14 and 15 two leaves have been inserted, a fragment of part of the same poem, which were found forming the endpaper of a printed book¹. There is a lacuna of one folio between pages 140 and 141. The epic ends on page 371 with the lines:

"Ore dites tuit amen, qui l'avez escutés,
Que ja mes par nul home ne sera tels chantés".

Page 372 is blank. From page 373, beginning on a fresh quire, is a fragment of Les Chétifs, opening with the lines:

Ore s'en fuit Corbarans tuz les plains de Surie,
Sei tierce s'en vait fuiant del regne de Nubie.

Only one quire of eight folios is complete, corresponding to lines 1-672 and Appendix IV bb. 1-13 of the present edition, ending on page 388 with the line:

"Tut issi comm en croiz le penerent tirant".

1 P. Meyer described these leaves and their provenance and printed a facsimile in Romania, VI (1877), 489-94. This crusade epic is also found complete, with a continuation, in the British Museum, Add. MS. 34114, which Meyer described with Hatton 77, and in a fragment of 1 184 lines, also formerly the endpapers of a printed book, from the Brasenose College Library, Oxford, now MS. B.N.C. d. 56. This fragment has never been described. Meyer took it to be part of the continuation in the B.M. MS., but in fact it is part of the crusade epic proper, corresponding to the material in Hatton 77, p. 169, l. 17 - p. 176, l. 32; p. 198, l. 38 - p. 213, l. 26; p. 235, l. 13 - p. 242, l. 19. For the relationship between the Poème de la Première Croisade and the First Cycle Antioche see Duparc-Quôc, Le Cycle, pp. 77-80.

The next quire, xxvi, is missing and the first line of the last quire (page 389) is:

"Chascon fiert son per sur la targe listee".

(line 1398 of our edition). The remaining four pages are very rubbed and difficult to read, and the fragment terminates on page 392 after laisse 51 with a concluding laisse, which constitutes our Appendix IX ending:

Jhesus soit gracié, qui nus ad hors geté
De la prison as Turcs, et de grant chaitiveté.
Amen, amen, amen, par sainte charité.

On page 1, at the beginning of the text of the Poème de la Première Croisade, there is a coloured drawing in green, red and gold, depicting the siege of a tower. Alongside the text in the left hand margin is an archer, whilst in the right hand margin there is another archer, and two men using a mechanical sling. The initial capitals of each laisse are flourished and, with a few omissions, arranged in a sequence of alternate red and blue within each quire. The manuscript has been flourished by different hands, the first from pages 1-286, with a second, inferior artist taking over from page 287 to the end¹.

1 These flourishes are of the sort described by Mrs. Patterson as falling within the period 1240-1260.

Page 393 is blank, but sewn on at the top is a leaf which contains a fragment of French description of the 14 captures of Jerusalem up to 1244 on one side¹ and a roll of accounts on the other. On the verso of this endleaf is a "letter of instruction", which we will print in full as it is not without a certain interest:

Soveignes qe mons. Thomas en seillera le fait qe jeo lui manda par lor ch(artre). Et s'il n'a point porté le escrits ou lui, et il assent d'en seller le c(artre), pernez la chartre et si allez a Johan Amyce, et il vous fra un austre après la chartre. Estre seo vous poiez dire au dit Thomas qe vous avez despendu entour la defence Symond de Swanlond .XII. souz et plus, pur treis assoignes vous avez paié .XII. d. pur cest bref q'est venu sur lui et moy. Ausi vous paiates .XL. deners a un amy pur le transcrits de la chartre qe (Hugh) Andreu le Blont avoit, qe parle qe cest chose est fee taille. Et si le dit Thomas le vous demande, ne l'en baillez point, s'il ne vous alouwe .XL. d. Et qe ceo le remembres de tous les taillages qe nous avoms paié, et demandez alouance de lui. Ausi vous ne voillez paier plus for que .XXIIII. mars par an pur ces mesons, ausi come vous lui garnites a la Chandelour, et il vous promi ces leaument qe nous ne perdroms point sur lui. Et vous lui poes monstrier touz les choses qe nous avoms fait et amendez. Et lui monstrier tous les defautes de ses mesons de couvertures, et coment il nous promyt q'il les voudra tut apparailier de nouvelle a nostre entre. Et come ils costera (sic) grant chatel avant q'ils seient amendez. Et remembrez vous qe vous em parlez a Hugh de Waltham et a Roger de Depham et a Johan de la Chambre et a Johan de Aschefford, et lur priez

1 Ed. by P. Meyer, Romania, V, p. 59.

q'il voil estre entour cest busoigne pur lur profist¹:

The provenance of this letter is unquestionably London and it was written not later than 1327. It would appear to have been placed in this volume towards the end of the fifteenth century when it was rebound. The blind-stamped binding is English work of about 1480 with a tool showing a dragon with its tail in its mouth. The layout points to provincial origin.

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- 1 The names contained in this letter are easily identifiable as sometime Aldermen of the City of London, (except for John of Aschefford and John Amyce, who is always qualified as "clerk" in contemporary documents). Apart from that, two elements link up these names; they all owned property and they were all implicated in some way or other in the great Eyre of 1321. John de la Chambre, Hugh de Waltham, Roger de Depham and Simon de Swanland were all accused of conspiracy, and the first two accused especially of perpetrating a tax fraud, in which "every taxation and tallage in London should be assessed by their ordering, and whoever they wished to elevate or to oppress might be tallaged by them accordingly, keeping the third penny of every collection for themselves....." (H.M. Cam, The Eyre of London, 14 Edward II, A.D. 1321, edited for the Selden Society; 2 vols, (London 1968), p.49). John was found guilty and fined £20, but the others were acquitted, due mainly to the sympathetic interests of the jury, one infers! However, the above letter would appear to provide evidence that these men were indeed involved in some tallage fraud or other "pur lur profist". If it does concern these misappropriations, then it must be dated about 1312, the time at which they were alleged to have taken place. At all events a terminus ad quem is provided by the death of John de la Chambre in 1327. We have not been able to identify the writer or the addressee or the Thomas in question; there were several people of that name involved in the Eyre. Further information can be obtained from M. Weinbaum, "London unter Eduard I und II" in Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial-und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Beiheft 27-30, (Stuttgart, 1933), and Gwyn A. Williams, Medieval London from Commune to Capital, (London, 1963).

Turin Bibliotheca Nazionale Universitaria

MS. L - III - 25 (T)

(ex G - II - 16)

This manuscript was badly damaged in the fire in the Turin Library in 1904. It was not consultable until after 1953, "date à laquelle une restauration partielle a réussie à séparer les pages jusque-là collées ensemble. Mais en 1968, Peter Grillo a vu ce manuscrit et en a remarqué l'importance. Au cours de l'été de 1969, Grillo et Robert Cook ont rétabli la séquence des feuillets du manuscrit"¹.

It is a manuscript copied by a single scribe towards the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century, in two columns of 40 lines per page. It is difficult to assess the original size of the manuscript since the folios have shrunk considerably, as well as having some of the borders burnt away, especially the inside one, because the fire attacked from the spine of the binding. The largest extant folio (117) measures

1 Cook and Crist Le Deuxième Cycle, p. 88. Since that time we have visited Turin and verified the order, inserting another folio between fols 14 and 15 and making a few minor alterations. It should be stressed that this description of MS. T is only provisional. When each specialist has checked his particular branch it is hoped that the manuscript can be rebound.

220 x 165 (190 x 135) mm. and from an analysis of those parts of various folios which appear to have remained intact it is possible that the original dimensions were something in the region of 300 x 230 (220 x 170) mm. at least.

We have it on the authority of Pasini's catalogue¹ that the volume had 368 folios. Up till now only 330 have been accounted for². The losses occur throughout the manuscript but especially at the beginning. It is impossible to reconstruct the original collation as the manuscript is now composed solely of loose leaves tied up in bundles of 50 folios and placed in two boxes³. Any catchwords and quire signatures were burnt away.

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- 1 Josephus Pasinus, Codices Manuscripti Bibliothecae Regis Taurinensis Athenaei, 2 vols., (Turin, 1749); vol. II, 474; Codex XXXVIII; G - II - 16.
 - 2 Further searches will still have to be carried out for missing folios which may have been placed erroneously in other boxes, since parts of other MSS. were put in the boxes of T by mistake (see note 3 below).
 - 3 Placed in the second box were also fragments of other MSS. These have been identified as two frags. from the Roman de la Rose, the one being several folios from the beginning of the poem, from MS. L-III-28 and a small frag. from the end of another, unidentified, MS. which was otherwise destroyed. There were also eight fols from the beginning of the Roman de Florimont, L-II-16, corresponding to lines 173-1384 in A. Hilka's edition (Göttingen, 1933). These have been restored to their rightful place where possible. Finally was a small frag. in Latin, identified by Dr. Alessandro Vitale-Brovarone of the University of Turin, as part of a commentary on the Song of Songs.

Pasini indicates that the manuscript began with the lines:

Signeurs, or m'entendés, pour Dieu l'esperitable,
Que Jhesus vous garisse de la main au diable.

This is the Beatrix version of the Naissance¹, of which only three folios remain, now numbered 1-3. After come the Chevalier au Cygne, (4 - 14, 14a, 15 - 23^v, lacunae at the beginning); Fin d'Elyas, (23^v col 2 - 38^v col 1); Enfances Godefroi, (38^v col 1 - 47^r col 1, lacunae at the beginning); Retour de Cornumarant, (47^r col 1 - 56^r col 2); Antioche, (56^v col 1 - 91^v col 2, lacunae in the middle); Chétifs, (91^v col 2 - 116^v col 2); Jérusalem, (116^v col 2 - 175^v col 2, lacunae at the end(?)). There follows a long continuation accounting for half of the content of the manuscript to which the title Cont.² has been given, (176^r - 329^v).

The manuscript is decorated with alternate red and blue flourished capitals. There are no formal divisions except between the Retour and Antioche, where space has been left for a large initial which was never executed.

1 See Barron, p. 484.

This volume was in the collection of the Dukes of Savoy¹. It is not certain when it was acquired, but it is possible that this and other manuscripts of North-Eastern French origin passed into the Dukes' library on the marriage in 1403 between Mary, daughter of Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, with Amadeus VIII of Savoy². The first mention of it is in a hand-written inventory of the (then) Royal Library of Turin by a certain Abbé Maché, dated 1713, (p. 656, no. 23)³.

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- 1 This ducal, later royal, library forms the basis of the present Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria. A recent article by Sheila Edmunds, "The Medieval Library of Savoy", Scriptorium, XXIV, ii, (1970), 318-27 and XXV, ii, (1971), 253-84, studies the ducal collection but does not mention L-III-25.
 - 2 See R. Vaughan, Philip the Bold, (London and Harvard, 1962), p. 89. Strictly speaking, the marriage between these two took place in 1393, for political reasons, but the consummation did not take place until ten years later.
 - 3 This inventory is now deposited in the B.N.U. in Turin.

Paris Bibliothèque Nationale MS. fonds français 781 (P)

This manuscript¹ was copied by^a single scribe working in Picardy at the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century. It measures 320 x 230 (255 x 165) mm. and is composed of II modern parchment endleaves (the first a pastedown) + 150 + VI endleaves (I, II modern parchment; III, IV paper (these four leaves numbered 151-154); V, VI modern parchment, VI pastedown); collating: i⁸ - vii⁸, viii⁸ (5 and 7 canc. after fols 60 and 61 respectively), ix⁸ - xix⁸, xx[?] (missing). Quire signatures and catchwords are clear in i - viii, but have mostly been cropped in ix - xix. The remaining indications show that the First Cycle material was numbered i - viii and that for the rest the scribe began the quiring again from i - ix, as if the latter was considered as a separate item and not as a mere continuation. The text is distributed in two columns of 40 lines.

1 Previous descriptions: P. Paris Les Manuscrits, vol. VI, p. 157-60; Omont, Catalogue, vol. I, p. 80; Le comte de Mas-Latrie, ed. Le Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier, (Paris, 1871), p. xxxix; P. Riant, "Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits de l'Eracles", Archives de l'Orient latin, vol I, (1881), 249; Duparc-Quatrecas, Le Cycle, p. 17; Sumberg, pp. 114-120.

This manuscript contains a prose redaction of the First Cycle of the Crusade on fols 1^r - 60^v, which begins with the Beatrix version of the Naissance¹:

Seignour, oiés et escoutés, si porrés entendre et
savoir comment li chevaliers le chisne vint en avant,
et le grant lignie qui de lui issi.....

(Fol 1^r col 1; Todd, p. 95).

At this point the author of this version explains why he has taken the trouble to turn the cycle into prose:

Et l'ai commenchié sans rime pour l'estore avoir
plus abregié (ms abregier), et si me sanle que
le rime est mout plaisans et mout bele, mais mout
est longue.

(ibid.).

Le Chevalier au Cygne follows, (4^r col 2 - 9^r col 1); There is no Fin d'Elyas in P but the rest of the Cygne material is represented; Enfances Godefroi, (9^r col 1 - 14^r col 1); Retour de Cornumarant, (14^r col 1 - 16^r col 1). The three branches of the historical cycle are also summarised; Antioche, (16^r col 1 - 34^r col 2); Chétifs, (34^v col 1 - 43^r col 2); Jérusalem, (43^r col 2 - 60^v col 1), ending with a synopsis of the usual final laisse:

1 Ed. H. A. Todd, PMLA, IV (1889), fasc. 3 and 4, pp. 95-102.

Chi après orrés comment Acre et Sur et Tabarie fu prise et comment li Temples fu estorés et li Hospitaus, et comment Harpins de Boorges se donna au Temple pour nostre Seigneur servir.

Explicit de Godefroi de Buillon.

Fol 60^v col 2, fols 61 and 62 are blank.

Fol 63^r col 1 -147^r col 2 contains the Chronique d'Ernoul,

(MS. E of Mas-Latrie's edition), beginning:

Oiés et etendés, seigneur, comment le terre de Jherusalem et le sainte Crois fu conquise de sarrasins sur crestiens.....

and ending:

Et après si amassa grant ost et ala encontre le roy Jehan, et manda sen fil en Alemaigne. Chi fine ~~che~~ ^{les} estores, et fait savoir l'incarnation quele ele estoit quant Godefroys de Buillon morut.

(147^r col 2)

From fol 147^v col 1 to fol 148^r col 1 is the addition of Bernard le Trésorier (see Mas-Latrie, loc. cit.). From fol 148^r col 1 to fol 150^v col 2 are a number of anecdotes concerning the Holy Land and Saladin. The first begins¹:

Atant vous lairai a parler de ces roys de cheste matiere, si vous dirai de le prophesie de le tere de Jherusalem et d'Egypte, ensi comme li fix Acap le fist en sen livre.

(Fol 148^r col 1).

1 The contents of these final items is established by L.S. Crist in Le Deuxième Cycle, p. 113. We have followed his divisions. For the prose Ordene de Chevalerie see "Les Rédactions en prose de l'Ordre de Chevalerie" by Hilding Kjellman, in Studier i modern språkvetenskap, vol VII (1930) 139-77.

Another, concerning Saladin at the Hospital in Acre begins:

Quant je parlai de Salehadin, si vous oubliai a
dire comment et en quel maniere il vint a Acre et
jut a l'Ospital,

(Fol 149^v col 1)

Finally is the prose Ordene de Chevalerie (150^r col 1 - ^v col 2)

which is incomplete in P due to the absence of the last quire,
ending:

Tout autressi nete devés vous au jour del juisse
rendre l'ame de vous des pechiés que li cors a
fais et des meffais qu'il a fais envers nostre
Seigneur, pour avoir le gloire de Paradis qui tant
est deliteuse que langue ne le porroit....

with below, the catchwords "dire ne oreille".

The manuscript contains five single miniatures, all enclosed in capital letters and with historiated borders running round three margins, decorated with birds, animals and occasional figures, (fols 1^r, 34^v, 63^r, 147^v and 150^r). The miniature at the beginning of the Beatrix shows the young mother lying in childbed with Matabrune behind her showing to Orient a basket containing seven puppies. That at the head of Les Chétifs depicts Corbaran and the kings coming before the Soudan carrying a pier with the body of Brohadas. There are alternate red and blue flourished capitals at the beginning of each paragraph.

The manuscript was rebound at the end of the seventeenth

or beginning of the eighteenth century while in the possession of the Bibliophile Châtre de Cangé (MS no. 9 in his collection)¹, who inserted into the endleaves a transcription on paper of the verse Ordene de Chevalerie, copied from present MS B.N. fr. 837. This volume passed from his collection into the Royal Library in 1737².

1 See B.N. MS Nouvelles Acquisitions françaises 5682.

2 See "M. Châtre de Cangé, Catalogue des livres du Cabinet de M.***." Paris 1735 in -12° ; L. Delisle, Le Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale, 4 vols, (Paris, 1868-1881), Vol I, 411.

Some Lost Manuscripts of Les Chétifs

To the foregoing manuscripts containing Les Chétifs can be added a further six manuscripts and fragments relating to other parts of the cycle making, all told, a total of sixteen items, albeit of varying importance, which is an impressive record of survival for a twelfth century chanson de geste. However, as Mme Duparc has pointed out, "Les manuscrits du cycle ont été beaucoup plus nombreux que ceux que nous possédons", (Le Cycle, p. 17) and indeed an examination of medieval catalogues and inventories bears witness to the great popularity of the Roman de Godefroy de Bouillon, or as it is more rarely named in them, Le Chevalier au Cygne¹.

1 It is well known that the terms "Roman" or "Histoire" or "Livre" or "Chronique de Godefroy de Bouillon" cover all the material dealing with the first crusade, including the French translation of William of Tyre, the so-called Livre d'Eracle and its various continuations, and both the First and Second Cycles of the Crusade. For the latter we are adopting the abbreviation CCGB proposed in Cook et Crist, Le Deuxième Cycle, p. 9 note 1. The greatest help given by the medieval catalogue is in the provision of the first words of the second folio and the last folio of the manuscript, which was standard practice and the easiest way of identifying a volume in a collection. As one of the examples shows, these indications are often imprecise. For the rest of the description these early catalogues are notoriously inaccurate, as witness A being described as in prose, and one of the lost MSS. noted as "parlant de Lancelot du Lac". It is only when a combination of data concurs that it becomes possible to identify the contents of a given volume.

Information garnered from catalogues right up to the nineteenth century points to the previous existence of at least six lost manuscripts, of which three are concerned with the Second Cycle of the Crusade, or CCGB. Of the First Cycle manuscripts, which we discuss here, two may have contained Les Chétifs, and one definitely did.

The first of these belonged to Charles V of France and is mentioned in a catalogue of the Royal Library drawn up by Giles Malet, the librarian, in 1373, and in later revisions¹. This item is described as "Un livre du chevalier au cisgne et de Godefroi de Buillon de la terre d'outre mer, en rime", beginning on the second folio: "Elle a fait contre Dieu", with the first words of the last folio: "Car moult estoit le jour", (Delisle 1030). Here, for once, we have the precious information that it was about "Le Chevalier au Cygne". The second folio words determine this as a manuscript of the First Cycle, and more precisely, one containing the Beatrix version of the Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne, as the hemistich in question is line 220

1 Ed. by Léopold Delisle in Recherches sur la Librairie de Charles V, 2 vols., (Paris, 1907), vol. II. He also includes an edition of this inventory in his Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale, 4 vols., (Paris, 1868-1881); vol. III. All examples above are taken from the Recherches which gives a fuller description.

of the version in MS. B:

"Vostre fame a eu mout lait delivrement;
Ces .VII. ciens a eut, n'i a nul autre enfant.
Ves les ci trestous .VII., u sont en mon devant;
Ele a fait contre Dieu et contre toute jent".

(B fol 92^v col 2)

The fact that the first line of the second folio is as advanced as this, in other words, with some 220 lines on the first folio¹, implies either that the material was greatly abbreviated, or that the manuscript was of a large format, with ~~columns~~ of 60 lines each per side as found in B. Allowance can then be made for a first page title and a miniature. Every extant manuscript which has the usual distribution of two columns of 40 lines per page, or a larger one, includes at least the whole Swan-Knight and Crusade Cycles² and half of those contain some post-Jérusalem material as well, so conversely it seems fair to suppose that a scribe chose a large format if he were preparing to copy out the whole cycle, in which case Les Chétifs would have been included.

We have not been able to identify the words on the last

1 Note that this is only line 197 in C and 214 in E.

2 With the single exception of MS. B.M. Royal 15 E VI (H) which appears to have been copied from a deficient model. See Mickel and Nelson, "B.M. Royal 15 E VI and the Epic Cycle of the First Crusade", Romania, XCII (1971), 532-56.

folio. This is always a more difficult task, given that many of the extant manuscripts end at different points of the cycle. The words have not been found as a variant of any of the more regular places chosen to terminate a manuscript, and it may possibly belong to one of the post-Chrétienté continuations.

If Charles V owned at least one manuscript, now lost, containing the First Cycle, it can be illustrated, fortunately with greater precision, that Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, possessed two manuscripts of the First Cycle as well as a fragment of the CCGB. One of these manuscripts is the present MS. A whose history has been traced above. The other is frequently attested, first appearing in an inventory of 1420 edited by G. Doutrepont¹, no. 177:

Item, ung autre livre nommé GODEFROY DE BUILLON
commençant ou 11^e feuillet Femme ne povoit, et ou
derrenier feuillet Pour combatre au serpent, couvert
de cuir blanc.

If the identity of this manuscript is obscured in the catalogue of 1467 of the Duke's library in Bruges and of the books in his chapel there, (Barrois, Bibliothèque Prototypographique nos.

1 Inventaire de la 'Librairie' de Philippe le Bon, (1420),
(Brussels, 1906).

706 and 1152 respectively¹), by being described as "parlant de Lancelot du Lac", it nevertheless reads on the second folio: "Que feme ne pvoit", and on the last; "Pour combatre au serpent", and is "un vielz livre en rime, en parchemin, clos d'ais a cuir blanc". This same manuscript, this time correctly identified, reappears in the catalogue of 1487 (Barrois 2088) where we are given the full line "Que feme ne puet a nul enganrement", and the last line of the manuscript "Que ly Empereurs est mort que le regne a gasté".

Previous scholars have taken this to be a Second Cycle manuscript, agreeing with A. Bayot's contention that the first line of the second folio is a variant of the CCGB, line 216². However, in this passage at the beginning of the Naissance, in which Beatrix states categorically that any woman who has had more than one child at the same time has certainly had more than one man; the same sentiment is expressed in the CCGB, but the word "engancement" is not used, whereas the First Cycle Beatrix uses it twice in the same laisse: lines 68 and 78. We recall that the passage runs as follows, with Beatrix saying:

1 The same MS described twice in error. Presumably it must have been moved from the library to the chapel after the catalogue of the former, and before that of the latter, were drawn up.

2 Cook et Crist, p. 40, note 91.

"Ne creroies pas homme en cest siecle vivant
 Que fame puist avoir ensamble c'^un enfant³
 S'a .II. hommes n'estoit livree carnelment;
 .I. en puet ele avoir, pour voir le vous creant,
 Ne ja plus n'en ara a .I. engenremant".

Yet the line in question in the lost manuscript is probably not identifiable as a variant of that because, as will become apparent later, only some 67 lines is too few for the first folio¹. Rather it is to be seen as an expansion of the passage where, later, when Beatrix herself has given birth to seven children at once, Matabrune throws her words back at her:

"Ne vous souvient or pas del fort devisemant
 Que vous jurastes Dieu, le Pere tout poisant,
 C'une femme ne puet avoir c'un enfant,
 S'a .II. hommes n'estoit livrée carnelmant",

(MS. B fol 92^v col 1)

This would allow for about 135 lines on the first folio.

We are fortunate in being able to identify the end of this manuscript accurately thanks to the two indications given by various cataloguers. The first words of the last folio "Pour combatre au serpent" immediately recall Les Chétifs, the only

1 Unless, of course, the MS began on the verso of fol 1 like MS G, in which case a total of 40 lines per column as suggested below would still be acceptable, allowing for a miniature.

place in the Crusade Cycles where there is any such fantasy. In fact this hemistich is found twice in the poem, and the one referred to here, the second time, occurs in line 3100 of this edition:

"Sor le Mont de Tigris en est li rois alés,
 .IIII. cens Sarrasins en a o lui menés,
 Por combatre al serpent qui tant est redoutés".

At first glance the very last line of the manuscript: "Que ly Empereurs est mort que le regne a gasté" seems wholly out of place here, since there is no emperor in the Crusade Cycle who indulges in such bellicose activities. Apart from that, the word "Empereurs" is suspect because it contains too many syllables for the hemistich. What should replace it, surprising as the difference may seem, is the word "serpens", for which it is clearly a misreading. In the manuscript these words must have been abbreviated, as they usually are and a too hasty cataloguer took "s'pē^s" for "ēp'eur^s", or a similar formula, (the two look more alike in gothic handwriting). For not only does the Sathanas lay waste the country, but the actual line is attested:

La novele est alee par trestot le regné
 Que li serpens est mors qui le regne a gasté.
 (3268-69).

It is to be noticed that the distance between the two lines in question, including the two lines themselves, is 170 lines in A,

160 in C, 163 in F and 162 in T. The other manuscripts have a slightly different reading at line 3100 and want lines 3268-69 owing to a long omission, whilst B interpolates the "Sathanas mere" episode at this point. The proximity of these distances suggests strongly that the lost manuscript itself had the usual number of 160 lines per folio. The fact that the manuscript includes the information that the news of the Sathanas's death spread far and wide places it with the manuscripts containing the oldest version of Les Chétifs¹.

It is probable that at the head of the first folio stood a large miniature covering the top of both columns, like that in G, which would account for the figure of 135 lines deduced above.

In conclusion, we are dealing with a volume written in two columns of 40 lines each per page, which contained a Beatrix version of the Naissance and which, as early as 1420, ended abruptly three-quarters of the way through Les Chétifs, of which it contained an "old" version.

It is sad to relate that this manuscript in the Duke's library still appears as late as 1797 in Gérard's catalogue² (no. 1005) but that it has disappeared by 1839, the date of

1 See below p. 114 .

2 Ed. in vol III of Fr. J. Marchal, Catalogue des MSS. de la Bibliothèque de Bourgogne.

Marchal's inventory, from which it is absent¹.

We come finally to the library of that ardent sixteenth century bibliophile and pioneer of medieval French scholarship, Claude Fauchet, who has already been mentioned in connection with several of the First Cycle manuscripts². He himself left no details of the vast collection he possessed and most of what we know about his library has been gleaned from external evidence. Happily for us he read most of his books pen in hand and it is usually not difficult to identify his handwriting or his underlinings, or his special habit of placing a cross against an item that aroused his curiosity. We have concluded in previous sections that Fauchet used, or had access to MSS. B, D, F and S. In his works, Fauchet quotes five times from the

1 The same fate was reserved for the CCGB fragment, Gérard 775. In fact a large number of MSS representing about 10% of those catalogued by Gérard in 1797 have disappeared by the time of Marchal's catalogue, and yet there are no further depredations by the French - all of which have been documented anyway - which had accounted for so many losses before and during the Revolution, and no natural disasters recorded. This strikes us as a suspicious situation which would well bear further investigation.

2 See the description of B, D and F for references to Fauchet.

First Cycle, three in the Recueil de l'origine de la langue et poésie françoise, ryme et romans¹, and twice from his treatise on officers of the royal household. These citations run as follow, arranged in their order in the cycle²:

(1) Li forestier s'en tourne qui ot nom Malaquurrez

A l'hermitage vint hideux & hurepez.

(read Malquarez)

which is from the beginning of the Beatrix and corresponds to lines 455-6, p. 19 of the Hippeau edition (vol 1).

(2) Velus estoit com Leus u Ours enkaiënez,

Les ongles grans & lons, les cevals meeleez,

La teste hurepee n'ert pas souvent lavez,

which describes Elyas a little further on, (Hippeau, I, ll. 769-71).

The next extract is taken from the end of the Beatrix:

(3) Les tables ont ostées Sergent et Escuyer.

(corresponds to Hippeau I, l. 1863, but only roughly). After that comes a couplet from the Enfances Godefroi:

1 Published in Paris in 1581 by Mamert Patisson.

2 Quotations 1, 2 and 5 are taken from the Recueil p. 36-37, and 3 and 4 from the Origines des Dignitez et Magistrats de France, recueillies par Claude Fauchet, printed in the complete Oeuvres de feu M. Claude Fauchet, (Paris, 1610), from chapters X (Des Maires du Palais, Seneschal, Grand Maistre, Grand Escuyer de France) fol 482^r, and XI (De Chambrier & Chamberlain) fol 486^v. Fauchet incorrectly qualifies example 4 as 'parlant de l'Evesque du Pui'. Examples 3 and 4 are printed in Espiner-Scott, Claude Fauchet, p. 163.

(4) Al départir commande son chambellan Geoffroy

Qu'il lor donnast cinq sols par le souverain Roy.

which is lines 2600-1 in vol II of Hippeau. Finally, from the
Antioche:

(5) La peussiez voir tant viez draps depaneuz,

Et tante grande barbe & tant cieuz hurepez,

which is found in Paris, Ant., II, 221.

The manuscript from which these five quotations were taken was certainly not B.N. fr. 1621. If the date - 1596 - on the first folio is the date of acquisition, then Fauchet only possessed it fifteen years after the Recueil was written. Added to which, the first two examples are lacking there because the first quire of the manuscript is missing, and was when Fauchet owned it. For example (3) D reads "serjant et boteillier". Given that the purpose of the example for Fauchet was the use of the word "escuyer", he must have had before him a version with that reading. B.N. fr. 1621 is therefore excluded. Bern 627 is excluded also, since it contains none of the examples. Nor is Bern 320 a valid candidate as the model from which Fauchet took his quotations because that, too, was mutilated at that time and anyway does not contain the episode concerning (4) in the Enfances. Nor, finally are the examples from B.N. fr. 786, in which the number of variant readings is too great, and since we know that

Fauchet did not take any examples from this manuscript for his studies on the Roman d'Alexandre¹, it seems unlikely that he would have used it for the Crusade Cycle,

The only possible conclusion is that Fauchet used another manuscript which is now lost, as none of the examples correspond exactly to any of the extant ones. Mme Espiner-Scott judges from comparisons of surviving manuscripts and Fauchet's transcriptions of them, that he usually modernised the spelling but remained faithful to the text². However, we think that on this occasion at least in the case of examples (1), (2) and (5) which are all grouped together in the Recueil for the purpose of explaining the word "hurepez", that Fauchet recorded the orthography of his model fairly accurately. In (3) and (4) it is likely that it has been changed, e.g. "chambellan" replacing the medieval "canberlenc" or suchlike, and that the phrase "Que il lor doinst", which is found in the extant manuscripts, has been altered to the more comprehensible "Qu'il lor donnast". If all these lines are from the same manuscript we can deduce that it contained the Beatrix version of the Naissance, and that it can be roughly grouped with MSS. BCDEG as far as the example

1 See above, p. 37, n.4.

2 Claude Fauchet, p. 178, note 3, et passim.

from the Enfances is concerned, the only manuscripts which include this additional material. In fact the manuscript with which the readings concur most, though by no means completely, is B.N. fr. 12569. The manuscript contained the Antioche, from which it can be fairly safely assumed that it continued with Les Chétifs and the Jérusalem, and, if it is indeed close to E, probably some post-Jérusalem continuations as well.

We hope that we have, in this brief survey - which does not claim to be a complete review of all medieval and renaissance inventories, far from it! - brought to light and correctly construed some information about three lost manuscripts of the First Cycle of the Crusade. Without a doubt there were still many more.

C H A P T E R T H R E E

THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION OF LES CHETIFS

The first person to establish the manuscript tradition for a branch of the Crusade Cycle was Mme Duparc¹, who concluded that, as far as the Jérusalem was concerned, MSS. ACD formed the oldest and most reliable family, inside which AC were particularly close. She found that B and F constituted an intermediate group, whilst G and E made up a third, more recent, family. She claimed that the readings of the Prose version, P, were nearest to those in the old family ACD.

Sumberg followed with a study of the transmission of the texts for the Antioche², but his conclusions are largely invalidated by his failure to distinguish between proximity of reading and correctness of reading. Thus he established three families, FX (oldest) including AD, FY (intermediate) comprising GE, and FZ (most recent) made up of BCF and P. He classified both C and P in the last group because of the inferior quality of their readings from the historical point of view.

We have verified the traditions deduced from both these

1 Le Cycle, p. 17.

2 Op. cit., pp. 137-38.

branches and find Mme Duparc's classification to be correct. The stemma of the Antioche in its main lines should be similar to that of the Jérusalem, reading ACD (P) - BF - GE. MSS. C and P are manifestly in the oldest group if only by their inclusion of the "quatorze laisses", along with AD. This is also the conclusion of Mme Duparc, who will discuss the matter fully in her forthcoming edition.

It will be noted that neither Mme Duparc nor Sumberg include I and T. Our own study has revealed that in the Antioche I reads with GE whilst T has many points in common with ACD. In the Jérusalem both belong to GE family. We can therefore establish the rough groups:

<u>Antioche</u>	<u>Jérusalem</u>
<u>AC D T</u> (<u>P</u>) - <u>BF</u> - <u>I</u> <u>GE</u> .	<u>AC D</u> (<u>P</u>) - <u>BF</u> - <u>I T</u> <u>GE</u> .

It is important to notice the very close relationship within their group of AC, BF and GE, and the fact that T changes its allegiance.

Nothing would be more natural than to assume, on the assessment of the traditions flanking Les Chétifs, that this middle branch shares the same characteristics. The assumption would be erroneous. The tradition in Les Chétifs often departs considerably from that hitherto established for the other two branches, and the differences are striking from the

very start of the branch.

We can dispense straight away with a discussion of those aspects of Les Chétifs which are similar to the other two branches. The close proximity of AC at one end of the scale and of GE at the other remains constant throughout the branch, and therefore, throughout the Crusade Cycle. Each of these manuscripts represents a "pure" copy of one single model and each group is based, at some stage of its transmission, on a common archetype; AC descend from (a), GE from (y). All the other manuscripts have been subjected to a complicated, or "mixed" tradition in which, in the course of transmission, scribes have had recourse to more than one model.

The opening of the branch presents the following grouping: ACFT (P) - D - BOIGE, the distinguishing features being apparent in the first laisse. Although lines 15 and 17 seem repetitive, especially in the second hemistiches, they are both retained by ACFT, whilst the others omit l. 17. Again, ACFT (to which can be added Sp) all retain a version of lines 21-24¹, (though T conflates 18-22), whilst DBOIGE all omit all trace. Similarly the lack of l. 28 in DOIGE is to be marked against ACFT which all agree (while B alters the line), and then the

1 For the various versions of this passage see paleographic notes.

omission of l. 35 by BOI, its replacement by another reading by GE, against ACFT, this time joined by D.

Another division occurs at lines 38-41 with BOIGE omitting, and D again siding with ACFT. The Prose MS. likewise follows the old version in that it includes the reference to the superiority of the Christian God - "Mais li dix as crestiens est boine, car bien aue se gent" (App. XIII, 9) - and so does the Spanish compilation - "mas el Dios de los reyes cristianos es de gran poder, ca él los guarda é los ampara muy bien" (Op. 292, col 1.)

This important first *laisse* illustrates that ACFT form one clearly defined group and that BOIGE form another, whilst D hovers between the two and reads now with one, now with the other group. Both P and Sp were composed after a (different) manuscript of the first group. The difference between the two groups is also marked by the number of lines in the *laisse*.

<u>long version</u>	<u>intermediate version</u>	<u>short version</u>
<u>A</u> 42	<u>D</u> 34	<u>E</u> 32
<u>F</u> 41		<u>B</u> 31
<u>C</u> 37		<u>G</u> 31
<u>T</u> 34		<u>O</u> 28
		<u>I</u> 28

The relatively low number of lines in T is merely a reflection of its inferior quality at this point; at some stage in transmission a redactor has radically reduced his model.

This classification holds good for most of the first episode of the branch (1 - 1550). The proximity of F to AC is shown up all the more by the fact that ACF all omit the two laisses concerning Calabre's divinations (Appendix IV) against all the other versions, including Sp and P. It is possibly the old group ACF which is at fault, lacking an episode which was in the original.

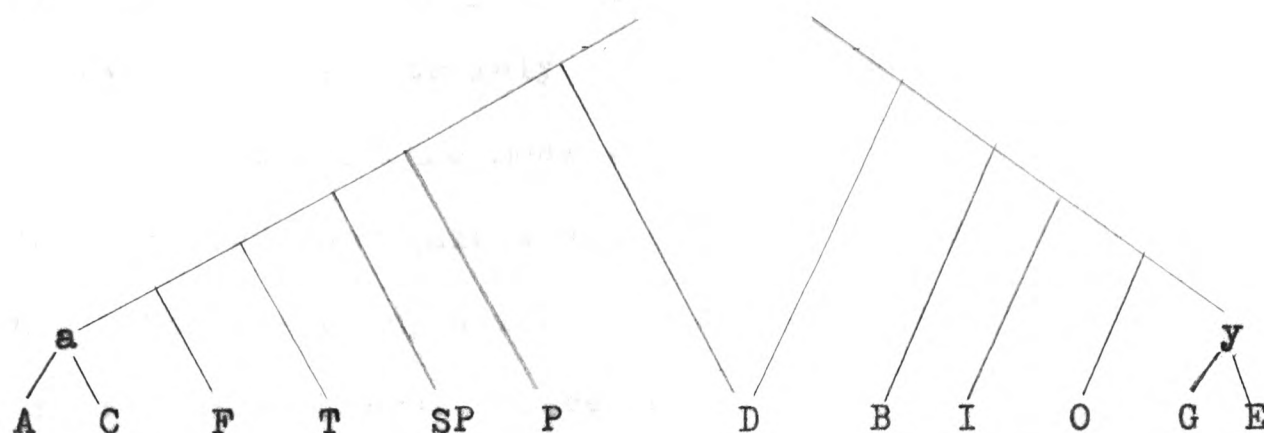
Many of the trends in transmission can be deduced from a series of sample readings. A sample of a hundred lines at the end of the first episode (1400-1500) shows, for example, that C has only ¹⁸_A variants from the reading of A, D has 21, F 23, T 27, B 35, I 37, O 48, G 51, E 63. These figures corroborate the groups already established, with CFT and in this case also D, OGE varying least from A, whilst at the other end of the scale the sample shows a marked proximity of the readings of OGE¹. A possibility discussed below is that I is by now using a different model, with readings from a tradition in between groups ACFT and OGE. Some schools of thought are against the use of statistics in the establishment of a manuscript tradition. However, we believe that they are valid in the case of Les Chétifs, in which

1 Cf. 1409, 1412, 1424-26, 1428-29, 1461-62, 1465, where these three MSS read against other versions, or want.

the number of variants is sufficiently high to show marked differences in relationships; in all the samples we have taken the lowest number of variants is B with 13 and the highest G with 86, both in the same hundred lines (3100-3200). Such a wide gap is a good guide to the relationships of the MSS at that particular point.

The versions of P and Sp are still modelled on the old group as illustrated by line 1293 where ACT + Sp¹ alone mention Brohadas. On the other hand 1466 (only in ACT) and 1467 (ACIT) are lacking in Sp, whilst at the same time Sp includes line 1293+ (in FDBGETSp) wanting in AC. We conclude that Sp is based on a version composed before the AC archetype (a) on the stemma. Unfortunately it is far more difficult to deduce the allegiance of P because it is greatly abridged and only rarely does a word or phrase permit any possible identification of its version. On the whole it represents a version of the old group throughout the branch, but one which was also composed before the archetype (a). It was definitely not based on any of the extant texts. On the following page is a tentative stemma for the first episode of the poem.

1 -"é la muerte de Barhadin, mi hijo, de que han gran
the el pesar" (p. 303, col 1) translates exactly 1293.



The next sample (2200-2300) results in certain changes in this pattern. Against the reading of A, F has only 14 variants, C 18, T 42, D 45, G 57, E 62, B 69, I 72. ACF are again all close. A phenomenon to note is that T has actually changed its following and for some time is to^{be} classed with GE, starting at about l. 2137; GET is a grouping which is evidently close from the fact that laisses 72 and 73 have been reworked in these three MSS. (Appendix XI). However, T is not as close to the other two as they are to themselves and there is much in Appendix XI only found in GE (cf. App. XI, 151-end only in GE), which suggests that T was composed from a model before the GE archetype (y). At all events, T has passed from the oldest version to the most recent, implying a radical change of model. T will also carry post-Jérusalem continuations, which is further evidence that it is based on more than one redaction, since no other versions of the old group have any continuations.

Another change in tradition is betrayed by the great number

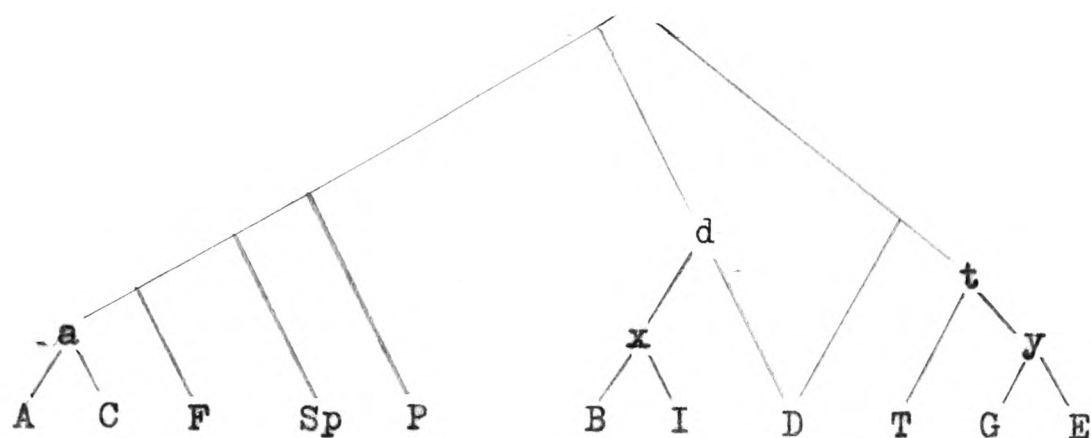
of variants attested in B and I. From c. line 1550 to 2600 these two MSS. are extremely close, so much so that they may even be sharing the same model. In the chosen sample BI have 30 variant readings against all other MSS, higher than the 20 found in GE, the group which normally has the highest incidence of individual readings. There is evidence discussed further on that B is based on different models, while at the same time it is evident from the highly complicated transmission of I throughout the whole Cygne-Crusade Cycle and continuations, and the fact that it was written by four different scribes, that this MS. is also very "mixed". It seems that by pure coincidence the models chosen by the scribes of both B and I for this passage of 1050 lines were almost identical, if not, indeed, the same (the archetype we call (x)). What is more striking is that the "Sathanas mere" addition (Appendix XII) is found only in these two MSS, and under strange circumstances in I. As the MS. description points out, the folios containing that episode (fols. 92-96) were added in later by a different scribe. What happened was this: at a given point, possibly at fol. 84, l. 1366, where there is a discontinuation^{ity} of the text (see the MS. description) scribe B of MS I changed his model and began to copy from another, which was a very late version and contained the post-Jérusalem continuations. This state of affairs persisted

until scribe D, who must have been absent for a time, and who was engaged on copying out the continuations, found that someone else was using his book, probably the only one at hand to contain them, and asked for it back, since at about l. 2600 scribe B goes back to the same model he was using before, or one similar¹; one which, in any case, did not include the "Sathanas mere" episode. But the model which he had recently borrowed for lines 1366?-2600, and then returned to his colleague scribe D, did contain that addition. Scribe D appears to have realised this afterwards and copied it out in his own hand and inserted it roughly in the place where it should fall after fol 91, with a note in the bottom margin to explain where the episode should begin. This change of model is illustrated dramatically by the fact that after 2600 B and I are no longer close, and in our next sample of a hundred lines have not one variant in common against other versions, ^{and} ~~only~~ only occur 3 times in combinations of variants, which is an exceptionally low figure.

During this period D is oscillating between this newly formed group BI, with which it has several readings in common, and the equally new group GET.

1 This frequent promiscuity in the use of different models is attested in the case of the tradition of Chrétien de Troyes. See Alexandre Micha, La Tradition Manuscrite des Romans de Chrétien de Troyes, (Geneva, Droz, 1966), 204-6.

Below is the stemma representing the tradition as found from lines 1550-2600.

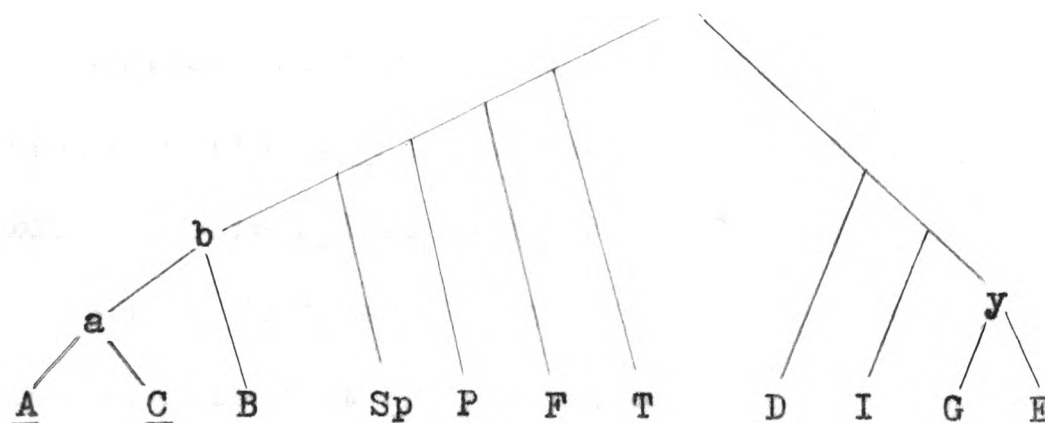


However, at some place difficult to pinpoint, which we are situating at l. 2600 for the sake of argument the group BI breaks up and I then goes over to the group GET, which, after a short time, is left by T, so that the combination DIGE (15 examples) becomes common, and the interior groups DI (42), IG (36), (figures taken from a sample from 3100-3200). The combination DGE lasts until l. 3289 at which point D moves away from that group. In the meantime T has also left the GE group; in the sample 3100-3200 there is not one example of GET reading against other MSS. Full statistics for this sample show that B has only 13 variants from A, C 16, T 24, F 26, I 54, D 70, E 78, G 86. The surprise is the sudden change of B, now espousing the old group AC. After the break up of BI, B continued to use the same model for a time, then also changed, to one representing the old version, at a place difficult to determine, but the combination

ACB first appears with lines 2835-6. The proximity of AC to B will last for the rest of the branch. This means that the "Sathanas mere" episode after laisse 99 was grafted on to a text containing the old version, and not a late one, as has hitherto been taken for granted.

Normally Sp reads with ACB¹. As for F and T, while still on the whole part of the old version, they are nevertheless set apart from ACB and themselves have several readings in common.

This is the stemma for the manuscript tradition from (roughly) lines 2600-3200.



The final sample (3600-3700) gives the following variants from A; B 23 times, C 27, F 40, D 41, T 42, G 46, I 52, E 54.

1 Examples, 2835 (ACB + Sp), 2837 (AB + Sp), 2869-70 (ACBSp - others want; 2965, 72 (AB + Sp), 3260-1 (AC + Sp); on the other hand AC + Sp all want 3108+, an original line.

This again confirms the ACB group, established beyond all doubt by the fact that the final *laisse* of this edition is found only in ACB, with only one variant for the whole *laisse*, which is exceptional.

In the meantime another group has ~~o~~crystallised; that of FDIT, found in ten variants against all other MSS., a high figure for a combination of four texts (GE numbers only 18 in the same sample). From about l. 3200 I dissociates itself from the group DGE, but is still seen in combination with D and also T and F, but only from c. 3346 do the four combine into a fairly common force¹. MS D itself is now rarely found with GE (only one attestation of the group DGE in the sample). The families thus formed are ACB - FDIT - GE, but it is not uncommon to find ACB on the one hand reading against the combined groups FDIGET on the other². But due to the many places where FDIT wants a line against ACBGE which includes it, it is possible that FDIT is based on an archetype more remote than that from which GE descends.

The role of Sp is interesting at this stage in that it is sometimes found with ACBGE (when FDIT wants)³ but on other

1 FDIT want 3595-601 (see paleographic note to 3590), 3638, 3642, 3669, 3684, 86, 3712; et passim.

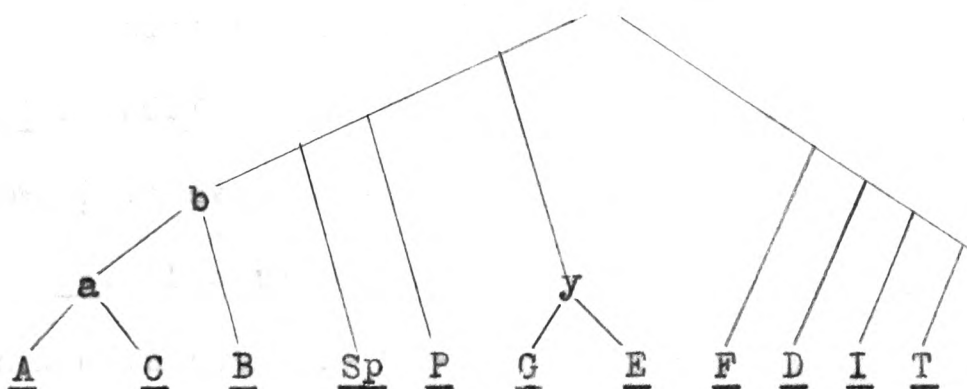
2 Eg. 3354+, 3693, 3814, 3953, 3968 et passim.

3 Cf. note 1 above.

occasions remains in the same camp as FDIGET against ACB¹.

Since ACE is a group which appears to stem from a common source, it is possible that on the occasions when Sp reads with the other versions, they are correct, the reading of ACB having descended from an altered archetype.

This is the stemma for the manuscript tradition from lines 3200-4100.



The transmission of the texts of Les Chétifs is extremely complex, combining "pure" and "mixed" versions. AC and GE remain constant within their groups, like "fixed stars" round which the other versions revolve in various mutations, like "wandering planets". MS F maintains close contact with AC for most of the poem and then joins DIT at about the same time that B joins AC. D oscillates between ACFT and BOIGE in the first

1 Cf. l. 4053; ACB v. DIGET+Sp.

episode, then moves between BI and GET for much of the second episode, finally falling in with FIT. B starts out in the "late" group, then has an extremely close relationship with I from 1550-2600, after which it moves into the same group as AC. I follows B in the first two of these stages, but after 2600 joins DGE and later FDT. T is first of all in a group with ACF then is close to GET for part of the second episode, combining in the end with FDI.

A point of interest in these various combinations, ACFTD, BOIGE; ACFT, DGE, DGET, DIGE, GET, BI; ACB, FDIT, is that neither F nor T is ever found in a combination with B; F is never found with GE. The fact that F is never found with B is striking because in both the Antioche and the Jérusalem these two redactions share many idiosyncrasies; in Les Chétifs, however, they have nothing in common.

There is, therefore, no one single manuscript tradition in this branch, but four clearly defined states in which the transmission alters due to the composite nature of some of the versions. In the light of this discovery it is probable that a detailed line by line examination of the Antioche and the Jérusalem would reveal that there are similar changes in transmission. The stemmas so far given for these branches have been based on too small samples to embrace the conditions obtaining throughout so that more work is required on both of them.

The Quality of the Versions

Apart from their differences in tradition, the verse manuscripts also offer considerable differences in the type and quality of their version. The great variety of versions is illustrated by the fact that the shortest example of Les Chétifs, (discounting the fragmentary O) counts 3900 lines, (E) whilst the longest totals 5444 lines (B). MS A, with 4101 is of about average length. Some manuscripts tend to be typified rather by their omissions than their additions. Such is the case especially of C which is the work of an extremely poor scribe and is characterised by the omission of lines and by nonsensical readings. It is a disappointingly inferior version of MS A. On the whole T is characterised by the omission of lines, but not to the same degree as C; examples of readings unique to T are infrequent. It is perhaps surprising that G and E which have a number of additions in common, sometimes of some length, nevertheless are of below average length. It is evident from the greater number of omissions that they are descended from a poor archetype which otherwise mars a late version with often interesting variants. Of the two manuscripts G is superior in quality; E omits a further 100 lines in comparison with G and there is occasionally a word left out or repeated. Both D and I appear to follow

their models fairly closely and are mainly correct in their presentation. MS F on the other hand is one which contains a considerable number of additions unique to its version, and it is impossible to tell whether they are the work of the scribe himself or a predecessor. On occasion a laisse is missed out, but general omission of individual lines is uncommon. Finally B is longer than all other manuscripts because of its addition both of long episodes - of which the "Chalnan" episode (Appendix VII) is unique - and of individual lines.

The choice of base manuscript was not difficult. MS A offers most of the prerequisites of a base manuscript. It is the most reliable of the ~~old~~ versions and has very few omissions of lines which appear to have been original. Equally important is that there are relatively few unique additions, most of which are in the last part of the branch. Added to this is the considerable advantage that it is scribally sound and presents only a small number of errors. Sumberg, for the Antioche, and Mme Duparc, for the Jérusalem, both agree that this manuscript, BN fr. 12558, is incontestably the best.

CHAPTER FOUR

PREVIOUS CRITICAL DISCUSSION OF LES CHÉTIFS

It is to Paulin Paris that we owe the first discussion of Les Chétifs¹. "La branche des Chétifs," he states, "est entièrement fabuleuse", and, using as sole guide the Historia Ecclesiastica of Ordericus Vitalis², he attempts to show that the poem was originally the work of Guillaume d'Aquitaine.

Paris's argument is based on the convenient convergence of two facts. First, that in 1101 Guillaume took part in the "Arrière-Croisade"³ and, despite his defeat on the banks of the Eregli, eventually reached Jerusalem with a group of six knights, whom Paris identifies as the "Chétifs". Second, that Guillaume is reported by Ordericus to have taken great pleasure in recounting his adventures, including capture, on the expedition:

1 HLF, XXII (1852), 384-88.

2 Ordericus Vitalis, Historia Ecclesiastica, ed. Auguste Le Prévost for the SHF, 5 vols., (Paris, 1838-59). For the "Arrière-Croisade" see vol. IV, 118-30.

3 The best modern study of this Crusade is by James Lea Cate, "The Crusade of 1101" in A History of the Crusades, ed. K.M. Setton and M.W. Baldwin, 5 vols., (The University of Wisconsin, Madison, Milwaukee and London, 1969—) vol. 1, 343 ff. For the part played by Guillaume on the Crusade see the same author's article "A Gay Crusader", Byzantion, XVI (1942-3), 503-26.

Audax et probus, nimiumque jocundus¹, facetos etiam histriones
facetiis superans multiplicibus...

... et miserias captivitatis suae, ut erat jocundus et
lepidus, postmodum prosperitate fultus coram regibus
et magnatis atque Christianis coetibus, multotiens retulis
rhythmicis versibus, cum facetis modulationibus².

On the basis of this evidence, Paris claims that Guillaume may have written verses in Provençal which were to form the foundations of a poem written nearly fifty years later for Raymond of Antioch by the Canon of Saint Pierre, to whom the original work is attributed in lines 1666-75. But M. Claude Cahen has pointed out³, rightly, that Guillaume was never captured and the allusion to "miserias captivitatis suae" cannot be taken literally and that, furthermore, none of the "Chétifs", Guillaume's supposed companions, have Angevin names.

Henri Pigeonneau⁴ contributes little of interest to Les Chétifs except suggest that it was Graindor de Douai who first saw the potential of the already complete branch and integrated it into his remaniement of the Antioche and the Jérusalem, and it was he who altered the Civetot episode

1 Ordericus, vol. IV, 118.

2 Ibid., p. 132.

3 La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des Croisades, (Paris, 1940) p. 575.

4 Le Cycle de la Croisade et la famille de Bouillon, (Saint-Cloud, 1877).

at the beginning of the Antioche in order to announce the new material; he also who invented the imaginary Battle of Josaphat in which the timely arrival of the "Chétifs" from Oliferne saves the day, thus soldering that branch on to the Jérusalem. This theory has been accepted and reinforced by later critics. Pigeonneau considers, however, that the attribution of the patronage of the poem to Raymond of Antioch is nothing more than a jongleur's bluff¹.

Work on Les Chétifs begins in earnest in 1932 with the publication of Anouar Hatem's Les Poèmes épiques des Croisades², in which he insists that the whole of the original Crusade Cycle was composed in Syria and not, as had been widely supposed, in the North East of France:

...A L'ORIGINE, LES POEMES PRIMITIFS DES CROISADES ONT ETE COMPOSES PAR DES FRANÇAIS D'ORIENT, EN ORIENT, ET POUR LES FRANÇAIS D'ORIENT AVANT TOUT.³

Hatem deals with the Crusade Cycle as a whole but singles out Les Chétifs and the Jérusalem for special consideration because, written at a later date than the Antioche Primitive of Richard le Pèlerin, they tend to be a more faithful reflection of life in Frankish Syria in the course of the twelfth century.

1 Op. cit., p. 146.

2 Les Chétifs discussed on pp. 237-57 and 375-94.

3 Ibid., p. 299.

Taking texts as late as Joinville, Hatem attempts to reconstruct a picture of life in Franco-Syria after the First Crusade, with the gradual rapprochements between Franks and Turks.

The very climate, the heat itself, contributed to the rapid settlement and even softening of the Franks. A completely new society arose, incorporating elements of both French and oriental life, with its own government, its own laws, its own customs and its own culture. Hatem sketches the literature of Franco-Syria, especially the Chroniclers, of whom William of Tyre was the most celebrated, and many French and Provençal poets who accompanied later Crusades to the East, as for example Conon de Béthune, Girart de Borneil and Peire Vidal (pp. 299-309).

Les Chétifs above all points to a Franco-Syrian origin. It contains much of the merveilleux to be found in Franco-Syrian culture. Calabre, Corbaran's mother, reads the stars; in Syria Moslems would consult their prophets and soothsayers. Such people set up stalls on the street. Corbaran's nephew is carried off by a hyena-like animal called a papion, mentioned by James of Vitry as being found in Syria. The robbers' cave from which the nephew is finally rescued is, according to Hatem, "une vraie caverne des Mille et une Nuits".

The duel judiciaire was a common feature of Franco-Syrian life, so there is nothing strange in finding such a duel in Les Chétifs. Hatem draws his evidence from the Assises de Jérusalem and a passage in the Syrian chronicler Ousama, who makes mention of this, to him, strange Frankish custom.

However, despite Hatem's insistence there is little substance in any of the examples he gives to prove that Les Chétifs is of undeniable Franco-Syrian origin, and his rather extravagant proposals based on such wafer-thin evidence would have easily been demolished had it not been for the fact that Roger Goossens, who reviewed the book, was a champion of Hatem's basic theory and was able to put to use a far more profound knowledge of Byzantine and Eastern literature in its support.

Goossens wrote two articles relevant to Les Chétifs¹. In the review of Les Poèmes épiques he states that "c'est la Chanson des Chétifs qui vérifie le mieux les idées de M. Hatem sur le caractère "syrien" de l'épopée des Croisades" (p. 711). Goossens disagrees with the notion

1 Roger Goossens, "L'épopée byzantine et l'épopée romane", "Compte-rendu des Poèmes épiques des Croisades de A. Hatem", Byzantion, VII (1933), 707-26.

"Les recherches récentes sur l'Épopée byzantine", L'Antiquité Classique, II (1933), 449-72.

first expressed by Paulin Paris and largely unchallenged since, that the events of Les Chétifs are purely fictitious, since in his view "L'invention personnelle est un phénomène peu répandu dans la littérature épique du Moyen-Age. Si le poème n'a rien d'historique nous ne sommes pas dispensés par là de lui chercher des sources, bien au contraire" (p. 713).

He considers that the Sormasane of the poem, the capital of the Soudan de Perse, is to be identified with Samosata, a town on the right bank of the Euphrates in the region of Edessa, made famous by the exploits of Digénis, the hero of the eleventh century Byzantine epic Digénis Akritas¹², and proposes the following episode from the First Crusade as a historical source. In February 1098 the Crusader Baldwin of Boulogne led an expedition to Edessa at the request of Thoros of Edessa who was surrounded by hostile Turks. On the way there Baldwin met with opposition from the Emir Balduk of Samosata, but managed to fight off the attack, escaped the pursuit of some of Balduk's cavalry and reached Edessa. Baldwin then launched an offensive against Balduk, supported by a company of Edessans, in which the

the local incidents are similar to the

12 The supposed relationship between the Digénis Akritas and Les Chétifs is discussed below, pp. 298-99.

Emir was defeated and Baldwin set up a garrison in Samosata.

Goossens summarises the main events of Les Chétifs and compares them with the historical events of the expedition against Samosata. Of Corbaran's capital, Oliferne, he states that it is a "capitale de fantaisie, qui pourrait être Edesse (Ourfa) aussi bien qu'autre chose" (p. 718). The handful of Christians saving Corbaran in his hour of greatest need is analogous to Baldwin defeating Balduk with a few Frankish knights and saving Thoros at a critical moment. The theme of the superiority of the French knights is manifest in both. Money is offered as a repayment in both accounts. On their return from Sarmasane the victorious Corbaran and his captives are set upon by the dead Sorgalé's nephew and Lyon de la Montagne. Again, the "Chétifs" save Corbaran. This corresponds to Balduk's attack on Baldwin on his way to Edessa. Goossens notes also that Balduk's company was led on that occasion by a certain Pancrace, an Armenian "qui avait précédemment servi de guide à Baudouin, et qui avait des raisons pour vouloir se venger de lui" (p. 719), just as Sorgalé's nephew had a reason to ambush Corbaran in order to avenge his uncle's death. In both history and poem the local inhabitants are grateful to the Christians, in the case of the poem, to the extent that Corbaran is converted to

Christianity at the end of the Chrétienté Corbaran.

Similarly, Baldwin's marriage with an Armenian is paralleled by that of his brother Godefroy de Bouillon to Florie, Corbaran's sister, in the Chrétienté. With these observations Goossens is the first to suggest a link between Les Chétifs and the Chrétienté, a lead to be followed up later by Mme Duparc. Finally, Baldwin's popularity at Edessa - he later replaced Thoros as governor after a coup - also explains the "fraternisation franco-musulmane" so evident in the poem, a fraternisation otherwise not prevalent until much later in Syria.

But Les Chétifs and the Chrétienté, says Goossens, come from the "second âge épique"; the Crusading spirit has gone; from one end to the other Corbaran and the "Chétifs" are on the same side. Indeed, the tone of Les Chétifs is not unlike that of Digénis Akritas. Corbaran, "li gentius et li ber", whom we see in the Chretienté allied to the Christians, soon to become one himself, is like the sympathetic emir of the Digénis, "valeureux guerrier arabe qui se laisse baptiser et qui devient le précieux auxiliaire des Byzantins" (p. 721).

The author of Les Chétifs, therefore, wanting to write a work dealing with the "esprit de fraternisation" and knowing nothing historical about Harpin de Bourges and his companions,

gives them a story: "Il a combiné le souvenir d'une expédition réelle contre Samosate avec le thème épique du captif bien faisant" (p. 722).

Goossens now turns to the legendary aspect of the poem. These Christians, captives of an emir, fight on his behalf against brigands, a wolf, lions and a fabulous dragon. Long before Harpin there is a hero in the East to whom similar deeds were accredited, found in the work known as l'Epopée de Manuel. An important person at the court of Theophilus, Manuel, the victim of slander, is about to be blinded on the emperor's orders, but flees to the Saracens, among whom he is well received. Manuel soon becomes the hero of an epic tale in which, at the head of some Christian prisoners, the very sight of whom terrifies the enemy, he subdues the Caliph's foes and then rids him of a great number of wild beasts.

The very name of another Greek poem, αἰχμαλωτός ("the prisoner") attests the popularity of the "Chétifs" theme in the Byzantine Empire, while recent research has confirmed the popularity of ἀντιμαχία (fighting against wild beasts) in the Byzantine epic (pp. 724-25).

Although Goossens touches on the affinity between the Digénis Akritas and Les Chétifs in the compte-rendu of Hatem's

book, he gives a more detailed account in his "Recherches récentes sur l'Epopée byzantine".

Corbaran's mother, Calabre, has similarities with the mother of the emir in Digénis. The story of Corbaran's conversion will be the subject of the Chrétienté Corbaran, and just as the emir converts his mother to Christianity, so Corbaran ends up by putting his mother in a moustier.

Goossens recalls the Sathanas episode of Les Chétifs and Harpin's adventures with the papion, lions and bandits. He terms this part of the poem the "soudure entre cette chanson d'Edesse et de Samosate, corsée d'éléments merveilleux et akritiques, et la chanson de croisade proprement dite, la Chanson de Jérusalem" (p. 468).

In Digénis, Song VIII, among the hero's adventures is the fight with the dragon in the plain, near the spring, (there is a spring in Les Chétifs), the combat against a lion, the attack of the apelates, of which some already appear in the Histoire du Bédouin Hamad one of the pre-islamic sources of the Byzantine epic. All these feats have their equivalents in the French poem.

Goossens gives other examples of oriental influence on the Old French epic and concludes that it is possible to attribute the "fantastic" episodes of Les Chétifs to the

influence of the Syrian tradition, combining as it did then the traditions of both Arabic and Byzantine literature. He concludes that Hatem was certainly right and that "les éléments non-historiques (des Chétifs) sont des récits fabuleux qui avaient cours depuis longtemps dans la région de l'Euphrate et qui étaient en quelque sorte le bien commun de toutes les populations de cette contrée. Les maîtres francs de l'Osrhoène les ont recueillis d'après les Byzantins, et c'est pourquoi la Chanson des Chétifs ressemble à la Chanson de Digénis comme deux fleurs du même terroir" (p. 468).

The studies of Hatem and Goossens were soon supplemented by the article by U. T. Holmes and W. M. McLeod who criticise Goossens for not making out a strong enough case for the similarities between the Byzantine and the French epic, but propose themselves to look for an alternative historical background and to search for more local literary sources. They turn to the Historia Ecclesiastica of Ordericus¹ and recount an episode concerning a captivity previously unnoticed.

Bohemond of Antioch and Richard de Principatu were taken prisoner at Malathis and confined by a Saracen called Dalimand. After two years war broke out between Dalimand

1 Vol. IV, 140-58.

and his brother Soliman. Melaz, the daughter of Dalimand, approached the Franks and demanded their help. Accordingly they fought on behalf of Dalimand and then on the advice of Melaz, captured the Palace. Eventually they and all the other Christian prisoners were released. Richard returned to France, Melaz became a Christian and married Roger, his son¹.

Although this story of Ordericus is more than half fantasy, Holmes and McLeod consider that parallels can be drawn with the events of Les Chétifs. First there is a similarity between Bohemond and Richard de Principatu in the one tale and Baudouin de Beauvais and Richard de Chaumont in the other. In both accounts the Franks are enlisted in their captor's service and their powers are put to the test. Finally freedom is granted, by the intrigue of Melaz in the one, and in the other by Corbaran, the captor himself.

Since this adventure is not recounted in either Foucher of Chartres or Baudri of Bourgueil, the main sources of Ordericus, he must have heard it from someone newly returned from the Holy Land. The author of Les Chétifs did not know

1 Although this tale did not in fact have any influence whatever on Les Chétifs and can in no wise be considered as a likely source, it nevertheless has great similarities with other captivities in the chanson de geste, especially Fierabras, and is fully discussed by F.M. Warren, "The enamoured Moslem princess in Orderic Vital and the French Epic", PMLA, XXIX (1914), 341-58.

Ordericus directly, but both are repeating variants of the same legend, current in Syria, of the capture of Bohemond and Richard.

In the second part of the article the authors discuss the 'fantastic' episodes. They decide that the attribution of authorship to the Canon of Saint Pierre refers only to the dragon episode. Most of the themes concerning that section, the dragon-fight, the dragon guarding treasure, the dragon with invulnerable hide, are well attested folk motifs¹ and Armenian folklore in particular offers some interesting examples of dragon-fight epics located in the Taurus mountains, with which Holmes and McLeod identify the "mont de Tigris" of Les Chétifs. The details of dragon-fights in Armenian mythology bear a close resemblance to those found in the French epic. The ninety-nine names of God written on Baudouin's parchment 'brief' as a talisman is Moslem². Hence Raymond of Antioch commissioned a French poem based on Armenian legends that he had heard.

Holmes and McLeod proceed to discuss the third episode

1 Catalogued in Stith Thompson, Motif-Index of Folk-Literature, (Indiana University Studies, nos 19, 20, 1932-34).

2 Les Chétifs ll. 2184-86.

of Les Chétifs which again shows the influence of folk tradition, including several motifs found in the Stith Thompson Index, listed as: Child carried off by a wild beast (R 13), Animal finds stolen person (B 543), Baboon abducts boy (R 13.2), Human helpers or rescuers (N 820), Captivity in a mound (R 45), Rescue from a robbers' den (R 116), Life spared as a reward (Q 55). The motif of the abducted child and that of saints disguised as stags, which also appears in Les Chétifs¹, are reminiscent of the medieval Placidus-Eustachius legends.

Holmes and McLeod therefore support Hatem's theory of oriental origins and claim that "the poem bears every indication of having been put together in the Holy Land by a French Crusader of long standing in that country" (p. 108).

Also at work on the Crusade Cycle in the mid-1930s was Mme Duparc who presented a thesis at the Ecole des Chartes in 1937. This study, Le Cycle de la Croisade, was published virtually unchanged in 1955 and as a result does not take into account either the article by Holmes and McLeod or Cahen's contribution in his Syrie du Nord of 1940².

1 11. 3741-44.

2 Cf. Cahen's compte-rendu of this book: "Le Premier Cycle de la croisade (Antioche, Jérusalem, Chétifs): Notes brèves à propos d'un livre (récent ?)", Le Moyen Age, LXIII (1957), 311-328; p. 311 n. 1.

She denies the close affinities between the Chétifs story and Baldwin of Boulogne's expedition to Samosata; Baudouin de Beauvais, who is not a major figure in the poem, could not be compared with Baldwin of Boulogne, and an analogy between his marriage and that entered between Godefroi and Florie in the Chrétienté is very slender especially as Baldwin's Armenian marriage is already attested in the Antioche. More important is the fact that Samosata was the literary centre of the Digénis legend. Mme Duparc is struck by the similarities between the Digénis Akritas and the combined Chétifs and Chrétienté to the extent that she considers that "à l'origine la Chrétienté Corbaran était la suite naturelle des Chétifs et faisait sans doute partie de ce poème. Graindor aurait utilisé largement les Chétifs dans Antioche et Jérusalem, et aurait ainsi scindé les Chétifs en deux" (p. 84) Furthermore, not only were these two branches originally one sole epic, but its natural place was after the Jérusalem. This opinion is based on Corbaran's statement in Les Chétifs¹ that he is going to find his Christian champion in Jerusalem, which presupposes that in the original

1 11. 262, 313.

redaction the Holy City had already been captured by the Crusaders. Mme Duparc supports her view by a consideration of the events of 1101-2. The historical Harpin de Bourges was a participant in the "Arrière-Croisade" and it was in 1102 that he was captured at the Battle of Ramleh. Raymond of Antioch was a son of Guillaume d'Aquitaine who also took part in the events of those years, so, if the poem was written for Raymond it seems natural to suppose that it deals with that period after the fall of Jerusalem rather than with the Crusade proper. Mme Duparc cites an episode in the Jérusalem in which Baudouin de Boulogne, approaching Jerusalem on his way from Edessa, encounters Cornumaran who has just set out on a mission to obtain help from the Soudan. A skirmish ensues after which Baudouin, defeated, is forced to retreat to a ruined castle in the middle of a reedy swamp. While his companions hold the castle Baudouin himself rides into the swamp where he is attacked by leeches, but before he can get very far the Saracens set fire to the reeds. It is known from the Arab chronicler Ibn-Al-Qalanisi that the historical Baldwin was actually forced into those exact circumstances, but at the Battle of Ramleh. Since this whole episode of Cornumaran's mission in the Jérusalem is made up there is nothing to suppose that this adventure

of Baudouin's, which is not attested in any western chronicler, was not in the original Chétifs in some form or other.

For Mme Duparc, therefore, Les Chétifs and the Chrétienté were originally one poem, placed after the Jérusalem, based primarily on post-Crusade events and strongly influenced by the Digénis Akritas.

In his voluminous work on Northern Syria at the time of the Crusades, Claude Cahen devotes a chapter to "La vie intellectuelle et littéraire; Les Chétifs"¹. At the historical level he believes that the poem is played out against a background of the political events of 1101, the time of the ill-fated "Arrière-Crusade", in Anatolia and Cappadocia. If Corbaran, whose historical prototype, Kerbogha, never went that far west and so could not himself have participated in the actual capture of the prisoners, is replaced by the contemporary Danishmendite, Gümüshtekin, (the captor of Bohemond and Richard de Principatu), there is a real historical basis both in the latter's contribution to the defeat of the Crusaders in Anatolia and in the hostilities between him and Soliman (Kilij Arslan)², as well as in their

1 La Syrie du Nord, pp. 569-76.

2 Alluded to in the Antioche, MS A fol 61^r col 2.

relationships with the Roupenian Armenians of Upper Cilicia, Thoros and Leon, sometimes known as "de la Montagne".

By virtue of the fact that many Christians were taken off into distant captivity, Cahen sees no reason why the poem should not be founded on some tale of captivity. Evidence shows that prisoners' tales were popular in the West, and Bohemond made an issue of his own captivity during his propaganda tour of France in 1105-6. Cahen produces yet another story of captivity from Ordericus¹ in which the chronicler relates how five companions of Baldwin II during his second captivity, 1123-4, tried to escape from Khartput where they were being held. However, the bid failed and they were sent off by their captor Belek to "Ali, roi des Mèdes", and thence to the Caliph and the Sultan of Persia. Soon the latter granted them their freedom and honoured them with riches. They stayed with him for three and a half years and enjoyed a considerable reputation among the barbarians. They were placed in the care of the governor of the town and sat with him every day in their Frankish dress. Finally they returned to Antioch by way of the land of David of Georgia

¹ Vol. IV, 255-57. This episode is examined below p. 216.

and Thoros the Roupenian and "des choses inouïes qu'ils ont vues en orient, ils font des récits merveilleux" (p. 574).

It is impossible not to be struck by the resemblance of this account with the central themes of Les Chétifs. Other similar stories show that the case of Les Chétifs is not an isolated one. What Cahen sees most fit to emphasise, however, is that all the (extant) accounts of such captivities are found in works composed in the West, none in Franco-Syrian writings which would perhaps be too near to the facts to allow for an imaginative work. Cahen rejects Hatem's theory about the totally oriental origins of the Crusade Cycle and suggests that Les Chétifs, although written in Antioch, emanated partially from tradition brought back from the West. The fact that Guillaume d'Aquitaine was present in the East in 1101, that he is alleged to have sung in court of his adventures (including the suspect "miseries captivitatatis suae"), imply that there may have been circulating at Poitiers stories of captivities which eventually reached the ears of the chronicler Ordericus. It cannot be a question of Les Chétifs itself as none of the heroes have Angevin names, and at Guillaume's court the langue d'oc was spoken. But the poet of Les Chétifs, writing after all for the son of Guillaume, may well have had some communication

of traditions originating in Poitiers and retransmitted to the East just as the Swan-Knight legend concerning the origins of Godefroi de Bouillon reached the orient and was commented adversely upon by William of Tyre¹. There was a good deal of free movement between East and West, and Cahen believes Les Chétifs to be more a product of the contact between the two cultures than a purely Franco-Syrian work (p. 575-76).

He agrees that there appear to be literary similarities between the French poem and the Byzantine Digénis Akritas and also with Arab epics, but in the context these are superficial. It is true that themes of bandits and fights between man and beast abound in oriental literature, but there is no question of direct borrowing by Les Chétifs, because these are such elementary themes that the mere similarity in the way of life gives rise to their spontaneous creation by all societies endowed with the least imagination. (p.576).

Cahen contributed once more to Les Chétifs in his compte-rendu of Mme Duparc's Cycle de la Croisade in Le Moyen Age, 1957. This article is largely a restatement

1 RHC, Occ., vol.1, p. 372. Book IX, chap. VI.

of the views already expressed in La Syrie du Nord, but with certain amendments and reservations. Cahen stresses the idea that Les Chétifs is based on several tales of captivity¹, grouped round the alleged captivity, possibly by Corbaran himself, at Harim, as claimed by the chronicle of Aubri of Trois Fontaines². Corbaran's presence at Harim was much more likely than in Anatolia, at Civetot, where in the Antioche the "Chétifs" are taken, since their captor never went that far west. Cahen considers that the original poem was written at Antioch, where Harim was a well known neighbouring town: in France, however, no one would have heard of it so Graindor altered the place of capture to the better known Civetot, scene of the historical defeat of Peter the Hermit. (p. 320).

The lack of Crusading spirit in Les Chétifs is in no way a reflection of the historical role of Kerbogha, but points rather to the pro-Christian sentiment of his successors in the East who did not hesitate to form alliances with the Christians when it was expedient. One occasion when the reverse was the case is found in the activities of

1 "Mais mon erreur (en 1940) a peut-être été de chercher ces fondements (historiques) dans une histoire unique, alors que le poète peut avoir fondu des souvenirs divers (p. 321).

2 See below, p. 164.

Leon the Roupenian who, after the death of his brother Thoros in 1128 broke off the previously good relations enjoyed with the Franks, "et ne cessa de leur faire la vie dure que lorsqu'en 1137 l'Empereur byzantin Jean Comnène l'eut emmené prisonnier à Constantinople, ou il mourut bientôt". Cahen sees in *Lyon de la Montagne's* treachery in Les Chétifs a reflection of the political situation between Franks and Armenians during that period of hostility and believes that this element of local politics little known outside Outremer furnishes proof that the Ur-Chétifs originated "au plus tôt vers 1140 et en Orient, c'est-à-dire qu'au moins lui, sinon tout le poème serait l'oeuvre du trouvère travaillant pour Raymond de Poitiers" (p. 326).

Cahen also suggests, but admittedly with great reserve, that the branch might recall a scene from Armenian history in which, in about 1110 ^ÖThros and Leon avenge themselves on the "trois fils de Mandalé (qui) avaient assassiné l'héritier des rois arméniens, Kakig". Is Murgalé, one of the two Turkish champions in Les Chétifs a distant echo of this Mandalé?¹

1 This hypothesis can be dismissed straight away. The reading Murgalé is only encountered consistently in MS. D, used in Hippeau's edition, and in isolated cases in other MSS. The older reading is certainly "Sorgalé" whose greater age is attested by the reference to "Estugalas" one of the Turkish champions mentioned in the item discovered by Mme Duparc. See below p. 143.

Cahen closes his discussion with two important points concerning the moral atmosphere of the poem - "C'est un poème d'hommes: pas d'histoire de femme comme dans le *Digénis*" - discounting the suggested connection with the Chrétienté - "Nous sommes ici parmi les Francs avant l'âge courtois, et non parmi les Orientaux". Second, the theme first highlighted by Goossens, that the Crusading spirit is totally lacking. Whilst this would have been incomprehensible in the West it is natural in the East because of the political alliances that existed between Christians and Moslems. The very theme of the conversion of Infidels, foreign to the western spirit was, on the other hand, a current theme of both Byzantine epic and Moslem romance.

Cahen sums up his views thus: "Il ne faut pas chercher aux Chétifs une source. Il s'y trouve des souvenirs historiques, concernant des Francs et des Orientaux. Il s'y trouve des récits nés en Occident, probablement à Poitiers. Il s'y trouve des récits et des thèmes de folklore orientaux. Tout cela a été amalgamé, probablement par le poète de Raymond à Antioche à la veille de 1149, mort de ce prince. Et ainsi les Chétifs ne sont exclusivement ni de France, ni d'Antioche, ni d'Orient non-franc: ils témoignent du brassage des influences, d'une manière à cette date encore extraordinaire" (p. 328).

Finally, in 1969 Mme Duparc returned to Les Chétifs with a piece of highly original research¹. She established that the Caumont La Force family of Languedoc, which survives today, affixed the epithet "Nompar" to their name from about 1180 onwards; indeed, "Pendant la Révolution un Caumont La Force s'appelait même officiellement le citoyen Nompar tout court". It is known that, apart from Galles de Caumont, mentioned in the contemporary chronicles and in the Antioche, one of the other early members of the family, Etienne de Caumont, accompanied his suzerain Guillaume d'Aquitaine on the "Arrière-Croisade", sharing his misadventures and returning with him. It was his grandson who is the first known Nompar. Concerning this epithet was a tradition current in the Caumont family running thus :

"Richard de Caumont, vivant vers 1160, défit et tua de sa main deux géants sarrasins nommés Estugalas et Golias. Ce Richard, auteur de toute la maison prit le surnom de Nompar, signifiant qu'il ne se trouvait pas de pareil qui pût entreprendre un combat si inégal".

The true genealogy of the Caumont family records no such Richard. In the names of the two Turks defeated by Richard according to the tradition, Estugalas and Golias,

1 "Recherches sur l'origine des Poèmes épiques de Croisade et sur leur utilisation éventuelle par les grandes familles féodales", Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, (1969), pp. 771-92, esp. 791-92.

"on reconnaît sans peine les deux Turcs que vainc Richard dans la chanson des Chétifs: Sorgalés et Goliath". This southern French family, which ~~enjoyed some reputation~~ as a Crusading family in its own right, was therefore able, by the felicitous coincidence of name, to exalt their lineage by adopting as an ancestor the (Norman) hero of Les Chétifs, which Mme Duparc qualifies as "une exploitation curieuse par une grande famille féodale de la vogue d'une chanson de geste." (p. 792).

Mme Duparc believes that although it is possible that Graindor's remaniement was already circulating around 1180, it is more likely that this tradition was brought back from the East by Eleanor of Aquitaine after the visit to her uncle, Raymond of Antioch, the patron of Les Chétifs, at the end of the 1140s.

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Such are the views that have been expressed concerning Les Chétifs over the last 120 years. Each critic has unearthed new and sometimes extremely relevant details, and

their discussions have given relief to some of the principal problems encountered in a study of this branch. We in our turn will investigate these major areas of research, among which are : the question of sources, historical and literary; the position of Les Chétifs in the cycle. Was it originally linked to the Chrétienté Corbaran and was it played out after the Chanson de Jérusalem ? What are the real reasons for the lack of Crusading spirit ? Are the themes of the fights with wild beasts and of Corbaran's ultimate conversion a reflection of the Digénis Akritas ? How much of the poem was written in Antioch, and who brought it back to the West ? What part did the relationship between Guillaume d'Aquitaine, Raymond of Antioch and Eleanor of Aquitaine play in its composition and transmission ? How much was the work of Graindor de Douai ?

We believe that we have found the answers to at least some of these questions.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE COMPOSITION OF LES CHÉTIFS

It has been generally accepted that the epic triptych comprising the Chanson d'Antioche, Les Chétifs and the Conquête de Jérusalem as preserved in the extant thirteenth century manuscripts was the work of one man, Graindor de Douai, who recast the substantially historical Antioche from the primitive poem by Richard le Pèlerin, who composed, either entirely by himself or with the help of a rather scanty precursor, its natural continuation, the quasi-historical Jérusalem, and who introduced a third poem, the legendary interlude of Les Chétifs, between them. It has likewise been assumed that Les Chétifs that we have now, with its three major episodes glorifying in turn the deeds of Richard de Chaumont, Baudouin de Beauvais and Harpin de Bourges, is the same as the one that Graindor intercalated.

However, there is abundant evidence to suggest that the tripartite Chétifs in monorhymed Alexandrines which has been handed down to posterity was not all interpolated into the Crusade Cycle by Graindor, but that there were two stages in its development. There appears to be no doubt that Graindor's foremost contribution to the cycle was to bring

it up-to-date poetically, in other words to turn all the previous material, considered to have been in the usual assonanced decasyllables of most early chansons de geste, into the rhymed dodecasyllabic form which was becoming more popular at the end of the twelfth century¹; such is the implication of the lines at the beginning of the Antioche:

(Graindor) Ki nos en a les vers tous fais renoveler...

(A 59^r col. 1)

Rimee est de novel et mise en quaregnon.

(ibid.)

Once Graindor had established a composite Antioche-Chétifs-Jérusalem in Alexandrines it became easy for other jongleurs to add episodes as they thought fit without altering the balance of the whole, and it is clear that at one stage in the post-Graindor development of the cycle, possibly at the time when it was prefaced by the legendary Swan-Knight Cycle, certain embellishments were introduced, the most important of which concerns Les Chétifs.

It has already been suggested that Les Chétifs contains some unexplained disparities. Mme Duparc has remarked that "l'obscur Baudouin de Beauvais (...) joue un

1 Sumberg, however, claims that the Antioche primitive was originally composed in Alexandrines, p. 326.

rôle assez effacé dans les Chétifs - c'est certainement le moins important des trois chevaliers" (Le Cycle, p. 85); but this is a strange statement in view of the fact that the Sathanas episode, of which Baudouin is the hero, is the longest in the poem, counting some 1700 lines against the 1550 of Richard de Chaumont's part and the mere 900 allotted to the exploits of Harpin de Bourges. And yet, as we shall demonstrate, this is fundamentally a correct affirmation.

Holmes and Mcleod believe that the attribution of authorship of the poem to the Canon of Saint Pierre of Antioch, working at the request of Prince Raymond, refers to only one episode, namely the dragon episode of Baudouin de Beauvais¹. The attribution, as found in MS. A runs as follows²:

Segnor, or escoutés, france gens honoree,
Huimais orés cançon de bien enluminee,
De mellor ne sai point quant ele est bien cantee.
Li boins princes Raimons ki la teste ot colpee,
Ke Sarrasin ocisent, la pute gens dervée,
- Antioce en remest dolante et abosmee,
La terre fu perdue que Franc ont conquestee,
(Onques puis par nul home ne fu si grant garde),
Bien doit s'arme estre salve et devant Deu portee -
Ceste cançon fist faire de verités provee.
Li dus Raimons l'estraist, dont li arme est alee;
Cil ki le cançon fist en ot bone soldee,
Canoinés fu saint Piere, de provende donee.

1 Op. cit., p. 105.

2 See also the notes to the edition for a discussion of the variant readings of this passage.

Tant con li clers vesqui fu li cançons garde,
 Et quant il dut morir et l'arme en fu alee,
 Al Patriarce fu cele cançons livree :
 Si conme Bauduins a la ciere menbree,
 Ki de Bialvais fu nés, cele cité loee,
 Conbati al serpent al trençant de l'espee,
 Por çou son frere ot l'arme del cors sevre.

(1663-82)

The structure "cele cançons....si conme Bauduins....
 conbati al serpent" in the final lines leaves no doubt that
 the chanson referred to is concerned with this one episode
 only and not with the whole poem. A reiteration of the
 commissioning of an original chanson by Raymond,

Li bons princes Raimons, qui ceste estoire ama,
 Fist ceste cançon faire que rien n'i oblia.
 Dex ait merci de l'arme qui l'estorie trova!

(1778-80)

is also placed at the end of a laisse outlining the events
 of the episode in such a way that again it is evident that
 Raymond's interest was confined solely to this one adventure.
 The implication of this is that the middle section of
Les Chétifs does not necessarily come from the same source
 as the other two.

An examination of this episode and of the role of
 its hero throughout Les Chétifs and the cycle in general
 supports the view that it has an origin independent of the
 rest of the poem.

The Sathanas episode begins with a laisse in "-ue"
(laisse 52):

Or s'en vait Corbarans, sa bataille a vencue;
Et fu el cors navrés, molt sovent color mue,
Tant a perdu del sanc tos li cors li tresue.
Forment ainme Ricart qui, a l'espee nue,
A vencu les .II. Turs, dont l'onors est rendue.
Ensanble cevalcierent a grant route estendue;
Mais n'ont gaires alé quant li tans lor remue.

(1550-56)

After the long diversion on the Mont de Tigris Corbaran and
the "Chétifs" finally reach Oliferne, with another laisse
(104) in "-ue":

Corbarans d'Oliferne qui la barbe ot kenue,
Ricars et sa compaigne, nostre gens absolue,
Desci qu'en la cité n'i ot resne tenue.
Li gens de la cité est fors encontre issue
Por oïr la merveille qui lor est avenue....

(3282-86)

Or is it another laisse? It is probably the same laisse
which has been split in two to accommodate the interpolation
of the Sathanas episode, because when the two parts are put
together they read, with minor adjustments, as one laisse.
The interpolation was inserted immediately after l. 1555,
beginning "Mais n'ont gaires alé"; but all the manuscripts,
except A and F have another line after l. 1555:

Desci a Oliferne n'i ot regne tenue,
traces of which are found in Sp "Yendo así andando su
camino derecho para Oliferna..." (p. 304 col. 2). This same

line reappears in all the manuscripts in *laisse* 104 (A 3284)¹ and it looks as if it is the pivot on which the interpolation is centered, and has been wisely left out by AF the first time round as it is an evident contradiction to read "Desci qu'a Oliferne n'i ot regne tenue" and then to hold up the progress by a long digression, although admittedly such a line is not much more than a tag attached to journeys in the epic. On the other hand, the procedure of interpolating an episode into the middle of a *laisse* and then repeating at the end the same lines as at the beginning is common, and is often the cause of great embarrassment to scribes who then try to level out the incongruities². The probability that these *laisse*s in "-ue"

1 There are two versions of the end of *laisse* 103 and beginning of 104, with ACFBIT reading against DGE. In ACFT the lines read "Desci qu'en la cité..." in which "qu'en la cité" was substituted for "qu'a Oliferne" because of the occurrence of the word *Oliferne* two lines previously; however, this emendment in turn clashes with the same phrase in the next line, "Li gens de la cité..." This necessary duplication of either "*Oliferne*" or "*de la cité*" - unless l. 3282 is changed as in B "*Corbarans li bons rois ki...*" - and the complete reworking of these lines in DGE testifies to the clumsiness of the text as a result of the interpolation.

2 Cf. the *laisse* in "-age" which acts as a transition between the Chevalier au Cygne and the Enfances Godefroi, which does double duty (with minor changes) at the end of the Fin d'Elyas interpolation in some MSS., so that the progression is Chev. Cyg. - "age" - Fin d'E. - "age" - Enf. God. Note also that the disputed interpolation concerning *Gui d'Allemagne's* seizure of Rome in the Couronnement de Louis begins and ends with the same couplet (Ed Ernest Langlois, 2nd. ed., Paris, Champion, 1925) CFMA, ll. 2223-24 and 2657-58.

were originally one *laisse* describing Corbaran's direct journey from Sermasane to Oliferne is enhanced by the very rarity of this rhyme, of which there are only twelve examples in the whole of the Antioche-Chétifs-Jérusalem cycle comprising, in A, a total of 797 *laissez*, which must make this one of the most - if not the most - infrequent *laisse* endings there is. Apart from the present case there is only one other example in Les Chétifs (*laisse* 135).

When the company of "Chétifs" arrives in Oliferne the reaction of Calabre is what we expect; she greets Richard:

Vient encontre Ricart, belement le salue,
Sa destre main li baise .IIII. fois tote nue.

(3288-89)

Calabre has no knowledge of what happens to Corbaran and the "Chétifs" in the desert and it is never suggested that she knew anything about the adventure with the Sathanas, even by her magical powers. Although Richard's activities have now been eclipsed by those of Baudouin, no mention whatsoever is made of the latter, and all attention is focused on Richard. Calabre is not even apprised of Baudouin's feats. Indeed, Baudouin is never mentioned again in the rest of Les Chétifs, as, equally, he was never mentioned¹

1 Only two variant MSS. notice his absence and include him in lists of the "Chétifs". F 1349 add. and I 1474 add.

in the first part of the poem. The first time he is named is l. 1623 and the last time is l. 3246. In view of this startling fact it is no wonder that Mme Duparc described Baudouin's role as "assez effacé". His complete disappearance from the ranks of the "Chétifs" is all the more noticeable when he does not feature in the general handout of gifts at the end of laisse 128, where both the other main heroes receive their share of treasures. Remarkable also is the fact that when Harpin is in dire straits (laisse 121) he invokes only Richard and Jean d'Alis (3624-25), and the latter, though a fairly prominent member of the band, has not excelled himself in any way like Baudouin. Later in the same laisse when Harpin recounts his life and his adventures as a prisoner he enlarges on the first part of the poem and describes Richard's duel, but Baudouin's heroism receives no credit whatsoever (3686-700).

A further item of evidence which strengthens the theory that Baudouin's episode was lacking in the original version is provided by the statement that Richard and his company arrive at Oliferne riding

Armé sor lor cevals sors et noirs et baçant
K'il avoient conquis vers la gent mescreant.

(3297-98)

This must refer to the booty taken after the battle against

Lyon de la Montaigne and Arfulan - as no other skirmish with "la gent mescreant" has taken place since - but seems to be an oversight on the part of the author, because the only plunder mentioned specifically is armour (1525-26). Even so, this detail would only have been immediately comprehensible if the event had just taken place as must have been the case in the original version. At a distance of some 1775 lines, with the Sathanas episode interposed, the import of the reference is virtually lost.

A further discrepancy within the confines of Les Chétifs is the duplication of the release of the prisoners. In the first part of the poem Corbaran makes a bargain with Richard that he will free all his Christian prisoners if Richard emerges victorious from the judicial duel (491-93), and we are led to believe for most of the poem that the ultimate release of the "Chétifs" is to be accredited to this knight's valour. But in the dragon episode Baudouin is informed by Saint Michael that it will be his happy lot to secure the prisoners' freedom as a result of his bravery:

"Ains qu'alés en soiés al Temple Salemon
 Ierent par toi jeté .VII. mil Franc de prison,
 Ki sont en paenime, en grant caitivison;
 Cil i furent mené de l'ost maistre Pieron;
 Tant ont Deu reclamé par bone entention,
 C'or lor velt rendre Dex par toi le gerredon".
 (2498-2503)

True to this promise, after the great dragon-fight is over, the two pagan kings, Corbaran and the Soudan, release their prisoners. When Richard and Baudouin have received gifts from the latter, he announces:

"Por l'amistié d'els .II. soient bien acesmé.
Li caitif de ma terre soient quite clamé,
Si voient en lor terres trestot a salveté."
"Sire," dist Corbarans, "or avés bien parlé;
Ausi soient tot cil qui sont en mon regné."

(3255-59)¹

Certainly this general release of Christian captives from the whole of païenie is far more than Richard was ever promised and we assume from this statement that the "Chétifs" may now call themselves free men. But when they are back in Oliferne they remind their captor of the original bargain made:

Al roi en sont alé tost et isnelement:
"Rois done nos congié con il fu en covent
A Ricart le baron, qui se mist en present
De faire le bataille, voiant tote vo gent,
Encontre les .II. Turs por vo delivrement."

(3320-24)

Whereupon Corbaran promises to let them all go when they have rested and recovered from their wounds (3331-35). All this seems unnecessary since Corbaran has already

1 MS. A adds a further couplet in which King Abraham also releases his prisoners, but this is a unique reading, (3260-61).

released them once not many lines previously.

No one would claim that chansons de geste are masterpieces of cohesion and logic and possibly we would be mistaken in attempting to place too much importance on such inconsistencies concerning the release of the prisoners; it suffices to point out that the discrepancy exists in Les Chétifs in its present form, but would not have existed in the original version lacking the Sathanas episode. The author of the interpolation obviously wished to secure for the hero of his own creation the supreme honour of obtaining the providential release of the captives.

If all the internal evidence in Les Chétifs points to the absence of the Sathanas episode from the original redaction of Graindor de Douai, the larger horizons of the cycle as a whole treat this section as an integral part of the chanson. Baudouin is usually mentioned along with the other "Chétifs", for example, in the last laisse of the Enfances Godefroi, in which the coming Crusade is announced, and in the details of the capture of the prisoners at Civetot, which can be considered as a prologue to Les Chétifs, and in the Battle of Josaphat at the beginning of the Jérusalem, which is its epilogue, and there is little in these passages to suggest that Baudouin is in any way

different from the other "Chétifs". But if the Sathanas episode is an addition, then references to Baudouin must be also; simple retouches of the relevant passages by the hand of the interpolator. All references found in the Swan-Knight Cycle - the laisse in "-ee" at the end of the Enfances, for example¹ - were necessarily added later than Graindor's version, since that cycle was grafted on to the Crusade nucleus only when the success of the latter had been established. Quite possibly the person who conceived the idea of combining the Swan-Knight and Crusade Cycles was also responsible for certain episodes, including the Sathanas interpolation, hitherto attributed to Graindor.

This duality of authorship is suggested by an inherent disagreement in the much quoted lines from the beginning of the Antioche in which the audience is told of the remaniement to which the poem has been subjected.

Cist novel jougleor qui en suelent canter,
 Le vrai commencement en ont laisié ester;
 Mais Graindor de [Douai] nel velt mie oblier, (MS. Dijon)
 Ki nos en a les vers tous fais renoveler.

(A fol 59^r col 1)

and, referring to the Antioche primitive:

1 Hippeau, vol. II, p. 136, and 188-9.

Oï l'avés chanter [en] une autre chanson, (MS. con)
 Mais n'estoit pas rimee ensi con nos l'avon;
 Rimee est de novel et mise en quaregnon.
 Mais cil qui le rima n'i vaut metre son non,
 Por çou que tels l'oïst quin fronçast le grenon.
 (A fol 59^v col 1)

This implies that there are at least two stages of development: the "autre chanson" (i.e. Richard le Pèlerin's Antioche primitive), with its different rhyming scheme, which lacked the "true beginning", and the recent reworking, versified anew, containing the "vrai commencement", for which Graindor was responsible. The first citation shows that it is Graindor who has "les vers tous fais renoveler"; but the second states that the person who rhymed the verses preferred to remain anonymous: "Mais cil qui le rima n'i vaut metre son non". This confusion betrays the hand of a second redactor of the new version. Originally the author of the remaniement did not name himself, and the second quotation is the untouched reading of Graindor. It may also be that the mention in the first quotation that other jongleurs did not sing the true beginning is also by Graindor, but the following couplet, in which Graindor himself is named, is by the second redactor, who knew him to be the author. This opinion is reinforced by the reading "Ki nos en a les vers..." in which a second person is evidently referring to his predecessor.

The phrase "mise en quaregnon" illustrates that these

remaniements were also being committed to parchment. We suppose that the second redactor subjected Graindor's version to minor revisions without altering the form of the whole. For apart from the Sathanas episode there is evidence that the account of the Battle of Antioch may have been touched up. There is a discrepancy in the description of Brohadas's funeral carriage in the Antioche and in Les Chétifs. In the latter, which we believe to be Graindor's original, the dead prince is borne off from the field of battle in the utmost simplicity;

Ens en .I. quir de cerf, sor .I. mul de Hungrie,

(7)

a detail recalled later:

"Ançois qu'il fust rescous ne el quir de cerf mis",

(748)

which is reminiscent of the Chanson de Roland, in which

. . . . les cors des barons si unt pris,
En quirs de cerf les seignurs unt mis,

(2967-68)¹

Afterwards Brohadas is trussed upon a dromedary.

But this stark realism found at the beginning of Les Chétifs contrasts strongly with an account in the Antioche in which the prince is given splendid funeral apparel and

1 Ed. F. Whitehead, La Chanson de Roland, (Oxford, Blackwell's French Texts, 1942).

a magnificent bier. Corbaran, finding the body of Brohadas,

..... va le cors contre terre embracier,
 Isnelement le lieve al col de son destrier,
 Fors de l'estor l'enporte, qu'il ne l'i valt laisier;
 A ses Turs le commande molt bien aparellier.
 Il le fisent tot nu de ses dras despoillier,
 Puis ont le cors lavé et tres bien fait niier;
 D'un rice blanc diaspre le font estroit liier,
 En une haute biere le fisent puis coucier,
 Couverte d'un sidonie qui molt fist a proisier.
 .IIII. destrier l'enportent, vertuous et legier.

(A fol 108^v col 1)

and in the *laisse* immediately preceding Les Chétifs¹. And yet only a few lines later all this splendour has been replaced by a simple deer skin and mule! Evidence that in the development of an epic a given description progresses from simplicity to splendour is provided by the fourteenth century remaniement, the CCGB, in which the line in the opening *laisse* concerning Brohadas in his "cuir de cerf" is replaced by the lines

Et Brohadas estoit en litière jolie
 Que doy ceval courant avoient en baillie.

(CCGB 9786-87)

It seems that the second redactor revised a few details of the Battle of Antioch, and with Les Chétifs in mind anticipated Brohadas's funeral carriage, but described it in the conventional language of his own time which had evolved since the original description of Brohadas found at the beginning

1 See below, p. 992.

of *laisse* one, which was probably already present in the pre-Graindor version of the poem. This would explain the considerable difference in tone at so short an interval.

With the addition of the Sathanas episode in mind, the second revisor takes care to prepare for it by integrating the new hero into the group of "Chétifs" at the Battle of Civetot, and of course Ernoul de Beauvais is not forgotten either:

Bauduins de Bialvais qui tant ot fier le vis,
Si fu Ernols ses frere qui si fu mesbaillis,
Ke li serpens manja ens el mont de Tigris;
Bauduins le venja al brant d'acier forbis.

(A fol 61^r col 1)

If this revision has been done sufficiently well during the Civetot episode not to leave any doubt that Baudouin always was a member of the "Chétifs", the details of the reintegration of the newly released prisoners into the crusading army at the beginning of the Jérusalem have more the character of a remaniement. Here again the general impression is that Baudouin is an integral member of the group but this is belied by a close examination of the mentions of the "Chétifs" at this stage. When they first ride into Godefroi de Bouillon's view only Richard and Harpin are mentioned by name and the rest merely grouped as "li autre caitif", "et sa conpaigne" - and they are of course mistaken for Saracens. When the skirmish with

the enemy begins each leading "Chétif", Richard, Harpin, Baudouin and Jean d'Alis have a laisse each in which they distinguish themselves. But at this moment Bohemond's reinforcements appear and all the Crusade leaders join in their admiration of the "Chétifs'" performance:

Quant il voient Ricart et dant Jehan d'Alie,
Et Foucer de Melans et Rainart de Pavie,
Et Harpin de Boorges et lor grant compaignie,
Et l'abé de Fescans de le rice abèie,
Li vesques del Forois qui les paiens castie,
Al bon espiel trencant en toli .X. la vie;
Et li autre caitif ne s'atargerent mie.....

(A fol 139^v col 1)

and similarly in the next laisse:

Et Harpins de Bourges et Ricars de Caumon,
Et dans Jehans d'Alis et tot lor compaignon.....
Li vesques del Forois sor .I. ceval gascon,

(A fol 139^v col 2)

This is one of the few occasions when the full list of "Chétifs" is given and is also the last time in the cycle that they appear, excluding the post-Jérusalem continuations. In these valedictory tributes paid to the little group of knights and clergy one omission stands out unmistakably: Baudouin de Beauvais, who only a few laisses previously had wrought great deeds of chivalry against the Infidel is not among their number. Even Foucher de Meulan and Renaud de Pavie who exist as mere names and never so much as draw a sword throughout the whole cycle outshine the unmentioned dragon hero.

The indications are that the remanieur omitted to revise this passage.

It appears that the second redactor, in the knowledge that he was going to interpolate the dragon episode, took great care to prepare for this major addition and reworked the Civetot passages accordingly; but having arrived at Les Chétifs itself, which he otherwise left virtually untouched, owing to the very proximity of the action to the supplementary episode, he began to take Baudouin's presence for granted and overlooked the simple fact that he was absent from the rest of the branch. At a later stage when all the "Chétifs" are in action once more, during the Battle of Josaphat, he brought his new version into line by adding a *laisse* attributing a feat of arms to Baudouin, but failed to touch up the existing lines enumerating the prisoners¹.

1 If this suggestion that the redactor's revision is insufficient and that he would have noticed Baudouin's absence from the rest of Les Chétifs is considered untenable, then the "human element" may speak for itself. Only two scribes out of the nine whose work has survived were struck by his absence and add in his name. Furthermore, when we, adopting the role of scribe, copied out all the versions it was only at about the seventh transcription that we were struck by this strange phenomenon. The fact is that Baudouin's presence in the first and third parts of the poem is always assumed; it is only a detailed examination of the text which betrays his total absence.

To this internal evidence pointing to the absence of the dragon episode from the original redaction can be added one item of external evidence, which though by no means positively supporting the theory, at least does not gainsay it. This is the reference to Les Chétifs in the chronicle of Aubri of Trois Fontaines:¹

Dum quidam de nostris irent pabulatum inter Antiocham et Hared, capti sunt ex eis 12 nobilissimi ab illis de Hareth et in Perside transmissi, quorum fuit unus Arpinus comes Bituricensis et unus Richardus de Calvomonte; qui postea fecit duellum in presentia Soldani Persidis contra duos Turcos pro Corbaranno et ita seipsum et socios suos liberavit. Predictus autem comes Arpinus in reditu Rome obiit. Idem comes Arpinus, cruce signatus, comitatum suum vendiderat et ex tunc reges Franciae tenent immediate civitatem Bituricas et castrum de Duno.

This extract is of capital importance in the study of the development of Les Chétifs and will be referred to again in this respect later². Of immediate interest is the fact that Aubri has recorded two of the most important features concerning two prominent heroes of the poem; Richard's duel against the Turks and Harpin's sale of his appanage to the King of France, both of which activities act as leitmotifs throughout the cycle whenever those two knights are mentioned. Yet the longest and most outstanding of all the episodes,

1 Ed. P. Scheffer-Boichorst, MGSS, XXIII, p. 807.

2 See below, p. 207.

Baudouin's struggle against the Sathanas, goes unsung. We do not consider that Aubri knew the extant Chétifs and deliberately edited out that part; rather we agree with Mme Duparc when she says that Aubri "a connu des textes plus anciens que les nôtres"¹. She supports her view by another example from Aubri. Further on the chronicler relates the detail of Thomas de Marle's horse Morel waiting alone before the gates of Jerusalem while its master was the first to enter the Holy City². The ascription to Thomas de Marle of the honour of being the first to scale the walls is an essential element of the poetic Jérusalem (albeit historically incorrect), but the detail of the horse is lacking in the extant version. Hence Aubri must be reporting "un détail de la chanson primitive omis par Graindor"³. If Aubri was reporting his sources correctly then it is clear that in the version he knew Baudouin de Beauvais had not yet joined the ranks of his illustrious companions.

In view of this discovery much of the previous critical opinion about Les Chétifs which considered the poem in its

1 Acc. Lincei, p. 779.

2 Ed. cit., p. 811. See also Mme Duparc, Acc. Lincei, p. 787.

3 Duparc, *ibid.*

extant form to be the finished work of Graindor de Douai is thus invalidated. The Chétifs of the thirteenth century manuscripts is without a doubt the work of two different poets.

CHAPTER SIX

THE HEROES OF LES CHÉTIFS

Previous attempts at finding historical prototypes for the heroes of Les Chétifs have concluded that apart from Harpin de Bourges, of whom history has left some traces, they are either mere epic fictions or if they are historical characters, they have left no mark in contemporary documents.

Richard has been identified as coming from Chaumont-en-Bassigny¹, Caumont-l'Eventé (Calvados)² and Chaumont-en-Vexin, but owing to his appellation "le normand" the choice is narrowed down to the last two and critics now agree that Chaumont-en-Vexin, because of its greater importance at the time, is the more likely location. Jean d'Alis or Alie, often termed "de Berrie" has generally been taken to hail from that region, although more recently Cahen has suggested Alost in Belgium³. L'Evêque du Forez is puzzling since there is no bishopric of that name - the Forez area falls within the archbishopric of Lyon. However, Count William of Forez

1 MGSS, XXIII, p. 807.

2 Pigeonneau, p. 148, n. 1.

3 Le Moyen Age, p. 322.

was one of the minor leaders of the First Crusade (though not for long)¹, so at least there was some participation from that area. P. Paris suggested that the bishop was from Fréjus². One of the other knights, variously called Renaud, Raymond, Renier, Richard or Hertaut de Pavie³, has been considered to recall the Lombard participation in the "Arrière-Croisade" of 1101 and is usually classified with Harpin. No character called Foucher de Meulan (at least that is how we interpret the O.F. Melant) was ever inscribed on the muster rolls of the early Crusades, and it has been

1 He died at the siege of Nicaea. Albert of Aix, RHC Occ., IV, 321 G.

2 HLF, XXII, 386.

3 There is little agreement on the Christian name of this knight from Pavia, who is not even consistently called the same in a given MS. In fact he only appears three times in the Cycle, once during the Civetot episode, once in Les Chétifs (2758) and once in the soudure between the latter and the Jérusalem. In A he is called Richards de P. (fol 63^r col 1) then Raimons, and finally Rainart (fol 139^v col 1). It seems certain that the name should begin with an "R", and that in some MS models there was only the abbreviation "R", which has led to the divergent interpretations. This makes the version of MS. D, Hertaut, the most unlikely, although this is the name most widely used in works connected with Les Chétifs because they are based on Hippeau's edition of that MS. A general consensus shows that the most commonly attested form is Renaud (which is presumably echoed in the Sp Rinalte, pp. 23, 319) and that is the name we have adopted.

pointed out that the Abbot of Fécamp at that time, Guillaume de Ros, did not go to the Holy Land¹. It has always been supposed that Baudouin de Beauvais was one of the original "Chétifs" but we have demonstrated that he did not join their ranks until after Graindor de Douai's remaniement, and his origins will be discussed when we examine the dragon episode.

Nevertheless, the absence of these names from the contemporary chronicles of the Crusade by no means precludes their existence. The various provenances mentioned make the "Chétifs" an extremely heterogeneous group in geographical terms. There are three participants from Normandy, Richard de Chaumont, the Abbé de Fécamp and Foucher de Meulan, one from Berry, Jean d'Alis, Harpin from Bourges, the Bishop supposedly from the Forez and one knight from Italy. It is extremely significant that none of the band of prisoners comes from Picardy or Flanders (excepting Cahen's identification of Alis with Alost). This is in marked contrast to the Antioche which has a preponderance of knights from that area, an aspect which Mme Duparc explains by the fact that Richard le Pèlerin, the author of the poème

1 RHC Occ., V, 627 n.; Pigeonneau, p. 149, n. 1.

primitif appears to have come from that region himself and especially enjoyed the patronage of the Saint-Pol family, to whose exploits he accords more importance than they historically warranted¹. Conversely it seems that Les Chétifs did not originate in that region.

The importance in this branch of the Norman contingent has already been noted by critics, and if this lead is followed considerable new light can be shed upon the elusive "Chétifs".

The history of the Benedictine Abbey of Fécamp² opens some doors on the possible identification of some of the characters. Because Guillaume de Ros, the Abbot at the time of the First Crusade, never went to the Holy Land, the links with that Abbey have been considered largely fortuitous. But the Abbé de Fécamp does play a consistently important role on the religious side of Les Chétifs.

One singularly important fact has as yet passed unnoticed; namely that Guillaume's predecessor was called Jean d'Alie.

This Jean d'Alie (or Jean de Ravenne) was nephew and

1 Acad. Lincei, p. 783.

2 For the history of the Abbey of Fécamp see L'Abbaye Bénédictine de Fécamp, Ouvrage Scientifique du XIII^e Centenaire 658-1958, 2 vols., (Fécamp, Banse Fils, 1959).

favourite disciple of the first Abbot of Fécamp, Guillaume de Volpiano (or de Dijon) and like him of Italian origin. Shortly before Guillaume died he appointed Jean as his successor and his abbacy lasted from 1028-1078¹. The name "d'Alie" is alleged to have heraldic origins - "Il lui fut attribué le blason des anciens marquis auvergnats, les Rochefort d'Ally"² - whilst it is also claimed that, through his uncle, Arduinus, Marquis of Ivrea, (later King of Italy), it refers to Agliè, a fief in the marches of Ivrea, later appended to the family of San-Martino d'Agliè³.

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- 1 The last date is sometimes put as late as 1082. The C13th CHRONICON FISCANENSE (MS. B.N. f. fr. 10130), in Le P. Philippe Labbe, Novae Bibliothecae manuscriptorum librorum, 2 vols., (Paris, S. et G. Cramoisy, 1657), vol. 1, p. 328, records "1078 Obiit Ioannes Abbas Fiscampi" and modern scholars accept this as the correct dating.
 - 2 Pierre Zurfluh in L'Abbaye Bénédictine, 11, 277. It was the historian H. Gourdon de Genouillac, Histoire de l'abbaye de Fécamp et de ses abbés, (Paris, Dentu, 1872), p. 13, who first suggested this heraldic association with the Rochefort d'Ally family. But Zurfluh admits that "Pour les abbés de Fécamp régnant avant le milieu du XV^e siècle et sauf exception..... il semble bien que nous n'ayons aucune certitude quant à leur blasons" (p. 276). There is no documentary evidence to support Gourdon de Genouillac's claim.
 - 3 See J. H. Pignot, Histoire de l'Ordre de Cluny, 3 vols., (Autun, Dejussieu, 1868), vol. 1. No documentary evidence is provided for Pignot's assumption that Jean was "fils du comte Guido d'Agliè, neveu du roi Ardoïn" (p. 498), or that he was "de la famille des comtes de

Jean was noted as a medical scholar¹ and as the author of several religious works and letters, among them some to William the Conqueror², and the fortunes of the Abbey under his leadership are attested in the poem

Vivas Fiscannis semper felicibus annis....
Felix Fiscannis, stella rutilante Johannis. ³

The most revealing and widely recounted event in the life of Jean is his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, related in the most detail in an extract from a Fécamp chronicle in du Monstier's Neustria Pia⁴:

San-Martino d'Agliè..." (p. 526). Indeed that family, descended from King Arduinus himself, acquired the title of San-Martino much later. "Dal nostro A(rdoino) discende il ceppo dei conti di Ivrea, detti più tardi di Castellamonte, Agliè ..etc", Dizionario Biografico Degli Italiani, vol. IV (Rome, 1962), p. 53. The family trees drawn up for the family of Arduinus by D. Carutti, Il conte Umberto I e il Re Ardoino, 2nd. ed., (Rome, Accademia dei Lincei, 1888) show no Guido who could possibly have been father to Jean d'Alie, and no branch named "d'Agliè" at the time. However, even without any positive evidence, the equation Alie=Agliè provides the most convincing explanation of Jean's origins.

- 1 L'Abbaye Bénédictine, I, 39.
- 2 See Dom Jean Leclercq and Jean-Paul Bonnes, Un maître de la Vie Spirituelle au XI^e Siècle: Jean de Fécamp, (Paris, J.Vrin, 1946). Jean's letters are edited in Migne, PL, CXLVII, 443-79.
- 3 L'Abbaye Bénédictine, I, 36-37.
- 4 Arturus du Monstier, Neustria Pia sev de omnibvs et singvlis Abbatis et Prioratibvs totius Normaniae, (Rouen, J. Berthelin, 1663), p. 223.

"Joannes Dalje, Abbas Fiscanensis secundus, de Italia fuit progenitus, qui cum monasterium per aliquot annos prudentes rexisset, divino afflatus numine, Hierusalen cum Richardo de Callido monte peregre profectus est, & ibidem a paganis deprehensus & in carcarem detrusus, multas calamitates & angustias perpessus; pluribus annis revolutis, ad monasterium praefatum rediit, qui post per spatium duorum annorum, vel cerciter, gubernavit; tandem ex itinere fatigatus, grandaeuus, anno 51 suae creationis viam ingressus est universae carnis".

Du Monstier states that he took this passage from a Catalogus Abbatum Fiscannensis MS which he found on the spot in Fécamp, "Apud Registrum D. Ioannis Brebion Paraechi S. Stephani Fiscanens(is) Secretrarii Abbatiae & Prothonotarii Apostolici"¹. This original manuscript has now disappeared but has been preserved in various forms. The papers of Etienne Baluze contain an identical rendering of the complete Latin Catalogue of the Abbots², in a seventeenth century copy which may have been taken from the same manuscript used by du Monstier, but Baluze states in a note at the top of fol 159 that the model belonged to M. de la Meschinière. There is also an abbreviated Latin version of the Catalogus

1 Nevstria Pia, p. 222.

2 B. N. fonds Baluze, 58, fol 159.

which probably comes from the same source, in Labbe's

Novae Bibliothecae¹:

II IOANNIS Dalys progenitur Hierosolymam profectus,
ibique diu detentus in carcere, ad Monasterium rediit,
obiitque anno 51. Sepultus in Capella B. Ioannis Baptistae.

which Labbe claims to have extracted from old manuscripts².

The full version has also been preserved in French copies which come from the lost Latin. Towards the end of the seventeenth century the sacristan of Fécamp, Dom Guillaume le Hule wrote a "guide" to the Abbey entitled "Le Thrésor ou Abrégé de l'histoire de la noble et royalle abbaye de Fescamp...", which has since been published and survives in several manuscripts³. This in turn recounts how

Ce mesme Abbé Jean fit le voyage de la terre sainte
en la compagnie de Richard de Chaumont & a son retour
fut fait prisonnier par les infidelles & souffrit

1 Vol. I, 328.

2 "ex veteribus Schedis excripto et deductus ad nostrum usque aetatem" (i.e. 1657).

3 Le P. Guillaume le Hule, Le Thrésor ou Abrégé....., (1684), (Fécamp, Banse Fils, 1893). Introduction by A. Alexandre. The MS. from which this was edited is probably now in Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 1209. It is also found in MS. B.N. f. fr. 14566. For yet another MS. see A. Leroux de Lincy, Essai historique et littéraire sur l'abbaye de Fécamp, (Rouen, E. Frère, 1840), p. xi-xiii.

beaucoup pendant sa captivité de la quelle estant
neanmoins delivré il revint a Fiscamp ou il vescu
encor deux ans & mourut l'an 1082.¹

Since all the versions recount the story in almost the same terms the only regret is the loss of any original documentation on the subject. It is presumed that most of that fell victim to the Revolution. There is little need to stress the parallels between this story and the central theme of Les Chétifs and the fact that the names of two of its heroes, Jean d'Alie and Richard de Chaumont are coupled in a tale of captivity. The essential problem is whether the Fécamp Catalogus Abbatum narrates a true captivity which was one of the sources of Graindor's epic or whether, conversely, it is a borrowing from the epic in order to exalt the name of the Abbey of Fécamp, just as the Caumon La Force family of Languedoc was later to adopt the legend of Richard de Chaumont to glorify their lineage.

Without being aware of the connection between this tale of captivity and Les Chétifs the editors of Jean's writings admit the possibility of such a pilgrimage to Jerusalem: "Le fait n'est pas confirmé par les chroniqueurs contemporains; il n'est cependant pas invraisemblable:

1 Le Thrésor, p. 158;

à cette époque où l'on voyageait tant et où les seigneurs féodaux aimaient à se faire accompagner d'un chapelain dans leurs pèlerinages, toujours très périlleux, en Terre Sainte, Jean de Fécamp, même âgé, a pu entreprendre ce lointain déplacement et comme tant d'autres, tomber aux mains des infidèles" ¹. Indeed, if the pilgrimage were real, Jean would have been in his eighties (Leclercq and Bonnes place his date of birth around 990), which is a far cry from the knightly figure of the epic!

It is certain that if this pilgrimage ever did take place, it must be situated at least 25 years before the the First Crusade. The Catalogus Abbatum states explicitly that he survived for another two years after his return. Assuming the date of his death to be 1078 this would indicate an expedition hinging on the years 1074-1075. Numerous pilgrimages have been attested throughout the eleventh century and although this particular one is not mentioned elsewhere it could easily have taken place, with the drastic consequences attributed to it².

1 Un maître de la Vie Spirituelle, p. 15.

2 See Ludovic Lalanne, "Des Pèlerinages en Terre Sainte avant les Croisades", BEC, VII (1845), 1-31. On p. 30 is a list of attested pilgrims of the eleventh century. Also Runciman, in Setton-Baldwin, vol. I, 68-78.

Leclercq and Bonnes presume that Jean went in the capacity of chaplain to Richard de Chaumont, feudal overlord. There are two objections to this hypothesis. First there is no person with the name of Richard de Chaumont attested in any feudal capacity at the time in question; second, it is doubtful whether the Abbot of one of the major abbeys in Normandy, one which depended directly on Rome, would serve as chaplain to a minor overlord. The pilgrimage could, of course, have been of considerable size, and armed, but it could equally have been very small and unprotected, despite the danger Leclercq and Bonnes attribute to such an undertaking¹.

The genealogists are in disagreement over the origins and the members of the Chaumont-de-Quitry family in the mid-eleventh century. Seigneurs of the County of Vexin during the second half of the century, they have left little, if any, incontestable documentary evidence which allows their line to be established from its inception. The family tree of de la Chesnaye Desbois² suggests that Gautier, Count of Vexin, was the father of Geoffrey du Vexin, Seigneur de Chaumont,

1 "But it was not uncommon, nor particularly risky, for men to travel alone or in twos and threes". Runciman, I, p. 49.

2 Vol. V, 509-10.

who in turn was to beget Eudes du Vexin, father of Robert I de Chaumont. The existence of these two is attested by Ordericus¹, and after Robert the line is well established. Le Père Anselme, on the other hand, postulates Geoffroy, Vicomte de Chaumont (living in 1079)², father of Wallo, or Guallo (d. 1098) who begat Enguerrand and Osmond, the first of these being the father of Hugues de Chaumont, Constable of France (d. 1130). This Osmond is to be equated with the more correct Otmond, son of Robert I mentioned above. The two trees compare thus:

Chesnaye Desbois

Anselme

Gautier, Comte de Vexin,

Geoffroy du Vexin, Seigneur de
Chaumont

Eudes du Vexin " "

Robert I de Chaumont

Otmond I (d. c. 1119)

Geoffroy, Vicomte de Chaumont
living 1079.

Wallo d. 1098

Enguerrand

Hugues de Chaumont
d. 1130

Osmond.

1 Vol. II, 131, 133-34.

2 Le Père Anselme, Histoire Généalogique et Chronologique de la Maison Royale de France, Vol. VI, (Paris, 1730), p. 42.

A third genealogy is suggested by one of the still surviving members of the Chaumont-Quitry family, M. le Vicomte de Mentque¹, whereby Geoffroy is again the father of the family, but begat Robert I directly, without the intervening Eudes or Wallo. This hypothesis is based on no evidence whatever and is rejected. Nor does it even take into account the one definite piece of documentary evidence which confirms that in 1059 the Viscount of Chaumont was Wallo². On the other hand there is no such evidence to support Enguerrand's position on the family tree. Pride of place as the founder of the family is attributed to Geoffroy by all three genealogists. However, we are convinced that this is a fundamental error which has been perpetuated. There are more charters signed by this allegedly early member of the family than any of his putative descendants. He was the signatory of a

1 Vicomte R. de Mentque, Des origines de la maison de Chaumont-Quitry, (Paris, Editions Franciscaines, undated, but after 1955). Despite its promising title, this study is worthless, and in our view, incorrect for the early years of the family.

2 He witnessed a charter giving the Church at Liancourt to the Abbey of Saint-Père en Vallée (Chartres), at Juziers, 1059: "Gualo Vicecomes Castri Calidi Montis", MS. B.N. fonds latin 5417 p. 435; same charter also on p. 177, p. 540 "Calidimontis Walonii Vicecomitis", and in MS. B.N. fonds Moreau 26, fol 61. The charter is mentioned in L'Art de Vérifier les Dates, II, 683.

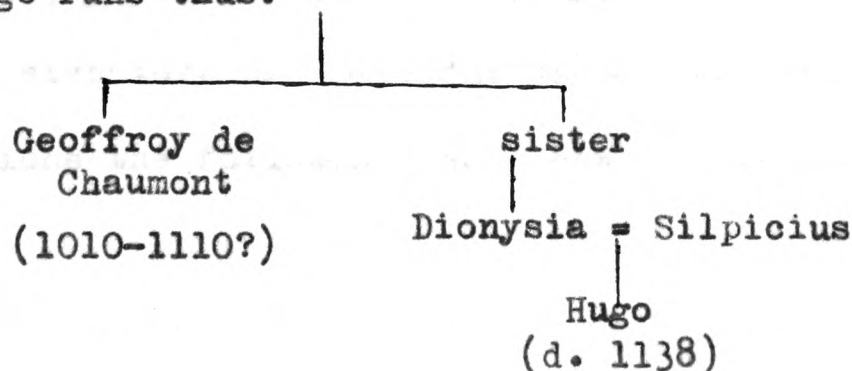
number of charters of Philip I of France¹, over a period lasting from 1070-1079, and a few documents from the Abbey of Saint-Père en Vallée². Since the latter was located within the lands of the Count of Blois, who is the co-signatory of most of the charters, we consider that Geoffroy de Chaumont in fact refers to the much better known member of the house of Chaumont-sur-Loire. Geographically speaking, Saint-Père en Vallée was almost exactly half way between Chaumont-en-Vexin to the North-East, and Chaumont-sur-Loire to the South-West, so it is no surprise to find that the Abbey had relationships stretching in both directions, which would account for signatories from both the Chaumonts, but it is to be noted that the act signed by Wallo was executed at Juziers, in the Vexin itself. The history of Geoffroy, at one time a follower of William the Conqueror, is given in detail in the Liber de Castro Ambasiae edited in D'Achery's Spicilegium³. It was Geoffroy who was entrusted with the task of arranging the marriage between Adele, daughter of the English monarch,

1 Ed. M. Prou, Recueil des Actes de Philippe I^{er}, Roi de France, (1059-1108), (Paris, 1908), pp. 142, 191, 228, 232, 233, 236, 237, 244, 308.

2 MS. B.N. f. lat. 5417 fol 331, 416, 471.

3 Dom Luce d'Achéry, Spicilegium sive collectio veterum aliquot scriptorum, 3 vol., (Ed. in-fol, Paris, 1723), vol. III, 276-82.

to his overlord, Stephen of Blois¹, a Crusader subsequently noted for his ignominious performance during the expedition of 1096-98, but who died gloriously on the field of Ramleh in 1102. The family tree drawn up by Anselme is a cross between the Chaumont-en-Vexin family and that of Chaumont-sur-Loire. Geoffroy is certainly the leading member of that line in the mid-eleventh century, and even later, because the chronicle states that when he died, c. 1110, he had "centum annos complevit"². The Liber recounts that Geoffroy who himself had no direct heir, married his niece, Dionysia, to Silpicius of Amboise: their son was Hugo, called "le borgne", later Constable of France; he took part in the First Crusade and later returned to the East, where he died in 1138. He is qualified as "Hugonem, nepotem suum" (i.e. of Geoffroy) and in this context it means great-nephew. The lineage runs thus:



1 Spicilegium, p. 277.

2 Ibid., p. 280.

If we now extract Geoffroy and Hugo from the genealogy of the Chaumont-Quitry family, to which they do not belong, we are left with Wallo, Eudes, Robert and Otmond. As for the father of this illustrious line, it seems certain, as Chesnaye Desbois postulates, that the honour falls on Gautier I, Count of Vexin (c. 965-990) - rather than his son, Gautier II, all of whose sons are accounted for. Gautier I however, had four sons, of whom two, Raoul and Godefroy may well have been the first of the Chaumont branch - possibly this Godefroy¹ was equated with Geoffroy de Chaumont. This is an assumption. What is sure is that in 1059 the Viscount was Wallo. Ordericus tells us that (at the latest) in 1089 Roger de Sappo had married "Rollandis, filia Odonis de Calvimonte"² and that Otmond, son of Robert I "The Eloquent" was active before 1089. Apart from that, in 1090 a charter³ was signed by "Gualo, filius Odonis de Calmonte", and in 1092 another⁴ bears the signature of "Odmundus de Calvomonte". From these indications the following facts can be deduced:

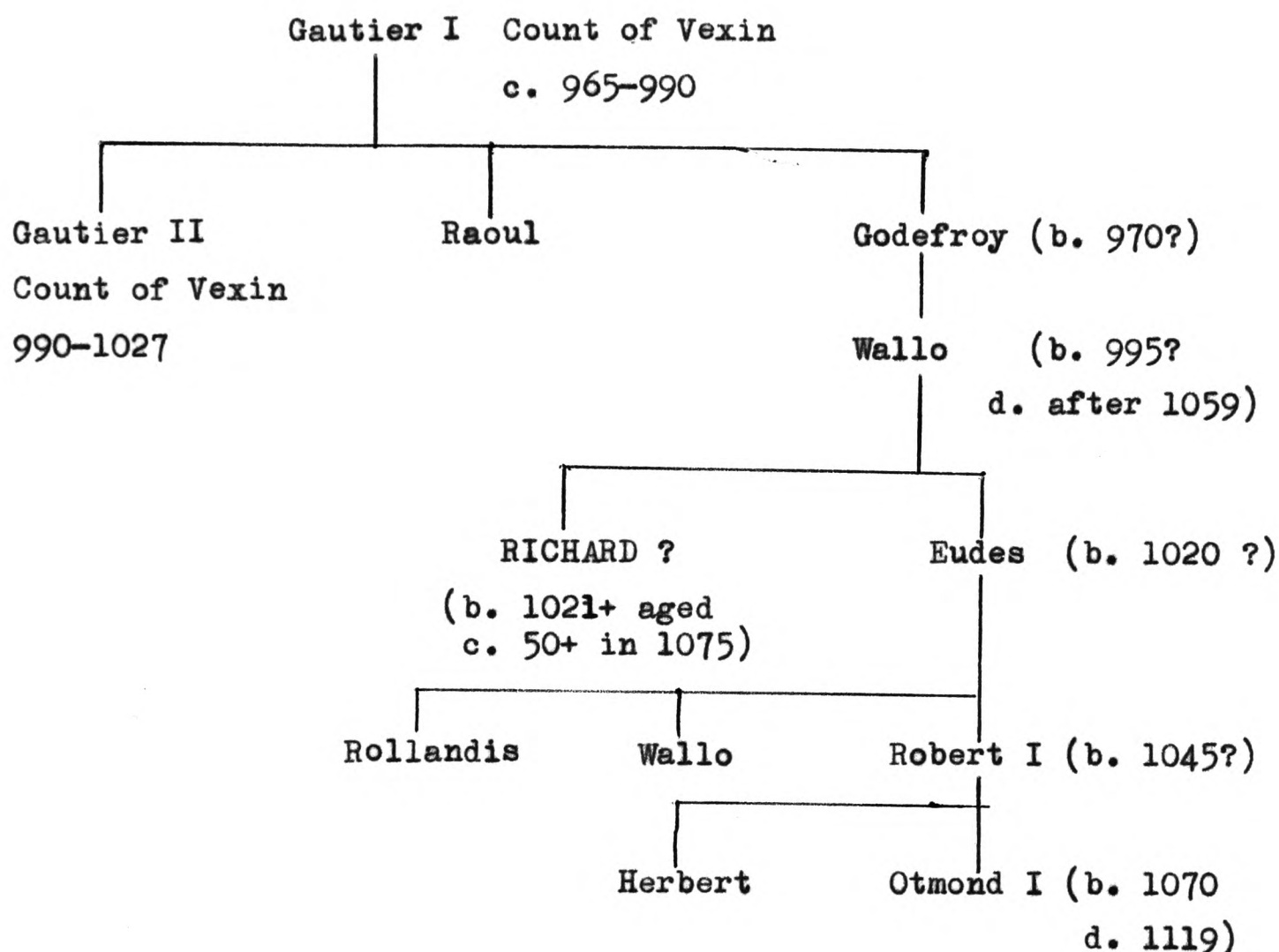
1 L'Art de Vérifier les Dates, II, 682.

2 Vol. II, 131, 133-4.

3 Recueil des Actes de Philippe I^{er}, p. 310.

4 Ibid., p. 323. Also signed by "Herbertus de Calvomonte".

first, concerning Eudes: presuming that at that date the right to witness documents was reserved for those over 21 years of age, he had a son, Gualo who was at least 21 by 1090; hence he was born c. 1069 at the latest. Before 1089 he also had a daughter of marriageable age (which is less of a guide - she could still have been quite young), but the two facts concur in suggesting that Eudes himself may have been born around 1045. Otmond, his grandson by Robert I may have been born around 1070 since he is actively fighting by 1089 and signed a charter in 1092. This may suggest that the reign of Robert himself, who has not left any extant charters, was fairly short. However, since Otmond was born c. 1070 at the latest, this suggests that his grandfather, Eudes, must have been born, say, 45-50 years before, i.e. 1020-25. Wallo his father would thus have been born at around the turn of the century. If the Godefroy mentioned above was his father, the chronology would fit fairly easily, allowing an average of 25 years for the generation gap - presuming, that is that in each case the line was direct from father to son and not from brother to brother. In the light of these deductions, the following family tree can be drawn up.



This table accounts for all the attested members of the Chaumont family in a way which is chronologically plausible.

We believe that Richard de Chaumont was a historical character and that, despite the absence of any documentary evidence in his favour, he should take his place on the tree. We have entered him as a brother of Eudes, which would have made him about fifty years of age at the time of the Fécamp pilgrimage. If he had gone as a younger

member of the party then he could have been a younger son of Eudes and aged about 25-30 at the time. So much and no more can be hypothesised.

Another item which cannot be overlooked is a charter dating from 1066 in which Hugo de Calvomonte, miles, endowed the Abbey of Marmoutier with the Church of Saint-Ouen of Gisors, with the intention of founding a Priory¹. The original donation is confirmed by the Archbishop of Rouen in these terms:

..... per donationem Hugonis de Calvomonte, militis, mei fidelis et uxoris ejus Mehildis, de cujus dote est ipse locus, nec non et filiorum suorum, Tetbaldi, Drogonis, Hugonis atque Lamberti.....

Apparently Hugo was succeeded by his son Thibaut in c. 1074 under the title of "Seigneur de Gisors"². The dating would allow for this Hugo to have been the historical prototype of Richard de Chaumont, had he decided to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem before the end of his days.

If the Richard de Chaumont of the Catalogus Abbatum and of Graindor's epic is not an early scribe or jongleur's confusion for this Hugo or some other member of the

1 P. F. D. Hersan, Histoire de la Ville de Gisors, (Gisors, Lapierre, 1858), p. 264; full text of charter, p. 331.

2 Known as Thibaut, "dit Payen de Neaufle". But P. Anselme claims him to be son of Geoffroy de Montmorency (III, 660).

Chaumont-Quitry family who may have participated in Jean d'Alie's pilgrimage, he was probably a younger brother somewhere in that line who became a prior of Fécamp and whose fame rests solely on this story of captivity.

It is in connection with this possibility that we turn to another of the "Chétifs", Foucher de Meulan. It is highly probable that the O.F. "Melant" should be identified with the County of Meulan, on the right bank of the Seine, some 30 kms. North West of Paris¹. In the tenth and eleventh centuries the Counties of Vexin and Meulan shared common boundaries as well as family ties. Dreux, Count of Vexin (1027-35) was the uncle of Hugues I, Count of Meulan (997-1015), whilst their progeny, Gautier III of Vexin (1035-63) and Galeran II of Meulan (1015-70) were cousins². Hence it is not strange to see the coupling of a knight from Meulan with one from Chaumont, then a fief of the Vexin. Furthermore the name Foulques, Foucher is recorded among the more popular names of the Meulan lineage. Indeed, the third son of Galeran II

1 The name Melant is not uncommon in the epic and is often to be taken as Milan, as shown by an example from Horn:

En sun lit se cucha mes el ne dormist mie

Pur tut l'or de Melan ne l'argent de Pavie. (701-2)

The Romance of Horn by Thomas, ed. Mildred K. Pope, (Oxford, Blackwells, 1955) Anglo-Norman Texts, IX-X.

2 L'Art de Vérifier..., II, 683.

was called Foulques, and he is recorded as having died childless before 1080¹. We noted before that Jean d'Alie died in 1078, so there appears on the surface to be a contemporaneity about these two. We know that Foulques was the third son, and if history has preserved less trace of third sons than of their elder brothers, it is because the laws of primogeniture often reserved little or nothing in the way of property beyond the second son, and the third was usually destined to enter Holy Orders. This is not to say that many of them did not rise to fame in the Church, but as many seem to have sunk without trace. Baldwin of Boulogne, the youngest of the Bouillon brothers, was originally intended for the Church²; it was only the First Crusade which liberated him from the prospect of a career little suited to his immoderate temperament. In fact the Crusade movement at that time was largely fostered by landless sons eager to carve out a fief for themselves in the East. So if Foulques de Meulan followed the tradition of the day the chances are strong that he would have become a monk and it is possible that the same discipline was reserved for Richard de Chaumont.

1 L'Art de Vérifier....., II, 689.

2 Runciman, I, 146.

There are several ties recorded between the Abbey of Fécamp and the County of Meulan in the course of the eleventh century. Fécamp owned parcels of land within the county and procured its wine from Evecquemont and Vaux¹. There are charters confirming agreements between both parties, notably the exemption from tax of boats belonging to the Abbey plying up and down the Seine². Any landless son of the Counties of Meulan or Vexin would be as likely to go to Fécamp as any of the other institutions for which Normandy was justly celebrated at the time - Bec, Jumièges, Saint-Wandrille, Mont Saint-Michel. We believe that that is precisely what Richard de Chaumont, and his distant relation, Foulques de Meulan, may have done.

If the argument is valid it accounts for four of the heroes of Les Chétifs: the fourth, because the apposition "Jean d'Alie, Abbé de Fécamp" has evidently given birth to two separate personalities in Graindor's version, the first of whom is clad in the arms of chivalry, whilst the second retains his clerical garb.

1 M. Lachiver, Histoire de Meulan et de sa région par les textes, (Meulan, Persan-Beaumont, 1965), pp. 52, 82.

2 L'Abbaye Bénédictine, II, p. 304 (no 28), p. 306 (unnumbered).

If one of the lesser characters of the poem, Foucher, has been brought to light in this way, it is our contention that the other minor knight, Renaud de Pavie, who is mentioned only once in Les Chétifs (l. 2758) may have a historically plausible background equally connected with Fécamp.

In the early eleventh century, through the generosity of its Dukes, Normandy experienced a sudden flourishing of its monasteries. In a short time they became famous as seats of learning, and over a long period there were steady migrations of Italian monks who forsook the celebrated schools of Northern Italy, Bologna, Pavia, Ravenna, to establish themselves in Normandy. So numerous were they that the monks of Mont Saint-Michel were later to complain to William the Conqueror about the disproportionate influx of Italians into their monastery¹.

Together with Guillaume de Volpiano, Jean d'Alie was one of the first Italians to establish himself in Normandy, and his speciality is said to have been medicine. It is

1 J. de Crozals, Lanfranc, Archevêque de Cantorbéry, sa vie, son enseignement, sa politique, (Paris, Sandoz et Fischbacher, 1877), p. 30.

notable that at that time of great rivalry between the two foremost schools of medicine, Jean was a disciple of the Pavia school rather than that of Salerno¹. Hence it seems natural that if Jean wanted to pursue his studies in that field, he should surround himself with monks of that following.

Strong links between Normandy and Pavia were forged in the mid-eleventh century by the person of Lanfranc, one of the most prominent of all the Italian monks of Normandy, Abbot of Bec, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury².

Lanfranc was a native of Pavia. After some time spent studying law in Bologna he returned to his home town and collected a band of disciples. In the late 1030's he left Pavia and after several years teaching in France, he made his way to Bec in 1042. It appears that he did not travel alone : "son biographe raconte qu'il amena avec lui plusieurs élèves du plus grand nom, enfants des plus nobles familles. (....) Il se mit à la tête de cette caravane studieuse, composée peut-être de quelques uns de ces jeunes gens qu'il avait initiés à Pavie au secret

1 L'Abbaye Bénédictine, I, 40.

2 de Crozals, Lanfranc. See also Allan J. Macdonald, Lanfranc, A Study of his Life, Work and Writing, (Oxford, 1926).

de ses études personnelles"¹. Some of these "jeunes gens" might later have found their way to Fécamp.

So again, although there is no direct evidence to show that there was a Renaud de Pavie, Prior of Fécamp, there is certain circumstantial evidence to suggest that such a character may have existed. Again the chronological factor does not belie the possibility. Anyone arriving in Normandy as a young student in the train of Lanfranc in 1042 would be quite likely to take part in a pilgrimage organised some thirty years later.

There are very few extant charters from the time of Jean d'Alie and most of them have survived only in seventeenth century copies. Jean's signature is on many of them, and while some do contain the signatures of other priors of Fécamp, others are merely signed by Jean on behalf of his colleagues, but of all the Fécamp charters which we have consulted², not one bears any other name which might be identified with those of the "Chétifs".

1 de Crozals, p. 23.

2 Below is a list of all Fécamp charters from the time of the abbacy of Jean d'Alie.
We would like to take this opportunity of acknowledging our debt of gratitude to the direction of the Société de la Bénédictine and especially to M. Yvart, Conservateur en chef, who allowed us free access to these original documents when we visited Fécamp in December 1973.

If four historical characters, Jean, Richard, Foucher and Renaud were companions in adversity on a pilgrimage at some time during the early 1070s, what are the chances of their adventures being perpetuated in legend? The first study of the literary activity at Fécamp, by Leroux de Lincy, was not exhaustive and concentrated primarily on the tradition of the Precious Blood and its implications for the Grail Legend. The poem on the foundation of the Abbey and the advent of the Precious Blood were studied and edited by O. Kajava in 1928¹, and the same topic was taken up again²

The purpose of the visit was to establish the names of the signatories of all the extant original documents. Normally the number of signatories was very limited apart from a representative of the Abbey itself, usually Jean d'Alie, and the other contracting party. Among the other witnesses there were none whose name resembled those of the "Chétifs".

The original documents: now in the Musée de la Bénédictine at Fécamp, catalogued in L'Abbaye Bénédictine, II, p. 305 (nos 3, 5 bis, 7, and unnumbered).

Seventeenth and eighteenth century copies:

B.N. fonds Moreau 22, fols 100, 121; 25, fol 249; 28, fol 192; 29, fol 90. See also Gourdon de Genouillac p. 277 ff.

for a resumé of the Fécamp Cartulary in the Fonds Moreau.

B.N. fonds Baluze 73, fol 37^v.

Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 1210.

- 1 Oskari Kajava, Etudes sur deux poèmes français relatifs à l'abbaye de Fécamp, (Helsinki, 1928).
- 2 By René Herval, "En marge de la Légende du Précieux-Sang, Lucques-Fécamp-Glastonbury", in L'Abbaye Bénédictine, I, pp. 103-26.

at the Fécamp colloque in 1958. It was suggested at the same time that the Vie de Saint-Leger may have been written at Fécamp¹. After all it was there that the saint spent some of his imprisonment:

Guenin aut nom cui l'comandat
 La jus en cartres l'entmenat
 Et en Fescan, en cel moustier,
 Iluoc reclusdrent Saint Ledgier
 Domine Deus en cel flaiel
 Visitet at Leggier son serf.

(Str. 30)

The difficulty in this theory is the Burgundy/Provençal dialect of the Saint-Leger, and M. Herval suggests that "Les deux pôles de la légende de Saint Leger ayant été Autun et Fécamp, le poème qui nous occupe pourrait fort bien être l'oeuvre d'un des religieux venus de Bourgogne avec Guillaume de Volpiano et qui, ému de retrouver en Normandie un thème hagiographique de son pays, aura voulu le traiter en vers, dans la pauvre langue romane du temps"².

Even though this may be contested there remains the evidence of a charter which confirms the existence of a confrérie de jongleurs at Fécamp going back to the early

1 L'Abbaye Bénédictine, I, 37.

2 Ibid., p. 38.

eleventh century¹. The fact that two others of the earliest surviving Old French monuments, the Vie de Saint Alexis and the Chanson de Roland are both Norman poems suggests that consequent upon the great religious revival in Normandy at that time was a flowering of secular literature of quality. The presence of the diminutive figure of the jongleur in the Bayeux Tapestry² and the tradition of Taillefer exhorting William's barons at Hastings - whether actually true or not in the detail - illustrate that Norman patronage was considered as something to be cherished.

We have thereby established that the history of Fécamp not only preserves sufficient details of a captivity in the East, in which the two named pilgrims are the same as two "Chétifs", but that, through the confrérie de jongleurs, the Abbey had at its disposal the means to diffuse the story to the public at large. If the presence of Foucher de Meulan and Renaud de Pavie is based largely on circumstantial evidence, it seems that Foucher de Meulan, at least, could only have become one of Corbaran's captives by association with the Norman contingent.

1 Leroux de Lincy, Essai historique et littéraire, pp. xiii-xiv: Full text of charter, pp. 378-82.

2 Rita Lejeune, "Turolde dans la tapisserie de Bayeux", in Mélanges offerts à René Crozet, éd. P. Gallais and Yves-Jean Rion, (Poitiers, 1966), I, 419-425.

If the details concerning the Norman contingent are vague or even non-existent, the same cannot be said of Harpin de Bourges, who heads the group of southern "Chétifs", including l'Evêque de Forez and, if one prefers to retain him in this party, Renaud de Pavie. The events of Harpin's life are known in the main lines and have been fully treated elsewhere¹. However, the outline of the years from 1100 to his death are of interest. In that year the Viscount, having no heir and having decided to take the Cross with no intention of returning, sold the Viscounty of Bourges together with the fief of Dun-le-Roi to Philip I for a sum reputed to be 60,000 marks. He joined the "Arrière-Croisade" and eventually reached the Holy Land, but not without the same tribulations as Guillaume d'Aquitaine. On May 17th, 1102, he found himself, together with a small company of knights under the leadership of King Baldwin, threatened by a larger force of Turks outside the town of Ramleh. Harpin sought to persuade the rash Baldwin to wait for reinforcements, but his suggestion was met with rebuff². In the battle that ensued Baldwin managed to escape, but those who

1 Louis Hector Raynal, Histoire du Berry, depuis les temps les plus anciens jusqu'en 1789, 3 vols., (Bourges, Vermeil, 1844-47), I, pp. 393-410.

2 Guibert of Nogent, RHC Occ., IV, 244 H; "Rex ait: 'Si times, fuge Bituricas'".

retreated into the stronghold at Ramleh were eventually forced to capitulate. Whilst most were killed on the spot, some were taken prisoner, but unfortunately the names of only two of these have been preserved¹, Conrad, the constable of the Emperor of Germany, and Harpin de Bourges. They were held in "Babylone" (Cairo) for some time until they were eventually released together with the other prisoners after an intervention on their behalf by the Emperor Alexius Comnenus. Ordericus Vitalis gives one account of the negotiations for their release², but there is another one which tends to be overlooked, and which, politically speaking, is probably the more correct. That is in the Alexiad of Anna Comnena³ of which some extracts are worth quoting in full.

Now it happened that the Babylonian (al-Afdal)..... had captured 300 counts⁴. He kept his prisoners under guard, and their imprisonment was as terrible as any of ancient times. The news of their capture and the dreadful things that befell them afterwards worried the Emperor. (He sent an envoy to pay a ransom for their release. The Emir released them without accepting the

1 Albert of Aix, RHC Occ., IV, 594 B-C.

2 See below p. 202-3., and 214-5.

3 The "Alexiad" of Anna Comnena, trans. E. R. A. Sewter, (Penguin Classics, 1969).

4 This figure is an exaggeration: the number of those actually captured was very few, probably no more than 30.

ransom, and the prisoners went to Constantinople). On their arrival in Constantinople Alexius saw them. He was overjoyed at the barbarian's decision, and surprised too. When they were interrogated closely about their experiences, he learnt how they had been kept in prison for so long a time, for months in fact, and had not once seen the sun nor been loosed from their chains; during all that time they had been denied every kind of nourishment except bread and water. Their sufferings excited his pity and he shed tears of sympathy. They were at once treated with much kindness; money was given them; all kinds of raiment were provided for them; they were invited to the baths and in every way attempts were made to ensure their recovery from such ordeals.

(pp. 370-71)

The counts stayed on at the emperor's court for a time, until the threatening appearance of Bohemond in Lombardy made it expedient for Alexius to give them leave to go, which he did, with the usual distribution of wealth for which he was by this time renowned. Alexius's intentions seem clear, and Anna Comnena admits as much¹, namely to furnish himself, in the persons of these released captives, with a favourable publicity in the West where he knew his reputation had been damaged by Bohemond's recruiting campaign during the previous year.

Harpin made his way to Rome where the Pope persuaded him to take Holy Orders, and on his return to France he entered Cluny. In 1107 he signed a charter of La Charité-sur-Loire in the capacity of prior². He is last attested in an act of 1121 and the date of his death is traditionally placed slightly

1 "and they would personally refute Bohemond's calumnies against him", p. 371. (Cf. p. 369.)

2 Raynal, I, 405 and 475.

later, in 1130¹. These, briefly are the cardinal points of his life from 1100 to 1130, but of more interest to us, as far as Les Chétifs is concerned, is the development of the Harpin legend, which will be studied in the following chapter.

The identification of the Evêque du Forez still remains a mystery. Pigeonneau² has already suggested that the Bishop was "l'archiprêtre de Feurs (Forum Segusianorum) et de Montbrison qui portait souvent le titre d'archiprêtre de Forez ou Forois". The diocese of Lyons was divided up into eighteen archiprêtrés of which that of the pagus Forensis was one.

At a later date it was called the "Archiprêtré de Montbrison". However, although these offices are not attested before the mid-twelfth century, A. Bernard, the editor of the Cartulary of Savigny claims that they almost certainly existed in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries³.

On the other hand it is known that Hugh of Die, Archbishop of Lyons went on the 1101 Crusade in the capacity of special legate to Pope Paschal - although he does not appear to have accompanied any of the overland armies and probably

1 Raynal, I, 410.

2 Pigeonneau, p. 148, n. 5.

3 Auguste Bernard, Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Savigny, suivi du petit Cartulaire de l'Abbaye d'Ainay, 2 vols., (Paris 1853), I, lxii.

made the journey by sea¹. Possibly his presence as a leading member of the Church encouraged some of his subordinates to join the "Arrière-Croisade".

There is supplementary evidence of participation from the Forez on the 1101 Crusade : one charter in the cartulary of the Abbey of Savigny states that :

Ego Chatardus, volens ire Hierusalem, facio donum
de tota mea haereditate² Deo et Sancto Martino
Saviniacensis coenobii .

But there is no extent information concerning the lives of the archiprêtres in the diocese of Lyons, so any suggestion that the "archiprêtre du Forez" was a companion of Harpin de Bourges, though highly plausible, must remain pure speculation.

The same can be said of Renaud de Pavie. The Lombard participation in the 1101 Crusade was the largest of any group, but the names of only a few of the major leaders passed into the Chronicles. Some of them survived the massacre of that year and stayed in the East, taking part in Baldwin's campaigns of 1103 and 1104, notably Albert of

1 J. L. Cate, "The Crusade of 1101", p. 352.

2 Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Savigny, I, 457; (Charter 867, dated c. 1100)

Briandrate and Otto of Altaspata, his nephew¹. It is not stated specifically whether they fought in the Battle of Ramleh or not, but it was possible for some of their countrymen to have done so, including (the hypothetical?) Renaud de Pavie, and to have met with the same fate as Harpin de Bourges.

Superficially, therefore, the "Chétifs" appeared to be a heterogeneous group of knights and clergy, Northern French, Southern French and Italians. This variety of provenance has until now proved to be an obstacle to their identification. We have shown that the Abbey of Fécamp was the focal point where many of them foregathered. The fact that Jean d'Alie, the Abbot himself, was of Italian origin facilitated the mingling of Italians with Normans and accounts for this seemingly strange mixture of allegiances. The evidence points to a considerable participation from the Lyonnais and the Forez during the 1101 Crusade which explains the presence of the Evêque du Forez alongside Harpin de Bourges. How these two groups, different both in place and time, were united is the subject of the next chapter.

1 Albert of Aix, RHC Occ, IV, 603, 608.

C H A P T E R S E V E N

THE DEVELOPMENT OF LES CHÉTIFS1) THE EARLY STAGES

Les Chétifs of Graindor de Douai consisted of an epic tale of captivity based on two historical captivities - that of Jean d'Alie and his Normans in about 1074 and that of Harpin de Bourges and his companions from 1102-1103, 4. The present chapter will attempt to reconstruct the path of those two tales from their inception to the finished poem of Graindor. With the lack of documentary evidence the task is not easy, and the progress of Harpin de Bourges lends itself more readily to this exercise than that of the Normans.

Neither of the two chroniclers living in the East at the time of Ramleh, Foucher of Chartres and Radulph of Caen mention Harpin, nor, as a result does William of Tyre, whose work is based largely on Foucher for that period. Therefore, as Cahen has already remarked¹, the story of Harpin de Bourges was not widely known, if at all, in the East.

1 Le Moyen Age, p. 321.

In the West, however, the situation is different. The first mention of him is found in the chronicle of Guibert of Nogent, writing in 1110, when Harpin was no doubt still alive, in which the author mentions the captivity and the moniage, but does not refer to the sale of his land :

Harpinus captivus abducitur; deinceps a captivitate solatus, in Franciam rediens monachus efficitur¹.

Similarly Albert of Aix, writing some ten years later, is informed of the captivity, but of neither of the other two details which form the central points of the Harpin legend².

It is not until Ordericus Vitalis, who composed this part of his chronicle in or slightly later than 1135³, that all three aspects of the Harpin tale are united in one written source. This is the first time that the sale of land is noted ;

Tunc Harpinus Bituricam urbem Philippo, regi Francorum, vendedit...⁴

Released from his captivity , Harpin had an audience with the

1 RHC Occ., IV, 245 A.

2 Ibid., 594 C.

3 For this dating see vol. III, 460, n.1.

4 Vol IV, 119.

Pope and

... juxta consilium Papae, immo Christi, saeculum reliquit, et Cluniacum expetens, monachus factus, in servitio Dei usque ad mortem perseveravit.¹

The account in Ordericus is probably not much different from the one which must, in the beginning, have been spread by Harpin himself, who was probably not fully aware of the Emperor Alexius's motives in having the captives released.

At the time of Ordericus this tale is still fairly accurate from the historical point of view, to the extent that Harpin is regarded as a participant of the 1101 Crusade and his captivity is placed after Ramleh. The outlines of the story are still clear. But at some stage those outlines were to become blurred and Harpin's captivity, which was to be one of the most popular stories of the Crusade during the next century gradually became associated with the First Crusade proper rather than remain a post-script to it.

Fortunately there is a valuable document which gives some idea as to when this assimilation of Harpin's legend to the Crusade took place. There exists in the Bibliothèque Nationale a variant manuscript² of Baudri of Bourgueil's

1 Vol. IV, 139.

2 B.N. fonds latin 5513. This is MS G in the edition of the Historia in RHC Occ., III,

Historia Jerosolimitana in which the redactor has added to Baudri's sober account a few details of a more popular nature, some of which are not found elsewhere, others are found in the Chanson d'Antioche¹.

To the muster roll of the First Crusade the redactor of this manuscript adds a further short list of knights among whom is Harpin de Bourges². This particular text was written in the second third of the twelfth century, so that already by the 1160s the popular association of Harpin with the First Crusade had taken place, but it was probably earlier.

It is evident from the predominant position given by Ordericus to tales of captivity that they were enormously popular in the West at that time, and that many of them had already acquired a legendary status. Ordericus's Crusade chronicle for the years 1102-1123 consists largely of three captivities: of Harpin, of Bohemond and Richard de Principatu, and of Baldwin II and Joscelin of Courtenay in 1123. In one sense this is not surprising, because in the half century of internecine strife between the First Crusade and the death of Raymond of Antioch in 1149, the history of Northern Syria

1 Mme Duparc, Le Cycle, pp. 109, n. 1; "La Composition de la Chanson d'Antioche" Romania LXXXIII (1962), 243, n. 1.

2 "Harpinum, vicecomitem Bituricarum", RHC Occ., IV, 17, variant 25.

was checkered with attacks and counter-attacks, alliances formed one year and rescinded the next, slaughter and reprisal, and catastrophic annihilations following on the heels of overwhelming victories; with this constant military activity it is to be expected that the chroniclers have left only a jumble of events in which hardly any stand out. The capture of Bohemond, the first imprisonment of Baldwin II in 1118, the death of Roger of Antioch and total massacre of the Christians at the battle of the Ager Sanguinus, the capture of Baldwin and Joscelin by Belek in 1123, these are the main events brought to our attention by the chroniclers. Amidst this turmoil, capture and slavery, escape and release were the order of the day and there can be no doubt that hundreds of stories were told, in which the original factual form gradually became decorated with fantasy in the telling, and a parallel can be drawn with our own time in the spate of captivity and escape literature which immediately followed the last war.

During the Crusade, however, communication media were not so swift and the stories that percolated through did so only slowly. At the end of the 1130s when Ordericus was writing it appears that the popularity of such stories, together with the attendant confusion of fact and fiction, was at its height.

It was possibly at this time that the jongleurs of Fécamp decided not to let slip this excellent opportunity of profiting from the prevailing literary vogue and resuscitated from the oblivion into which it had fallen their own story of captivity concerning Jean d'Alie and Richard de Chaumont, and, as we believe, Foucher and Renaud. By now, of course, some sixty years had passed since the event and the actual facts of the pilgrimage would have been nothing but a distant memory, and possibly the name of Jean d'Alie, of which no doubt there were visual reminders, including his tomb in Saint John's Chapel, was the sole item to be transmitted correctly. With no care for verisimilitude the jongleurs automatically attached the captivity to the First Crusade, of which, naturally, Richard le Pèlerin's vivid account was in circulation. An attempt may even have been made at that relatively early date to graft the story of captivity on to Richard's poem. Similarly, the Fécamp tale, if it were to have a sympathetic audience, must have provided something more exciting than an account of an uneventful capture of a group of octogenerian monks. The overriding need was for action and the clerical aspect of the original party must have been changed for a more chivalrous one, with the possible introduction at this stage of one of the central

themes of Les Chétifs, namely Richard's duel. At some period also, the Fécamp captivity story and that of Harpin de Bourges were fused, because if we are to believe that the next witness of the development of Les Chétifs, Aubri of Trois Fontaines¹, was acquainted with pre-Graindor versions of the cycle, this fusion and the introduction of the duel had already taken place by then. If Aubri's testimony is correct, then it is a highly valuable document for the development of Les Chétifs. Provided that it was Graindor who introduced the Civetot episode into the Antioche - and it is fairly certain that he did - and assuming that Aubri's version is an accurate representation of what came to his notice, then he must have been recounting a pre-Graindor stage of Les Chétifs, because the place of capture of the prisoners is stated as being Harim and not Civetot.

The details concerning Richard de Chaumont and Harpin de Bourges reported by Aubri are entirely correct - that Richard fought against two Turks on behalf of Corbaran, thus liberating himself and his companions, and that Harpin had sold his land and the "castrum de Duno", a point not mentioned in the poetic version. It is true that in the extant epic of

¹ See ~~above~~ p. 164.

Graindor the true "Chétifs" number only seven and not twelve¹, but there are many other anonymous ones who make up the company. This precision concerning the basic facts of the story lends strength to the credibility of the passage. The placing of the capture of Harim is no indication that the captives were historically taken there - an argument hitherto used to support the theory of the oriental origins of the poem - since we have shown conclusively that of the historical characters concerned most were long since dead and Harpin was still in Bourges : no, the choice of Harim as the place of capture is the work of an inspired jongleur, well acquainted with the events of the Crusade and with the chronicles, which already mention that soon after their arrival before Antioch, several Christians were captured during foraging parties. Robert the Monk, whose history is based on the contemporary anonymous Gesta Francorum,² and which was the most popular of all the First Crusade chronicles³ and was later followed closely by Graindor de Douai himself for the last part of the Antioche, states that :

1 This is merely a question of epid numbers. The twelve in Aubri might represent the concept of "douze pairs". Equally plausible is the paleographic confusion between .VII. and .XII.

2 Ed. Rosalind Hill, Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum, (London, 1962).

3 It survives in over eighty manuscripts.

Nam castellum quoddam erat in montanis non longe a castris, nomine Areth, quod erat plenum rebellantibus Turcis, qui nostris insidias praetenderunt et multos vulneraverunt et plures occiderunt, et plerosque captivos detinuerunt, ceterosque turpiter injuriatos ad castra redire compulerunt¹.

This jongleur took advantage of the fact that "plerosque captivos detinuerunt" to intercalate the Ur-Chétifs into the Ur-Antioche at that point.

The implication of this is of paramount importance to the development of the Crusade Cycle, since it suggests that much of the reworking hitherto attributed to Graindor had already been done. He did not take Les Chétifs as a separate poem and use it to solder the intact primitive poem of Richard le Pèlerin to the Jérusalem, because in its major outlines Les Chétifs was already attached to Richard's work.

These are the only indications obtainable from contemporary documents concerning the development of Les Chétifs up to the stage at which Graindor took on the job of reworking the Cycle, but they are sufficient to illustrate that its build up was more gradual than had been hitherto supposed.

However, this early Chétifs was fabricated entirely out of ~~two~~ non-Crusade components ~~which~~ had nothing in common except the theme of captivity. Both of these components had been

1 RHC Occ, III, 776 B-C.

lifted out of their original context and so the captives, after the fashion of Pirandello, were in search of a captor. By virtue of his position as the leading Turkish opponent at the time of the Crusade, the person chosen to play the part of captor in the epic version was Corbaran, who had already attained a somewhat epic status during the siege of Antioch, as related in the Gesta Francorum and doubtless also in the Antioche of Richard le Pèlerin.

The choice of Corbaran as captor was purely a literary convenience. Historically speaking, Kerbogha was the captor of no one. Indeed it was a singular feature of the First Crusade that no famous knight was captured. It was only the anonymous footsoldiers and non-combatants, on the whole, who were led off into "distant captivity in Khorassan", as the chroniclers always put it. The Crusade venture was still in its early stages of religious fanaticism and all Christians of value were put to death¹. It was only at a later date, when

1 The development of captivity as an integral part of warfare in the Crusades is paralleled closely by the theme of captivity in the epic. There are no captives in the Roland - the point is made clearly that it is a fight à l'outrance: "Home ki ço set que ja n'avrat prisun En tel bataille fait grant defension" - Nor in the first part of the Chanson de Guillaume, or the Couronnement Louis, or the Pèlerinage de Charlemagne. Guillaume's imprisonment in the Prise d'Orange is voluntary, but this is the first epic to attest the growing interest in this theme (cf. p. 131n.1 below),

Jerusalem had fallen and the Crusade had lapsed into a colonial war that capture regained its usual status as a means of political bargaining or of private enrichment by ransom. The capture of Bohemond and Richard de Principatu in 1100 and of Harpin two years later ushered in this change of policy since all three owed their subsequent release to political motives. The case of Baldwin II being captured and released twice would have been unthinkable during the Crusade proper. This explains why a jongleur wishing to incorporate a story of captivity into an account of the First Crusade was obliged to import his material from other sources, as the Crusade itself offered nothing.

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The chronicle of Aubri only gives us the bare outlines of the early Chétifs; in order to extrapolate from the existing poem those elements which were in its predecessor we are obliged to examine various structural elements underlying its composition. The Crusade Cycle has never quite held the same

whereas in Fierabras (c. 1170) and the Moniage Guillaume (about the same date) the theme is well established and after that there are few Christian v. Saracen gestes in which there is not a substantial story of captivity.

position of honour as the traditional epic geste¹. It is a much more difficult task to try to fit the cycle into a definite genre of any sort, since it includes elements of the epic and the roman d'aventures and yet is essentially constructed round a historical framework, which places it with the chroniques rimées. The long debate concerning the genuine contemporaneity of the Antioche primitive of Richard le Pèlerin has now come to rest with Sumberg's assertion that the work was probably the first rhymed chronicle² and certainly an eye-witness account of the Crusade, a theory which Mme Duparc is strengthening in her present edition of the Antioche by attempting to "détacher l'oeuvre primitif de Richard"³. The Antioche and the Jérusalem, being essentially chronicles, are ipso facto bound to retain their purely narrative, chronological, historical structures; the events of both branches are governed purely by the external factors of history and not by internal structural necessities.

1 In the bibliographies of both Bossuat and U.T. Holmes it occupies a special section to itself placed after the part devoted to the chanson de geste proper.

2 P. 369.

3 Personal communication.

Les Chétifs on the other hand, which does not have any historical truths behind it, has several levels of structure, and retains the basic narremes¹ essential to that of the epic. This branch is not "entièrément fabuleuse", nor is it all the work of Graindor de Douai, as Pigeonneau believed, whilst it must be admitted that all that it has borrowed from history is the names of certain characters and the subject of captivity. Just as the authors of the original Antioche and Jérusalem had the structure of their works imposed upon them by history, so, in a sense, does any author of a story of captivity inherit an essential structure which is divided into three evident parts: the capture itself, life in captivity, liberation. This tripartite quality is a sine qua non of the genre, and has helped to influence the internal structure of Les Chétifs. If we examine the three tales of captivity recounted by Ordericus we will perceive that all of them comply closely with this necessity and furthermore provide accessory details which also typify the genre and which all recur in Les Chétifs. In the version in question² the outlines of Harpin's imprisonment can be sketched thus:

1 We adopt the terminology first coined by Eugene Dorfman, The Narreme in the Medieval Romance Epic, (Toronto, University Press, 1969), pp. 5-27.

2 Ordericus, vol. IV, 137-39.

after being captured at Ramleh Harpin is taken off to "Babylon" and put into prison. One day visiting Byzantine merchants have the opportunity of visiting the Emir's Christian prisoners, and thus they meet Harpin who asks them to beseech the Emperor Alexius to intercede on his behalf. Alexius sends a message to the Emir of Babylon stating that if Harpin were not released, all the Babylonian merchants in Constantinople would be arrested. Harpin is set free and well treated by the Emir until he returns to Constantinople where he thanks the emperor.

If we supplement this with account given by Anna Comnena quoted previously, the three elements stand out clearly: the capture, the treatment in prison and the release, added to which are the important accessory factors of personal or political reasons for the latter, and the captor's good treatment of his former prisoners. It is interesting that Ordericus claims that Harpin was well treated by the Emir. Anna says nothing of this, but states that he and his fellow prisoners were all well treated by Alexius: "The counts.... were not given complete freedom, for they were handed over to the envoy and returned to the emperor (....) They were at once treated with much kindness; all kinds of raiment were provided for them; they were invited

to the baths" etc. (p. 370). Anna is naturally expected to give all the credit for the well being of the prisoners to her father and her version may be the exact one. But in Ordericus it is the other way round; the Emir treats his captives well - whilst the only part the emperor then plays is to be thanked. We believe that the account of Anna is probably more accurate, and that the attribution of hospitality on the part of the former captor is a literary commonplace which became attached to tales of captivity.

The captivity of Bohemond and Richard follows the same pattern. After their capture they languish in prison for some time until the somewhat romantic events described previously enable them to negotiate with their captor for their release. While Richard goes to Antioch to obtain an escort of soldiers, Bohemond remains behind, on good terms with his captor:

Interea Boamundus frequenter cum Dalimanno loquebatur¹,
and finally all are sent away with rich gifts,

et de thesauris suis jam larga Christianis ultro
dona erogabat².

and furthermore Daliman liberates all the Christian prisoners

1 Vol. IV, 153.

2 Ibid.

in his land¹,

Captivos quoque per totam regionem suam omnes liberari praecipiebat.

In this account the prisoners' release is occasioned by the demands of the internal situation; Daliman is pressurised by his daughter into letting the Christians go. We see once more that the captor behaves hospitably to his former captives.

Similarly, if we turn to the tale of Guiumar Brito and his companions, who were some of those captured with Baldwin and Joscelin, we see the same features stand out. For these five knights Belek reserves a fairly pleasant captivity:

Sic Guiumar Brito et Gervasius Dolensis, Rodbertus de Cadomo et Muschedus Cenomannensis atque Rivallo de Dinam a mendace Balad capti sunt, et Hali, Medorum regi, dono dati sunt. Ille autem potentissimus extitit, et Francos, postquam IX mensibus honorifice servavit, Caliphae de Baldac (= Baghdad) dono dedit. In crastinum Soldanis eisdem a Calipha recepit, et mox libertate, multisque divitiis donavit. Ibi quatuor athletae Guiumarium, Alanni comitis filium, sibi dominum praefecerunt, et sub Soldano tribus semis annis cum ingenti honore permanserunt; quarto autem anno Antiochiam redierunt.

In exilio benignus Deus suum suis auxilium non subtrahit. Nam praefati quinque milites, qui tam longe in captivitatem abducti sunt, magnam inter barbaros gratiam habuerunt. Rex quippe Medorum praefecto urbis eos commendavit, et Gallico more indutos quotidie sibi assistere praecepit. Sericis et auratis vestibus ornati erant, equos et arma, variamque supellectilem habebant,

1 Vol. IV, p. 153. This was one of the conditions laid down by Melaz for the return of the Palace: "Relaxa omnes captivos eorum, qui in regionibus ditionis sunt" (p. 151).

et quicquid a rege vel a praefecto postulabant. Spectabiles coram Persis procedebant, et Medi cultum Francorum admirantes collaudabant. Filiae regum decorem eorum affectabant, facetiisque arridebant. Ipsi quoque reges atque duces de semine Francorum nepotes habere concupiscebant. Nemo tamen a cultu Christi eos aliquatenus recedere, vel a suo rito compulit deviare.

De divitiis Soldani mira referunt, et de incognitis speciebus quas in Oriente viderunt. Soldanus dicitur quasi solus dominus, quia cunctis praeest Orientis principibus. Quarto anno, remeandi licentiam illis concessit, aureamque sagittam, quae principalis specimen praemonstrabit absolutionis, contulit. Potentissimorum filias optimatum illis, si remanere voluissent, et ingentes gazas ac possessiones obtulit. Abire tandem volentibus ingentes thesauros, variasque divitias suas ostendit. Denique, pluribus xeniis remunerati, notos et benefactores salutaverunt, et per conductum David, Georgiensis regis, et Turoidi de Montanis Antiochiam redierunt, laetique amicis retulerunt qualiter in Ninive et Baldac et Babylonia commorati fuissent, et multa nobis ignota, quae in Eois partibus vidissent. ¹

In this captivity the element which is stressed above all is the hospitality of the captors. If this aspect was incidental to the previous two accounts, in this one it is the central subject. We note, from the extracts underlined, that the captives are offered all kinds of presents and comforts, like their counterparts in Les Chétifs, including the most delectable pleasures of the flesh, albeit with the ulterior motive discussed below².

1 Vol. IV, 255-57.

2 P. 233

Each of these narratives contains the necessary ingredients for a tale of captivity and it is our belief that when the Ur-Chétifs sprang into being it was automatically invested with the same indispensable features. We have seen that after Harpin's identity had been fused with the First Crusade and after his captivity had been assimilated to that of the Normans, and the result incorporated into the primitive cycle, neither the original captors, nor the original conditions of release were retained, so clearly a new captor, a new imprisonment and new conditions of release had to be created. These were facilitated by the figure of Corbaran and it must have been at the same time that a new motive for the release of the captives was introduced. The chronicle of Aubri states unequivocally that Richard fights the duel "pro Corbaranno", which shows that the duel was not merely gratuitous, but that there was already a motive for it; namely Corbaran's need to defend himself against the charge of treason at the Battle of Antioch. This in turn means that the scenes at the Soudan's court where Corbaran is formally charged with treason were also in the original Chétifs.

It is at this stage that we should examine Les Chétifs in the light of its epic structure in the terms suggested recently by Eugene Dorfman in The Narreme in the Medieval

Romance Epic. Dorfman reduces the essential substructure of a given epic to four parts: 1) A quarrel, usually a family quarrel, 2) an insult, 3) acts, either of treachery or of prowess, 4) punishment or reward, whichever is applicable¹.

Les Chétifs is only a branch and not a totally independant organism and so to a great extent its structure is determined by that of the preceding material. Allowing for the fact that the motivation of the action is governed largely by the historical truth that Kerbogha was defeated at Antioch, Les Chétifs nevertheless contains the four substructural elements in some form or other. There is no family quarrel in Les Chétifs: what we have is a feudal quarrel. It cannot be claimed that the defeated general is welcomed in Sarmasane with enthusiasm. He has only been there a few minutes and the Soudan hurls a dart at him, missing him by a hair's breadth. His defence is to no avail - the Roi de Nubie who rallies to his support is told to hold his tongue in no uncertain terms,

"Taisiés, fiux a putain," co dist li rois Soudan.

and in no time at all he finds himself accused of treason and on pain of death. The Soudan's anger is only assuaged by the wise counsels of Brudalan "le preu". The scene is stormy,

1 P. 21.

to say the least, and it fulfils the requirement of leading on to the next element, the insult. Whereas in a family quarrel the insult is a personal one, in Les Chétifs, in which the quarrel is between suzerain and vassal, the insult is feudal in nature, namely the accusation of treason. This accusation, which normally is a perfectly legitimate one, as, for example in the case of Ganelon, of whom it is stressed from the beginning to the end of the Roland that he "la traïsun fist", takes the form of an insult in Les Chétifs because it is an unjust accusation. Corbaran was defeated because of the overwhelming superiority of the Franks and for no other reason; it is a historical fact that Kerbogha was defeated, though that was due to his own incompetence. There is no question in the poetic version but that Corbaran did all he could given that his real opponent was God himself, which Corbaran readily admits,

"Mais li dex as François est de grant seignorie,
Car il garde se gent et molt bien lor aïe".

(38-39)

The date is named for the judicial duel which will account for the third structural necessity, the act of prowess. It is not Corbaran himself who performs this act, but Richard, his proxy. The outcome being successful for Corbaran, the fourth narreme takes the form of a reward, namely his reconciliation

with his overlord and his investment with the office of seneschal (l. 1295).

These four elements make up the basic substructure of Les Chétifs, even though all the narremic requirements have been fulfilled by line 1295, less than a third of the way through the present extant version. But Les Chétifs is not an ordinary epic, it is also a tale of captivity and therefore consists of a further tripartite substructure.

The capture itself in the first version was placed at Harim, in the middle of the Antioche primitive; Graindor de Douai was obliged to keep a scene of capture, but he brought it forward right to the beginning of his remaniement. But the actual place of capture is irrelevant, so long as there is one. In a sense, then, the first element of Les Chétifs in Graindor's version is as far from the branch itself as it can possibly be. Next comes the life in captivity.

Goossens was the first to remark that the actual time devoted to the penal activities of the "Chétifs" in the poem is negligible. But the duel judiciaire also comes under the heading of life in captivity. This is structurally the strongest point of Les Chétifs because in this act of prowess a narreme of the epic structure and one of the captivity come together and are expressed by the same external action;

because the real element in the life in captivity narreme is precisely the duel, and not the previous three years which the "Chétifs" have spent in slavery, just as in the tale of Bohemond and Richard the life in captivity took the form of a Palace revolt. The success of Richard de Chaumont in the duel also provides the motive for the final narreme in the captivity structure, the release of the prisoners. This narreme contains Corbaran's return to Oliferne, his feasting of the captives, their release and their journey back to join their compatriots.

It is therefore certain that the first version of Les Chétifs had to contain these parts if it were to hold together as an epic: the capture - the ~~court~~ scene at Sormasane in which Corbaran is accused of treason - his return to Oliferne where he selects his Christian champion - the duel itself - the reconciliation with the Soudan - second return to Oliferne - the release of the "Chétifs", their journey to Jerusalem. It is possible that the present duplication of the reward theme, first of Corbaran by the Soudan, then of the "Chétifs" by Corbaran did not exist in the first version, and they might have been rolled into one; the "Chétifs" could have left straight for Jerusalem from Sormasane without going via Oliferne. This may even have been the case, because in the present version

all the "Chétifs" ride over to Sarmasane to be spectators. Since they also participate in the banquet given in Corbaran's honour it would in no way weaken the structure if they were also granted their freedom on the spot instead of riding all the way back to Oliferne, as they do in the extant poem.

The scenes enumerated above provide the basic unalterable framework of the branch; all the other events belong to the episodic superstructure, including the ambush by Arfulan and Lyon de la Montagne and the various adventures of Harpin de Bourges. Neither of these major episodes is mentioned by Aubri of Trois Fontaines. Both have the characteristic of episodes which rightly belong to the roman d'aventures or the later epic. They are both structurally unnecessary to Les Chétifs and we believe that they were both added by Graindor de Douai¹.

The great gap between substructure and superstructure in Les Chétifs is exemplified in the case of the different versions contained in two manuscripts which are in the same family. The Oxford fragment contains only the first part of the poem up to line 1549, but despite that it is entirely substantial in narremic terms, because, although it omits the usual details on the release of the "Chétifs", it nevertheless carries as an epilogue one *laisse* briefly describing their

247 ff.

1 But see discussion of these episodes below p. 247 ff.

return to Jerusalem¹. Whoever decided to cut out all the remaining episodes and just retain part one of Les Chétifs had the basic narrative intuition to realise that a few lines, at least, had to be preserved describing their release. In contrast with the brevity of the Oxford fragment is the prolixity of the version contained in MS. B, totalling 5444 lines, with all its additions, expanded episodes and lengthy duplications. Hatem, who saw in this long redaction the original version of Les Chétifs, of which the others were merely truncated versions², could not have been more wrong! Despite the disparity in their outward appearance, these two versions are built round the same narremic structure which can be illustrated diagrammatically thus:

Epic Structure

Captivity Structure

Capture I

I Quarrel

II Insult

III Act of prowess = Life in captivity II

IV Reward

Release III

1 See Appendix IX.

2 P. 257.

When Graindor inherited the early Chétifs there must have been other features already in it apart from the basic elements delineated above. One important accessory which was in the accounts of the Crusade from the very beginning and was carried over into Les Chétifs was Corbaran's mother and her role as a soothsayer. For Hatem the part played by her divinations, by the supernatural, in the poem was incontestable proof of its Syrian origins¹. So it is, but not in the way he suggests. For Corbaran's mother, a character invented by the Crusaders themselves, no doubt, had already been cast in this role in the Gesta Francorum written at the time of the events. The passage devoted to her magical observations has been considered by some as a later interpolation into the chronicle², but, on the contrary, it bears all the hallmarks of a piece of popular propaganda put about by the Crusaders themselves to discredit the enemy, though, arguably, it may have been the indigenous Armenian and Syrian population of Antioch who first circulated this fantastic rumour.

It is impossible to tell whether this tale about

1 Hatem, p. 379.

2 Ed. Hill, p. xv-xvi. It is also her view that the passage is original.

Corbaran's mother's warnings to him before the Battle of Antioch was in Richard le Pèlerin's work or not, as Graindor abandons his usual source at this point and translates fairly closely from the chronicle of Robert the Monk¹. Since Robert is an expansion of the Gesta Francorum all these "Syrian" elements could have come straight out of his work. Already the Gesta Francorum puts these words into Calabre's mouth:

"respexi in caelorum astra, et sagaciter scrutata sum planetas, et duodecim signa, siue sortes innumeras"²

which Robert expands to

"Cum astrologis siderum cursus, .VII. scilicet planetas et .XII. signa, sapienter contemplata sum, et quidquid physyculari potest cum aruspibus, extis et armis pecudum; cum sortilegis sortes temperavi;"³

and similarly,

"Concordant igitur super hoc aruspices, magi et arioli, et numi^um nostrorum responsa, et prophetar^um dicta...." ⁴

We refer to this soothsayer as Calabre. In fact the name is not found at all in the chronicles and it was given to her either by the first jongleur of Les Chétifs or by Graindor. Whether named or not she acts as agent of the

1 Duparc, "La Composition de la Chanson d'Antioche", Romania, LXXXIII (1962), 226.

2 Ed. Hill, p. 55.

3 RHC Occ., III, 814 B

4 Ibid., 813 G.

supernatural from the very first written records of the Crusade¹, and it is certain that whoever first adopted Corbaran as the captor of the "Chétifs" automatically adopted his mother as well and the theme of conflict which from the first was the key of their relationship, which is carried over into Les Chétifs and which later, in the Prise d'Acre continuation was to develop into open warfare. This means that the scenes in Oliferne in which Corbaran and his mother argue about where he should choose his champion, whether among the army at Antioch or among his own prisoners, were also in the Ur-Chétifs.

Other details in Les Chétifs were also circulating in the West long before Graindor's day and may well have been included in the early version. As we noted above the actual servitude of the "Chétifs" is hardly touched upon and does not play any part in the poem, except perhaps the fact that Richard de Chaumont killed a mason while working on a building site, an act which determined his choice as champion. Furthermore the details of the captivity are very banal and appear to be typical of the time. The activities of the "Chétifs" are referred to on several occasions, and

1 Even if these scenes in the Gesta Francorum were an interpolation it is of little consequence for us, since they are already in Robert the Monk writing in 1106

are described briefly by Richard :

"Maint service ai rendu escuier et garçon,
De lor herbe soier, de porter en maison,
Et de porter vo pierre, vo cauc et vo sablon".

(459-61)

and later, when the ladies of Oliferne marvel at his
horsemanship they add that

"Cil seut porter le pierre, le cauc et le mortier,
Et si n'avoit de pain le jor c'un seul quartier".

(630-1)

and when Harpin relates his adventures he does not omit the
hardships of the captivity,

"Faisiemes les labors tels con ert commandés,
De porter les grans pierres as murs et as fossés,
Et traiens as carues comme bues acoplés,
Tres le jor dusc'as vespres, soleus ert esconsés.
Adont estoit cascuns en .I. carcan fremés,
En une grant cisterne demis et avalés;
La estiemes la nuit tant que jors ert levés".

(3659-65)

Nor does the dragon episode interpolator omit to
mention the captivity (1685-90), so that these brief sketches
of the penal life of the "Chétifs" act as a leitmotif throughout
the branch, including the capture at Civetot, when the details
of the servitude to which they are being led off are already
given¹.

There are ~~no~~ adequate studies of the treatment of

1 MS. A fol 61^r col 2.

prisoners of war from the ancient Greeks¹ up to the Napoleonic era and any subject catalogue has an almost total void in between these two extremities. Apart from the case of prisoners taken for ransom and the political and legal aspect thereof, there has been no attempt to establish what exactly was the lot of the common prisoner who went into slavery, which is in effect what happens to the "Chétifs". Conversely this rarely seems to have been the case with the politically important prisoners. According to the chronicles, Harpin de Bourges never saw the light of day during his years in prison; there is no mention whatever of his doing forced labour, nor do we learn that Bohemond was ever subject to such humiliation. In a modern context Graham Greene has illustrated how there is a "torturable class" and an "untorturable class"²: so it was with prisoners of war; it has always been assumed that there is a class of prisoner destined for slavery and another which is not. Normally the slaves never return to freedom to tell the tale; notwithstanding it is always presumed that such prisoners are set to work on the three traditional tasks,

1 We are thinking of Pierre Ducrey's comprehensive study, Le traitement des prisonniers de guerre dans la Grèce antique des origines à la conquête romaine, (Paris, 1968).

2 Our Man in Havana, (London, Heinemann, 1958), p. 189.

mining, building and agriculture. Since, in Les Chétifs, there are no mines to go down the prisoners are inevitably faced with the other two. There is a valuable piece of evidence provided by Ordericus in which labour akin to that executed by the "Chétifs" is described. During the captivity of Baldwin II and Joscelin of Courtenay some of the prisoners are allotted various menial tasks:

"reliquos vero diversis officiis et quotidianis operibus sub custodia mancipavit.

Interea captivi satellitibus Ethnicis serviebant; unum pedem cippo constricti, imperantibus obsecundabant. Aquam de Euphrate per unum milliarium quotidie deferebant, et alia opera, quae illis injungebantur, hilariter faciebant. Gentiles ergo eos, veluti bona jumenta, diligebant et affabiliter tractabant, ac ut bonos officiales et operarios ne deficerent, ubertim pascebant¹.

Unfortunately it is not stated precisely what the "alia opera" were, but the chances are that they were the same works that the "Chétifs" carry out, although the morale appears to have been considerably higher than in Les Chétifs! Indeed, the only reference in any chronicle to the use of forced labour on building sites is in William of Tyre who notes that at Samosata Balduk made the citizens labour for him:

1 Vol. IV, p. 249.

Hic praedictos cives multis afficiebat molestiis...
(et) in luto et latere sibi servire compellebat.¹

The scenes described in Ordericus show that at least there was in the West some knowledge about the treatment of prisoners, and the jongleur who first portrayed the actual captivity of the "Chétifs" would have required very little information and equally little imagination to compose the few lines which deal with their woes. Similarly, their ill treatment by their gaoler, their wearing of shackles, their emaciated appearance, all these are no more than commonplace attributes of captivity. Although these elements probably do represent fairly accurately the state of prisoners in the hands of the Turks at that time, the description could quite easily have been written in the West.

There is an interesting detail mentioned in Les Chétifs which also has an oriental ring about it. Faramon, the evil gaoler, informs his prisoners of a most unpleasant death awaiting them:

"Mis serés au bersail, si trairont li enfant,
Et li mellor turcople et tot li mius tirant."

(354-5)

It was a distinctly oriental practice to shoot prisoners

1 RHC Occ., I, 157, Bk. IV, ch. IV.

to death with arrows and the chronicles often report it. This is the end reserved for some of the Germans who were trapped in the town of Xerigordon during Peter the Hermit's expedition and related in the Gesta Francorum,

... et quos libuit, uti placuit (Turci) captivaverunt. Quosdam ad signum positos sagittabant....¹

The same fate befalls some of the more unfortunate in the captivity already quoted above in Ordericus, when their drunken gaolers decide to enliven their entertainment with a little sport...

Nam bis in suorum solemnibus sacrorum de christianis militibus sorte rapverunt, ad stipitem ligatum saggitaverunt, et cum ingenti ludibrio peremerunt².

A similar tale is recounted by Guibert of Nogent,

Nec mora, ille vir (Gervaise of Tiberias) cum omni jam nominandus favore, corripitur; alligatus stipiti, ut ferunt, medio campo sistitur, ac numerosa sagittarum undique grandine terebratur³.

and William of Tyre states that Belek handed over some captured Armenians to his men for archery practice:

...alios pueris suis quasi signum ad sagittandum tradi⁴.

1 Ed. Hill, p. 4. (Cf. Robert the Monk, RHC Occ, III, 734 C).

2 Vol. IV, 249.

3 RHC Occ., IV, 259 H.

4 RHC Occ., I, 541; Bk. XII, ch. XIX.

This unpleasant form of death was a distinctly eastern feature which is reported very early in western sources, and was also in Robert the Monk which Graindor used; however it was evidently a widely known element of oriental warfare and could therefore have been in the Chétifs primitif.

When Richard de Chaumont has given his dazzling display of chivalry Calabre takes him away to her quarters and has bestowed upon him all kinds of pleasant attentions.

Li mere Corbaran le prist a embracier;
En sa cambre le maine, se il velt dosnoier
U parler a pucele, bien s'i puet aaisier,
Car la vielle en vausist avoir .I. iretier.

(646-49)

The line in which the motive for Calabre's generous offer is revealed, namely her desire for a worthy heir, could easily be passed off as a piece of faux orient were it not for the fact that it is attested elsewhere in an oriental context. These lines from Les Chétifs are an echo of one of the more pleasant experiences during the captivity of Guiumar Brito and his companions:

Filiae regum decorem eorum affectabant, facetiisque arridebant. Ipsi quoque reges atque duces de semine Francorum nepotes habere concupiscebant.¹

1 See above p. 217.

Both of these passages reflect the principle of the harem and are the only examples we have found in the literature of the Crusades. In both cases there is a primitive bluntness about the ulterior motive for inviting the valiant knight to "dosnoier" - no question here of any romantic attachment after the fashion of the "Enamoured Moslem Princess" of the later chanson de geste. This suggests that there may be some truth in the custom. One might be tempted, in view of the similarity of the accounts, to conclude that the author of the Chétifs primitif was acquainted with Ordericus. The assumption is unnecessary; this was no doubt yet another detail of the oriental world which had filtered through and which was common knowledge in the West.

In this list of details which may already have existed in the original version of the poem we must not overlook the research done by Mme Duparc on the borrowing of the epithet Nompar by the Caumont La Force family¹. The first attestation of this name attached to a member of the family is said to be 1180, and the tradition recalled how "Richard de Caumont, vivant vers 1160, défit et tua de sa main deux géants sarrasins nommés Estugalas et Golias". Mme Duparc concedes

1 See above, p. 143.

reluctantly that Graindor's remaniement must already have been in circulation by that time to allow for the borrowing. Her reluctance is justified and there is no need to advance the traditional dating of the remaniement, c. 1190, by ten years, let alone allow for the fact that some time would be needed for the propagation of the work. The supposed father of the family, Richard de Chaumont is reported to have been "vivant vers 1160". We know perfectly well that there was no such person living at that date; what was living then was the first version of Les Chétifs, complete, not only with all the essential action, but also, as the citation illustrates, with the ~~very~~ names of the Turkish champions. Mme Duparc believes that in default of Graindor, it was Eleanor of Aquitaine who brought the Ur-Chétifs from Antioch, and which she "aurait pu ramener dans le sud-ouest". This connection is entirely gratuitous since we believe we have proved that the early Chétifs was never found in Antioch. The first version of this branch was probably completed in Northern France towards the middle of the twelfth century and thus had ample time to percolate through to the South before the application of the attribute Nompar in 1180.

A further piece of evidence suggesting that the heroes

of the judicial duel were already known before Graindor's day is found in the bequests of King Alexander, who leaves to Antiochus, among other things,

".. le cité de Meke qui fu puis Goulias"

(p. 534)

This must be none other than Golias de Meque. His presence in the Roman d'Alexandre indicates that he had become known before c. 1185.

In the pre-Graindor Chétifs most of the principal characters, the "Chétifs" themselves, the Soudan de Persie, Corbaran d'Oliferne and Calabre, Sorgalé and Golias, had already been cast in their respective roles in a structurally cohesive drama and likewise many of the scenic details, oriental in appearance, had already been incorporated into the setting.

C H A P T E R E I G H T

THE DEVELOPMENT OF LES CHETIFS2) THE REMANIEMENT OF GRAINDOR DE DOUAI

The remaniement of Graindor comprises two major episodes, the judicial duel of Richard de Chaumont and the adventures of Harpin de Bourges. It is impossible to deduce exactly what Graindor received from the hands of his predecessor, but the texts that are extant reveal that these two episodes are highly disparate in character.

We have already stressed the feudal quality of the episode of the duel judiciaire, which formed the kernel of the original poem. We propose now to examine this event in the light of Graindor's text.

After Corbaran's flight to Sormasane the events follow closely the highly stereotyped protocol of the epic for court scenes and judicial duels. After the king has arrived in the Soudan's presence there is hardly an action which diverges from the preestablished pattern. Even the time at which Corbaran arrives conforms with the epic tradition; it is Saint John's day, considered as the high festival of the pagans¹,

1 See literary note to l. 60.

which for them enjoys the same status as Pentecost for the Christians, the day on which all the barons in the realm are foregathered. In Les Chétifs the pagan nobles are all assembled (l. 58).

It is not long before Corbaran finds himself accused of treason and the procedure leading to the judicial duel is ineluctably set in motion. The whole gamut of this procedure has been studied by M. Pfeffer in his substantial article "Die Formalitäten des gottesgerichtlichen Zweikampfs in der altfranzösischen Epik"¹, in which he divides up the judicial duel into eleven clearly defined stages, beginning with the accusation in the presence of the assembled barons. In this respect Les Chétifs betrays a slight inconsistency, because Corbaran is accused by the Soudan in his absence. Later, after Brudalan has attempted to mollify the Soudan's anger, he is sent for (236-7). As soon as he arrives he offers his defence as if he had heard the accusation with his own ears, which was not the case (239 ff.) though it was evident from his overlord's initial reaction to the bad news that he would be accused of treason. However, although it is the Soudan who lodges the

1. Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie, IX (1885), 1-74.

accusation, he has no right to pass judgement himself¹, and it is left to his peers to rule on the matter:

"S'il ne s'en puet deffendre par juise porter,
Et par tel escondit con jugeront mi per,
Jo le ferai ardoir et a poure venter."

(161-3)

Since the challenge has been launched Corbaran has little alternative but to accept it (stage two of the procedure) and produce his "escondit". Interesting here is the fact that it is Corbaran who proposes the terms of the ordeal. It is more usual for the accuser to decide what form the "escondit" should take; Pfeffer counts only nine cases in which it is the defendant who makes the call to arms, against twenty-three cases where the call comes from the accuser himself². At the same time the possibility of representation and the number of duellists are proposed, and the question of pledges and hostages is mentioned.

Corbaran states:

"Jo vos en port mon gage, s'en arés plege assés,
Que m'en desraisnerai, et li miens avoués.
Il n'ert mie de no loi, mais de crestientés,
Uns sels contre .II. Turs, forciés et alosés,
Que jo n'ai coupe en cou dont je sui ci blasmés".

(249-53)

In this instance the proposals are not in line with general practice. For the special purposes of Les Chétifs

1 Pfeffer, p. 12.

2 Ibid., p. 21.

it has to be one of the prisoners in his dungeons at Oliferne who will stand in for Corbaran, but under normal circumstances the rules would not appear to embrace the appointment of anyone as a representative. Pfeffer quotes three cases in which the accused has the right to call upon a representative;

1) when one party is a woman, 2) when a knight is unable to fight because of illness or injury, and 3) when members of his family can replace him if the chances of victory will be increased to ensure the safety of the hostages¹. Corbaran is not covered by any of these clauses and yet he manages to be represented all the same. However, this slight change in procedure by finding his champion outside his blood relations is evidently intended solely to enable the "Chétifs" to be brought on to the stage, and is thus an element peculiar to this episode².

At the same time the number of knights has to be decided. In most cases a "straight fight" between one on each side is

1 Pfeffer, p. 22.

2 Representatives in all judicial duels in the epic have some distant blood tie; however that detail is a mere formality. Even the totally obscure Thierry claims his right to represent Charlemagne on the grounds of consanguinity.

"Ja savez vos que mult vos ai servit,
Par anceisurs dei jo tel plait tenir". (Rol., 3825-6)

recorded. The examples of unequally balanced forces are rare, and the ratio of two against one in Les Chétifs is otherwise unattested¹. In the same few lines quoted above the question of hostages is raised, and after the Soudan for his part has agreed to the form of the duel and to the appointed day, hostages are handed over on both sides. For this point the base text A is probably deficient and the line after 271 in other texts - "Ensi soit or li gages donés et receûs" - is necessary for the correct protocol, in which exchange of hostages is reciprocal. Afterwards the surrendering of Corbaran's hostages is stressed:

Illuec fist Corbarans que preus et que senés,
Qui au rice Soudan a ostages livrés.

(281-2)

No further information is given about them; it is not necessary, since mention of the hostages is a mere formality.

Provision is always made for a lapse of time between the challenge and the ordeal itself² and Les Chétifs proves to be no exception:

"Et d'ui en .VI. semaines soit li jors atendus".

(276)

The first three formalities of the judicial duel have thus

1 Pfeffer, p. 26 notes also two v. three (Cleomades), two v. two (Renaud de Montauban) and one v. three (Yvain).

2 Ibid., p. 57.

been correctly accomplished, namely the accusation, the call to arms and the exchange of hostages, whilst at the same time a number of minor details have also been settled, the number of combatants, the day of the encounter.

The time now passes in preparing Richard de Chaumont, Corbaran's chosen representative, for the duel. At the end of six weeks Corbaran returns to Sormasane and the procedure enters into its second stage. On both sides there is now a religious preparation for the ordeal, which usually includes an all-night vigil, followed by a mass. The vigil is often dispensed with, as here, and in place of that Richard receives most of his religious preliminaries at Oliferne, consisting of confessions and fasts, side by side with his briefing in arms (659-62). However, on the morning of the duel both parties, Christian and Saracen attend their respective masses:

Al matin sont monté (the Saracens) quant jors fu avenans,
Alerent as meskides et rois et amirans,
Plus offrurent le jor de .III. mile bezans.
A Richart canta messe li abes de Fescans.

(694-7)

As usual in the epic the Saracens are accredited with exactly the same religious habits as the Christians.

The next stage in the proceedings is the presentation of the champions and the attempt at reconciliation between the

opponents¹. This is a formality in the purest sense, since no party, having taken the process so far, ever retracts his claim of guilt or innocence. Observing the rules of protocol the Soudan nevertheless offers (albeit somewhat one-sided) terms of peace by legal, rather than physical, means:

"Corbarans, faisons plait, la cose soit finaille,²
Met toi en ma mercit, ton cors et ta vitaille.
J'en prendrai bon conseil voirement et sans faille."

(896-8)

an offer which, understandably, Corbaran rejects.

In the meantime all three champions have been ordered to arm and the choice of weapon is discussed. Normally only a lance and sword are admitted, but in Les Chétifs the author seeks to give an aura of oriental merveilleux by increasing the scope of weapons, in the case of Sorgalé, who girds on a "misericorde"³, a sort of dirk, and in that of Golias, who selects an assortment consisting mainly of bow and arrow, itself exceptional in a duel judiciaire, and a host of other projectiles:

A sa çainture porte dart treçant por lancier,
Saietes et engaignes, tot li ara mestier;
Et porte pic et mace treçant a claus d'acier,
Et a çainte une espee enheudee d'ormier,
Ki fu plain pié plus longe d'un autre cevalier,
Et prist mesericorde...

(814-19)

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- 1 This is the sixth stage (f) in Pfeffer's analysis, p. 44.
 - 2 Possibly the variant reading "faisons pais" is more in accordance with the principle of reconciliation.
 - 3 See the definition of this word in Godefroy.

Pfeffer, who examines the same passage, but in the version of the CCGB (11248 ff.) suggests that these are extra weapons brought into service by the poet¹, as they are never otherwise found in the repertory of weapons used. We add to that that the list of unorthodox weapons is a further example of the "faux orient" found in Les Chétifs.

The scene shifts to an island in the middle of the river Quinquaille. Strict rules governed the course of the battle itself, starting with the correct protection of the enclosure. The chosen location was usually heavily stockaded to withstand the press of the spectators and to prevent any intervention from outside². In Les Chétifs the lists are strongly barricaded but the reasons given are different:

Soudans l'a faite clore par itel devisaille,
De lices et de cordes, de pels par tel fremaille,
S'om i vient eslaisiés, que ses destriers n'i saille.

(888-90)

A large number of "umpires" is chosen to "garder la bataille par droit et loiaument", in addition to whom a further detachment of Turks is detailed to "garder le camp" (915). It would appear that the fourteen Kings have the important role

1 Pfeffer, p. 69.

2 Ibid., p. 61.

of ensuring that the duel is fought correctly, whilst the five hundred Turks are drafted in to "police the ground"¹. Once these precautions have been taken the champions themselves are led into the arena together, and then separated from each other, usually by one and a half or two arpents²; this procedure is followed rigorously in Les Chétifs (with the exception that arpent remains in the singular for reasons of rhyme):

La les maintent tos trois, maintre communalment,
Et Ricart eslongierent des .II. Turs .I. arpent.

(917-8)

Les Chétifs, we stated before, was exceptional in that it pitted one knight against two, all the more to show up the superiority of the Christian. But this difference from the norm of one knight against one is merely superficial. In practical terms Les Chétifs also opposes only one combattant from each side, since the duel is really between Richard and Sorgalé. The hapless Goliath de Meque is dispatched at the first encounter and out of a total of 239 lines devoted to the duel proper his share of participation is limited to only 15 lines.

According to Pfeffer³, a duel judiciaire is preceded by

1 Pfeffer, p. 64.

2 Ibid., p. 62.

3 Ibid., p. 54.

the public crying of the ban, whereby all intervention is forbidden on pain of death by hanging. In Les Chétifs the ban is also proclaimed but strangely enough not before the battle, as is expected, but half way through, when the passions of the spectators have become aroused:

Ja en fust li murmure par la cité levés,
 Mais Soudans tient ses trives, n'en doit estre blamés.
 A l'entree del camp en fu li bans criés
 Que il n'i parout hom, tant soit rois coronés,
 Et se il le fesoit, as forques fust levés.

(996-1000)

If the passage seems slightly out of place it is nevertheless correct in the details, even to the specific death anticipated.

The battle leads inevitably to the defeat of one or other of the parties, and the punishment of the vanquished is the next Formalität to be observed. In most cases death ensues as a direct result of the duel, and such is the way in Les Chétifs. Sorgalé, earless and armless, suffers the most humiliating of deaths; his head falls under a blow from his own sword, but he has had the compensation of having made his peace with God. There remains only the treatment of the hostages¹, and after the successful outcome of the duel Corbaran does not tarry in demanding the rightful return of his pledges:

1 Pfeffer, p. 72.

Vint au rice Soudan, qu'il ot araisoné,
 Voiant tot le barnage a son droit demandé:
 "Rois, rent moi mes ostages; j'ai le camp aquité".
 La fist li rois Soudans molt grant nobilité,
 Que il li rent tos quites volentiers et de gré.

(1186-90)

With this the judicial duel is over. Underneath its shallow veneer of oriental exoticism Les Chétifs adheres fairly closely to the precepts of the ordeal as laid down in the epic, in turn a reflection of contemporary life. It is impossible to tell the extent to which Graindor has reworked this episode, which was at the core of Les Chétifs primitif. Doubtless none of the procedure itself was changed and the remaniement was only exercised on the poetic level.

*

* *

It is an interesting feature of the narrative technique of the various authors of this branch that to each major episode is appended a minor postlude. In the first part the duel judiciaire is followed by the vindictive actions of Arfulan and Lyon de la Montagne; at the end of the dragon episode are the moments of anxiety when Corbaran believes that he is again to be ambushed by the same two enemies, leading to the felicitous encounter with the Soudan, whilst the final

section, concerning the prowess of Harpin de Bourges, ends with the return to Jerusalem and the initial skirmish against the Turks at the Rouge Cisterne.

The brief rebellion by Arfulan and Lyon is possibly the most enigmatic episode in Les Chétifs. It could have been part of the primitive poem and is essentially epic in structure, revealing the same underlying narremic features that are present in Les Chétifs as a whole. We recall that the principal elements of epic substructure were, according to Dorfman, 1) the quarrel, 2) the insult, 3) the act of treachery or prowess, 4) the reward or punishment. In this case the quarrel or conflict which sets the parties at odds can be taken as the judicial duel itself, whilst the insult manifests itself in the ignominious deaths of Golias and Sorgalé. Naturally Sorgalé's last minute conversion to Christianity is considered by his pagan brethren as an insult of the highest degree to their lineage. Sorgalé remarks himself that his family will hold him in everlasting contempt for his defeat,

"Si me tenroient mais mi parent en vilté"

(1165)

His relations have been insulted and they plan to avenge his death. This leads to the act of treachery in which Corbaran and the "Chétifs" are ambushed outside Sormasane, which in turn brings the perpetrators into direct conflict with the Soudan,

their overlord, who sees to it that they are punished by death (1538).

If the action itself is no more than a page out of the epic tradition, the two protagonists on the "Turkish" side, Lyon and Arfulan, appear to be a distant echo of Armenian history. Cahen has already examined this episode in detail from the historical point of view and shown that it is a reflection of Leon the Rupenian's hostility towards the Franks after 1128¹. It is equally possible that the adventure recounted in Les Chétifs is a vague recollection of Leon's final overthrow by the Emperor John Comnenus, related here by the Armenian chronicler Vahram of Edessa:

"Cependant l'empereur des Romains...
Ayant appris les hauts faits de Léon
Entra en fureur
Et aussitôt, à la tête d'une armée considérable,
Il pénétra en Cilicie;
Il fit prisonnier le brave Léon,
Qui fu cerné par un fort détachement.....
Aussi fut-il bientôt pris
Et conduit chargé de chaînes à l'empereur....
Il s'empara aussi des deux fils de Léon
Et les fit charger de chaînes avec leur père".²

They were taken to Constantinople where Léon soon died.

Though the details are different, the outlines are the same;

1 See above p.141.

2 RHC., Arm., I, 500.

Lyon, defeated on the field of battle, but not actually killed there, is led before his 'overlord' who has him executed.

Cahen believes that mention of this event of Franco-Armenian politics, little known outside Outremer, furnishes proof that Les Chétifs originated "au plus tôt vers 1140 et en Orient" and that this episode, if not the whole poem was the work of the jongleur working for Raymond of Poitiers¹.

We find this conclusion hard to accept. It is true that there are two elements in Les Chétifs which have Armenian sources - the episode of Lyon de la Montagne and of course that of the Sathanas - but as we have shown the two elements entered the poem at different stages of its development and the presence of two items from the same oriental provenance must, despite the overwhelming temptation to fuse them, be considered as coincidental. There is really little which is exceptionally Armenian about Lyon's ambush; merely his name and his hostile role. We must not suppose that because the adventure is not related in any Western chronicle, knowledge of it would only be accessible to someone living on the spot, in Antioch. The Rupenian dynasty was known in the West, always with the appellation de montanis, as in Ordericus (Turolde de Montanis)² and in

1 Le Moyen Age, p. 326.

2 See above p. 217.

Albert of Aix¹. For every detail of life in Outremer which has been recorded in the chronicles there must have been many more which passed into common knowledge from the mouths of the innumerable pilgrims who toured the Levant after the First Crusade. It was only the fortuitous presence in the area of an Ordericus or an Albert which enabled some of these tales of pilgrims or of returning warriors to be committed to parchment.

The name of Lyon's accomplice, Arfulan, is also of oriental origin. We refer to him as such because that is how he is spelt in several manuscripts, including A, but it is clearly a paleographic f/s confusion, because the original orthography was Arsulan - preserved in other versions - which is evidently the common Turkish name Arslan. This is among the most frequent of Turkish appellations at the time, as illustrated by a glance at the examples given in the index to Cahen's Syrie du Nord. Although Turkish names were sometimes translated into French, as in the case of Kizil Arslan (Red Lion)², on this occasion it has simply been transcribed.

The problem is whether this episode was in the original Chétifs or whether it was added by Graindor. We have seen that

1 AHC. Occ.; IV, 354.

2 See Table of Proper Names under Rouge Lion.

its narremic structure is the same as that of the Ur-Chétifs, whereas in the episode concerning Harpin added by Graindor the structure is entirely different and not 'epic' at all. The activities of Lyon and Arfulan are structurally inseparable from the duel judiciaire, whereas those of Harpin are purely gratuitous. Lyon is cast unfavourably in Les Chétifs, which reflects his role from 1128-37, which would leave ample time for word of him to percolate through to the West before the redaction of the first version which we date roughly 1140-60. On the other hand the episode may be the work of Graindor. In our present state of knowledge the problem cannot be resolved.

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* *

With the second major episode of Graindor's remaniement, narrating the adventures of Harpin de Bourges, we move out of the realm of the epic on the level of both structure and subject and enter that of the romance and the folk-tale. Holmes and McLeod have already drawn attention to the fact that the episode is rooted in folklore; we propose to study it in the same light, drawing parallels with certain other similar themes found in the Old French literature of the time.

Harpin's trials are not motivated logically by any previous event; they are the result of a fortuitous encounter. Leaving the city for a breath of fresh air he happens to be passing by when Corbaran's nephew is borne off by a papion, which is ultimately obliged to leave him to a monkey, which in turn is forced to surrender him to Harpin, who has given chase; he in turn loses the boy to a band of robbers, from whom it is only recaptured by the timely arrival of Corbaran. This succession of events is merely a repetition of the same basic theme - abduction and rescue - while at the same time being a series of tests for Harpin, reminiscent of the favourite theme of the Romances where doughty knights are put through a series of similar trials during their quests. Where Les Chétifs differs from the Romances is that the object of the quest in this case is a boy, Corbaran's nephew; the strong feudal relationship of uncle and nephew so widespread in the epic is retained, whereas the true Romance would have substituted a damsel, Corbaran's niece or daughter, and instead of the purely financial reward that Harpin receives he would have won a heart into the bargain. But the episode as it stands is true to the spirit of Les Chétifs; "C'est un poème d'hommes"¹.

1 Cahen, Le Moyen Age, p. 327.

Holmes and McLeod, taking into account the universality of the themes governing the episode, imagine that it was composed in the Orient (as indeed they consider the whole branch to be Franco-Syrian). Cahen, who has examined the branch from the standpoint of Oriental literature, agrees with this universality but finds no actual episodes in Eastern sources which might have been at the origin of this part of Les Chétifs. In the West, however, the literature of the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries bears witness to the great popularity of such themes as are encountered in the episode.

The first abduction, by a wolf-like creature, testifies to the notoriety of the wolf as raptor in European, especially Celtic, tradition¹. The theme is treated for the first time in Old French in Guillaume d'Angleterre² in which the hero, while placing one of his twins in safety on the opposite bank of a river, sees the other snatched by a wolf:

Mes trové i a une beste
Grant come lo, et los estoit.
A cele beste tenir voit

1 See C. Grant Loomis, White Magic, (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), pp. 59-60. Also Tom P. Cross, Motif Index of Early Irish Literature, (Indiana Univ. Press, Bloomington; Folklore Series no. 7) motif R. 13. 11.

2 Ed. Wendelin Förster, (Halle, 1911).

L'anfant an sa gole angolé.
 Ez vos le roi mout adolé,
 Quant il li vit l'anfant tenir,
 Ne set qu'il puisse devenir;
 Si grant duel a, ne set qu'il face.
 Li los s'an fuit; li rois le chace
 Au plus isnelement qu'il puet;

(776-85)

But Guillaume is forced to abandon the unequal pursuit and while he sleeps, exhausted, the wolf is attacked by merchants who free the baby (786-800), just as we find in Les Chétifs where Harpin himself is no measure for the papion and would have easily been outdistanced had it not been for the chance appearance of the monkey:

Li quens Harpins le siut, a esperon le chace;
 .VII. grans liues plenieres en a sivi la trace.
 Il nel consivist ja en trestot son eage,
 Quant uns mervellous singes est issus del boschage....

(3415-19)

The seizure of one child whilst the other is being ferried across a river is no more than a variant of the common and popular theme found in the Placidus-Eustachius legend, of which three different versions were composed in Old French. Here both children are seized, one by a lion and one by a wolf:

Mais li autre enfes est a la rive sous.
 Vers lui s'en va coreçous et plorons:
 Ainz qu'il i soit, l'en a porté .I. lous.¹

(470-72)

1 Ed. Andreas C. Ott, "Das altfranzösische Eustachiusleben", Rom. Forsch., XXXII (1913), 481-607.

The wolf, therefore, plays an important role as a "baby-snatcher"¹. But the wolf-like beast which runs off with Corbaran's nephew is not a simple wolf:

Uns molt grans leus devale de le roce naïe,
Papion l'apeloient cele gens arrabie.

(3377-78)

Ke li grans leus enporte en sa goule devant;
Papion l'apeloient cele gent mescreant.

(3383-84)

Previous critics have stressed the fact that the localisation of this particular animal to the Levant as implied by the above text and by a reference found in James of Vitry is further evidence that Les Chétifs was composed in Syria. For indeed the celebrated orator and historian refers to this animal in his 'bestiary' of the Holy Land,

Sunt ibi Papiones quos canes siluestres appellant,
 lupis acriores, continuis clamoribus de nocte vlulantes.²

Hatem suggested that this was none other than the hyena; however, this is disputable since James clearly distinguishes the papion from the hyena, of which he equally gives a detailed and correct description³. He readily classes the papion in the wolf family, which is in line with the alternative description in

1 Evidently a variant of the wolf-foundling theme of the Romulus legend; Cf. the same motif in Guillaume de Palerne.

2 Ed. J. Bongars in Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 1101.

3 Ibid., p. 1102.

Les Chétifs, "uns molt grans leus". On the other hand another important document suggests that the animal in question is more akin to a cheetah: John of Mandeville reports that:

En Cypre on cache avec papion qui semblent leopars qui suivent moult aigrement les bestes sauvaiges et sont ung plus grans que loups et plus aigres que chiens ne sont. Et si cache on aussy avec chiens domestiques, mais les papions sont plus puissans¹.

A further account, unfortunately non-committal as to the animal's characteristics, mentions that:

The Tartars.... make themselves two gownes... of woolues skins, or Fox skins, or else of Papions.²

Mandeville's reference to the use of the papion as a leopard-like hunting animal immediately calls to mind the practice of using cheetahs for that purpose, as depicted in the striking painting by Stubbs. Since it is impossible to settle decisively the identity of the papion, it suffices to note that in Les Chétifs it is taken as a wolf, which corresponds to the traditional role of abductor attributed to the wolf in European folk legend. It is also important to recall that the attestation of the papion in Les Chétifs is the earliest known, pre-dating James of Vitry by some fifty years. But it would be wrong to conclude that mention of this animal,

1 Quoted in Godefroy, V, 730a.

2 William of Rubruquis, apud Hakluyt; quoted, together with James of Vitry and John of Mandeville (English version), in the Oxford English Dictionary.

incontestably known in the Orient under the name of papion, means that the episode was necessarily composed there. It is only a name. All three writers cited were travellers and commentators who brought to the West word of strange things seen in the East; any pilgrim or traveller of the twelfth century could probably have passed on this piece of information to Graindor.

The chase passes into its second phase when the papion relinquishes the child into the hands of the monkey which scampers up a tree with its prize. The role of a monkey as abductor recalls Octavian¹ in which the first beast to appear in a succession of abductions is also simian.

Atant es uos un singe errant,
 Qui molt iert grant et maufaisant,
 Quant il uist les enfans gesir,
 Lors en out si molt grant desir,
 Qu'il i paruint si colement
 Que la roine pas n'en sent.
 Vn des enfans a a lui trait,

(435-41)

and bears it off gleefully until up rides a knight who challenges the beast; there ensues a combat similar to that of Harpin:

Et quant li singes l'entendi,
 L'enfant mist ius, uer lui sailli,
 Enmi le pis l'i a si hurte
 Que sor l'arcon l'a souine,

1 Ed. Karl Vollmüller, (Heilbronn, 1883), Altfranzösische Bibliothek (3).

Tote sa rouble a desciree;
 Et li cheualiers tret l'espee...
 Le singe en a tel cop donee,
 Que l'un des bra li a coupee.
 Li singe uoit qu'il est naures,
 A trois pies saut come deues,
 Et li cheuaus se desraa,
 Il retorne, si regiba,
 Du pie deriere l'a si feru
 Qu'a terre l'a mort abatu.

(453-67)

The monkey's loss of an arm is also found in Les Chétifs (3513) and the beast does not fail to lacerate the knight's robe, in Octavian, and Harpin's shield in Les Chétifs (3505-10). The fight against a monkey is a rarity and we are surprised to see some of the same details recurring.

Whilst the monkey is in safety up the tree Harpin has to face the immediate threat of four ravenous lions seeking to devour him and his horse (3445-76). He finally rids himself of the menace by invoking the help of Saint Jerome. The reference in Les Chétifs to the legend of Saint Jerome has, in our view, been misinterpreted. Holmes and McLeod state, without proof, that "The introduction of Saint Jerome as the human protagonist is admittedly a Syrian tradition"¹. This is in direct contradiction with the editors of the Vie des Saints whose conclusion regarding Jerome's fame is that "Bien que mort en Orient, il y

I Op. cit., p. 108.

est à peine connu"¹ In the light of this judgement the appearance of Saint Jerome cannot be taken as evidence of the Syrian origin of Les Chétifs; the legend, which almost certainly arose in the West, remained there.

After Harpin has vanquished the monkey and rescued Corbaran's nephew the episode passes into its third stage; while the two are resting the child is abducted yet again, by robbers². Returning to Octavian we note the same process: the knight who has just rescued the child from a monkey loses it in turn to robbers, again in similar circumstances:

Et li cheualier prist l'enfant...
 Mais perdu a son droit sentier,
 Parmi le bois espes rame.
 Tant a point et esperone,
 Que sor .X. larons s'abati,
 Qui .I. homme auoient mordri;
 Eins n'en sout mot, si fu entr'eus.
 Quant s'aparceut que estoit deceus,
 Dex reclama tre doucement
 Que lui gardat d'encumbrement.
 Et li larons tantost l'assaillent
 Qui molt durement le travaillent...

(468-81)

This reads like an accurate summary of Les Chétifs, with some of the details recorded exactly (wandering through a forest, the ten robbers returning from a murderous raid, 3552-56)

1 Vie des Saints et des Bienheureux, vol. IX, p. 638; (Paris, 1950).

2 An example of the folk motif "Rescued person stolen from rescuer" Stith Thomson index, R. III. 8.

The role of robber as abductor is recorded frequently¹ and Parise la Duchesse² can be quoted as a further example (852 ff.) Similarly the theme of the eventual rescue of the child from the robbers is one of the common motifs of this genre³. The robbers in Octavian later dispose of the child by selling it to a pilgrim, Climent.

It is only through divine intervention that Corbaran arrives in the nick of time. He is guided to the robber's den by three saints disguised as white stags. Holmes and McLeod have already pointed to the Placidus-Eustachius legend in which Christ's appearance is associated with a stag (225-80). The tradition of three saints appearing at times of dire need is first recorded in the Gesta Francorum⁴, when the Crusaders were convinced that they were succoured in the Battle of Antioch by the presence of Saints George, Mercury and Demetrius, a legend also found in the Antioche. Three saints, George, Mercury and Domitian, astride white steeds, play an analogous part in Aspremont (8566 ff.)⁵ The appearance of the saints in the guise

1 Stith Thomson motif R12. 2. 1.

2 Ed. Wendy Hayward. Unpublished D.Phil thesis deposited in the Bodleian Library, 1973.

3 Stith Thomson motif R 116.

4 Ed. cit., p. 69, and note 4.

5 Ed. Louis Brandin, La Chanson d'Aspremont, 2 vols., 2nd. ed. (Paris, 1923), CFMA.

of stags in Les Chétifs is no more than a conflation of the legends of the Antioche and Aspremont on the one hand, and of the tale of Placidus-Eustachius on the other.

Laisses 123 and 124 of Les Chétifs describe the hideout where Corbaran's nephew is held hostage, a cave which Hatem called "une vraie caverne des Mille et Une Nuits"¹, and which he considered as a point in favour of the oriental composition of the poem. Yet it is recorded in chronicles of the East that certain people retained troglodytical habits. Fulcher of Chartres describes how King Baldwin set about reducing hostile elements who had retreated into their caves, by lighting fires at the entrance,

Euntes ergo invenimus villas, ubi Sarraceni incolae regionis illius in cavernis propter nos se occultaverunt cum bestiis et rebus suis..etc.²

and Albert of Aix relates the same event,

...in cavis subterraneis Azopart, gens foedissima, latens accubisset ad disturbandos et perimendos Peregrinos qui Hierosolymam proficisci disponbant³,

The rich decoration of the cave⁴ is typical of the merveilleux expected from an author describing an oriental scene,

1 Op. cit., p. 387.

2 RHC. Occ., III, 379 B-C.

3 Ibid., IV, 533 D-E. William of Tyre also describes a cave full of robbers and bandits, RHC. Occ. I, 666.

4 A traditional hideout of robbers; Stith Thomson motif R 45.

but finery such as this, with its gold and jewelry, its costly tissues, had its precursor long before in the Romans d'Antiquité.

We believe that our view that the first episode of Les Chétifs is an entirely western theme, thinly disguised by a veneer of "faux orient", can be equally applied to the Harpin de Bourges episode. These repetitive encounters with wild animals do not represent the Byzantine theme of theriomakhia as Goossens claimed (as if the Byzantine epic had the monopoly of that theme!) but rather that of successive abductions and rescues, admittedly worldwide, but enjoyed particularly in medieval Western Europe, encountered in Placidus-Eustachius, in Guillaume d'Angleterre, in Octavian, later repeated in Valentine et Orson, while at the same time putting the hero through a series of trials. This primarily western theme is concealed behind a façade of the orient - the European wolf replaced by a Syrian papion, the intercession of Saint Jerome, in which a basically western legend lends an oriental touch, the fabulous cave which the flamboyant methods of description newly acquired from the rediscovery of antiquity transform into an oriental cavern. Even the redoubtable robbers are no more than feudal outlaws - robbers by necessity rather than habit - soon to be reinstated in their rightful heritage, and more reminiscent of Robin Hood than Ali Baba.

C H A P T E R N I N E

THE DEVELOPMENT OF LES CHETIFS3) ARMENIAN INTERLUDE

Graindor's remaniement was sufficiently popular for a successor to consider it worth while expanding and retouching it to lend it yet further appeal. We have already drawn attention in Chapter Five to the procedure of this second remanieur and the way in which the Sathanas episode was interpolated into the existing work.

Holmes and McLeod have already discussed the Armenian origins of this episode and have examined some of the details of the French version in the light of what is known of Armenian dragon lore¹. We propose only to add a few points which help to substantiate their argument.

The major problem is not, however, the origin of the episode, but that of its heroes, the brothers Baudouin and Ernoul de Beauvais. No historical characters bearing their names have been traced at any time remotely connected with any events of the Crusade, or with life in Outremer, nor at any time contemporary with the French remanieur of this episode. It is not impossible that the two heroes were indeed the leading

1 Art. cit., pp. 105-7.

actors in some dramatic event in Syria - probably a fight with a bear or a lion, of which several examples are cited in Crusade chronicles - which lent itself admirably to amplification when the canon of Saint Pierre was in search of Frankish champions in his adaptation of the Armenian dragon-fight epic which Raymond of Antioch is alleged to have commissioned.

In his remaniement the early thirteenth century author would have borrowed the episode along with its heroes. Alternatively, if Ernoul and Baudouin were not the protagonists in the Antioch version, the redactor may have been a native of Beauvais and sought to glorify the name of his town by honouring it with these fictitious sons. It is certain, on the other hand, that Ernoul and Baudouin are both names found most commonly in Flanders at that time, especially in the noble lineages.

The majority of the Counts of Flanders were Baudouins; in the tables of Dom Bouquet, apart from numerous successive Arnulfus and Baldwinus, we find Arnulfus, brother of Baldwin of Hainaut¹, and a "Balduinus, clericus, frater Arnulfi comitis Ghisnensis"². If any jongleur of the time wished to ingratiate himself into

1 Dom Bouquet, Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France, 19 vols., (Paris, 1738-1904), vol. XII.
See also the Tables of Vols., XIII-XVIII.

2 Ibid., Table of Vol. XVIII.

the favours of any of those noble families, the two names he would have chosen for his heroes would have been Baudouin and Ernoul, the provenance of Beauvais being merely a thin disguise. The names Ernoul and Baudouin would have immediately suggested the Flemish counts, just as the name Louis would have pointed to the French crown.

We have proposed three possibilities for the origin of the heroes of this adventure. Unfortunately there is not the least shadow of proof to substantiate any of them.

Holmes and McLeod have shown how traditionally the Armenian dragon inhabited Mount Massis (Ararat), with which they identify the Mont de Tigris of Les Chétifs, possibly through the Turkish name Agri; the French remanieur seems to have given the mountain the same name as the neighbouring river which would have been known to the audience. The dragon, associated with violent meteorological phenomena (the storms in Les Chétifs in which the travellers lose their way (1557-61), and then the whirlwind which blows through Corbaran's troops as he ascends the mount (2727-40), has an invulnerable hide (1575-6, 2929-30) and is the fierce guardian of ill-gotten treasure (2950-58); all of which are in fact universal attributes.

The description of the dragon in Les Chétifs states that

El front ot une pierre qui luist et reflambie,
Dont par nuit voit on mius de lanterne serie.

(1611-12)

This faculty of nocturnal vision is not actually mentioned in connection with the Armenian dragon, but Professor Smith has stated that the Chinese dragon "sheds a brilliant light at night"¹. Given the universality of many characteristics of the dragon, this may be a detail which has been faithfully recorded in the case of our Sathanas. On the other hand, the reference could equally reflect the common theme of luminous stones, usually carbuncles, found abundantly in Old French gestes². The description goes on to say that the beast has ravaged the land and halted all agricultural activities in the area:

Tot entor .III. jornees n'avoit gaaignerie;
Des bors et des castels s'en est la gens fuie.

(1615-16)

and on the death of the monster the population returns to its lands (3270-72). Ananikian, in his study of Armenian mythology, alludes to the adverse effect of the dragon on local agriculture³.

1 G. Elliot Smith, The Evolution of the Dragon, (Manchester, 1919), p. 97.

2 See literary note to l. 1611.

3 Mardiros Ananikian, Armenian Mythology, in Vol. VII of The Mythology of All Races, ed. J. A. MacCulloch, (Boston, 1925), p. 79.

Ananikian states with regard to spirits and monsters generally that "They all haunt houses as protectors or persecutors; live in ruins, not because these are ruins, but because they are ancient sites"¹. We are therefore not surprised to find that the Sathanas inhabits a similar abode, a mahomerie erected in ancient times by a fictitious brother of Herod, Gorans d'Esclavonie (2415-20, 2450-54). The allusion to this place as a prison (2420, 2453) is also of interest since the theme of captivity is sometimes associated with the Armenian dragon². Maybe the original Armenian tale mentioned that the beast's lair had been used as a place of captivity, a theme which the French version retained, altering the details to suggest both antiquity and evil through the person of Gorans.

One of the causes of the violent meteorological phenomena associated with the Sathanas is the exorcism of the devil that inhabits it as soon as Baudouin gives utterance to the ninety-nine names of God (2698-2703). The devil makes its tempestuous exit in the form of a crow:

En guise de corbel fu del baron veüs.

(2703)

1 Ananikian, p. 73.

2 Ibid., p. 80.

The ensuing whirlwind certainly seems to have been borrowed from the Armenian original. It is a matter of speculation whether the embodiment of the devil/whirlwind phenomenon into a crow, or some other bird, was already present in the oriental version, or was lifted by the French remanieur out of the large stock of medieval European symbolism, in which the crow is often seen as a personification of evil.

The transposition from Armenian to French has entailed a change in mythology; in Les Chétifs the central figures are no longer the mythical characters of Armenian legend but those of the Christian hierarchy. It is God who has arranged the whole adventure, apparently out of revenge for the defeat of Pieron l'Ermite, for before that time the beast was peaceful enough:

De .II. cens ans et plus, que que nus vos en die,
 Ne fist mal a nul home, ne ne toli le vie,
 Desci qu'a icele hore que Dex ot estableie,
 Qu'en li vint li Deables qui tant le fist hardie.
 Por l'ost Pieron l'Ermite qu'ensi fu desconfie,
 Et si desbaretee et tant fort mesbaillie,
 Menee en paenime entre la gent haie,
 Tot çou commanda Dex qui peceor n'oblíe.

(2423-30)

Baudouin de Beauvais is only God's agent in an effort to prove to Corbaran the superiority of Christianity. He sends the traditional dragon-fighter of the Revelations, Saint Michael, to reassure the mortal:

Es vos saint Michiel l'angele en guise de colon,

(2492)

and to intercede on his behalf at the critical moment,

Mais Dex qui ne l'oblie li fu le jor escus,
Et sains Mikius li angeles et la soie vertus

(2715-16)

Ne peüst plus durer que il ne fust ocis,
Se Dex ne le tenist et li sains Esperis,
Et li saintismes angeles (ie. Michael) qui par devant s'est mis.

(2824-26)

The Lord is successful in His design; by this and other signs, Corbaran accepts the omnipotence of God and the superiority of Christianity and his reward will be conversion after the tumultuous events of the Chrétienté Corbaran.

This Sathanas episode is of special value as it is the only example of the direct influence of Armenian on Old French literature. It has the further merit of being one of the only items of Armenian epic literature that has survived in that form. The ancient Armenian epic is known almost entirely through historical works, such as the chronicle of Moses of Khorene, and documents containing epic fragments in their original form are extremely rare¹.

With the addition of this episode the successive remodelings are completed and crystallised into the version which has survived in manuscript form. No manuscripts of Graindor's original remaniement have come down to us; the popularity of his work was no doubt swiftly eclipsed by the later reworking.

1 See on this the unpublished thesis deposited in the Sorbonne Library, Chaké Der Melkonian, l'Épopée populaire arménienne, (Thèse Univ. Paris Lettres, 1953).

CHAPTER TEN

THE TOPOGRAPHY OF LES CHÉTIFS

Les Chétifs is set against an oriental background in which geographical reality shares a common frontier with poetic imagination, and in many cases it is hard to decide on which side of that frontier much of the action takes place. This chapter on topography is an attempt to follow the events of the poem and to examine its setting, where possible with the help of other contemporary documents.

Les Chétifs begins with Corbaran's flight from Antioch. Little is said in the chronicles, Latin or Arabic, of the historical Kerbogha's itinerary once he had left the battlefield. The Latin chroniclers are vague. Albert of Aix tells us that:

Corbanan continuo ipse una cum omni comitatu suo
dorsa vertit in fugam, viam qua venerat, ad regum
Corrozana et flumen Eufraten, insistens¹.

On the other hand the Arab chronicler Kemal ed-Dîn reports that Kerbogha fled to Aleppo, where he was well received, "après quoi il s'éloigna"². Where to, we are not

1 RHC. Occ., vol. IV, 426-7.

2 RHC. Or., vol. III, 583-4.

told; Grousset postulates that he returned to Mosul¹.

In the poetic version Corbaran's flight is outlined in greater detail. In the Antioche he is seen to cross the Pont de Fer whence he is pursued all the way to Tancred's castle². After that the poet states that Corbaran and his companions

Vers le Noire Montaigne ont lor fuite acueillie,
Et costoient Rohais, ne l'aprocierent mie,
Et passerent Eufrete sans nef et sans galie.

(9-11)

The Noire Montaigne is a landmark of etymological, as well as geographical, interest. This range, running north of Antioch in a North-Easterly direction is called the Amanus in the geographies of Pliny and Solinus, but in the contemporary chronicles of the Crusade, who on the whole delight in discussing the topography of Antioch and its surroundings, and in the Provençal fragment, the Canso d'Antiocha³, it is not named. The first mention of the name Noire Montaigne comes in William of Tyre, writing some seventy five years after the events of

1 René Grousset, L'Histoire des Croisades, 3 vols., (Paris, 1934-36), I, 107.

2 Ant., II, 287.

3 Ed. and trans. P. Meyer in Archives de la Société de l'Orient Latin, vol. II (1884) p. 467, line 190.

the First Crusade¹, and a little later James of Vitry devotes nearly half of his description of Antioch to the Montana Nigra:

Habet autem a Septentrionali parte Montem quemdam, qui vulgariter Montana Nigra dicitur, in quo sunt multi Eremitae ex omni gente et natione, et plura monasteria tam Graecorum, quam Latinorum monachorum. Et quoniam fontibus et rivis totus est irriguus, Mons Nero, id est aquosus nuncupatur. Neros enim Graece, aqua Latine. Simples autem et laici, Noire, id est, nigra, exponunt in vulgari sermone².

James of Vitry states expressly that the name Montana Nigra is "vulgariter dicitur", in other words, in French. It is likely that the French name was taken, not from the Greek word for water, as suggested above, but from the actual Greek name for the mountain, "Dark Mountain"; this follows from the discussion of the name of the Noire Montaigne in the edition of Matthew of Edessa³.

It is a matter of conjecture when the mountain acquired its 'vulgar' name; certainly between the time of the First Crusade and 1175 when William of Tyre was writing. It is mentioned in the Antioche⁴, but it is highly unlikely that it

1 RHC. Occ., vol. I, 168.

2 Ed. Bongars apud Gesta Dei per Francos, (Hannover, 1611), p. 1069. Also quoted in Ant., II, 82.

3 RHC. Arm., vol. I, 32-33, n. 3.

4 Ant., II, 82.

was thus named in the original Antioche of Richard le Pèlerin, since some chroniclers like Albert of Aix manifestly knew that work but do not quote the Noire Montaigne. The name is an example of a detail pertaining to the orient which entered Les Chétifs by an intermediary other than the chronicles and the Antioche primitive.

According to the poem Corbaran then passed by Rohais, which is the Old French name for the Byzantine Edessa (mod. Urfa). When Kerbogha made his way from Mosul to Antioch he paused to besiege Edessa, which had just become a Christian stronghold through the occupation by Baldwin of Boulogne; it was an abortive attempt lasting three weeks which gave the Crusaders time enough to establish themselves in Antioch. From this it follows that Albert of Aix and Les Chétifs concur on this point, since the chronicler's "viam qua venerat" would mean that he went back via Edessa. The two also agree on the next line, that Kerbogha then crossed the Euphrates.

We believe that Richard le Pèlerin already postulated in his rhymed chronicle that Kerbogha returned via Edessa and the Euphrates, which at the time were almost the only definite names of anything east of Antioch known to a simple jongleur. That itinerary, followed by Albert and Les Chétifs is not the same as that of Kemal ed-Dîn, which is accepted as correct by

historians.

However, we do not agree with Hatem's judgement of Corbaran's flight as described in Les Chétifs (9-11) that "Ce passage tout entier est d'une exactitude topographique"¹; this is only true to the extent that ~~the~~ all the places mentioned exist. But Corbaran fled east according to the Antioche (the Pont de Fer, Tancred's castle), in other words in the opposite direction from the Noire Montaigne, and the very direction he would have taken to go to Aleppo - in which case to say that he went "Vers le Noire Montaigne" is a contradiction in terms.

For Albert of Aix Khorassan begins on the east bank of the Euphrates; the geographical concepts of the author of Les Chétifs beyond that point are no more precise.

Corbaran makes his way to Sormasane, the capital of the Soudan de Persie. Several attempts have been made to identify Sormasane exactly. P. Paris took it to be Kirmanchah² while Goossens and Mme Duparc both agree that it is Samosata, on the left bank of the Euphrates N.W. of Edessa. Cahen rejects that view on the grounds that at the time Samosata was too

1 Op. cit., p. 376, n. 3)

2 Ant., I, 43.

insignificant to have been considered as a capital and suggests that the town in question is probably "la capitale sultanale réelle de Hamadhân, du moins dans la Chanson d'Antioche"¹, a conclusion drawn from the itinerary of the envoy Sansadoine in the Antioche (II, 42). However much accuracy may be attributed to the account of Sansadoine's mission to find help from the Sultan, it is certain that Corbaran's journey over the plains of Syria and over the Pont d'Argent is vested with fantasy. Of course, since Hamadhân happened to be the Sultan's capital at the time, Sormasane must correspond to it. It is possible that it was Richard le Pèlerin who first gave that name to the distant capital since it appears to be reflected in Albert of Aix,

Venerunt (the messengers) ... ad civitatem quandam Sammarthan, quae erat de regno Corruzan.²

which the editors of Albert take to be Samarkand. It is more likely to be the same place which Les Chétifs names as Sormasane. The name appears also in a list of historical Kings of Antioch given by Tudebod, which includes a "Gorbandus impius de Sarmazana (var. Saramania)"³.

1 La Syrie du Nord, p. 572, n. 15.

2 RHC. Occ., Vol. IV, 390 C.

3 RHC. Occ., Vol. III, 89.

In the author's mind Oliferne, Corbaran's capital, is equally vague. It is certain that western authors knew nothing of Mosul, Kerbogha's real capital, which is never mentioned in contemporary Latin sources. Critics are unanimous in identifying Oliferne with Aleppo, wherever the name occurs, thus corroborating P. Paris's original suggestion in the *Antioche*, (I, 26), to which later Bedier, for the Roland¹, and Warne, for the Jeu de Saint Nicolas² also subscribed.

The topography of both Sormasane and Oliferne as described in the poem is identical. Like any medieval town they have walls, and are reached through named gates, la porte Sanguin (688) in the case of the former, la porte Ravine (3355) in the latter, whilst both have rivers running outside them, the *Quinquaille* for Sormasane, in the middle of which is an island where the judicial duel takes place, and the *Cordie* for Oliferne; both have their palaces. Thus the two main towns fit into the stereotyped pattern of almost every town in the chanson de geste. As for the distance between them, it is presumably one week's journey, since Corbaran leaves Sormasane under oath to return for the duel in six weeks. Richard and his companions sojourn

1 J. Bédier, La Chanson de Roland commentée, (Paris, 1927), p. 518.

2 Le Jeu de Saint Nicolas, (Oxford, 1963) line 328 note.

a whole month at Oliferne (657-8), leaving a week each way for the journey. According to some manuscripts they left for Sormasane on a Tuesday morning (673) and arrived on a Thursday evening (690), which makes either three days' journey, which is too little, or ten, which is too much. This type of inconsistency is commonly met with in the epic, but it is interesting to note that some manuscripts, namely D, E and F read Thursday for the day of departure from Oliferne, as if their redactors appreciated the need for at least a modicum of accuracy.

It should be stressed that these two towns, whatever their true geographical prototypes may have been, are, in Les Chétifs, places of pure fantasy located vaguely east of the Euphrates. This is illustrated clearly when we consider the itinerary of the newly released prisoners from Oliferne to Jerusalem, delineated in *laisses* 131-32¹.

According to this route the "Chétifs" first cross Armenia and the territories of "Joriam" and "Pateron", "qui as Turs sont acilin" (3932). "Joriam" is the Old French term for Georgian, but is rarely found. Ernoul, in his topography of Jerusalem and the Holy Land², mentions that there is a

1 Cf. also Sp. p. 317 col. 1 and 2; P (App. XIII) 1059-69.

2 In Itinéraires à Jérusalem et descriptions de la Terre Sainte rédigés en français aux XI^e, XII^e & XIII^e siècles, eds. Henri Michelant et Gaston Raymond, (Geneva, 1882) Société de l'Orient Latin, Série Géographique III.

Georgian Church in Jerusalem referring to its inmates as "Jorians", with the same variant "Jorans" as in Les Chétifs¹. Apart from this the Georgians are also mentioned in the Jérusalem,

Surien et Hermin, Pateron et Gorgois, (var. Jorjois)
(A fol. 145^b) (B fol. 238^a)

If the Georgians are easily recognisable no trace at all has been found of their apparent neighbours, the "Pateron", who are not attested anywhere except for the above example from the Jérusalem, and Les Chétifs. A concurrence in sound would immediately suggest the Parthians of antiquity but mention of them is confined to the Roman d'Alexandre². Since both the Armenians and the Georgians exist it is probable that the appellation "Pateron" is also meant to represent some people³ and is not just a fantasy name. Possibly it is the victim of a corrupt transmission in which the identity of the original name has been obscured. The fact that Armenians and Georgians were actually Christians does not preclude the poet, following the widespread concepts of his time, from classing these slightly divergent sects with the traditional enemies

1 Op. cit., p. 47.

2 See J. L. Flutre, Table des Noms Propres avec toutes leurs variantes figurant dans les Romans du Moyen Age, (Poitiers, 1962), under Parthes.

3 Possibly the Paterini, a sect of Bulgarian Heretics of Manichean leanings.

of Christianity. On the other hand, on the political front, the statement that the Georgians, Armenians and Pateron were "aclin as Turs" is a fairly accurate representation of the fact that in the course of the twelfth century the Turks were consolidating their position in those areas.

The "Chétifs", however, are not the only ones to travel through Georgia and Armenia; a passage from Ordericus quoted previously tells how Guiumar Brito and his companions also cross these two countries,

... et per conductam David, Georgiensis regis, et
Turol di de Montanis Antiochiam redierunt.

This description, with its reference to David II of Georgia (1089-1125) and Thoros, baron of Upper Cilicia, (d. 1129), is no doubt accurate; but to account for a similar journey in Les Chétifs we must suppose that in time itineraries from captivity in the orient came traditionally to include a mention of Armenia and Georgia to lend an aura of remoteness to the tale.

Coming south the "Chétifs" pass through the "Val de Bacar", a lush valley abounding in all sorts of fruit in which, according to the narrative, they spend fifteen days. The only other named reference to this valley is in Ernoul, who states that:

"Entre ces .ij. montaignes a une vallée, c'on apiele le
Val Bacar, là où li home Alexandre alèrent en fuere,
quant il aseia Sur. (p. 56)

Ernoul locates this valley as lying between Homs and Tripoli. The author of the Gesta Francorum also mentions the valley; he relates how, after leaving Kephalia (North of Homs),

Tertia die egressi ab illa urbe, transivimus per altam et immensam montanam, et intravimus in vallem de Sem, in qua erat maxima ubertas omnium bonorum, fuimusque ibi per dies fere quindecim¹.

Here, as in all twelfth century chronicles, this valley is called Sem; it is not until the thirteenth century Ernoul that we find the name Val de Bacar, except, of course, in Les Chetifs, which is therefore the first attestation of this French name.

This valley is evidently that termed by R. Grousset "la plaine de la Boquée" (al-Buqai'a) which he describes as being indeed "fort verdoyant"². It is also evident that the Old French name Bacar which supplanted the Latin Sem came from the Arabic name, "Buqai'a", and arose some time during the twelfth century.

The fruitfulness of the location is attested in both the Gesta Francorum and Les Chétifs whilst an ancillary detail in the Latin and the French accounts relates that both parties spent a fortnight in the valley - "fuimusque ibi per dies fere quindecim" - ".XV. jors lor dura li vals c'ainc ne prist fin" (3934). It is true that in the Gesta the Franks were stationary

1 Ed. Hill, p. 82.

2 Op. cit., p. 130. Grousset's survey of the topography from Antioch to Jerusalem is the most comprehensive, pp. 118-150.

for that period, whereas in the poem they are travelling, but added to the resemblance in the descriptions of the valley, the further coincidence in the time spent there is striking. It is possible that the author of Les Chétifs borrowed the description from a chronicler - perhaps Robert the Monk, to whom Graindor had access - and took from it the description, but substituted a new name which had arisen since the time of the original crusade chronicles, since, like the Noire Montaigne, the Val de Bacar¹ is a name which appears to have been coined and circulated only after the establishment of the Frankish colonies, and ~~in both~~ taken from the existing local name, Greek in the case of one, Arabic in the case of the other.

Until they reach the banks of the Jordan the route now pursued by the "Chétifs" appears to be purely fantastic. There is no such place as Halechin or Hamelech shown on any map of the time. It is indeed strange that an author who cites correctly the Val de Bacar and the Jordan should have no inkling of what lay in between, when the towns of Tripoli, Beirut, Haifa, Tyre, to name but a few, were all well known, and what is more, all well attested in the chronicles and some even in the itinerary of the Crusaders to Jerusalem cited a few lines later (3961 ff.)² But the avoidance of these towns was perhaps the very design of the author of the route of the "Chétifs", who, for dramatic

¹ See Glossary under ber in.

reasons wanted the little band of prisoners to meet up with the Crusaders only before the very walls of Jerusalem, or nearly, and not before, which would have been impossible if the "Chétifs" had followed the normal coastal route taken by the Crusaders. For this reason he invented a different route which would permit the two forces, both moving south simultaneously only to come together again at the critical moment, with the "Chétifs" riding up from the Jordan on the east, the Crusaders from the west¹.

The word berrie (3937) has been taken, by medieval scribes and modern editors, as both a common noun and a proper name. It is a word of Arabic origin, meaning desert, which entered Old French in the course of the twelfth century². In most texts it clearly means desert and can be left as a common noun, as for example in l. 3935, but in other cases the medieval author seems to have a particular place in mind, as l. 3953, "al roi de la Berrie". The redactors of the Prose version (Larberiere, 1060) and the Gran Conquista (Laberia, p. 317, col. 2) have taken it as a distinct location.

It is possible that the author may have been thinking of the country of the Biblical Amalecites - Amalek - when he

1 Against this theory is the indication that Hamelech is "droit al castel marin", which does imply that the "Chétifs" took the coast route.

2 See Glossary under berrie.

placed the town of Hamelech on the route of the "Chétifs", although traditionally that was supposed to have been in Sinai. But even Amalek is rare in Old French literature; Langlois has no examples and Flutre cites only one.

However, when the "Chétifs" finally set eyes on the Jordan, we are back into known territory. Once they have bathed and kissed the baptismal stone (3941), a duty expected of every pilgrim, they set out for Jerusalem, passing hard by to the garden of Abraham,

"..l'ort saint Abrahan, La u Dex jeüna La sainte quarentaine... (3945-47)

all of which is correctly described, as illustrated by the anonymous continuator of William of Tyre, who refers to the same place and the events attached to it,

D'illuec avant estoit la Quarentaine où Nostre Sirez ieuna .xl. iourz & .xl. nuiz. Par desus estoit li Iardinz Abraham¹.

A passing mention by Fulcher of Chartres gives it the Latin name "in horto Abrahae dicto"², in which we recognise the O.F. "l'ort saint Abrahan" of Les Chétifs. Slightly further up the valley (of Joshaphat) the "Chétifs" come to the Rouge Cisterne, again topographically exact, as shown by Ernoul,

1 Itin. franç., p. 169. The garden of Abraham is not the same as Hebron, where the Patriarch also resided, as stated by Mme Duparc, Le Cycle, p. 36. Hebron is south of Jerusalem.

2 RHC. Occ., III, 364 A.

Entre Iericop & Iherusalem a .j. liu qu'on apele
le Rouge Cisterne. (p. 70).

This is as near as they will get to the Holy City in Les Chétifs, for it is at this point that they will soon encounter the army of the Crusaders. The itinerary of the prisoners from Oliferne to Jerusalem is therefore a mixture of fact and fantasy. Passing through remote Georgia and Armenia, down the identifiable Val de Bacar, on past the imaginary Saracen strongholds of Halechin and Hamelech, the "Chétifs" come out by the Jordan, from which their route is clearly described past landmarks mentioned in all itineraries of the Holy Land and which every pilgrim visited. The implications of this are that the author of this itinerary had only vague notions of the Levant except for that part close to Jerusalem for which the details were easily accessible in both written and oral sources. The mention of the Val de Bacar, however, suggests that this source, if oral, also had some knowledge of Syria, a fact which is found elsewhere¹.

In the meantime the bulk of the Crusaders have left Antioch and are marching south. The lines describing their itinerary are almost as interesting, and, at the same time problematic, as those devoted to the journey of the "Chétifs".

1 See p. 258.

Guerpie ont Anthioce, la vile ont bien garnie,
 Pris ont Gibel le grant, Margat et Valenie,
 Et Barut et Saïete qui siet en le Surie,
 Et Carcloie et le Marce descî qu'en Saforie;
 Et tant a exploitié la Jesu compaignie
 K'il sont venus errant a le Mahomerie,
 Pres de Jerusalem .II. liues et demie.

(3959-65)

One of the major misrepresentations in this passage is historical rather than geographical. The impression given is that all the Crusaders rode together, which is incorrect. Certainly the phrase "Guerpie ont Anthioce, la vile ont bien garnie" is accurate, but Bohemond (in history, at least), remained behind to supervise the tenure of the city over which he claimed suzerainty. Nor did the others leave together, or by the same route. Raymond of Toulouse was the first to leave, and went east of the Syrian mountains in the hope of making some sizeable conquests to make up for his failure to secure Antioch for himself. He passed by Maarat al-Numan (O.F. La Mare) and Arqa (O.F. Archas). This itinerary is followed closely in the "quatorze laisses" found in some manuscripts at the end of the Antioche¹.

Godfrey of Bouillon left later and followed the coastal route, which is the itinerary given most clearly in Les Chétifs,

1 Ant., II, 289-304.

whereas the "quatorze laisses" describe Godfrey's movements incorrectly, claiming that he first went to visit his brother Baldwin in Edessa.

Mme Duparc has already examined this passage in her chapter on the topography of the Jérusalem¹, but we are not satisfied that she has drawn attention to all the problems contained in it.

"Gibel le grant" (Latin Gibelum, modern Djablah) lies south of Lattakiah, while Valenie is the regular Old French name for Baniyas, a little further south. But Margat, further south still, presents some difficulties. The name of the coastal town passed by Godfrey south of Baniyas is the modern Marqiye, whose governor had recognised the suzerainty of Raymond of Toulouse². However, the Old French name for this town was Maraclee³, with which Mme Duparc erroneously identifies le Marce (3962) - clearly the classical name Heraclea crossed with the Arabic one gave rise to a hybrid in Old French. But the place mentioned in Les Chétifs, Margat, is not the coastal town, but the correct name of a then Turkish held fortress

1 Le Cycle, p. 31.

2 Runciman, I, 270.

3 Cf. Itin. franç., p. 15.

about a mile inland and six miles to the south east of Baniyas. According to Grousset¹ this fortress (now known as Marqab) held out against the Crusaders until about 1117-19, after which it was to become a stronghold of the Hospitaliers, sufficiently powerful for Saladin to have bypassed it on his lightning campaign of 1188, although the continuator of William of Tyre claims that all three towns were recaptured exactly in the opposite order to that given in Les Chétifs, i.e., "Valenie, Margat et Gybel"².

Although Maraclee is often mentioned in Latin chronicles³, Margat is only mentioned in one thirteenth century author, Caffaro of Genoa⁴ against the year 1140, apart from the statement quoted above concerning its alleged loss to Saladin.

Why, therefore, is Maraclee, a town historically taken by the Crusaders at that time and whose name appears often in Franco-Syrian sources, replaced in the list in Les Chétifs by

1 Op. cit., p. 681. See also Runciman II, Marqab in Index.

2 RHC. Occ., vol. II, 122. Marqab was not taken in 1188, Grousset II, p. 825, Runciman II, p. 470-1. See also T. S. R. Boase, Kingdoms and Strongholds of the Crusaders, (London, 1971), pp. 147-8. Marqab was not taken until 1285.

3 See the itinerary described by Fulcher of Chartres, RHC. Occ., vol. III, 373 C.

4 RHC. Occ., vol. V, 66 E, 67 A.

Margat, also geographically correct, but which only passed into Christian hands some twenty years later and of which there is virtually no documentary trace? It is our hypothesis that the key to the substitution of the unknown Margat for the well known Maraclee (at the time of the First Crusade, at least), lies in their different status at the time when Les Chétifs was written, whether we mean the Ur-Chétifs, which may or may not have included this itinerary, or Graindor's remaniement, which certainly did. Margat, at first unimportant, gained in stature throughout the twelfth century by virtue of its possession by the Hospitaliers; strong enough for Saladin to have deemed it unwise to besiege in 1188. Possibly the news of its survival was reported in France and influenced Graindor's verse, leading to the substitution of Margat for Maraclee, whether in lines of his own creation or in his remaniement of previous material. Chronologically this view is plausible, since Graindor is generally considered to have been working on his epic task in about 1190. The news of Margat would have been fresh.

In contrast, the identification of Barut (Beirut) and Saiete (Sidon) leaves no doubt. From Gibel to Saiete roughly constituted the itinerary of Godfrey of Bouillon.

With the following line, "Carcloie et la Marce" , we switch suddenly to Raymond's route. "La Marce", found in most manuscripts,

must be an error of long standing for "La Mare", by which Maarat was known in the vernacular, as illustrated by the many examples given in the description of the siege of that town in the "quatorze laisses". The name Carcloie appears to be a hapax, since no other example of it occurs in any itinerary, and it is not mentioned in the "quatorze laisses". It can only refer to one of two towns passed by Raymond after leaving Maarat, either Capharda or Kephalia, both mentioned in the Gesta Francorum¹, but probably the latter. We therefore propose the identification Kephalia = Carcloie.

The omission of two important towns passed by Raymond, Arqa and Tripoli, is surprising since these were of major importance and Arqa was subject to a long siege. Even more surprising, however, is the inclusion of Saforie (Sepphoris, 3962), which lies between Haifa and Nazareth, and is not mentioned in a single account of the Crusaders' itinerary; it was then a place of little importance and was not even passed by the marching armies at all. It is not referred to in any Latin source until Fulcher of Chartres, for the year 1124, and then only in a Biblical context².

All the contemporary chroniclers state that the

1 Ed. cit., pp. 81-2.

2 RHC. Occ., III, 462.

Crusaders passed through the town of Ramleh on their way to Jerusalem and even installed a bishop there. Attested in every other Crusade document that event is omitted from the account in Les Chétifs, which prefers to state that the armies made for La Mahomerie, "Pres de Jerusalem .II. liues et demie" (modern El-Bireh) which is indeed roughly two and a half short leagues north of the City. But all the contemporary documents state categorically that the Crusaders went direct from Ramleh to Jerusalem and thus never went near La Mahomerie.

As a piece of historical evidence, therefore, the itinerary of the Crusaders as set out in Les Chétifs falls well below the mark as far as accuracy is concerned. Apart from the confusion of Margat and Maraclee several important towns are omitted, whilst other localities of little consequence are marked on the route, which, in reality, the Crusaders never even went through.

What is evident from a study of the itineraries we have discussed is that the readings from the old version included in MS. A are consistently superior to those of other manuscripts, some of which appear to betray a complete lack of concern for verisimilitude and a general ignorance of the Holy Land, which is not altogether the case in the original version. For example, in D3961, Saiete could hardly be fittingly described as "dejoste Tabarie" (Tiberias). In line 3960 the variants are

mere fantasy, or completely out of place, as MS E "Maroc"; and GE "Alenie" which refers to the country of the Alani near the Caspian sea. Similarly Escalonne (Ascalon) E3962 is right off the track in the context. The Prose version offers the following towns;

Gibel et Barut et Saïete et Cardoc et Lambare, dessi
que a Saforie, et sont ja a le Mahommerie a .II.
lieues et demie de Jherusalem (1071-73).

MS P is fairly close to A; Cardoc is similar to the mysterious Carcloie and paleographically the difference between them is easily explained. The redactor of P has taken La Marce of A to be Lambare, which was the correct Old French name for al-Bara, a town taken by Raymond to the north of Maraath. It may be therefore that the original reading was Lambare and not La Mare as we suggested above. It was certainly one or the other.

On several occasions throughout Les Chétifs the heroes are asked to give an account of themselves. What they recurrently stress is the fact that they are pilgrims. They have a clear idea of the goal of their journey; despite their tribulations there is never any question of abandoning their project and heading back home. As Richard de Chaumont tells Corbaran:

"Al Sepucure en aloie, merci querre et pardon,
Veoir le Moniment et le Surrexion,
Et le saintisme Tenple c'on clainme Salemon".

(455-57).

Naturally it is the Chanson de Jérusalem which contains the most information about the many sights in and around the Holy City¹, but some indications are also furnished in Les Chétifs. To the places mentioned above can be added the

.. val de Josafas qui molt est bien garnie,
La u li mere Deu fu morte et sevelie.

(3972-73)

The author also cites the Portes Oires, the celebrated gate in the east wall of the City through which Jesus rode on a donkey (2349, 4013) and through which the surviving messenger fled (4013) to report to Cornumaran, who was playing "tables" in the "tor Davi", a palace on the west wall.

The sanctuaries inside Jerusalem itself, the "Sepucure", the "Moniment", the "Temple Salemon" were among the major attractions for any visitor. They are mentioned in all the extant guides and itineraries, and it is again Ernoul who gives us the most comprehensive description:

Et celle capiele si est tenans al Moustier del Sepulcre, si qu'il i a une porte dont on entre el Moustier del Sepulcre. A le droiture de celle porte est li Monumens. En cel endroit ou li Monumens est, est li moustiers tous reons Et dedens cel Monument est li Piere del Sepulcre. Et li Monumens est couvers a vaute. 2

The "Surrexion" as an independent monument as implied in line 456 did not actually exist. All the items concerning the

1 See topography of Jerusalem, Le Cycle, pp. 31-38.

2 Itin. franç., p. 35.

Resurrection are contained in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but it is possible that some confusion has arisen. Ernoul explains that:

quant on cante messe de le Resurrection, & li diacres, quant il list l'evangille, si se tourne devers Mont de Calvaire, quant il dist: "Crucifixium"; apries si se retorne devers le Monument, & dist: "Surrexit, non est hic".¹

It may be that the word "Surrexit" (in all the Gospels except John) was borrowed to designate the place of the Resurrection itself.

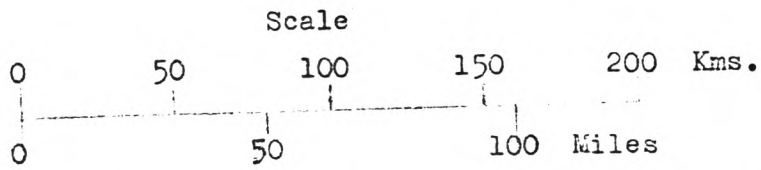
The topography of Les Chétifs is at the same time exact and vague. Alongside a host of correct details of places in Syria and Palestine lie a number of hazy and ill defined localities which appear to come from the author's imagination. For the places that are accurately indicated, especially those of religious interest, the author displays no more than a vicarious knowledge and quite likely borrowed them straight out of the original redactions of the Antioch and the Jerusalem². For the rest the topography is interesting in that in a few cases, la Noire Montaigne, le Val de Bacar, Margat, and perhaps Carcloie, the names given are those found at the time of the composition of Les Chétifs, and not those of the period in which the action takes place.

1 Loc. cit.,

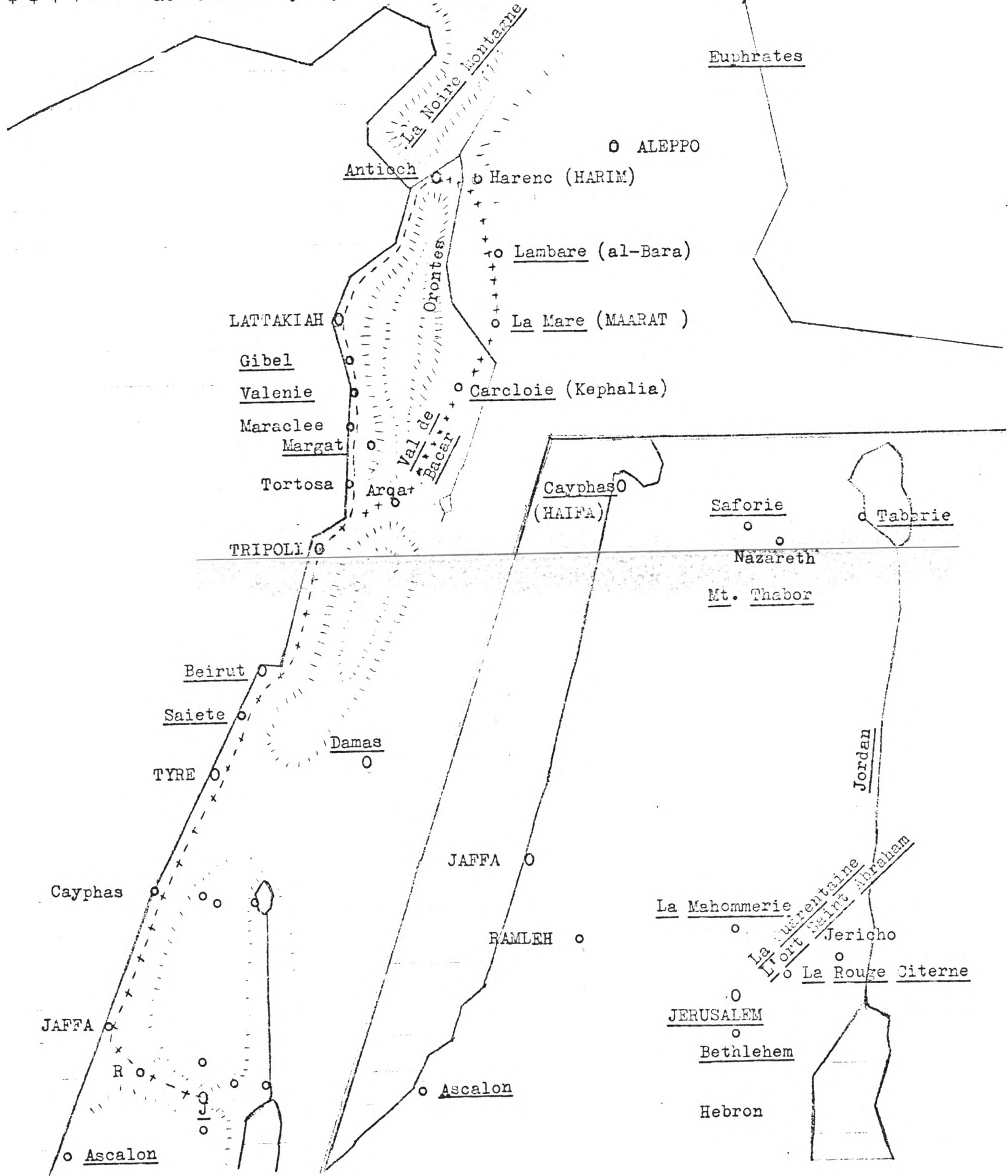
2 Cf. Mme Duparc's conclusions on the topography in Jér, p. 38.

SYRIA AND PALESTINE

Gibel places in Les Chétifs
Tortosa other large towns
HAIFA modern names



----- Route taken by Godfrey of Bouillon
 + + + + + Route taken by Raymond of Toulouse



CHAPTER ELEVEN

A REPLY TO PREVIOUS CRITICS

The foregoing chapters have covered most aspects of critical discussion relative to Les Chétifs. There remain two areas in which a reply must be made to the views previously put forward by the critics of the 1930's and 1940s, namely Hatem, Goossens, Cahen and Mme Duparc.

The Place of Les Chétifs in the Cycle.

The place held by Les Chétifs in the Crusade Cycle and its relationship to some of the other branches is one of the major issues. Mme Duparc has suggested that Les Chétifs and the Chrétienté de Corbaran were originally one poem which Graindor de Douai cut into two parts, placing each part either side of the Jérusalem. She believes that at the outset the natural place of the Chétifs-Chrétienté was after the Jérusalem¹.

Mme Duparc's argument is based on certain statements in the poem which are not correct in terms of its present location. Corbaran, accused by the Soudan of treason, appeals for a truce

1 Le Cycle, p. 84.

long enough for him to be able to find a Christian champion.

"Mais or m'en donés trives, tant qu'en soie creüs,
Et que soie al Sepucure alés et revenus.
La troverai de cels u je sui combatus".

(261-63)

This is an evident inconsistency. How can Corbaran find his champion among the Crusaders in Jerusalem when they have not even left Antioch? This reading is found in all the versions, P and Sp included, with the exception of T which has probably seen the mistake and corrected to - "que soie a Anthyoche alés et revenus". Later, when Calabre reiterates her son's words, she also says:

"Or t'en vas au Sepucure .I. crestien querant..."

(313)

and on this occasion even T has let the error go by.

Mme Duparc contends that these references to the Sepucure are the last vestiges, overlooked by Graindor in his remaniement, of an earlier Chétifs placed after the Jérusalem, in which circumstances Corbaran's proposals to find his champion in that city would be perfectly logical. If these traces have not been properly eradicated and replaced by references to Antioch at the beginning of Les Chétifs in its present setting, the rest of the poem, on the other hand, leaves no doubt that it is immediately after the Battle of the Antioch that the drama occurs. When Corbaran has seen the "Chétifs" among whom

his mother suggests he should chose his champion, he turns to her in desperation and says:

. "N'i ai que demorer,
G'irai a Antioce, a Builemont parler"

(407-8)

and adds that in reward for the cooperation of one of the Crusaders,

"Rendrai Jerusalem u il voelent aler,
Et avoec le Sepucre qu'il voelent delivrer".

(415-16)

The intermediate situation of Les Chétifs between the two major branches is illustrated emphatically in the hesitation of the captives after their release, when they are divided as to whether to go straight to Jerusalem or to return to Antioch and rejoin the army.

"Segnor", ço dist Ricars, "por Deu quel le feron:
Irons nos'al Sepucre faire nostre orison,
U tornerons a l'ost la u sont li baron?"

(3821-63)

Notwithstanding this contradiction in terms produced by Corbaran's references to Jerusalem, when in the context he meant Antioch, we believe that the present location of Les Chétifs is and always was the correct one. The mention of the Sepucre in all versions is certainly an error of long standing and not the result of a later scribal blunder. But it is possible that the mistake crept in via a version which pre-dates

all the surviving manuscripts, the earliest of which goes back only to the middle of the thirteenth century, some sixty years after Graindor is supposed to have reworked the cycle, ample time for such an error. Furthermore it is a well known fact that the majority of scribes tend to perpetuate mistakes rather than correct them.

We have shown in an earlier chapter that the act which motivates Les Chétifs is Corbaran's defeat at Antioch, the death of Brohadas, and the Soudan's belief that these were the work of treason. It would weaken considerably the dramatic structure of these events to separate the Battle itself from Corbaran's flight, the charge of treason and his need to defend himself, and to place them after the Jérusalem. There is no question that the defeat for which Corbaran is blamed took place at the end of the Jérusalem itself in the original version, since that was slightly more historical than the extant reworking and Corbaran - or at least the historical Kerbogha - was not even present.

One of the principal tenet's of Mme Duparc's theory is that originally Les Chétifs and the first post-Jérusalem continuation, the Chrétienté de Corbaran were one unit. This is largely deduced from a comparison of the themes of Les Chétifs and those of the Byzantine epic Digénis Akritas,

a similarity already suggested by Goossens. The main affinity lies in the theme of conversion; Corbaran willingly becomes a Christian but, like the Emir in Digénis, who is also converted, has some difficulty in persuading his mother to adopt the same course; whereas the Emir succeeds, Corbaran puts his mother in a moustier¹. This aspect will be the subject of the second part of this chapter.

More important are the places in Les Chétifs in which Corbaran's conversion is hinted at, and even the events consequent on his baptism and the siege of Oliferne are announced:

"Par Mahomet, Segnor," dist li rois Corbarans,
 "Bien sai que les vertus vostre Deu sont molt grans....
 Baptisier me fesisce ne fust li rois Soudans
 Et ma mere Calabre, qui des ars est sacans"

 Quant Sarrasin l'entendent tos lor mua li sans.
 Se Damedex n'en pense, del ciel li raemans,
 Mar le dist oiant els li fors rois Corbarans,
 Car puis l'en fist grant gerre li amirals Soldans,
 Et assist Oliferne, la u estoit manans.
 Li terre en fu gastee et del país grans pans,
 Entor et environ .X. jornees errans.

(2933-49)

And Corbaran repeats later repeats his promise (3053-61).

These annonces are not fortuitous and in its present form the Chrétienté recounts precisely these events².

1 Le Cycle, p. 84.

2 See E. Roy's summary of the Chrétienté, Romania LV, p. 411 ff.

However, Corbaran's incipient enthusiasm for Christianity is found only in the Sathanas episode, and in no other parts of the poem is there any suggestion that he will eventually become a renegade of paganism¹. The existence of these annonces only in the interpolated middle episode of Les Chétifs implies that the idea of Corbaran's eventual conversion is post Graindor. It is therefore impossible to talk of a relationship between the whole branch and the Chrétienté; the relationship is limited to the Sathanas episode. We can infer that the dragon interpolator not only created that section but also planned the Chrétienté, giving its basic outline in the Sathanas episode in order to announce it - just as the Civetot episode was Graindor's way of announcing Les Chétifs. For some reason the interpolator never completed his work, otherwise all the manuscripts would include the Chrétienté just as they all include the Sathanas episode. As it stands the Chrétienté is found in the same form in only three manuscripts, all of them late versions, MSS. I, G and E, and is such mediocre poetry that it was not long before someone attempted to improve on it by recasting it and combining it with the Prise d'Acre, a remaniement

1 But cf. the discussion of l. 414, below p. 306. There is also a passage foreshadowing the conversion at the end of the branch (3910-20) but it is found only in A and is no doubt an addition by the scribe of that manuscript.

which survives only in T.

The Chrétienté is, poetically speaking, the worst branch of the entire cycle. Presumably it is the work of an extremely poor jongleur because of the great length of the laisses and the paucity of variation in rhyme ending, the majority of the episode being conveyed in rhymes of "-é" and "-ant". MS G, for example, contains some 2000 lines in only 30 laisses, an average of 66 lines per laisse, compared with an average of under half that number in Les Chétifs. Of these 30 laisses no fewer than 13 are in "-ant" - accounting for nearly half the branch! - and the rest are not much more ambitious: 8 in "-é", 4 in "-er", 2 in "-ie" and one each in "-ee", "-ié" and "-on". The branch is thus a very unworthy successor to Les Chétifs.

The Prise d'Acre and the further continuations fortunately do not continue in the same vein after the nadir of the Chrétienté, and poetic standards are restored. MS G, the earliest of the manuscripts to carry continuations has only this one item, which is additional evidence that it was written as an independent branch, separate from its suite, the Prise d'Acre, which is by a different author.

Les Chétifs and the Chrétienté were definitely never conceived as one unit placed after the Jérusalem; the branch in question was conceived by the author of the dragon episode

who announced, but never wrote his work. It was only in about the middle of the thirteenth century that a third-rate jongleur or a scribe with some poetic pretensions, took the annonces in Les Chétifs as his cue to write the sequel.

*

* *

The Spirit of Les Chétifs

The theme of Corbaran's conversion leads us to the moral and spiritual tone of Les Chétifs, an aspect which critics have not failed to press into the service of their theories.

Mme Duparc's parallel between the conversion of Corbaran and that of the Emir in Digénis, and the circumstances of their respective mothers is invalid. The finished poems may both include the same theme but that is a coincidence a posteriori. The original Chétifs was not written with Corbaran's conversion in mind.

Other scholars have stressed the fact that the Crusading spirit is totally lacking in this branch and have invoked this as an argument in favour of its Syrian origin on the grounds that it reflects the "esprit de fraternisation" that arose in Franco-Syria between Christians and Moslems - a fraternisation

which would have been unthinkable in the West¹.

This aspect of Les Chétifs has been entirely misunderstood and misinterpreted. It is certainly striking that this branch, sandwiched in between the Antioche and the Jérusalem, two of the most vehemently anti-pagan episodes of the Old French epic, shares little of their venom. The reason for this abrupt difference in tone lies in the very nature of Les Chétifs. This branch has all the external oriental appearances of the other two but, unlike them, is not itself a crusade poem: it is a feudal poem in its essence. French feudal themes are placed in an exotic setting and the characters must be considered in the light of their new situation. The antagonists are no longer the same; it is not a struggle between Christians and Saracens, but one between overlord and vassal. Naturally the Corbaran of the Antioche is a hostile character, both at Civetot, where he is the cruel captor of the "Chétifs", and at the Battle of Antioch, where he leads the only serious military challenge to the First Crusade. But in Les Chétifs his role alters. He is wrongly accused and thus becomes sympathetic in relationship to his dart-throwing suzerain. His attitude towards his

1 — Cf. pp. 127 and 140 above.

prisoners also changes and he slips into the category of the grateful captor; he rewards the "Chétifs" with gifts and riches and treats them to magnificent banquets.

There is no crusading spirit in Les Chétifs because the two parts which Corbaran plays, the unjustly accused traitor and the grateful captor do not admit of any Christian-Saracen animosity. The conflict is between Corbaran and the "Chétifs" on the one side and the Soudan and his champions on the other.

The theme of Corbaran's conversion has been taken as indicative of the influence of the oriental epic. Cahen states that "Folkloriquement l'Occident n'avait pas eu non plus à développer le thème de la conversion d'infidèles, puisqu'il en avait peu à ses portes. C'est au contraire le leit-motiv de l'épopée byzantine d'un côté, des romans chevaleresques musulmans de l'autre..."¹ This view is manifestly unacceptable and is an error of judgement which results from the dangers of generalisations by specialists dealing with fields which are not their own. Both Goossens, the Byzantinist, and Cahen, the Orientalist, are guilty of overlooking some of the basic precepts of the Old French Epic. It need hardly be stated that, on the contrary, the theme of

1 Le Moyen Age, p. 327.

the conversion of Saracens is fully exploited in epics which deal with the Christian-Saracen conflict. W. W. Comfort has examined in detail the role played by the Saracens in the chanson de geste¹ and drawn attention to the many cases of conversion. Of course there are an equal number of "felon Sarrasin" who would rather die Saracen than be converted (Roland, 3668-70), or who offer considerable resistance and only accept Christianity under pressure (eg. the Emir d'Orkenie in the Jeu de Saint Nicolas 1512-16), and among these latter must be placed Calabre, who is a staunch Saracen, an archetype of the sorceress, and who, in the Chrétienté is placed in a convent by force. It is certain also that Calabre's role as the fervent diehard supporter of the false faith was to be taken as a comic element. Against these infamous characters are a host of sympathetic Saracens who mend their ways under the influence of Christianity and eventually repent their "mistake" and are willing proselytes. The list of Enamoured Moslem Princesses, whose personal sentiment naturally plays a leading part in their desire for conversion, is almost endless, but includes more famous examples like Orable, in the Prise d'Orange, Floripas (Fierabras), Malatrie

1 "The Character Types in the Old French Chansons de Geste", PMLA, XXI (1906), pp. 404-34.

(Siège de Barbastre), Nubie (Prise de Cordres), Mirabel (Aiol); even the bride of Charlemagne in Mainet, Galienne, is a convert. Nor can we omit Bramimunde, who, albeit not "enamoured" will be converted to Christianity "par amour" (Roland, 3674).

There is a further category of Saracens for whom conversion to Christianity arises from a reasoned appreciation of the superiority and right of that religion, and in whose decision physical love plays no part at all. Such is the case of Balant, in Aspremont and of Clarion in the Siège de Barbastre. Corbaran will also join their ranks, though in Les Chétifs as it was first conceived he is a somewhat weak, vacillating character, who would readily become a Christian out of pure expediency. His angry invective against the pagan Gods (33-40) is no more than a stock reaction expected in the epic of the defeated Saracen¹. Later, when he expresses his willingness to become a Christian if it is required as a condition for the cooperation of one of the Crusaders in the duel judiciaire,

"Por s'amor me ferai batisier et lever"

(414)

he only does so because it offers the most politic way out of his difficulties. This is not to be taken as an announcement of his eventual baptism, for which no provision was made in the remaniement of Graindor.

1 Comfort, p. 412.

At the end of the Jérusalem, however, Cornumaran, who has been the bitter enemy of the Crusaders finally recants and is saved from Hell by his baptism just before death. The idea of conversion had thus already entered the Cycle at the stage of the remaniement, an idea which the interpolator of the dragon episode took up, considering that Corbaran's sympathetic nature in Les Chétifs made him a worthy candidate for conversion. It was the interpolator who introduced the theme into Les Chétifs, using the events on the Mont de Tigris as a means to convince Corbaran of the superiority of Christianity (2725-37, 2933-41). After witnessing Baudouin's prowess and being saved from the devil by the blessing of the Abbé de Fécamp Corbaran decides in principle to become a Christian; but he delays. The enmity caused by this decision which brings him into direct conflict with his mother and the Soudan will be the subject of a further branch, the Chrétienté; the author is postponing the conversion in order to develop it into an additional episode, and he contents himself with the annonces discussed above.

This delay, which was to postpone Corbaran's conversion for over 10,000 lines, and effectively about 50 years - since the originally planned branch was left unfinished - also has its precedent in the epic. In the Aspremont Balant, King Agolant's ambassador, takes several messages to Charlemagne's court and

later, to his camp below mount Aspremont. On this occasion he confides in Charlemagne's ambassador, Naimon, his desire to become a Christian:

"Se cest estor pooit avoir finé,
Jo volrai estre baptisiés et levé"

(2612-13)

Naimon greets his wish with enthusiasm, and the conversation runs thus:

"Sire Balant", dist il (Naimon) "entendés ça,
Il est bien drois, et Dex le comanda,
Que conpaig soit qui conpaig trovera.
Vos creés Deu et Dex vos aidera.
A nos venrés, sire, quant vos plaira;
Li apostoles si vos baptisera".
Et dist Balans: "Jo i alasse ja;
Mais Agolans, me sire, nori m'a
Et chevalier me fist et corona.
S'or li faloie ne aloie dela,
C'esteroit mals....."

(2728-38)

The time is not yet ripe for his conversion; out of commendable feudal loyalty to his overlord he will remain a pagan throughout most of the duration of the war, but ultimately changes sides (7050-59). Naimon, for his part, appreciates the obstacle and offers Balant an open invitation to receive baptism when circumstances are more propitious.

The theme of delay is thus not infrequent. In the case of Corbaran it seems that the immediate obstacle is the hostility of his mother and the Soudan, though it is not

explained why his situation should be any more favourable later. The material is simply reserved for a new branch. Only when Jerusalem has fallen and Christianity strongly established itself will Corbaran feel able to brave the opposition of Calabre and the Soudan and take the necessary steps.

Thus the theme of conversion, in no way imported from the Orient, is developed as the branch expands, in accordance with a well established French epic tradition.

C H A P T E R T W E L F E
THE INFLUENCE OF LES CHÉTIFS

Three important stages in the development of Les Chétifs can be discerned; about 1190, when Graindor is generally considered to have been active, some time in the early thirteenth century, when the dragon episode was added, and the middle of that century, from which date the earliest manuscripts.

The question that must now be asked is whether this branch had any influence on other works, or whether it was largely ignored by subsequent O.F. literature. The fact that there are different versions of the poem (see next chapter) and that there are a considerable number of manuscripts indicates a popularity of the cycle as a whole rather than a particular predilection for Les Chétifs. Notwithstanding, we believe that this branch may have been fairly widely known and exercised some influence in other works. It has already been established by Pigeonneau and Mme Duparc that from the end of the twelfth century the heroes of Les Chétifs become renowned and are classified as genuine historical characters. Mme Duparc lists all the examples¹, which include the Estoire de Jerusalem

1 For full enumeration and references of these items see Duparc, Accad. Lincei, pp. 778-80.

et d'Antioche in the thirteenth century, which places Richard de Chaumont, the Abbé de Fécamp and the Evêque du Forez on the muster roll of the First Crusade. Other documents advance the date of the sale of Harpin's land to 1071, 1095 or 1096 so as to be able to state that: "ivit supra Saracenos cum Petro Heremita". The Gesta Francorum usque ad annum 1214 gives a list of the participants of the Crusade to which a later French translation adds Richard de Chaumont and substitutes the Evêque du Forez for Adhémar, Bishop of Le Puy, the true spiritual leader.

To these can be added the passage found in the Enfances Renier¹ in which all the celebrated Crusade leaders are alleged to have been conceived on the same night. The list, which furnishes the names of all the acknowledged historical leaders, ends with

"...le bon Ricart qui a Chaumont fu nez,
et cil (= li quens) de Bourges Harpin le redoutez,
et Baudouin de Biauvais li senez,
Raimbaut Creton qui moult fu adurez,
Jehan d'Alis qui fu hons moult osez".

(17983-87)

Those are all the documents in which members of the "Chétifs" are mentioned by name. It is possible that the branch

1 Ed. Carla Cremonesi, (Milan, 1957).

has left traces of its influence elsewhere, although the following examples are purely speculative.

We have already drawn attention to the similarity of some scenes in Octavian to Les Chétifs, namely the snatching of the baby by a monkey and its rescue by a knight who in turn loses it to some robbers. These themes of successive capture and loss are older than the poems concerned, but it may be that Harpin's escapades immediately suggested the use of a monkey as the abductor. On the same subject of monkeys it is of note that in Florence de Rome ~~the traitor~~ Milon is threatened by two monkeys, from which he flees without fight¹. Later he is attacked by a beast not unlike the Sathanas:

Ez vos une serpente qui fu granz et crestee,
 Qui d'une haute roche tost est jus avalee;
 Mout estoit laide et granz et de venin enflee,
 Quatorze piez de lonc, qui l'eust mesuree,
 Et cinc o quatre piez s'a la gole baee:
 Feus et flambe li ist de boche envenimee.
 La teste porte droite, la langue forsgetee,
 Et tenoit sus la coe, qui fu longue et cornee,
 A la cholor dou feu s'est la beste arestee...

(3976-84)

Wallensköld claims that there are two versions of Florence, the earlier being late twelfth century and surviving only in a later abridged remaniement (which he calls Q) and the other

1 Florence de Rome, ed A. Wallensköld, 2 vols (Paris, 1907), SATF. Contrary to what W. says in his analysis (Vol. 1, 36) there is no fight between Milon and the beasts.

more important, is an early thirteenth century work dating between about 1200 and 1230. There is certainly some mutual knowledge of each other's existence in Florence and the Cycle, since the former is mentioned in Elioxe¹, whilst in its turn the romance contains a reference to the Jérusalem:

Anthioche fonda Antiocus li Granz,
Et Jherusalem fist uns rois Cornumaranz.

(8-9)

The Q version does not contain any allusion to Cornumaran, nor to the monkeys or serpent which Milon encounters. Unfortunately that text is so abbreviated that the absence of these details proves nothing. It could be that the beasts - the rare monkeys, that Sathanas-like "serpent" - were suggested to the author of the second, thirteenth century, Florence: if this is so, the second remaniement of the Cycle including the dragon episode must be placed before 1230.

In Aiol² there is a detail which is strikingly similar to one in Les Chétifs. The hero is attacked by a 'serpent' (a snake, not a dragon, in this case) which he manages to dispatch by fixing his sword in its mouth:

Puis a traite l'espee li enfes par grant sens,
 Si l'a mise en travers en la goule al serpent.

(6360-61)

1 Florence, Vol. I, 102-3.

2 Aiol, ed. Jacques Normand & Gaston Raynaud,
 (Paris, 1877) SATF.

in exactly the same manner that Baudouin vainquishes his antagonist (Chétifs, 2680, 2689). En passant we note that Aiol is also in possession of a miraculous "brief" containing the names of God (452-54).

In the notes to Appendix IV we have considered a common episode found in both Les Chétifs and the Moniage Guillaume in which a jongleur of Les Chétifs may have borrowed from that epic. There is a scene in the Moniage which may suggest, in return, a knowledge of the dragon episode. Originally Guillaume fights with a Giant¹. In a later variant, (MS B, Bern) however, the Giant is unaccountably replaced by a dragon in mid-combat!

Et li gaians l'a si fort esciflé
Pour .j. petit que il ne l'a viersé.
Pour la mort del sierpent desfaé,
Puis le refiert Guillaume au cort nés.

This strange changeover is accomplished in the fourteenth century Italian version, Le Storie Nerbonesi², in which the hero fights only with a dragon.

El serpente non fuggi, anzi venne contro a Guglielmo colla gola aperta, e Guglielmo gli diè con la punta della ispada nella gola, e punselo per modo, che egli volse la coda, e diè a Guglielmo una grande percossa. Ma Guglielmo lo tagliò per lo mezza, e gittò sì grande il puzzo, che

¹ Le Storie, II, 72.

1 Le Moniage Guillaume, ed. Wilhelm Cloetta, 2 vols., (Paris, 1906-11) SATF. Moniage II, laisses XLV-LI.

2 Le Storie Nerbonesi, ed. I. G. Isola, 2 vols., (Bologna, 1887).

Guglielmo andò per terra, ed ebbe grande dolore drento, e tutta notte s'andò per dolore voltando. E la mattina s'adormentò, e guari, e vide la bestia morta.¹

Highly significant is the fact that Guillaume "gli diè con la punta della ispada nella gola", since this is the same detail previously mentioned which occasioned the death of the Sathanas. Comparing the French and Italian accounts of this event, Cloetta says "il n'est d'aucune importance que le géant soit remplacé par un dragon"². We claim that the change is important insofar as it indicates a possible influence of the dragon episode of Les Chétifs. The variant Bern MS already hesitates between the giant and the dragon; probably a later redactor sought to win some of the popularity of the dragon-fight by ascribing one to Guillaume. This we can only postulate, since the Italian revisor used his material with great freedom and his work does not always correspond to the French original³.

The only other examples where later authors may have borrowed from Les Chétifs are of a religious nature. The long prayers found in the chansons de geste provide a vast

1 Le Storie, II, 622.

2 Op. cit., II, 190.

3 La Prise d'Orange, p. 38.

wealth of interchangeable material, the list of which has been drawn up by Sister Pierre M. Koch¹. Unfortunately Les Chétifs is not included in her analysis, as it would have enriched the study with its abundance of examples. Only a few specific points are retained here. Although the Crucifixion is recorded by all long prayers, the name Golgotha is only found three times. The first is in Fierabras²:

Que jusqu'en Gorgatas fu vostre sans coulés
Deus meus desis; adont fus deviés.

(p. 37)

Since Fierabras is earlier than Les Chétifs it may be considered rather as an example of source than of influence, but its relationship will become apparent. Not only is 'Gorgatas' mentioned, as in Les Chétifs but also the rare Latin quotation "Deus meus" (Cf. Chétifs 2371). The only other long prayer of the period to contain the name Golgotha is found in Aiol (6194), which we have already had reason to connect with Les Chétifs. However, the mere mention of a name, which could equally have been taken from Fierabras, or the Bible itself, would not be sufficiently convincing if it were not supported by further evidence of close similarities in the long prayers

1 An Analysis of the Long Prayers in Old French Literature with Special Reference to the "Biblical-Creed Narrative" Prayers, (Washington D.C., 1940).

2 Ed. A. Kroeber and G. Servois, (Paris, 1860).

in Aiol and Les Chétifs. Compare the following lines from both, (in "-ier"):

Et car et sanc presis en la digne mollier	<u>Aiol</u> 6184
Ki car et sanc presistes en le digne moillier	<u>Chét</u> 832
Quant Longis te feri, qui ne s'i sot gaitier	<u>Aiol</u> 6188
Longis qui te feri ne se sot dont gaitier	<u>Chét</u> 850
Desci qu'a Golgatas fesis ton sanc raier	
Et del mont de Calvaire la pierre peçoier	<u>Aiol</u> 6194-5
Le pierre de Calvaire et fendre et peçoier	
Desci qu'en Gorgatas fesis ton sanc glacier	<u>Chét</u> 845-6

More striking still is the mention of the reaction of the beasts of the field and birds of the air, which we have not found outside the two epics in question.

Crola par tout le mont li terre et li herbier, Et les hautes montaignes et trestout li rochier; Oisiaus ne pot voler cel jor, n'esleechier, Ne nule beste vive, che savons nos tres bien, Tristre furent et morne, n'i ot que courecier.	<u>Aiol</u> 6198-6202
--	-----------------------

Terre braist et crolla, beste ne valt mangier, Ne li oisel volant canter n'esleecier, Tristre furent et mu, n'i ot que corecier.	<u>Chét</u> 847-49
--	--------------------

Fierabras also contains the earliest mention of Malcus (or Marcus) given is the epic as one of the centurions who crucified Christ¹:

Dix, tu garis Marcus, ki tous estoit lieprés,

(p. 37)

¹ He was really the High Priest's servant whose ear Peter cut off in the Garden of Gethsemane, John XVIII, 10.

The name comes up again in Les Chétifs,

"La te crucefiierent Malcus et Jonatas",

(2363)

The only other epic where the name Malcus appears is Parise la Duchesse (811) where the name is also coupled with Jonatas, which, together with Les Chétifs, is the only place where the second centurion is named. Since Parise is later than Les Chétifs the suggestion of the latter's influence is more pertinent, since it is probable that the name Jonatas was coined by the author of the long prayer in the dragon episode to suit the rhyme in "-as". Equally rare is a reference to the names of the Three Wise Men. The medieval origin of these fictitious names is known¹, and their interest for us consists in the fact that Les Chétifs appears to mark their first attestation in a long prayer.

"Quant li doi roi le virent, Melchior et Jaspas,
Li tiers fu lor compains qui ot non Baltasas."

(2333-4)

The only other geste where all their names are given is again Parise, there nalled Galpart, Baptisart and Melchion (1386-7).

Furthermore all the four names of which Les Chétifs^{has} the first examples occur in the prayer in "-as" (laisse 71) which was the

1 Ueber das altspanische Dreikönigsspiel, nebst einem Anhang enthaltend (...) einen Excurs über die Namen der drei Könige Caspar, Melchior, Baltasar, by K. A. Martin Hartmann, (Bautzen, 1879), pp. 51-86.

work of the second remanieur. It may be added that Parise also refers to Saint Archedeclin and the marriage feast at Cana; the name of this saint is rare, and though not in Les Chétifs it is in the Jérusalem (1632).

The occurrence of some of the foregoing names can be tabled thus:

<u>Golgotha</u>	<u>Malcus</u>	<u>Jonatas</u>	<u>Three Kings</u>
Fierabras	Fierabras	Chétifs	
Chétifs	Chétifs	Chétifs	
Aiol	Parise	Parise	

It may be concluded that some epics, namely Aiol, Florence de Rome, Parise la Duchesse and the later versions of the Moniage Guillaume, together with Octavien, appear to have known Les Chétifs and to have borrowed a few details from it. Nevertheless, the influence of this branch must remain on the level of speculation.

C H A P T E R T H I R T E E N

LES CHÉTIFS IN OTHER FORMS

The combined Swan-Knight and Crusade Cycles proved sufficiently popular to have been considered worth casting into other forms. Les Chétifs is thus also included in this legacy of one abridged prose redaction, composed at the end of the thirteenth century, one translation into Spanish prose, written shortly after 1295 and a further verse remaniement dating from the mid-fourteenth century. The relationship of these three works to the original verse Chétifs could be the subject of a detailed study; the present chapter seeks only to highlight some of the more prominent features of these reworkings.

1) THE PROSE CHÉTIFS (P)

The author of this work sets out both his intentions and his reasons on the first page:

"pour l'estore avoir plus abregié (ms abregier), et si me sanle que le rime est mout plaisans et mout bele, mais mout est longue.

(fol 1^r col 1)

It is therefore both a prosification and an abridgement. The author is conversant with all the features of epic style, which enhance the beauty of the poem at the expense of brevity; the laisses similaires, the repetitions, the line-fillers and

Mais n'ont gaires alé quant li tans lor remue (1556)
 Uns vens grans et espés qui descent d'une nue
 Uns torbellons lor lieve (la poudriere est meue F)
 Si grans et si espés que torble lor veue
 A senestre se (tournent) s'ont lor voie perdue
 Les le mont de Tigris dont li piere est mousue
 (1562-64 omitted in P)
 Li vens et la poudriere et li caus les argue (F 1564+)
 Li ardors del soleil lor taint la car et mue
 En le terre Abraham est no gens embatue
 Un roi de Sarrasins de le gent mescreue
 Sor le mont de Tygris (dedens la roce ague E)
 Conversoit une beste, grant ert et parcreue
 (P jumps to 1578)
 Diable avoit el cors qui sovent le remue
 La terre a (essillié I) que n'i ere karue (1580)

N'orent mie mout loins alé quant
 uns vens et
 une pourriere lieve
 si grans comme une merveille
 et leur fait perdre lor voie
 et tournent a le senestre
 vers le mont de Tigris,
 et li vens et le pourriere lor
 grievent trop
 et l'ardeur du soleil.
 Il s'embatent en le tere Abraham
 .I. roy sarrasin.
 Sur cel mont de Tigris en une roche
 conversoit une beste
 qui avoit el cors un dyable
 et eschilloit tout le pais. (P 412-19).

tags, the hackneyed epithets, all these P tries systematically to exclude. His success is mixed. On occasions he is able to extract the bare narrative from the surrounding superfluities; on others his editing is deficient and his style becomes clumsy and heavy with unnecessary repetition.

It is a common characteristic of the O.F. epic in Alexandrines that most of the syntax necessary to the understanding of the text is carried in the first hemistich of the line, ~~thanks to its freedom from restrictions imposed~~ by the rhyme. This stylistic feature is illustrated par excellence by the use P makes of the first hemistich as the vehicle of the sense. The example on the opposite page, with both verse and prose juxtaposed, shows how much the prose redactor has borrowed nearly all he needs from the first part of the line, sometimes copying verbatim. Other variant readings closer to P than the base text have sometimes been used in brackets.

The first observation that can be made about P from this comparison is that it departs very little from the vocabulary of the verse; only the word order is slightly different. Indeed, so closely does P stick to the original, altering it only in favour of a near synonym, that when there is a departure ~~not found~~ in any of the verse MSS., there is a

Et jo m'en ving fuiant a coite d'esperon (484)
(P omits 485)

Contai lui mes noveles, puis me tint por bricon
(P omits 487)

Bataille m'estut prendre, u je vausisce u non,
D'un crestien armé par tel devisioun

Qu'a .II. Turs se combatte contre le loi Mahon

Se tel pooies faire si con nos devison

(Tu t'en iras tous quites et tout ti conpaignon F)

Jo m'en ving fuiant

et li contai les nouveles.

Or m'a reté de traison

et je si m'en doi deffendre
par .I. crestien

encontre .II. Sarrasins,

et se tu pues chele bataille faire

Tu t'en iras tous quites, et tout
ti compaignon.

(P 132-36).

strong case to be made for supposing an extra line in the model not found in the extant texts. This extract itself contains no such examples, but other passages which do are discussed below. The expression "comme une merveille" does not appear to fall into this category, since it is used on more than one occasion by P to denote the extraordinary (cf. P 882).

The propensity of P to select his material from the beginning of the line is illustrated in the passage. Out of 14 lines of verse printed, 7 of the corresponding prose are extracted solely from the first hemistich, a further 2 contain all of the first hemistich and a little of the second, and only 4 contain all, or substantial material taken from both parts equally.

We can cite another example (see opposite page) in which, again, the weight of the sense has been drawn from the beginning of the line, which has sometimes been repeated word for word. Perhaps of greater relevance is the line in P: "Or m'a reté de traïson"; this is evidently an accurate statement and one which P surely took from his model, rather than invent it himself, since it is left unsaid by all the verse texts except F and B (487) which have similar readings. However, P used neither of these two as a model. There is also a line in Sp which runs to the same effect: "por razon que me reptó de traicion

Cer ne set u il puisse cel crestien trover (398)

Qu'a .II. Turs se combatte por se vie salver (399)

Cer ne puet en son cuer veïr ne porpenser
Que cele gens fust nee qui peust sormonter (402-3)

(404-6 P omits)

Il a dit a se mere: "N'i ai que demorer, (407)

G'irai a Antioce, a Buieumont parler,

Et au duc Godefroi, qui tant fait a douter

Robert de Normendie vaurai merci crier.

S'uns de ces .III. vient ci por cest grant plait finer

Et il vaint le bataille, jo li ferai jurer

Et tres bien fiancier (creanter ?) et ostages livrer

Por s'amor me ferai batisier et lever

...car il ne set ou trouver crestien

qui se combatte pour li a .II. Turs
pour se vie sauver

et se ne puet veïr comment
gent peust estre (...) peust sormonter

Puis se demente

a se mere et dist: "Dame je demeure trop

Je irai en Antioche, parler a B.

ou a Godefroy,

ou a Robert de Normendie,

que se li uns en veut pour m'amour

faire le bataille

je li creanterai que

je me ferai pour s'amour baptisier
et lever.

(P 107-9).

que traijiera yo á su gente" (p. 297 col 1). The presence of this line in three versions which we class in the oldest group, namely F, P and Sp, suggests that they may have descended from closely related manuscripts, added to which is the perfect concordance of the last line of the example in F and P.

There is, conversely, a case where the second hemistich is ~~as~~ important as the first; when the rhyme contains a main verb. As the passage facing shows, in the lines where the second half is merely a cheville (eg. 409, 410) as usual P leaves it out, but in those lines where the final verb is important, P leaves the whole line, which is as long, if not longer, than the verse original (eg. 399, 407, 408, 414). It is possible that the words "Puis se demente" are the vestiges of a whole line ending "...se prist a dementer".

Just as it is a common feature of jongleurs' technique to expand one line into two, so P conflates two into one:

Ains nos ont tant caciét ainc n'i ot trestorné
Qu'a mervellouse paine en somes escapé.

(A 85-6)

thus becomes "Ains nous ont tant cachié que a paines sommes nous escapé" (P 22).

There sometimes appears to be an imbalance in the importance attached to various episodes. For example the "dart" episode at the end of laisse 2 is given in detail (P 25-7). The next laisse, of 25 lines, is summarised in one: "Li Soudans regrete son

son fil et laidenge ses Dix" (P 28). Similarly the opening of laisse 4 is passed over and the burial of Brohadas related briefly - "Et le font embassemer, puis l'enfoirent et mout li fisent riche serviche a lor loy" (29-31) - Some 48 lines are thus reduced to three sentences. But the following statement concerning the Caliph is related in full:

A L'apostoiles Califes commence a sermoner:
 "Cil qui a or .X. femes, si penst de l'engenner;
 Si croistera nos pules por crestiens mater"

(149-51)

P Li apostoles Califes lor sarmonne et dist que qui a .X.
 fenmes, or en ait .XXV. et penst cascuns de l'engenner.

(31-33)

with the exception that the very reason for this welcome population explosion is omitted! namely to increase Turkish military potential against the Christians. As it stands the rendering of P is meaningless. The method of the redactor consists therefore in omitting some parts completely, or giving only the briefest summary, then of giving some minor details in full and often introducing an error into his own work, as in this case.

Indeed, errors are not uncommon in P, especially in the rendering of speeches. Direct speech is usually converted into indirect, and the changeover results in a wrong attribution. In the verse, the statement "Anthioce fu prise ains que fust afamee" (210) is clearly made by the Soudan, but P ascribes it to the Roi de Nubie: "Adont dist li roys de Nubie au Soudan:

"Sire, Antioche fu rendue par un Turc qui lor delivra" (P 53-4).

In the same way part of Harpin's harangue in prison is placed in Richard's mouth (A 524-6),

Dont dist Richars: "Sire Harpin, nous avons chi esté grant tamps et mout y avons souffert de grietés", (P 150-2)

and the worry expressed by Jean d'Alis,

Et dist Jehans d'Alis: "Sire ce poise moi"

(3350)

is shared by all present in P - "Sire", dient Franchois, "ce poise nous" (877).

In the verse, the Soudan orders his champions to arm in direct speech; P transforms it into indirect, but in lifting l. 756 straight out of the text he carelessly omits to alter it accordingly:

"Dont ne sai jo que faire se ma loi ne gerpis" (A 756)

"Lors commande li Soudans a Golias et a Sorgalé qu'il se voient armer, et s'il sont conquis par un crestien, ne set mais que faire se me loi ne guerpis" (P 247-9)

instead of "se loi ne guerpi".

In the conversation between Calabre and the gaoler P is guilty of some poor editing. The prisoners are making a noise because Faramon has beaten them. Calabre asks the reason for the noise (332); Faramon replies that they are being punished for the death of the mason (333-7). Calabre then instructs him to take the "Chétifs" to the palace. P reconstructs the scene thus:

Atant vient la vielle a le chartre et quemande Feramont
que il amaint les caitis lassus devant Corbaran. "Dame",
dist Feramons, "il nous ont un machon tué pour che qu'il
les constraignoit, si les ai batus". Atant vint Feramons
a la chartre... (P 95-9).

In this extract the first sentence (Atant...Corbaran) is quite sufficient, rendering correctly the purpose of Calabre's mission (A 325 and 339). But although her question about the noise has been suppressed, Faramon's answer has been retained, ("Dame....batus"), so that it stands as an isolated statement, irrelevant in a context where Calabre has already demanded to have the prisoners brought forth.

Occasionally a forceful line in direct speech is weakened by conversion into indirect: compare

"Taisiés, flux a putain", ço dist li rois Soudan (A 202)
and - Dont dist li roys qu'il se teust (P 51-2).

Although P's avowed intention is to avoid repetition, this does not exclude its occurrence in his abridgement as a result of insufficient consideration of the verse text. In the passage first quoted (ll. 1556 ff.) the lines concerning the "vens et la pourriere", which in the verse are separated by some 7 lines, (1557 and 1564+), ~~are~~ both retained by P, but much of the intervening material (1562-64) has been excised, with the result that this phrase concerning the weather is repeated within the same sentence.

Or fu li quens sos l'arbre, forment fu travelliés (3433) Il est descendus desous l'arbre
ces cevals joste lui a .I. rain ataciés et ataque son cheval.
Nolt forment fu lasés, sullens et desrociés Et tous estoit sullens et deschirés
de roinses et des espines par ou
il estoit venus.
Voit le singe sor l'arbre, l'enfant entre ses piés Mout tient belement li singes
l'enfant... (P 900-3)

There are other passages which hint at a verse model containing additional lines not in any of the extant versions. In the following extract, Baudouin is brought before the Soudan: (with corresponding lines in A given in brackets)

Quant il vint devant le Soudan (3237-8) il li met les bras au col (3239) et l'assist joustte lui. Mout estoit Bauduins navrés de grant maniere. Li Soudans li dist: "Amis, mout estes preus (3240). Ja mais ne vous hairai (3241) (P 845-8).

The invitation to Baudouin to sit down and the mention of his wounds do not have their verse counterparts in any of the manuscripts. It is clear that P is here following the model closely, since all lines from 3237-41 are given, so presumably he copied out the additional details from his model. True, Baudouin's wounds are mentioned elsewhere (3219) but it seems unlikely that P would have turned back to find the reference, or suddenly remembered the detail and placed it at that point.

A similar occasion when P's proximity to the verse texts indicates additional material in his model is given on the opposite page. No other version qualifies l. 3435 by mentioning the thorns and brambles which harrassed Harpin along his route, (the line could refer equally to Harpin or his horse) and since it is not P's habit to comment on his material we must presume that he was simply rendering what stood before him. Further proof is supplied at the end of the same laisse. The verse text

does not state explicitly the destination of the four lions which attack Harpin. But P says,

Atant es vous .IIII. lions qui par luec venoient (3445-6)
et aloient boire a .I. ruissel assés pres d'iluec. Ne
plus n'avoit d'yaue douche dessi a .VII. liues. Quant
li quens Harpins vit les lions (3449)... (P 906-9)

The nearby presence of water is not referred to in A until later, when the lions have gone:

Joste lui itant pres con uns ars puet jeter,
Avoit .I. lac (var. estant I) douce eve u il vont abevrer,
Car environ .VII. liues, si con oï conter,
N'avoit point de douce eve dont on peüst goster.

(3480-3)

This is also given by P:

Hé Dex, tante merveille vit li quens cele nuit de serpens
et d'autres bestes (3478-9) qui aloient boire a .I.
estant d'yaue douce qui iluec estoit asses pres...

(P 919-22)

Thus P repeats the fact that animals go down to the pool to drink, which shows that he has not simply altered the position of the reference. Furthermore there is no mention elsewhere of a "ruissel". It is probable that the model P used had a few lines added at the end of laisse 114 after l. 3446, stating the destination of the lions and the rarity of water in the area.

Every extant manuscript is a testimony to scribal alteration and addition, so it is perfectly legitimate to suppose that the model of P also had extra details here and there, a few of which the prose version has managed to preserve.

The redactor therefore avails himself of various techniques to turn his material into prose. In many cases the editing has been careless or the prose reading is flat compared with the verse original. The prose version is of interest not so much for its quality, which is somewhat debatable, but because it is a relatively early example of the mises en prose which were to become so popular later.

2) THE SPANISH VERSION (Sp)

The Gran Conquista da Ultramar is composed from various sources; apart from a copy of the Crusade Cycle, the author appears to have used the Provençal Canso d'Antiocha, the French translation of William of Tyre, and a further lost chanson de geste, entitled by G. Paris the Isombarte (for the legend of the swan-children)¹.

The interest of the Spanish work for Les Chétifs resides in the fact that it is an (almost) pure translation of the French verse - almost, because the compiler adds and alters, commenting now and again. Despite the slight differences, Sp is a valuable text and has been consulted on more than one occasion in the establishment of the critical edition².

Les Chétifs occupies chapters CCVIII to CCLX of Book II of the Conquista³, which suggests immediately that the chapters in Sp do not correspond to the laisses of the French (53 chapters against 141 laisses⁴). Some chapters follow the delineation of

- 1 See G. T. Northup, art. cit. Hispanic Review II (1934), 287-300. G. Paris "La Chanson d'Antioche provençale et la Gran Conquista de Ultramar", Romania, XVII (1888), 513-41, XIX (1890), 562-91; XXII (1893), 345-63. Also Mme Duparc's chapter on the Gran Conquista and the Jérusalem (Le Cycle..)
- 2 Cf. Chapter Four and the paleographic notes.
- 3 Ed. Gayangos, pp. 291-318.
- 4 Including Appendix IV, in Sp, and laisse 131a, but excluding laisse 139.

the laisses exactly, eg. the first two laisses correspond to chapters CCVIII, CCIX, but laisses 3-4 are divided up according to the subject matter in the verse. Laisse 3 and part of laisse 4 are ~~given over to~~ lamentations (ll. 101-137), some of the material in laisse 4 being almost a repetition of what has already been stated before. But lines 138-68 deal with the burial of Brohadas and the accusation of Corbaran. The Spanish author has seen that the division of laisses and subject matter in the French do not correspond and alters the division accordingly, giving chapter CCX the title "Del llanto que facia el Soldan é su mujer é toda su gente por Barhadin, su hijo", and translating lines 101-37, thus reserving the remainder of the action of laisse 4 (138-68) for chapter CCXI, entitling it "De cómo enterraron á Barhadin, é de las grandes ofrendas que dieron por su alma, é del sermon que facia un Califa".

On some occasions the division in Sp is only slightly different from the verse text. The three lines at the beginning of laisse 9 - "Or parla Corbarans, qui molt ot esté mus" (254-6)- are placed at the end of chapter CCXIV in Sp, which alters the text a little:

E estonces esforzóse mucho mas á hablar, cuando vió los altos hombres á derredor de sí, ca por el gran miedo de la muerte que hobiera por la azconeta que le arrojara el Soldan, con que le quisiera matar, fué muy espantado. E por eso dicen que se esforzó cuando vió los ricos hombres á derredor de sí. (p. 294, col 1).

Chapter CCXV then begins with line 257, the fourth line of the *laisse*.

There are some chapters which include whole episodes which are entirely separate in the verse. Hence chapter CCXLII encompasses the conflict with Lyon de la Montagne and all the journey of the "Chétifs" in the desert up to the point where King Abraham is introduced, in other words *laisses* 45-56 (more precisely ll. 1373-1741). This excessively lengthy chapter is exceptional and is shorter than it seems owing to a number of cuts made (see below).

If the amount of repetition is minimal, Sp usually translates, but in the case of long laisses similaires, as especially in the dragon episode, which is very slow-moving, the compiler makes the same sort of cut as the redactor of P. The best example is the description of the Sathanas, which is discussed in the paleographic note to line 1605.

The second half of the description of the dragon is translated faithfully up to lines 1615-6 - "é por ende, non habia hí quien labrase ne habia hí vianda (p. 305 col 1) - then follows a cut of 15 lines to 1632, excising what is no more than a repetition of the end of the previous *laisse*. The lines 1632-55 relating the arrival of Corbaran and rest at the fountain are all translated exactly. But then comes a gap

in the continuation and we are reminded once more of the Sathanas (1656-62), followed by the attribution to the canon of Saint Pierre (1663-91), then a brief restatement of Corbaran's position (1692-95). At 1696 - "Segnor", dist Corbarans, "nos sommes forvoiés" - the thread of the narrative is taken up again. The whole of the digression described above, from 1656-95 is omitted by Sp, who quite naturally joins up 1655 to 1696, thus reading:

É los caballos comian de la yerba (1655), é díjoles allí Corvalan: "Nosotros somos fuera de nuestro camino" (1696).

(p. 305 col 2)

In this section Sp has abridged considerably.

Another area in which the compiler of Sp abbreviates the original is, as also in P, in the long prayers. But Sp does give some of the essentials of the first long prayer (831-83), nevertheless leaving out, notably, 835-37, 850-54 (concerning Longinus) and the section on the Old Testament worthies (863-75) merely summed up as "Adan é su linaje" (p. 299 col 2), whilst the rest of the *laisse* has been shortened. The other major prayer ("-as", *laisse* 71) fares worse and is only given the broadest outline. Of the original 94 lines only 21 appear to have been translated (2310-12, 14, 16-27, 31, 33-35, 37). All the rest is omitted except for an envoi: "Señor, por los tus altos miraglos que tú feciste, te pido merced que hoy en esta dia envíes la tu gracia sobre mí" (p. 308 col 2), which

corresponds only roughly to the end of the prayer (2401-3).

In like fashion the list of saints invoked against the Sathanas (2538-55) is summarised in one sentence:

...la (= the Sathanas) conjuraba por Dios é por sus santos
que no hobiese poder sobre él de manera que él fuese
vencido. (p. 309 col 1).

The compiler often choses to omit lines which are no more than epic descriptions and do not further the action. Laisse 56 begins

Li jors est trespasés, li nuis aseriza,
Et li vens fu seris; une estoile leva
Ki fu et bele et clere et grant clarté jeta.

(1733-5)

a brief meteorological commentary which is exploited frequently in the Crusade Cycle. But Sp leaves out all such asides.

Alongside the tendency to abridge certain passages, Sp exhibits a predisposition for embellishments. It is impossible to tell whether these, which are never more than a few lines long, were part of the original French model, or were added by Sp himself. The first chapter, however, contains a considerable amount of embellishments to the material in laisse 1. The section from l. 23 onwards is greatly expanded in Sp. To bring this out we have juxtaposed the two texts, underlining in Sp those parts which correspond to the French.

Corbarans tort ses poins, s'a se barbe sacie (23)
 Doucement le regrete, car molt a grant hascie:

Demoisials debonaires

con mar fu vostre vie!

Que fera vostre mere, li gente, l'escavie,

Quant ele le sara, n'enportera la vie?
 De dolor s'ocira, s'autres n'est qui l'ocie. (28)

67 (Si combatra vers els); mais qu'a droit soit tenus

Que jo me sui vers toi loialment maintenus.

Et s'il nes rent en camp recreans et vencus,

é (Corvalan) torcia las manos, é mesaba los cabellos de su barba,
 con muy gran piedad é con gran amor que había dél,
 trayendo muchas veces á la memoria la gracia é las buenas
 maneras é la bondad que habia en si ese infante Barhadin,
 diciendo desta manera: "Señor, amigo de los amigos,
apuesto é hermoso, é largo é franco en dar vuestras
 dones muy grandes. Señor, complido de todas gracias é
 entendido é conocedor de todo bien, é sabido en hacer honra
 á los altos é á los bajos, segun que merecia cada uno; Señor,
mal fué empleado la vuestra mancebía, que ahína fué
 quebrantada é levada de entre nos, é robado como ensueños;
 Señor, que hara, ó que dirá la triste é la cativa de vuestra
madre, que vos espera muy alegre, pensando que vos tornarédes
 con vuestro esfuerzo é con gran hecho acabado, é con honra é
 con venganza de los enemigos? E cuando la mezquina supiere
estas nuevas, ella mesma se matará con sus manos.

(p. 292 col 1).

Similarly we find in chapter CCIV lines of which there is no
 trace in the verse (laisse 9,)

pero con tal condicion, que nos guardeis justicia é derecho
á mí é á él. E bien fio, por la merced de Mahoma é por la
 verdad que yo tengo de aquello que me reptádes, que de tal
 manera se habrá él con ellos, que dará á entender é á creer
 á vos é á todos los de la corte que yo guardé tan lealmente
lo que era obligado; como cualquier bien vasallo á semejante
 señor debe guardar; é si non los matare ó venciére en campo.

The entry of the "Chétifs" is attended with a similar
 expansion:

Li (auquant BG) aloient kyrieles cantant, (367)

Et li clerc et li vesques miserere disant,
(Te Deum Laudamus disoient li auquant) omitted ?

Les moufles ont es bras, quis vont molt destraignan
Cascuns ot en son col .I. carcan molt pesant,
Les caaines des buies as caintures pendant. (372)

(338) "Ne m'en caut!" dist Calabre, "Par mon deu Tervagant"

Menés les mes lasus, tres devant Corbarant,
(340) K'il velt parler a eus et dire son sanblant".

é los unos iban cantando Kirieleyson,
é un obispo que habia entre ellos,
é abades é otros clérigos iban rezando Miserere mei, Deus;
é rogaban á nuestra Señora santa María é á todos los santos
que rogasen á Dios por ellos que hobiese merced de las sus
almas, ca bien pensaban ya ellos é tenian cierto que todos
sus dias eran allí acabados, é levaban á las gargantas é á
las piernas muy grandes cadenas de fierro, que los quebrantaban
a todos... (p. 295 col 2).

Is it possible that in Sp's model there was at this point an invocation to the Virgin Mary and to the saints? It is certainly plausible to suppose a brief epic prayer interpolated here by some jongleur; the occasion is not unsuitable. Or is this an invention of Sp himself? In this particular case we tend towards the first explanation.

But there are cases where an addition has all the hallmarks of an explanatory comment by Sp. At the end of chapter CCXVIII he feels obliged to give further information about Tervagant, a figure well known to the French audience, but perhaps not so to the Spanish one.

Dijo la Reina: "Por el dios Cervanga, no me pera ni he lástima de su llorar, pues que asi es." Cervanga llama aquí la historia á un su templo que precian ellos mucho, é á un su Dios que adoran mucho en él, á que tienen ellos por muy santo é por muy poderoso. E despues desto, mandó la Reina al carcelero, diciéndole: "Toma los caitivos é liévalos arriba al palacio á mi hijo, que quiere hablar con ellos. (p. 295 col 2).

It is however, questionable whether Sp himself has fully understood what Tervagant is. In his explanation he states that Tervagant is the name given to the Temple in which he is worshipped - "un su templo que precian muchos" - . In an earlier reference to Tervagant, during the burial of Brohadas, Sp states: "E leváronle á una su mezquita honrada, que era en un lugar á que ellos llamaban Cervanga" (p. 293 col 1), implying again that the name of the place of worship is Tervagant. This is evidently a translation of the French lines 140 and 147, "Tres devant Tervagant..." In the French, however, this must refer to the statue of the god. Perhaps Sp failed to grasp the French epic conception of the Saracens as idolaters, and must have read the line as "Tres dedans Tervagant".

Sp also overlooked the fact that the phrase "par mon deu Tervagant", which gave rise to the incorrect explanation, is no more than a cheville which would have been better left untranslated, especially as the digression involved him in a repetition, in order to reintroduce the interlocutors: "E despues desto, mandó la Reina al carcelero, diciéndole".

Like the prose redactor, the Spanish translator almost always renders direct speech by indirect. Thus the rousing exhortation of Jean d'Alis to his comrades, urging them to help Baudouin (2589-2600), loses much of its vitality by being

rendered indirectly and joined together by a string of coordinates:

é decia don Juan de Alis que ficieran mal é que habian mucho errado, de manera que no serian mas honrados.....pues que....; mas que.....que iria..

(p. 309 col 1)

Corbaran's reply (2601-4) is likewise given indirectly.

One strange peculiarity in Sp is the replacement of the Abbé de Fécamp by a certain Abad de Sandanís (p. 307 col 2, p. 309 col 1, p. 310 col 1 et passim) who presumably represents an Abbé de Saint Denis.¹ However, since this form contains one more syllable than the Abbé de Fécamp it is excluded from the French original on metrical grounds and would thus appear to be the innovation of Sp.

Despite its differences with the extant French texts, and in some cases even because of its differences, and despite the fact of translation, Sp remains a valuable example, not only of the O.F. epic in translation, but also of an old version of Les Chétifs.

I No doubt because Saint-Denis would be better known to the Spanish audience than Fécamp.

3) THE SECOND CYCLE OF THE CRUSADE (CCGB)

Les Chétifs reappears once more, in the composite reworking of the entire Swan-Knight and Crusade Cycles, together with the Continuations, known variously as the Second Cycle, or the Chevalier au Cygne et Godefroid de Bouillon¹, composed in about the middle of the fourteenth century.

Les Chétifs remaniés is no more than a shadow of its former self. All the branches of the earlier cycle have been greatly abbreviated and altered, in some cases, however, rendered slightly more coherent, so that the deficiencies produced by the gradual cyclical development of the original branches have been rectified. The model used for Les Chétifs in this reworking was a late, long version, akin to that found in MS B, which includes the additional episodes of Chainan, the fencing master (App. VII) and of the "Sathanas mere" (App. XII), totalling some 5440 lines. The corresponding version in the CCGB has been reduced to 3325 lines. Much of the superfluous repetition and the long prayers in the First Cycle, however much suited to the taste of the day, has been excised or curtailed. The action, however, remains the same, though it naturally becomes more

1 See also R. F. Cook, Le Deuxième Cycle, pp. 9-56; and note 1. Duparc, Le Cycle.. pp. 91-274.

Ed. de Reiffenberg, Les Chétifs covers pp. 243-351 of vol II., lines 9774-14000.

concentrated. But the reworking also includes new episodes not found in Graindor's work, especially in the Richard de Chaumont episode, which is the only one to retain its original length. The most significant reductions have been made in the second and third episodes.

There are hardly any verbal similarities, as we saw in P. The CCGB has been completely recast into new laisses which follow neither the delineations nor the rhyming scheme of Les Chétifs, with very few exceptions. However, the first laisse retains the "-ie" rhyme and even the opening line:

Or s'en va Corbarans tous les plains de Surie,
(CCGB 9774)

and the first ten lines describing the death of Brohadas are very close to the original. It is possible that this proximity to the First Cycle Chétifs was retained on purpose, to enable those who knew the latter the more easily to orientate themselves in the poem. The material corresponding to laisse 26 in "-is" has preserved the same rhyme in the CCGB, and there are a few verbal similarities: compare

"Alés'vous adouber, Sorgalés de Valbis,
Et Goulías de Mecke, ki freres fu Longis,
(Se par .I. seul François F) estes andoi conquis,
Dont ne sai jou que faire se ma loi ne gerpis"
(B (F) 752-5)

"Alés vous adouber, Murgalet de Vaubis,
Et Goulías de Nicques, qui ies frere Longis,
Se par ung seul François iestes en camp conquis,
Dont ne sai ge que faire, se men Dieu relenquis.
(CCGB 10972-5)

Much of the long prayer in "-as" (laisse 71) has been retained as in the original (CCGB 12092-12179), giving rise to certain similarities. The beginning, especially, shows a marked likeness:

Bauduins fu el mont mout travilliés et las,
Et voit les desrubans et en haut et en bas,
(B 2306-7)

Bauduins fu ou mont moult travelliés et mas,
Bien voit les desrubans et en hault et en bas.
(CCGB 12092-3),

whilst the two lines of Les Chétifs

Adan no premier pere a tes .II. mains formas
Del limon de la tiere le fesis et plamas.
(B 2312-3)

have easily been reduced to one in the CCGB,

Dou lymon de la tierre le biel Adam formas,
(CCGB 12098)

thus getting rid of two weak hemistiches. For the rest the prayer has been rewritten, though evidently certain names like Pilas, Judas, Tomas, are found in both versions.

Close similarities, therefore are few, and differences many. And these begin in the opening laisse in which Corbaran's lamentations in Les Chétifs are replaced by a shift in scene to the Soudan's palace, before his arrival (9792). The Soudan asks for news of the Battle of Antioch and a Turk "qui estoit d'Escalon"

reports that he has heard tell of a victory for Corbaran,

"Que tout sont desconfit ly traître felon;
Et ont pris en bataille Tangré et Buieumon;
Et que Brohadas prist Godefroit de Bouillon,"

(CCGB 9826-28)

The Soudan is thus led to believe the exact opposite of the truth, and rejoicing in his error, prepares to punish Calabre who had once predicted¹ that Godefroy and the Christians would conquer Islam and take Jerusalem (CCGB 9843-59). Cornumaran is also to be censured for his earlier belief in Godefroy's superiority.²

In the meantime Corbaran himself has arrived and announced his defeat by a letter which the Soudan reads with mounting anger, which is vented on the vanquished general when he appears in person (9945 ff.)

The purpose of this interpolated episode of the false news is evidently to heighten the dramatic moment when the truth is finally known. This technique is almost theatrical, and the tension mounts as Corbaran approaches, bringing with him the ineluctable peripeteia. Surprisingly, the Soudan's reaction to the bad news is not as violent as in Graindor's version, where the throwing of the dart was a striking, albeit stylised, visual manifestation of the Soudan's ire. The dart throwing scene,

1 Calabre's prophecy, interpolated into the Enfances Godefroy, given in an appendix by Crist, Le Deuxième Cycle, pp. 173-7.

2 A reference to the Retour de Cornumaran interpolation. Both these references to earlier branches show that the CCGB Chétifs was composed in full knowledge of the Swan-Knight material, written after Graindor's work.

together with all the various lamentations over Brohadas, his burial, the Caliph's demographic exhortations, the mercy shown by Eublatriis - all these are absent from the CCGB, which proceeds directly to the accusation of treason. Furthermore much of the protocol of the accusation, rigorously observed by Graindor¹, has been abandoned; there is no Roi de Nubie who stands up for Corbaran, no Brudalan who has him sent for at his lodgings, for he has been in the Soudan's presence all the time. In other words the revisor has removed all those details, so characteristic of the twelfth century epic, which hold up the action. In the CCGB the Soudan himself makes the accusation, names the day and the terms, and merely turns to his council to obtain their formal ratification (10054 ff.)

The scene now precedes Corbaran to Oliferne, where Calabre is consulting the stars "en ung noble jardin" (10137-48). The original Chétifs has no actual detail as to Calabre's necromancy, but the Antioche already mentions her astrological gifts, a theme which is taken up by the later branches, especially the Enfances Godefroy and the Retour de Cornumaran, in which her character is also developed. The garden in which she now exercises her arts is already the scene of the famous prophecy mentioned above:

"Tantost com il fu nuis de la vile est issue.
 En .j. vergié s'asist sos une ente foillue:
 Iluec jeta son sort a l'oscur d'une nue.
 Es estoilles garda, tel chose a veüe...

(ed. Crist, Appendice, 7-10)

1 See above pp. 238-9.

The episode which follows is in some measure an improvement on the original, since the "Chétifs" are better integrated into the action. In Graindor they appear rather abruptly, having remained forgotten ever since the Civetot episode at the beginning of the Antioche. We learn that by chance Richard has just killed a mason, a deed which singles him out for consideration as a champion (Chétifs 439-40). The prisoners had been engaged in building a non-descript wall or working in the fields. But in the CCGB a definite purpose is given to their labours, for they are constructing "la tour Calabre", from which the sorceress will make her future predictions. This tower probably didn't even exist in Graindor's poem, but was introduced in an interpolation (App. IV)¹. Although working on fortifications and tilling the fields may have been a more 'realistic' employ for the prisoners, in terms of Graindor's renouement, in terms of the totality of the material from which the author of the CCGB was drawing, namely a developed role for Calabre, a developed topography, her garden, her tower, he has achieved far greater artistic unity by putting the prisoners to work on the tower, which is now to be the scene of a violent encounter between the "Chétifs" and their warders. For the mere reference to Richard killing a mason is

1 But see the debate on the origin of this episode, note to App. IV.

replaced by an interlude which places all the prisoners on the stage; even the clergy are displaying their masonic talents:

Ly vesques du Forois fist une keminée:
N'avoit sy boin ouvrier en toute la contrée
Ly abbés de Fesquans portoit la pierre lée.

(CCGB 10166-8)

However, they are ill treated and poorly fed and when Calabre comes to the tower to review the progress on the site, the Vesque du Forez informs her that their full potential cannot be realised under such conditions. She agrees to augment their rations and when the time comes they settle down to a good meal (10249-52). But this leads to an altercation with the "mestre de l'uevre" who has not been informed of their new rights:

"Qui vous a fait," dist-il, "tel viande taster?
N'est mie vostre drois de vous enssy soupper".

(CCGB 10258-9)

and proceeds to deal Richard de Chaumont a hefty blow, returned in kind, which is the signal for a general mêlée:

Devant la tour Calabre, en ung pré verdoiant,
S'aloient ly caitif fièrement combatant.

in which Richard kills not merely one, but ten, pagans with a crowbar (10299-300) before Calabre's very eyes. The revolt is only subdued after the arrival of massive reinforcements, whereupon the Christians are confined to a dungeon, where, fortunately, not only do they have a sympathetic gaoler, unlike that of Les Chétifs, but receive a visit from Corbaran's sister,

Florie, who is enamoured of Godefroy de Bouillon. Florie originally had no other role in Les Chétifs than that of the passive mother of the boy snatched by the papion,

Niés le roi Corbaran de sa seror Florie,
 Dame estoit de Fondefle et de tote Surie.

(3337-8)

Already in the Continuations her role is developed into that of Godefroy's wife. In the CCGB this affair of the heart is developed throughout the narrative.

Signour, ceste pucielle, où tant ot de biauté
 Avoit a nom Florie en la païenté,
 Puis ot-elle à mary Godefrois le douté,

(CCGB 10379-81)

Thus the "Chétifs" have been resuscitated from the oblivion into which they had been plunged since their capture, and have made a forceful, not to say dramatic come-back into the foreground of the narrative. The Richard of the CCGB, bold and brawny, is made into a far more worthy and redoubtable champion than his somewhat modest predecessor of Les Chétifs. But what has been gained in action has been lost in pathos; for in Graindor the debilitated prisoners cut a sorry figure, with their shoulders and legs bruised and chafed by their chains and fetters, and well justify Corbaran's despair:

"Dame", dist Corbarans, "entendés mon sanblant:
 Cist caitif que véez ne valent mie .I. gant.
 Il sont maigre et caitif, enflé sont li auquant,
 Et pèlu comme bestes qui par bos vont paissant"

(Chétifs 434-7)

The same can hardly be said of the vigorous prisoners of the CCGB, who to all appearances are hale and hearty.

At this point Corbaran returns to Oliferne. In Les Chétifs he wastes no time in choosing his champion and preparing for the duel; with reason, he only has a six week time limit. But his descendant in the CCGB, a product of a more leisurely age, takes his time and attends first to minor matters of comfort:

Corbarans fist son corps de tous points aaisier,
 Enssy comme cely qui vient de guerryer;
 Il se fist ventouser et sy se fist sainnier.
 XVJ jours fu ly roys pour ly apparellier;
 Et au XVIJ^e fist sa cose apointier.

(CCGB 10423-27)

Only now does he turn to the problem of selecting a champion and informs Calabre of his intention of going to Antioch to engage Godefroy, whose valour he extols in a long encomium (10438-78).

From the beginning to the point where Richard accepts Corbaran's request Graindor's version requires 550 lines; the same section in the CCGB covers 925. In other words in the CCGB the beginning of the branch is far more developed than the earlier work, expanded notably by the two major additions of the false news (9790-9900) and the rebellion of the prisoners (10137-10382). This is the only section of the branch where the CCGB has enlarged and considerably altered the original. The rest is a series of reductions. For example, the "coat" scene

(Chétifs 558-71) where the "mantels de vair et de gris" are passed round from one prisoner to another is replaced in the CCGB by a single line,

La furent reviesty à guise de Piersant,
(10716)

and the banquet which follows (572-600) is skimmed over in a few couplets (10717-22).

It was stated earlier¹ that in spite of appearances, Richard's duel was really only against one adversary, since the second was killed at the outset. This weakness has been remedied in the CCGB which better balances the roles of the Saracens. Hence the archer who is killed by Richard's first stroke here only has his bow-string severed (11129-30). The name of one champion, Goulias, is the same as in Les Chétifs, but the other is Murgalé, the later variant name which in some manuscripts was already beginning to usurp the original Sorgalé. There are different minor developments throughout the duel and just before his death, the vanquished Turk warns Richard of the revenge he can expect from his lineage.

"Gardés que ne soyés navré et assaly.
Goulias a ung frere et j'en ay ung aussy,
Qui moult seront de nous courouciet et mary".

(CCGB 11416-8)

1 Above p. 245.

In Les Chétifs Richard is severely wounded and engages in no further fighting; his wounds prevent him from ascending the Mont de Tigris and he stays below to guard the camp. But this realistic handicap is obviated in the CCGB by a speedy cure:

Quatre plaies avoit desus le corps de ly;
Li mires Corbarant par poisons le gary.

(11443-4)

Whilst Corbaran and the "Chétifs" are at table Acremant le Kamart, a fencing master, challenges them to a duel, accepted and won by Harpin. This is none other than the episode of Chainan the "Breton" interpolated into MS B (App. VII), which is clear proof that the CCGB was based on the most recent texts available.

A few changes of name are effected in the minor characters. The ambush of Corbaran is prepared by Abilant de Nubie (11654) whilst Lyon de la Montaigne becomes the captor of Ernoul de Beauvais (11806). Unlike Les Chétifs, in which the Soudan is totally ignorant of the ambush outside Sarماسane, in the CCGB he is apprised by a spy and sends Esclamart d'Esclaudie "A .X.^m payens d'une connestablie" (11691) to relieve Corbaran. The traitors are quickly exterminated and Corbaran, without returning to Sarماسane to rest (yet another aside which holds up the action), strikes into the desert.

The second and third episodes in the CCGB are almost bereft

of interest since they are mere reductions of Les Chétifs with nothing added in return. The action against the Sathanas begins much sooner than in the original version, in which, admittedly, the adventure drags its feet somewhat at the outset, with the *laisses* describing the heat and the dragon. Ernoul's prayers and regrets are also cut out.

In the section concerning Harpin de Bourges a few minor changes are introduced. Since the Florie who has been promised by the poet to Godefroy de Bouillon must be a young "pucelle" it is no longer meet for her to play the original role of the mother of Corbaran's ravished nephew, and the latter becomes the king's cousin:

Fieux fu d'un Sarrasin c'on appielloit Crahier,
Oncles fu Corbarant d'Olifierne le fier.

(12714-5)

leaving Florie to pursue her designs on Godefroy. To this end she reappears at the close of this episode to give Harpin two rings, one for himself, and another destined for the Duke of Lorraine (12932-13002). This furtherance of the Godefroy-Florie love intrigue is the sole alteration of note in this section and prepares the way for the long interpolation at the beginning of the revised Jérusalem in which Godefroy, informed by Harpin of her amours, rides off incognito to see his secret admirer.

One detail which has been changed in the CCGB; the primitive, though well-equipped, cave which served the robbers as a den, has been replaced by a tower.

The dilemma at the end of the branch as to whether the pilgrims should return to the Crusaders at Antioch or proceed directly to Jerusalem does not arise. A messenger arrives at Oliferne with the information that the Crusaders have already marched south and encamped before the Holy City (13020-40).

The version of Les Chétifs as found in the CCGB represents therefore a complete reduction and recasting of the original. It is certain that the model used, containing the Chainan and 'Sathanas mere' episodes, already marked considerable deviations from Graindor's text. Unlike P and Sp, which were based on early versions, the CCGB is founded on a very late text. But the remanieur was able to draw on the whole cycle and in such a way that all the various interpolated episodes became integral parts of the whole, not merely exterior adventures. Hence, for example, the name of Baudouin de Beauvais is present throughout the CCGB version, and not confined to one episode, as in Les Chétifs, as a result of poor "editing". The tower on which Calabre casts her spells in Appendix IV is brought into the narrative to replace a characterless piece of wall which the original prisoners were building.

More striking, however, than the episodic changes, is the very difference in tone. Les Chétifs is an epic formed in a mould which was created to satisfy the tastes of the twelfth century, full of static scenes, lamentations, long prayers, laisses similaires, repetitive descriptions: these give way in the CCGB to more condensed action. Indeed, the CCGB can be considered as a sort of "action-packed" Chétifs, when it is recalled that the late work manages to include the three basic episodes, plus the Chainan and "Sathanas mere" sections, plus the rebellion on the building site, in the same space of only two episodes in Les Chétifs!

All, however, is not action. The CCGB is also the product of more luxurious times - Corbaran can take his ease and allow himself to be purged by his doctors; Richard's wounds can be healed by miraculous potions. More important still, the unromantic Chétifs - "C'est un poème d'hommes" - now becomes the source of an important romance in the CCGB, that of Florie and Godefroy. This romance was not invented by the CCGB however; it already existed in the Continuations, but Florie's motherhood in Les Chétifs could not be altered, so that Godefroy marries a widow and adopts a step-son. It had to be left to the master of the CCGB, free to manipulate the characters of the whole cycle, to remove the offending relationship and restore in Florie the

virginity required in the bride of such a hero as Godefroy.

The most recent manuscript of the CCGB is dated 1469. Some four hundred years have thus elapsed from the Fécamp pilgrimage which first placed the "Chétifs" on the stage to the last CCGB manuscript in which they take their last bow.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THE LANGUAGE OF LES CHÉTIFS¹a) The language of the poet(s).

Les Chétifs has passed through various linguistic stages. The earliest traces, coming from Fécamp, were presumably composed in the Norman dialect. The provenance of the next version in which the Norman story was attached to the First Crusade and intercalated between the Antioche and Jérusalem primitifs, remains unknown, though it had probably already entered the North Eastern region. But the name of Graindor de Douai, whose remaniement has survived, suggests that he wrote in the Picard dialect at least, if not the actual usage of Douai itself. This work having subsequently passed through a further stage of addition and revision by a second remanieur (henceforth referred to as SR) and a number of scribal copies prior to those which are extant, it is not possible to extract more than a few dialectal features which were undoubtedly proper to the original text, or that of SR, author of the dragon episode, who appears to have written in the same dialect.

1 This chapter follows the plan established by Charles T. Gossen, Grammaire de l'Ancien Picard, (Paris, 1970).

Since Les Chétifs contains nothing of exceptional linguistic interest, we are confining our study to an examination of those features of Picard commonly found in the language of the poet and scribes.

There are only two phonological developments characteristic of Picard which can safely be attributed to the poet.

- (i) Reduction of the triphthong -iee from jod + ata to -ie, (Gossen §8). The following are found in rhymes in -ie:

sacie 23, acoisie 169, abaisie 1089, esclairie 2035, lie 3185.

- (ii) Insertion of svarabhaktic e in consonant group -tr- (G §44):

carterier 326, 330, (extra syllable required for metre),

and in the future and conditional of verbs in the 3rd and 4th conjugation (G §74): Some of the examples found in MS. A

almost certainly go back to the original, others are doubtful.

Their presence in other MSS. is a determining factor.

3rd conj.: avera 2164 in ACF, averiés 2878 in ACBI,

(receverés 2194 in AC only, probably not attributable to the original).

4th conj.: croistera 151 in ACDF, penderai 2052 in all except F,
meterai 2071 in AFIB, entendera 2194 in ACG (doubtful).

Similarly, two morphological features of Picard were employed by the poets.

- (iii) The predominance of the forms nos/no: no/nos (and vos) over the nostre/vostre type (G §68). A study shows that, although the 1st pers. pl. is rarely found, the Picard form nos 151, no 1047, is less frequent than the standard nostre 40, 1523, 2745, 2868, 3101 etc. However, the reverse is the case with the

2nd pers. pl. which is almost always given as vo/vos, 234, 241, 244, 1428, 1449, 2588, 2868, 2876, 3858 et pass., some lines offering two examples:

Ne ne verrés vo feme ne vo grant parenté 2588,

The form vostre is less in evidence, 257, 341, 1457, 3845, 3859. Occasionally the two forms are used side by side:

Sor vo loi les vos kerc, et sor vo tenement,
Et l'amirals respont: Vostre commandement... 3858-59.

Both Graindor and SR take full advantage of the variety offered by the coexistence of the Francien and Picard forms.

(iv) Use of the strong pers. pron. mi (G §65).

"entendés envers mi" (1129) found in rhyme. Elsewhere, however, the standard moi is used. The use of mi in the rhyme was widespread and not limited to Picard, see L. Foulet, Petite Syntaxe de l'Ancien Français, (Paris, 3rd ed. 1930), § 150.

Although it is impossible to prove, we suppose that many of the other dialectal features which are found in the surviving manuscripts, described below, were already present in the original redaction, the more so because most of the manuscripts were copied in the Picard region.

b) The language of the scribes

Most of the manuscripts coming from the same region share the dialectal features found in A. The following survey is therefore based on A and variant manuscripts are only commented upon when they offer important linguistic differences or include a more uncommon trait. The Anglo-Norman fragment, MS. O has been omitted from the study on the grounds that it offers nothing of exceptional interest outside the conventional forms and graphies normally found in such copies. Some of its characteristics have been pointed out in the paleographical note to l. 12. Although it retains some of the original Picard forms and orthography, MS. T has replaced most of them by Francien forms. This is illustrated strikingly by a comparison of the first hemistich of l. 151 in A and T:
The almost pure Picard of A "Si croistera nos pules" has been altered to T "Si croistra nostre pueples".
The readings of T are sometimes used by way of comparison. The examples are not exhaustive.

PHONOLOGY

I) Vowels

(v) Free a. -avu > Pic. -au, -eu (G §2).

claus 816, 1903, B App. VII, 340.

Proper names, Leurenc 2546 (Cf. T Lorenz). Meuris G2543.

(vi) -alis, talis, qualis > Pic. -els (G §5).

pels 888, tels 771, 3851, quels 3668.

The fall of l is only recorded in MS. I; tes 13851.

(vii) Free open e. Reduction of the triphthong -ieu > Pic. -iu

(G §9). Deus, Deu are represented in all the Picard MSS.

as Diu, Deu, less frequently Dieu.

A Damedix 14, Diu 3069, 3220; otherwise almost always Deu, rarely Dieu.

*legua > liue 1610, 1613, 1632,

*sēquit > siut 3415, (but cf. Pope¹, §328, who claims that sieut is the N. E. form).

(viii) Blocked open e. Diphthongisation of free and blocked

tonic e, (G §11). This feature peculiar to N.E. Picard is

rarely found in A: Mieque 753, 938, Miech 1253, sieré 1213

(but serrés 1304), cisiels 3723.

However, diphthongisation is extensive in MSS. C, B, G;

Laisse 137 in -ele is found as -iele in C and G;

Cf. App. XI laisse 6 in -el/iel and the words apiele 162,

apries 137, biele 67, bieste,³⁰ seniestre 76, tiere 82, tieste 116.

1 Mildred K. Pope, From Latin to Modern French, (Manchester, 1934).

(ix) Differentiation of triphthong -eau to -iau (G §12).

boutonciais 323, biaus 1886, Bialvais 1680, 1807, 2436,
damoisials 25, mantials 3309, oisials 707, 1389, 1711,
penials 800, pials 2561, piaus 1930.

But bels 187, 417, Belvais 1991, 2585, 2691, damoisels 683,
mantels 604, peus 1601.

Some words are always given as -el/els in A, differentiated
in other MSS.

els (< illos) A22, C iaus; iax F App. VI, 138.

cels (< ecce-illos) A263, C chiaus, E ciaus, B caus.

cavels (< capillos) A127, CI cheviaus.

(-ŷiculu + s) always vermels 1319, solels, soleus 2973 in A¹,
but vermaus F327, solaus G App. XI, 36; B App. XII, 71.

(-ŷliu + s) consels A318, but consaus in CDBGE.

G also has a remodelled oblique form: solail App. XI, 54,
consail App. II, 11.

(x) Mélius > miels > Pic. mieus, which can be reduced to mius (G §14).

A always mius 355, 418, 423, 1002 et pass., (cf. CD mieus, G miols).

mélior:> mieldre > mieudre > miudre, and the proper name Michel;

Mikieus > Mikius.

A miudre 2961, 2974, 2991; Mikius 2688, 2716.

1 The constant use of l in MS. A (altre, els, etc.)
is purely graphical.

(xi) Free open e. vidēre, *cadēre, sedēre. (G §17).

A includes Picard forms: veïr 141, 402, 616, but veoir 892, 1111.
caïr 2097, seïr 579, 582, 583.

(xii) Closed e under the influence of jod (G §18).

tēgula (+ ata): tiulee 1387.

(xiii) I. -ilius, -ilis > Pic. -ius (G §20).

fiux (x=s) 202, 244, fils (=fius) 303, 309, 349.
gentius 2869, 3045, jentius 3648, 3877, 3994.

(xiv) I followed by a nasal. i + n + w > Pic. iun (G §22).

A contains one example of this rare Picard development of the
3rd pers. pft. ind. of venir. *venuit > viunt 3404.

(xv) Blocked open o. ô (o) + l + consonant > Pic. au (G §23).

All texts have the standard o/ol/ou graphies for *colpu and
derivatives; exception, B App. VII, 338, escaupir.

It is, however, common in P; caupe P314, caup P420, cauperent P443.

*volēre: valt 847, vaut 2985, vaurent 839, 3455;

vauroit 2961, 2974, 2991, vausis 853, 860.

vausistes 837.

tollēre: taut 3421.

(xvi) Reduction of triphthongs ieu > iu, ueu > u (G §25).

lōcu, jōcu, fōcu.

lōcu: lius 3531, 3591, miliu 1025.

jōcu: giu 3218, 3373; B App. VII, 254, gius.

fōcu: is reduced to fu as shown by rhyme in -u 1542, but in

A, apart from that example, it is always given as feu,
356, 737.

Also pueule > pule 151, 838, (cf. Pope, §557, 1320 (vi)).

(xvii) Closed o under the influence of jod (G §27, 3^o).

The loan words gloria, historia, eborea are represented
by three different means:

-oire: estoire 1618, 1778; ivoire 772, 799.

-ore: glore 875, 1125, 2256, 2897, 2901.

-orie: glorie 2152, 2477, estorie 1764, 1780, 1859. This is
merely an archaic orthography¹ and only represents one syllable.

(xviii) Closed o followed by a nasal. o, o + nasal > Pic. o

(nasalised) frequently ou (G §28a).

The characteristic Picard ou form is absent from MSS. ACDFIT
but frequent in BEG. On the basis of the frequency in B
all abbreviated nasalisations have been resolved thus:

1 See E. and J. Bourciez, Phonétique Française; étude historique, (Paris, 1957), §182 note historique.

coume, coument etc. Also G App. II, 22, 28. This usage is not universal, cf. houme B App. VII, 17, soumier 41, ounorés 222, pardounastes 348, but homes 37 and boine 222 preferred to boune.

(xix) Stressed o + nasal > Pic. u (G §28b).

pōma > pume. This orthography is widespread in the Picard MSS.

A 34, G4045, B App. XII, 153.

pumel 588, pumier B App. VII, 343.

(xx) Retention of initial a after a velar (G §29).

cavels 127, but cevels 397.

(xxi) The retention of intertonic e in hiatus is largely a

question of metrical requirement, (G §30). With a few

exceptions it is always retained in A. Compare, however,

A463 recut and G receu (2 sylls) with DBET recheu (3 sylls.);

but 596, and beu 598; beneoite 45, maleoite 154, but

benoite 521.

(xxii) Reduction of pre-tonic ei before s > Pic. i (G §33).

damisels 1225, 1254, but damoisials 25.

ancisserie 2416, 2027.

forms in -ison: pasmison 32, 2860, oquison 487, 1505,
orison 828, 3862, caplison 1511, airison 1513, plorison
 2866; livrison Fl226+.

(xxiii) Initial and pre-tonic e + palatal l, n > Pic. i, ei, e,
 (G §34).

In A this development is always recorded by the graphy e.

In the majority of MSS, however, it is given as i.

1558 AG torbellons; CFBIE torbillons; DT torbeillons.

485 et pass.; A orgellos; CBOGET orgillous; FD orgueillex.

192 A mellor; CFBGE millor; DT meillor.

196 AD gregnor; CBIGE grignor.

A favours segnor; CFBIE signor, DGT seignor.

3996 pegnon A; pignon CBGE; also G App. I, 21.

(xxiv) Initial free e > i in some words (G §35).

ireté 3815, ireter El60.

(des)ireter 160, 3718, 3787.

hyrece 2789.

2) Consonants1) Gutturals

(xxv) c + e, i, in initial position and interior post-consonantal position, anterior c + jod, post consonantal t + jod > Pic. ć, [tʃ] (tch), written c, ch. (G §38)

With few exceptions A uses c to represent [tʃ];

ciel 852, cerf 7, princes 131, mercit 897, cauces 785, lance 794, pelice 3409, face 2183, bleciés 1699, cancion 1466.

In a) demonstrative adjectives and pronouns (cest, cil, ce etc) the graphy c is always used, but in b) learned words, some doublets are found; service 1380, servise 61, justise 223.

Whereas most MSS also read c, CDI tend to have ch.

(xxvi) Final c, t, + jod > Pic. -c (^(tʃ or s) =k) (G §39) Cf. (xlvi) below.

fac 2187, hac 3712; also in CBGE. But fas, 123, 1160 .

(xxvii) Final t + s > Pic. s. (Francien -z) (G § 40).

The reduction of ts > s is witnessed in all cases and the graphy z is rare. When it does occur it has the value of [z] Confuzion 483, delivrez 953, azur 767, bezant 2788, 3245, 3797, batizement 2088, oiez 2784, ovrez 3794, etc.

(xxviii) Retention of velar articulation of initial c before a, and interior after a consonant. (G § 41)

a) Initial. Four graphies are noted, but c is the most common. ch frequent in *accaptare; achatés 1797, achata 3649, but acatee 1688. Chiere 5, 22, but ciere 2841; chier 1250, 4079, but cier 1257, 1258; chemin 4100, cemin 677, 3933. karue 1580, (carue 1661), kis 2071 (coisis 2094), kenue 1583, quenue 1525.

b) Interior. Four graphies, c again predominates. ch found in meschin 683 (mescin 133), cachiér 1244 (caciés 3781); k in cerkier 877, cerkant 1484, cerke 2408, 2485, (also cerque 3738), estake 841, enquerke 1965 (but rencarge 3414), desbuskiés 3445 (enbusciét 1266), qu in cerque 3738, escequier 4081, entosquier 4085, esquargaita 1736.

(xxix) Retention of velar articulation of g before Latin a and Germanic a, e, i, in initial and interior post-consonantal positions; written g, gh, gu, (G 842).

In A the graphy g predominates; gerpir 421, 425, but guerpie 3959. gerre 2770, Gillebert 1993, longe 818, 1658, but longuece 2186; gu is usually used for guencir, 93, 741, 921, 1087, gardin, 3936. In the case of atarga 586, herbrega 679 the g = j, since otherwise we find loja 1742 etc.

gh is found only once in A, fighes 3936, but is current in other MSS. Engherans B3673, fighier B App. VII, 308, aighe B1119, ghingant E1155.

2) Dentals

(xxx) Insertion of a svarabhaktic *e* in the -br- group. (G § 44)

MSS. GE provide one example; marberin 3939.

(xxxi) Conservation of graphical "t" in certain past participles and substantives. (G §46)

All MSS. show some examples of this usage. A retains the "t" fairly regularly in certain cases:

verbs: rengiét 79, plaiét 390, laciét 587, mangiét 596,
emploiét 1358, songiét 1330, cargiét 1827.
recut 462, but 596.

substantives: mercit 897, congiét 287

All these also have their counterparts without "t".

MS. I applies final "t" almost throughout so that all *laisses* in "-é" and "-u" become "ét" and "-ut".

(xxxi) Confusion of -s- and -ss- and vice-versa. (G §49)

MS. A almost always reads /s/ with one -s-, eg laisier, laise etc.

But cf. repossa 1738, (reposa 1784)

3) Labials

(xxxi) Opening of the labial consonant in the intervocalic groups -bl-, -pl-. (G §52).

A always uses standard form in -able; deable, table etc.

Exception: populu > pule 151, 838.

(xxxiv) -ebula > Pic. iule. (G §53)

Nebula > niule 1866, 1873.

4) Liquids

(xxxv) Dissimilation of -r- (G §56)

Future and conditional of croire: cerre 3069, mesquerra 1759, querrai 2075.

Especially in MS F - substantive, arbre > abre F100, F1322.

(xxxvi) Metathesis of er > re. (G §57)

er > re frequent in A and other mss. in such words as vergier/vregier 1646, 3088, herbrega 679, 690.

crinutu, re > er, gernu 608, kernu O 1543.

(xxxvii) Fall of l in the group a + l + consonant (G §58).

This feature, characteristic of Norman, Walloon and Lorraine, but relatively rare in Picard, is found only in MS. I, where it is frequent.

chevas App. VIII, 21; chevachiés App. VIII, 18; chevachier 1449
mavais 136, farons (faudrons) 1458.

(xxxviii) Absence of intercalated consonants d or b in consonant

groups l'r, n'r, m'l. (G §61)

a) l'r; pulvere > (polre) > porre 1558, (with l assimilated to r)
poure 163. Future and conditional of voloir; vaurés 3899, 3906,

vaurai 2599; vaurent 839.

b) n'r; engenrer 150, tenre 1716, tenrement 2582, venredis 719;
Future, remanrons 1702, remanrai 2068; venront 152; venrés G2234+.

Sometimes, in the future of venir the -n- has become assimilated to the -r- verrai etc. The similarity of such forms to the future of voir led to the creation of an analogical form venrai etc. for voir. MS E attests some of these rare forms (G note 63); venrai E1884, venrés App. XI E126. On other occasions E uses the purely graphical s in $r > s$, vesres E1886, vesra 2045 (see G p. 108).

c) m'l; the standard mbi/nbi used throughout in A; exception; humles 710.

But -nl- is common in other MSS, especially F, in which -nbi- is rare; ensanle 1167, App. VI, 121; assanlé F58, F1211, B sanlast App. VII, 192.

MORPHOLOGY

(xxxix) The Picard feminine definite article le, li. (G §63)

The weakening of la > le is recorded in all the Picard MSS, side by side with la.

le chiere 5, le Montaigne 9, le cité 56, le bataille 412, le sale 277.

Likewise the analogical subject li;

li gente 26, li parole 277, li vielle 303.

(xl)²) Personal pronouns. Ego > Pic jou, je (G §64).

MS A has only the forms jou, jo. (Jou, jo and je in other MSS).

Similarly A always reads co, cou < ecce-hoc.

(xli)¹) Stressed personal pronouns mi, ti, si, (G §65).

Only one Picard form is found; mi 1129 (cf. also §iv).

A uses standard moi etc.

(xlii) Possessive adjectives. The Picard forms men (ten) sen/ me,

te, se are widely used in A (G §66-7).

men, 2285, 2404; sen 2300, 2870 (ten not found). However, the standard mon, ton, son are more common.

~~(The negative non is usually weakened by analogy to nen 182.)~~

se 23, 39, 117; no examples of me, te. In conformity with other literary texts the Francien forms are more common.

For the plurals no/vo see above §iii.

(xliii) Feminine possessive pronoun; le miue etc. (G §69)

Only one example of the distinctive Picard form is found.

tiue 270.

Conjugation.

(xliv) Strong perfects in -ui. (G §72).

habui > oc, och found only in isolated MSS.

och F3646 (A=oi) (G oc); B oc App VII 145.

(xlv) Future and conditional of the 3rd and 4th conjugations with the insertion of a svarabhaktic e. (G §74).

This has already been examined in connection with the language of the poet, see above §ii.

In addition to those found in A several examples can be taken from other MSS.

3rd devera B App. XII, 52; averai BI2071+; averés I2194, E3351; savera D27-9.

4th prendera G578, F1763+ ; estorderés I1426 ; aprenderai App VII, 164; pendera App. VII, 368.

The form from estre; esterés 1426 is unique to A.

(xlvi) 1st person present ind. and perf. in -c (G §75) cf. xxvi.

A fac 2187, hac 3712, kerc (chargier) 3858.

B desmenc (desmentir) App. VII, 215. G manc (mander) App. XI, 166.

Perfect; rechiuc G749 (c added by analogy).

(xlvii) Retention of -s- in sigmatic perfects (G §76).

fesis 846, 851; presistes 832; mesistes F2610+.

(xlviii) 6th person of the perfect in -isent (G §77).

fisent 138, 840; misent 1507; quisent 2335, D2333.

(Cf. T always reads Francien form; firent, mirent, quistrent etc).

(xlix) 4th person of present and future in -omes (G §78).

This feature is found in all MSS. though some have a greater preference than others.

A avonmes 3882 (F App. VI, 33); menronmes 2634.

In some cases -omes replaces -ons:

A vivons 329, C vivonmes; B irons 3942d, I irommes.

The form is fairly common in T: lairommes T2655, verommes T2626, and I donrommes I3793.

(1) 4th person of the imperfect ind. and subj. and of the conditional in -iemes.

Texts show both -iemes and -iens depending largely on metrical requirement.

A estiemes 3665, faisiemes 3659, serviriemes 3792, deüssiemes 2594, but A traiens 3661, G traiesmes.

(11) SYNTAX

MS. A contains only ^{one} syntactic element peculiar to Picard:

"Menés les mes lasus" (A339).

The forms les mes are explained in G, p.146. See also the paleographic note to l. 339

Conclusion

The distribution of these dialectal traits in the manuscripts give some, if only a rough, indication of their provenance within the Picard region.

Gossens divides that region into two parts, the North East linguistic zone, and the South West¹, depending on the frequency of certain characteristics. The evolution of initial e before l, n, > i (torbillon, signor), diphthongisation of blocked q (apries, siervir) and the predominance of the type fac, hac, point particularly to the N.E. The diphthongisation of q is a very frequent feature of MSS B and G, the former of which is known from its calendar to have come from Tournai, and is found to a lesser extent in C and E. These four manuscripts also share the characteristic i of signor etc, in which they are sometimes joined by I (§xxiii). Finally these four, CBGE, employ the fac type more regularly than fas (xxvi and xlvi). The prevalence of these features places their provenance in the N.E. region.

The other four manuscripts which show Picard features, ADFI appear to borrow elements from both the NE and SW areas. For example, A reads both fac and fas, F and I often use the i graphy for signor etc., whilst the graphical addition of final t (but, mercit, congiét etc.) also given as an idiosyncrasy of the N.E.

1 See map p. 26 and pp. 147-55.

scriptae is very frequent in I, fairly common in A, but almost non-existent in F and D. On the other hand F reads the Picard n'l group (sanler etc.) which in other MSS is normally replaced by the Francien mb¹.

A consideration of most of the dialectal features of A and the regularity of their occurrence would appear to point to that area of the SW Picard zone covered by Saint Quentin, Noyon and the Soissonnais. It is impossible to be more precise, and narrowing down the provenance of A to the S.E. Picard area is perhaps already too precise, given the widespread application of many linguistic characteristics.

MS T also includes certain Picard traits, which betray its origin, but the overall picture presented by its orthography suggests that the scribe himself was not from the Picard area, but rather from the domain of Francien.

¹ Gossen p. 118.

VERSIFICATIONTable of Laisses

The following table shows the distribution of rhyme in Les Chétifs. Three columns have been drawn up to distinguish between the two parts of the poem which are the work of Graindor, and the middle part, that of the SR.

a) Masculine

	<u>Graindor</u>	<u>SR</u>	<u>Graindor</u>
-A	19	56, 66, 75.	
-AI		63, 94	
-AIS		61, 80	
-AL	33	101	133
-AN	6		
-ANS	25, 39	73, 89, 102	
-ANT	11, 15, 35, 43	84	105, 110, 131a
-AS	3	71	
-É	2, 12, 27, 37, 41,	77, 103,	127
-ENT	20, 30	64, 70, 79	106. 128
-ER	4, 13		113, 116
-ES	8, 10, 31, 42, 45	57, 60, 68, 88, 107, 119, 121, 130. 96	

-I	17, 36	100	
-IÉ	38		
-IER	14, 22, 28, 40, 48, 58, 93		120, 138
-IÉS	47	55, 69, 92	114, 125
-IN	24		131, 139
-IR		97	115
-IS	26,	65, 76, 85	122
-OI			108
-OIS	23		
-ON	16, 18, 50	67, 74, 87	129, 134
-ONS		91	
-OR	43		
-ORS			123
-U	21, 51		
-US	9	81, 98,	117
b) <u>Feminine</u>			
-AGE			112
-AILLE	29		
-EE	7, 32, 46	54, 59, 82, 86, 111, 118, 124, 136 95	
-ELE			137
-IE	1, 5, 34, 44,	53, 62, 72, 78, 109, 126, 132 83, 90, 99	
-UE	(52)		104, 135
This laisse attributed to Graindor.			

The number of *laissez* under consideration is too small to be able to draw any definite conclusions as to the differences between the poetic usage of Graindor and SR. In the work of both the preference for the masculine rhyme is very marked; in all 108 masc. against 32 fem. *laissez*; or 27 masc. rhymes against 6 fem. rhymes. This predominance of masculine over feminine rhymes is usual practice in the rhymed epic. The table shows that Graindor favours *laissez* in -O; 9 in Graindor, 4 in SR, of which those in -OI, -OIS, -OR, -ORS are unique to Graindor. He also uses -ER frequently (4 cases in Graindor, none in SR). In *laissez* in -A Graindor favours -AN/S/T, (10 against 4), but on the other hand SR prefers other types: -A 3 in SR, 1 in Graindor; -AI 2 in SR none in Graindor; -AIS 2 in SR none in Graindor. Whilst Graindor uses -IN 3 times, none in SR, the latter reads -IS 3 times against only 2 in Graindor. So even in the relatively short space of Les Chétifs certain tendencies in the use of *laisse* endings can be distinguished in the work of both authors.

Taking the branch as a whole the same features relating to the rhyme itself can be observed. In the original work -ANT and -ENT were always distinguished, except in the case of a few common words; oriant 3390, orient 927, 2122.

servans 1224, servent 597

essians 2923, esciant 1092; escient 2125.

dolant 311, dolent 2297

Belliant 1474, Bellient 2123, 2662.

and rarely an adverb is placed in a laisse in -ANT; belemant 1475, (belement 3852); and a substantive, salvemant 1476, (salvement 2100), maltalent in -ANT 2796; and conversely, one present participle placed in -ENT; corent 3853. However, the distinction begins to fade in the variant MSS., especially the later ones, in which the two types are freely mixed. The following are found in laisses in -ENT; commant C932, recreant G933, luisant D2106, and the whole addition of T3847. In laisses in -ON Graindor does not distinguish 4th person verbal endings from other parts of speech, so that the verbal ending is reduced to -ON in the rhyme (though it is normally written in full -ONS). SR, on the other hand, does separate the two, and thus reads 3 laisses in -ON in which only one single verbal form is found (2482) and 1 in -ONS which comprises mainly verbal forms, and only four endings which are not verbal, of which two, okisons 2972, Bezencons 2974 have their "s" added by analogy. There are few cases of assonance: in -IÉS aciers 1726; in -US durs 2725, and in -AGE targe 3412, rencarge 3414, chace 3415, trace 3416.

From the metrical point of view, both authors appear to have followed the rules strictly, with no examples of feminine "e" in hiatus, no cases of hypo-metry, and only one of hyper-metry (1149).

TREATMENT OF THE TEXTS

Base Text

The base manuscript chosen for this edition is MS. B.N. f. fr. 12558 (A), which has been followed without alteration except when it is grammatically incorrect owing to scribal error and in a few cases where a historical name has been rendered inaccurately. Fortunately the scribe of this manuscript is far more competent than any of the copyists of the other texts; nevertheless like all those of his calling he does make occasional slips. There are some, but comparatively few, lines attested in all other versions but wanting in A. These lines have only been reinstated when the sense requires, and only after a close comparison with the other manuscripts and, where possible, with the Prose and Spanish versions. Similarly, there are very few lines unique to the A redaction. It is precisely this lack of omissions and additions in A which accounts for its preexcellence as a base manuscript. The gravest deficiency is the omission of one laisse (131a) near the end of the branch which was almost certainly in the original and which we have restored. However, the edition remains essentially an edition of B.N. fr. 12558 and all additions from other

sources have been printed in italics and left unnumbered. All corrections are shown in diagonal brackets, with the defective manuscript reading rejected to the bottom of the page, together with a mention of the manuscript(s) on whose authority the text has been corrected. Justification of an emendation is given in the notes where necessary.

Variant Texts.

The variants only record correct readings from other manuscripts. All grossly incorrect or deficient readings have been relegated to the notes and marked with an asterisk, which is especially the case of the readings of C and T. On the other hand no attempt has been made to point out minor scribal "bévues" (letters missing, dittographies etc) unless they happen to occur within a printed variant, in which case they have been emended with comment, except where it is self-explanatory. Many of the blunders in C have been omitted where they are recognisably the same reading as A. (There are over 30 ridiculous errors in the first 500 lines of C! To have recorded them all would not have served any useful purpose.)

Parts of the Turin manuscript (T) are given in full in the notes so that the extent of the damage can be more

readily assessed, especially when the top lines of a column have been burned away or severely blackened by fire. Where a whole damaged passage has been printed (eg. T 30-36) the asterisk is only used where the fragment shows a variant. Emendation of lacunae in T only occurs when the identity of the missing word is evident; where there is any doubt the gap has been left unfilled, although possible readings may be suggested in the notes.

Sometimes a reading makes perfect sense without emendation but is a syllable short, in which case the sign (-1) has been placed after it, particularly when the line could be corrected in a variety of ways. For example, after 1.181 in an addition by I is the hemistich "nen estordra mie"(-1) which could be emended "[il] nen estordra mie", "nen estordra [il] mie" or "nen [estordera] mie". However, no such indication is given for O in which a lack or excess of syllables is endemic (see note to 1.12).

The word want is used to illustrate the absence of a given line, while the word omit has been adopted to indicate a missing word where the sense or metre are deficient as a result. Often a word is omitted without detriment to the metre if it follows a word ending in "e". In such instances the initial letters of the surrounding words have been printed. Compare for example: "Il li tent un hauberc"/

"Il li tent hauberc" (=omits: un); "Il li done un h."/

"Il li done h." (= li d. h.)

Variant graphies have not been recorded, but some words with different initial letters have usually been printed in full to avoid confusion, as in the case of "aigue", "aighe", "eve", "yaue", and "elme", "ielme", "hyaume" etc; this is encountered frequently in G where initial "e" is nearly always diphthongised to "~~ie~~"; eg. "estre"/"iestre".

Where there is no confusion words beginning with (k)

"coe", "keue", "queue" have been abbreviated with the letter found in each particular text. Words with only two letters have not been abbreviated.

Round brackets have been used to denote a variant within a variant when otherwise the readings justify classification in a group, eg. 1.30; "por son fil dont (qu'il BO; que E) n'a (n'ai I) mie DBOIGE. The sigla have been arranged in the order of grouping within the manuscript tradition, i.e. ACFDBOIGET, and the letter which stands first in the list is always that whose reading has been adopted. The variants tend to be arranged by hemistich and the comma has been used to mark the caesura when there is only a minor variant in each hemistich (see 1.30 var. of C).

Resolution of Abbreviations.

All abbreviations in the manuscripts have been expanded in accordance with the scribe's own orthography¹. In most cases the resolution of a given abbreviation is the same in each manuscript, but there are some differences.

The apostrophe has been expanded as "er", "ier", "ir" or "re" as required. Some mss. read "aversier", "vergier" while others, including A, normally spell "avresier", "vregier" when in full.

A nearly always abbreviates forms of "prendre" with the "ra" sign "p^are", but writes "re" in full, which we have followed.

The nasal bar has been resolved:

before "m" as "n" in A and G (sonmes), as 'u' in B (soumes) and "m" elsewhere,

before b/p as "n" in A and B, as "m" elsewhere,

in final position as "n" in A and B, as "m" elsewhere;
the word "hom" is always written with "m" in A and has been expanded thus.

1 It is not always an easy task to decide what precisely the scribe's own orthography was, and all the above formulæ for the resolution of abbreviations have been adopted only after a long consultation between all the editors of the First Cycle, and are based upon a consensus of readings taken from throughout the cyclic mss. and not just Les Chétifs.

The Tironian q has been transcribed as "con" in all cases in A and E; as "con" in B except before a nasal, when the scribe invariably writes "cou". In all other mss. as "com", and everywhere as "cun" in "chascun".

The "us" sign has been resolved as "us" in personal pronouns "nous", "vous" after "no'", as "ous" when the pronoun is normally spelt that way in full (after n'), and as "os" in A, D and O.

Mlt' has been transcribed as "molt" in A and D, "moult" in C and F, "mult" in O and "mout" elsewhere.

p² has been transcribed as "por" in A, D and O, "pour" elsewhere.

p can stand for "par" or "per" in all mss.

Abbreviations concerning "q" have always been expanded with a "u" except in F which rarely writes "u" when in full.

In several mss. the "ch" graphy is rare and the form "chr'" has been transcribed as "cevalier" in A, B and E, as "chevalier" elsewhere. Despite Gossen's claim that "chevalier" was a word borrowed from central French¹, and should therefore be spelt after that fashion, in these texts it seems preferable to assimilate it to the normal graphies.

1 Gossen, p. 97 note 44.

A, B and E all write "ceval", "cevalerie", whilst "cevalier" itself is attested in full in B in the rubrics on fol 142^r col 1 and fol 146^r col 2. In these texts the graphy "c" has the value of (k) and the cedilla has not been used; exception made for the Anglo-Norman O.

"Jhu'" and "Jhrlm'" do not always preserve the "h" when spelt out in full, hence we read "Jesu", "Jerusalem" in A and E, but retain the traditional orthography with "h" elsewhere, even where some mss. (eg. O) use both forms.

For the use of diacritic signs we have generally followed the "Règles pratiques pour l'édition des textes français et provençaux" published in Romania, LII (1926), 243-249. However, Roman numerals have been left as they are except when suprascript.

LES CHETIFS

TEXT

- 1 Or s'en fuit Corbarans tos les plains de Surie, 113d
 N'enmaine que .II. rois ens en sa compaignie,
 S'enporte Brohadas, fis Soudan de Persie.
 En l'estor l'avoit mort a l'espee forbie
 Li bons dus Godefrois a le chiere hardie, 5
 Tres devant Anthioce ens en la praerie.
 Ens en .I. quir de cerf, sor .I. mul de Hungrie,
 L'orent torsé li roi, ne l'i laisierent mie.
 Vers le Noire Montaigne ont lor fuite acoillie,
 Et costoient Rohais, ne l'aprocierent mie, 10
 Et passerent Eufrate sans nef et sans galie.
 Segnor, ce est une eve que Dex a benele,
 Ki de Paradis vient, et sort et naist et crie,
 Dont Damedix jeta Adan por sa folie.
 Et quant il furent outre, sor l'erbe qui verdie, 15 114a
 Descendu ont l'enfant del bon mul de Rosie,
 Puis l'ont coucié sovin desor l'erbe florie.
 E! Dex, con le regrete li fors rois de Nubie.
 Corbarans d'Oliferne le pleure et brait et crie;
 Et li rois de Falerne molt forment en larmie 20
 Et demaine tel duel et se fiert les l'oïe,

1 O. s. vait (va E) CBE. -- 2 Ne mainne F; en soie c. FD;
COIGE want; D inverts 2/3; e. mais .II.; O replaces by:
 Sei tierce s'en vait fuiant del regne de Nubie. --
 3 Moadas O. -- 4 En bataille l'ot m. a le lance f. E; DCT
invert 4/5 and read: Li buens dus (Godefrois T) de Buillon a
 la chiere hardie L'avoit mort en l'estor (en bataille CT)
 a l'espee fourbie; F rearranges 4-8: Ens en .I. cuir de cerf
 de la teste n'ot mie Li bons dus de Buillon a la ciere hardie
 L'avoit mort en bataille a la lance brunie Tres devant
 Andioce enmi la praerie Puis li trencha la teste a l'espee
 fourbie; O conflates 4-6: En l'estor l'avoit mort li coens
 de Normandie Tres devant Antioche a l'espee forbie. --
 6 Drois d. A. B; Par d. A. en une p. I; A. enmi la CDBGE; C*.
After 6 EG add: Furent mortes les os d'Arabe (d'Arabie G) et
 de Persie Ains n'en escapa piés fors doi roi de Nubie
 Et Corbarans lor sire qui les caele (ques caeloit G) et guie.
 7 Dedens .I. B; En un grant cuir O; m. de Surie DIGE. --
 8 Le trosserent DBOIGE; Le t. li Turc E; nel volrent laisier
 m. B; nen i l. m. O; ne le l. IT*. -- 9 Par le N. FO; Par
 devers le m. E; l. voie a. CDBOIGE; T wants. -- 10 Et
 chosirent R. CE; ne l'aproismierent m. C; R. nen a. F; R.
 mais il n'i entrent m. D; R. que n'i aprochent m. O; T wants.
 11 Et passent Eufrete COG*; Et si passent F; et s. navie CO.
 12 que Jhesus b. EIO*. -- 13 Qui v. de P. B; v. qui s. C;
 et n. et croist et c. DB; et croit et n. I; v. s. et n. et
 arive G*; E*; s. et braist T. -- 14 par sa f. CFDBOGET. --
 15 Et q. li roi f. a. B; I omits outre; o. en la grant
 praerie DBOIG; o. enmi la p. E. -- 16 D. o. le [roi] B*;
 Descendirent l'e. T*; del mulet de Surie C; m. de Surie F;
 sor l'erbe qui verdie DBE; desur l'erbe flurie OIG. --
 17 sor l'erbe qui verdie C; c. soef sus l'erbe qui'st T*;
DBOIGE want. -- 18 Et D. DB; li boins r. C; F wants;
T conflates 18-22: Corbarans le regrete et li roys de Nubie
 Mout demainnent grant duel et font chiere [marie]. --
After 18 I adds: Son sens et sa prouesce et sa grant courtoisie.
 19 C. le regrete B; et plaint et b. BE; le plaint et pl. et
 c. DG; F rearranges 19-24: Mout demainnent grant duel et font
 ciere marie Cascuns detort ses poins et ploie et brait et
 crie Corbarans tort ses mains s'a se barbe estucie
 Doucement le regrete ne puet muer ne die. -- 20 CFDBOIGET
want. -- 21 Mout demaine grant duel et fait chiere
 marie C; 21-24 DBOIGE want. --

Et si font entr'els trois forment chiere marie.

Corbarans tort ses poins, s'a se barbe sacie,

Doucement le regrete, car molt a grant hascie:

"Damoisiaus debonaires, con mar fu vostre vie!

25

Que fera vostre mere, li gente, l'escavie?

Quant ele le sara, n'enportera la vie.

De dolor s'ocira, s'autres n'est qui l'ocie.

Li rois Soudans, vos pere, qui nos a en baillie,

Nos fera trestos pendre, quant de vos n'ara mie."

30

Desor le cors se pasme, le color a noircie;

Quant vint de pasmisons, ne puet muer ne die:

"Mahon ne Tervagan, ne sa sorcelerie,

Certes ne valent mie une pume porie.

Caitis est et dolans qui vos aore et prie,

35

Molt est malvais li dex qui ses homes oblie,

Poi en faut nel renoi, car ne valt une alie.

Mais li dex as François est de grant segnorie,

Car il garde se gent et molt bien lor aïe."

"Voire," dient li autre, "nostre lois est falie,

40

Car tot no deu ne valent le montant d'une alie.

Por un poi que ne croi Jesu le fil Marie."

22 C wants. -- 24 T wants. -- 25 tant mar FOIGET;
 fustes en v. E. -- 26 Q. f. or vo m. F; Q. dira DGE;
 m. la bele IGE; m. la gentilz l'e. O; m. la gentis
 affranchie T. -- 27 s. nel p. O*; T wants; D conflat
 27-29: Et vos peres Sodans qui est rois de Persie Quant
 il le savera n'enportera la vie; F replaces by: Eublatis
 la roïne qī tant ot signorie. -- 28 Ne pora remanoir que
 de doel ne s'o. B; DOIGE want. -- After 28 C reads 32 in
error. -- 29 S. tis p. O; qī tient cuite Almarie F; q.
 tient toute S/urie/ T. -- 30 Les f., v. rara m. C; N. f.
 tous trois p. FT*; Tos n. f. destruire D; por son fil dont
 (qu'il BO; que E) n'a (n'ai I) mie DBOIGE. -- After 30
B adds: A iceste parole est sa raison falie. -- 31 s'a
 la c. n. F; ne s'en (se IG) puet (pot G) tenir mie DOIG;
 s'a la face enpalie B; et fait ciere marie E; C wants.
 32 C places after 28: ne p. m. ne crie; m. n'en d. O; ne se
 puet tenir mie I*; ne pot m. E. -- After 32 F adds: Par
 Mahonmet mon Diu grant merveille ai oīe C'a mort est si
 tournee ma grant chevalerie. -- 33 M. et T. OI; ne lor
CFDBOET; mahomerie D; ne I grans (O omits) sorcerie BO*T*;
 ne il soit celés mie I; G conflat 33/; M. ne T. ne vaut
 nesune euille. -- 34 C. ne pris je mais F; ne v. pas D.
 35 d. moult est vils qui li prie C; d. cil qī en eus s'afie
F; q. les a. D; BOI want; GE replace by: Forment par est
 preudon li fuis sainte Marie. -- 36 F*; qui sa gent
 entr'oblie T*. -- 37 CFDBOIGET want. -- 38-41 BOIGE want.
 38 Et li d. T. -- 39 g. lor gent C; g. les sons et en
 bien les affie D; b. l'en a. T. -- 40 n. l. est perie F;
 n. l. soit honi D. -- 41 Car Mahomes ne valt une bele
 vessie D; v. la monte d'u. TC; F replaces by: Et toute
 no creance vergondée et honnie Tel duel mainnent li troi
 enmi la praerie. -- 42 Pour .I. p. qu'il ne croit C; Que
 pour .I. seul petit F; qu'il n'ont lor loi guerpie FT; Por
 .I. seul petitet DBOIGET; ont (n'ont O) lor loi relenquie
DO; n'ai lor loi deguerpie B; n'a (n'ai I) sa loi
 relanquie (deguerpie E) GEI. --

2 Or furent li troi roi descendu ens el pré,
 Desor l'eve d'Euftrate, si con vos ai conté,
 Une eve beneoite que Dex avoit sacré. 45
 Quant il ont Brohadas et plaint et regreté,
 Son sens et sa proece et sa grant largeté,
 Desor .I. dromadaire ont lor segnor torsé.
 Isnelement remontent li .III. rois tot armé,
 Car lor destrier estoient repeù et witré; 50
 Tot droit vers Sormasane se sont aceminé,
 Et ont tant exploitié, point et esperoné,
 Si con les conduisoient diable et vif malfé,
 C'ançois .I. mois entier aconpli et passé,
 Vinrent al Pont d'Argent, si sont parmi oltré, 55
 Tot droit a Sormazane, le segnoril cité.
 La ont le roi Soudan et son effort trové;
 De Corocane i furent tot li Turc assanblé
 Por une rice feste que il ont celebré,
 Del baron saint Jehan, qu'il ont molt honéré. 60 114b
 [A1] servise qu'il font, es Corbaran entré;
 La dedans Sormasane, desos .I. pin ramé,

61 As s. corr. from CFDBOIGET.

43 Or sunt li .IIII. r. B; Or se sont li IG; Li t.r. sarrasin sont d.el p.E; d.en .I. p.D. -- 44 Sor l'aigue d'Eufrete FG; Delez l'yaue d'E.T; s.c.j'ai c.O; s.c.m'oës conter E. -- 45 Un flun de Paradis F; Seignor ce est une iaue D; .I. flueve b. B; Une eve de boine oire E; que Jhesus ot(a DO)s. FDBOIGE. -- After 45 F adds: Dont Dix par son mesfait avoit Adan geté. -- 46 Et quant il ont lor seignor DBIGE; Et plorent lur seignor O; et p.et dolousé E. -- 47 g.nobilitét I. 48 l'ont carcié et t. FG; o. le dansel t. B; I inverts 48/9: lor s.levét. -- 49 I.resont li .III. r. remontét I; r.coroné D; li .IIII. r.a. B; li baron t.a.GE; O conflates 49-51: Ignelement s'en vont et si ont tant erré. 50 Lor d.furent bien r.F; C.l.cheval e.peü et saolé D; reput et violtré C; BOIGE want. -- After 50 F adds: Parmi la praerie s'en vont tout abrievé. -- 51 T.d. a S. E; S.sont a.C; O wants. -- 52 Et(Si E) ont t. chevalcié FBIGE; Qu'il o.t.e.O; et tant esperoné DOIGE; exploitié et erré B. -- 53 conduisoit C; les ont conduit et d.et m.D; F omits vif; c.v.d.m.T; BOIGE want. 54 .VIII. jors entiers C; Anchois D; a.ne p.T; BOIGE conflate 54/5: Que il ont a lur mois le Pont d'Argent passé B; Que il(Qu'il O)le P.d'A. ont a lur mois passé GOIE. -- 55 si(et D) s.outre passé FTD. -- After 55 F adds: N'i a celui de caut n'ait le cors tressué. -- 56 Dessi a S.ne se sont arestét I; A S.t.d. F; l'amirable c. CT; al s.c. O; B wants. -- After 56 E repeats 52: Et ont tant exploitié cevauciét et esré. -- 57 Le riche roi S. lor seignor ont t. DBI; Le riche S. lur seignor i ont t. O; Ont le rice S. G; Que il ont le S. E; ~~S.et s.~~ ~~enfant t.a.C*~~ -- 58 De Torica C*; Tot i f.li T.d'Orcanie a. D; De C. i sont BGE; li paien a. B; De tute Gorgosane ot ses T.a. O; .LX.mil Turs i furent a. I. -- After 58 F adds: Qi en l'ost d'Andioce n'avoient pas esté. -- 59 q'il orent c. F; qu'il ont c. O; qu'il i ont c. E; q.y ot c. T. -- After 59 F adds: Moult menoient grant joie Sarrasin et Esclé. -- 60 que il o.h. FCIE; que il o.tant amé D; Le b.s.J.o.forment celebré O; que m.o.h.BT. 61 s.que f. DI; f. est C. OIGT. -- 62 Sa defor S. I; La dessous S. T; S.la nobile cité E; F wants but expands 62/3: En sa compaignie furent li doi roi coroné S'aportèrent Brohadas qi le cief ot copé Par le porte Sargan entrent en la cité Descendu sont a pié desor .I. pin ramé Brohadas ont jus mis dolant et exploré Mais ne l'ont pas del cuir de cerf envolepé.

A descendu l'enfant, s'a son cors desarmé.
 Plus de .XX. mile Turc li sont encontre alé
 Por oïr les noveles qu'avoient desirré. 65
 Devant le roi Soudan ont Corbaran mené,
 Et quant Soudans le voit, si l'a araisoné:
 "Corbarans, bels amis, por qu'as tant demoré?
 Avés me vos od vos Buieumont amené,
 Godefroi de Buillon et le baron Tangré, 70
 Robert de Normendie, que on m'a tant loé,
 Et Thumas de la Fere al gonfanon levé,
 Et dant Huon le Maine, qui tant a grant fierté,
 Et le noble barnage de la crestienté,
 Les caaines es cols cascun encaainé?" 75
 "Nenil, par Mahon, sire, mal nos est encontré,
 Car tot sommes vencu, mort et desbareté.
 Quant li baron de France furent tot assanblé
 Tres devant Anthioce, rengiét et ordené,
 Cascuns avoit le cief et le cors bien armé. 80
 Par Mahon, si fuisiés o trestot vo barné
 Et trestot cil o toi qui onques furent né,

63 Descendu ont le cors del mulet afeutree B; Ont Brohadas mis jus s'ont le c.d. I; D.ont l'e.sous .I. abre ramé E; e.puis se sont d. D; e.son c.a.d. T; C wants. -- 64 .XX. T. C; .X. mile T. F; .XXX. T. E; O omits Turc; i sont e. CD; i sont courant a. F; s.al e. B; I expands: Plus de .LX. Turs par grant nobilitét En sont par grant richoise encontre lui alét. -- 65 la novele FB; que tant ont d.D; c'orent tant d. BI; qu'il ont tant d. O; o.des n.que il ont demandé G; que mout ont d. E; que avoyent d. T*. -- After 65 I adds: Si amis le conjoient qui de cuer l'ont amét. -- 67 Quant l'amiras le v. FE; Q.li S.l.v.se li a demandé G; le vit si I. -- 68 C. d'Oliferne p. F; p. c'avés t.d. DGE; Por coi as b.a.C.t.d. O; a.tu as moult d. I. -- After 68 I adds: Pour coi et quel afaire m'avés tant oubliét. -- 69 A.m.v.ichi F; A.ensemble o v. B; A.v.avoeu E; -- 70 le vassal T. DE; le hardi T. E; B.que on m'a tant loé T. -- 71 Richart de N. D; que on a t.l. B; et Bauduin l'alosé O; et le baron Tancre T. -- 72 al conf.freiné F; le vassal aduré T*; I wants. -- 73 qi l'en/seigne/ a porté F; del(au I) riche parenté DOIGT; del roial parenté B; du regné redouté E; -- After 73 B adds: Bauduin et Ustache, Engheran l'alosé Et les autres caitis que je n'ai pas nomé. -- 74 Et grant part del b. B; le riche b. OI; le gentil b. GE; D wants. 75 c.el col C; de fer e. CO; Les buies ens es piés F; De(Les IG) caines de fier BIGE; es cos(el col E) enc. IGE; T* -- After 75 B* adds: Quant li respont /li rois/ quant çou ot ascuté. -- 76 Nenil(Naje D) voir biaux dous sire m. (mar I) BOID; N.s.par foi GE; F expands: N.p.M.s. ains l'avons comperé Ne sai qe vous en manche m.n.e.e. -- 77 C.nous s.v. GE; et tous d. IOGE; B expands 77/8: Quar tout nostre homme sont ocis et des-copés Lors li a Corbarans tout l'afaire conté Si coume li baron furent tout asamblé. -- After 77 I expands: Et tous nos Sarrasins et mors et afolét Corbarans s'estut cois si a premier parlét Tout conta au Soudan comment il a errét Et comme li barons furent assamblét. 78 Car cum li b. O; Sire q.li b. GE. -- 79 De d.A. C; Par d. BET; A.et r.et jousté F; r.et tut armé OG; A.et r. et serrét IE. -- 80 son c,et son c. D; si armé DF; le cors et le chief T; BOIGE want. -- After 80 F adds: Q'il ne doutoient arme .I. denier monnee. -- 81 Certes (Par Dieu E) si tu i fuses o.t.ton b. BOE; Certes si i f. G; a t.v.GO; Et si fussent vos hommes et t. I. -- 82 Et avoeu cil encore C; Et o vous t.li Turc F; Et tili paien q.o.fussent né D; Et t.c.avoeu B; Et t.icil o toi O; c.o vous I; GE want.

Et li mort desos terre fuscent resuscité,
 Ne poroient il estre souffert ne enduré,
 Ains nos ont tant caciét, ainc n'i [ot] trestorné, 85
 Qu'a mervellouse paine en sommes escapé.
 Brohadas vostre fil en ai mort aporté,
 Ves la jus u il gist, desous cel pint ramé."
 Quant li Soudans l'entent, pres n.a le sens dervé,
 Et prent .I. dart trencant, molu et empené; 90
 Par si grant maltalent l'a lanciét et rué
 Tot droit a Corbaran, quant bien l'ot avisé.
 Li rois guencis a destre les .I. marbre listé,
 Et li dars li corut dejoste le costé;
 En .I. piler feri, tant fort l'a entamé, 95
 Plaine paume et demie l'a par dedans cavé.
 S'il l'eüst conseü, ja l'eüst mort jeté.
 Li amirals se pasme; .IIII. roi coroné
 Le tienent par les bras. Al dol en sont alé
 La u li enfes gist, desor .I. marbre lé. 100

85 ni ot t. corr. from CFBOIGT.

93 marbre ra liste

83 Et tout li m.de t. F; I wants. -- 84 Ne peussent CFDBGE; Non reüssent il mie s. O; Ne l'eüssiens nous mie s. I; il i estre GE; Ne peüssies les Frans torner de champ malé T. -- 85 Anceis n.o.trestoz c.qu'ainc O; c. g'ainc n'i F; o.si c.ja ne vos iert celé D; c.qu'il n'i B; c. ains n'i G; c. saciés de verité E. -- After 85 B adds: .II. liues grans et plus a li encaus duré. -- 86 merveilloes paines D; A.m.p. B; p. i s. E; p.s.nous e. T*. -- 87 Moadas v. enfant O; B.v.enfant GE; raporté E; B expands: B.v.fius i ot le chief copé Sor .I. mul de Surie l'avons m.a. -- 88 V.le la CFDBIGET; Voiez le la O; ou se gist F; ce p.r. DIT. -- 89 Q.S.l'entendi FI; Et q.S.l'e. DO; pres a C; l'e.le sen ad d. O; si ot le cuer irét I; Q.l'amiraus l'e. GE. -- After 89 B adds: De mautalent et d'ire a tout le sanc mué; I adds: Que ne desist .I. mot pour une grant cité. -- 90 Et trait C; Et tint .I. d.d'acier FD; Il(Et O) tint .I. d.t. BOT; Et tient .I. d.m. I; t.et affilé FI; m.et affilé DB; que on ot enpanés T; GE want 90-97 and expand this 'dart' episode into an independent laisse; see Appendix I. -- 91 l.et geté F; l'a Corbaran r. DBI; O si g.m.l'a Corbaran geté O. -- 92 q.il l'ot C; C.moult a b.a. F; DBOI want. -- 93 Li cuens g. C; g.sour d. CFOIT; d.s'a le dart esquivé F; Li dars torna a d.vers .I. perron l. B; d.en un m. O; d.a .I. m. I. -- After 93 F adds: Ce ne fu pas merveille s'il a le cop doute. -- 94 c. d'encoste le C; Li d.li est c.rés a rés del c. F; BOI want. -- 95 A .I. p. C; BOI want. -- 96 Plus de p.et d.en a d.entré F; l'a d.troé C; l'a fendu et troé D; l'a fendu et copé B; d. a le perron c. O; d.a .I. perron hurtét I; d.est p. T. -- 97 consevi D; Se il l'a consevist B; S'il le a conseüst ja l'eust a m.g. O; Si l'e. IT; l'e. afolé T. -- After 97 B adds: Quant Corbarans le voit s'est d'autre part tornés De lui se trait ensus s'en fu espoentés. -- 98 Li rois Soudans se FBOIGE; r.corné F; p.sor .III. r. I; B expands: Li r.S.s.p. voiant tout son barné Au redrecier i ceurent .IIII. r.c. -- 99 Le lievent par ses flans D; Quel t., si l'ont amont levé B; Le tinrent, et si l'en ont mené E; al dos li s. C; q'il l'ent ont relevé F; Qui au d.s. IG; b. a d. T. -- After 99 F adds: Tost et isnelement l'en ont au duel mené Et li povre et li rice en sont après alé; B adds: Belement et souef l'en ont as cors mené. -- 100 La u ses fius gisoit B; li e.geu fu E*; d.le pint ramé BI; d. .I. pint ramé DOT; ou ses e. O; d. .I. arbre lé GE; d.l'abre ramé F. -- After 100 B adds: Quant il l'a aparçu es le vos repasmé Paien et Sarrasin ont grant doel demené.

- 3 Grant duel fait li Soudans de son fil Brohadas,
 Li conte et li marcis et li rois de Damas;
 Assés ot avoec lui del linage Judas,
 De se grant seignorie i fu li grans barnas.
 Dont parla li Soudans, mais ne fu mie a bas. 105 114c
 "Oïez, seignor," dist il, "con je sui grains et las!
 Veesci mon bel fil, qui gist mors sos ces dras.
 Ostés le tost de ci, sel prendrai en mes bras,
 Et verrai le sien cors, si sarai se c'est gas;
 K'il soit mors ne vencus ne le puis croire pas." 110
 Uns Turs ala avant, qui ot non Dionas,
 Si [descoivre] le cors qui gisoit sos les dras.
 Quant li Soudans le vit, ariere ciet pasmas;
 Doi roi le lievent sus, li uns fu d'Eüffras,
 Li autres fu Solins, et fu nés de Dinas. 115
 Quant il fu revenus, molt i fu grans li glas,
 Et dist en se raison: "Apollin, Sathanas,
 Malvais dex et cuvers, cestui mal gardé m'as!
 Ja mais en mon vivant corone d'or n'aras,

112 descoivre corr. from CIG.

Laisse 3: OT want; F inverts laisses 3/4. -- 101 d.fist
CDFGE; S.por s. BIGE; -- 102 Et le rice amiral B; Li c.
 li m. G; I inverts 102/3: Et contes et marchis; et li r.
 de Baudas BI. -- 103 A.en a o lui F; A.ont a els D. --
 104 De le g.baronnie i fu mout grans li bras C*; De
 l'enocrisme lignie au quivert Satenas D; De la gent Sar-
 rasine B; De l'autre baronnie G; Et de l'autre maisnie E;
FI want. -- 105 m.ce n'est m. F; a gas FB; et ne fu m. D;
 en bas BDGE; f.m.b. I. -- 106 O.fait il s. C; O.s.fait il
FDI; O.d.il s. BG; Hé las d.li Soudans E; g.et mas CFDI. --
 107 Esgardés mon cier f. B; V.ci mon enfant I; Vés ichi mon
 chier f. GE; qui m.g. C; q.ci g. DB; en c.d. DI. --
F replaces 107-113 by: Qant j'ai celui perdu qi estoit mes
 solas Ma vie mes confors me santés mes degzas Qant je nel
 verrai mais qe fera dont cis las Et qant il ot che dit a
 terre ciet a quas. -- 108 O.le et descosés sel tenrons en
 nos b. D; O.le t. d'iluec sel metra en B; Oste le I. --
 109 Si v., car ce me samble g. D; c.car(c'or I) ne sai se
 c'est g. BIGE. -- 110 m.ne ocis D; Q.s.m.ensement je nel
 p. B. -- 111 U.T.passa a. C; Doi roi salent a.li .I. ot
 n. Jonas B; Uns rois passa a.EG; cil ot n.Drianas D; qui ot
 a n. Caurras E; I expands 111/2: Cis alerent avant assés
 plus que le pas Qui premerain le prist cis ot non Dyonas
 Si descuevre l'enfant entre lui et Jonas. -- 112 Si(Et D)
 descovri BED; l'enfant CB; q.g.sor ces d. C; q.g.sor le
 glas D; ki la g. BGE; en bas B; tramas G*; tous mas E. --
 113 Et q.S. le voit I; Q.le voit li S. E; le voit DB; pasmés
 cai en bas D; a.c.tous plas IG; -- 114 r.l'ont relevé F;
 r.l'en releverent qui estoient d'Eufiras D; D.amiral l'en l,
 d'Eufiras B; l'en l. IG; li .I. ot non Eufiras I; C wants.
 115 L'a. ot non S. FE; de Baudas F; fu ses niés et fu n. a
 Baudas D; Li a. Soliman si fu rois de Damas B; S. ci fu I;
 si estoit de Damas E; CG want. -- 116 Q.revint li Soudans
 adont fu g. F; si s'escrie a .I. g. D; dont i f. G*; CI want.
 118 M.d.de put aire C; d.renoiés mon enfant mal gardas D;
 d. et falis B; d.recreant I; Mahom et Apolin E; c.m.g. as
CBGE; E reads: 117/121/118; F expands: Tervagant Mahomet
 malvais diu caitif las Moult par es non poissans qant
 mon fil ne gardas Mahonmés li miens dix desfigurés seras.
 119 m. g. or de ma vie B; en ton v. D; I wants. --

Ne en tot le mien regne honerés ne seras. 120

Co /sacent/ tot li deu, et ma dame Pallas,

C'or est mors et vencus li sanblans Eneas;

Et jo morrai por lui, que drois est que jel fas.

Mahomés li doinst mal qui si feri a tas;

Jo n'arai ja mais joie, ains serai mus et quas." 125

4 Soudans voit son enfant si commence a plorer,

Ses cavels a desrompre et sa barbe a tirer;

Desor le cors se pasme, n'ot en lui qu'a irer.

Eublastris la roïne o le viaire cler,

Le duel qu'ele menoit ne puet nus raconter. 130

Princes et amirals oïssiés duel mener;

Contreval Sormasane oïssiés cris crier,

Et dames et puceles, mescin et baceler

Plaignent le damisel que tant suelent amer,

Son sens et sa proëce, ço qu'il lor seut doner, 135

Cevals et palefrois, mantels por affubler;

Ja mais itel segnor ne poront recovrer.

De molt rice ongement fisent le cors laver,

120 N'en trestot mon regné C; Ne en trestot mon r. D; Ne en
 tout mon pooir B; FI want. -- 121 Or soient t. l. d.
 Mediane et P. C*; t. mi d. D; t. li Turs I; et la d. P. F.
 122 Or e., li soldans E. C; Qant m. est et v. mes ciers fix
 Brohadas F; li s. Ipocras G. -- 123 d. e. q. je le f. C; que
 c'est d. q. jo f. D; Et si m. B; car d. e. q. le f. BI; bien
 e. d. q. le f. GE; F wants. -- 124 M. le confonde CB; q. le
 fri a main tas C; M. le destruite D; quil (qui I) f. a main
 tas DIGE; ki le f. a t. E. -- After 124 B adds: Cil ki si le
 feri ot grande force en ses bras. -- 125 Ja n'averai mais j.,
 m. et mas D; Ja mais n'averai j. FE; cis caitis et chi las F;
 tous serai E. -- 126 s. fil mort B; Li S. menent al cors
 doel c. a mener O. -- 127 Et ces c. d. et sa b. t. I; c.
 prist a rompre T; B wants. -- 128 ne se pot arester BGE;
 Sur son enfant se p. n'en puet arester O; DI want. --
After 128 O* summarises laisse 3 which it omitted: Quatre
 amirail le tienent por son cors afoier Seignors ce dist li
 rois faites le palie oster Si verrai mon chier fiz qui tant
 poeie amer Car ge voil son gent cors et ses plaies garder
 Quant il fud descovert donc veïssiez pasmer Les riches
 Sarazins et les dames plorer Et dient en plorant tant
 feïssiez a loer Biau fiz ce dist Soudan coment porrai durer
 Vos estiez ma joie a moi recomforter. -- 129 Esblatris la
 r. qui le visage ot cler C; Eublatois FT; Embatris D;
 Flebatris O; Etblatris G; Oblatis I; Oblastris E. -- After
 129 F adds: Qui li veïst son duel et son plour demener
 Bien cuidast q'esranment deuïst vie finer; B adds: Et vint
 au cors criant la u le vit poser. -- 130 La dolour q'ele
 main F; maine ne vous sai aconter B; qu'ele demainne IGE;
 pot CO; n. hom conter D; n. aconter I; n. deviser G. --
 131 Et rois et a. o. dolouser B; p. et amassour o. demanter
I; veïssiés F; en oïssiez O. -- After 131 F adds: Et
 detordre lor poins et lor caviax tirer. -- 132 DBIGE want;
O* places 132/3 after 137: C. S. o. haut crier and adds:
 Detraire lur chevolsz et lur dras desirer. -- 133 Les d.
 les p. F; D. et p. O; meschines et b. OI; oïsciés dolouser
B. -- 134 Pleurent, que moult s. CD; lor d. DIG; Pleurent
 i li d. ki le s. B; qui t. les solt a. O; qui tant soloit
 donner T*. -- 135 chiaux qu'il (que I) soloit d. DIE; p.
 oïsiés regreter B; c. que lor G; que tant soloit amer T. --
 136 C. armés et dras que ci lor siut doner B which adds:
 Ahi Mahomet sire ki nos puet conforter. -- 137 m. de tel C;
 m. a tel FOGE; m. .I. tel BT; C'or j. m. tel s. I; porons
CFBIT; pouns O. -- 138 D'un machier o. D; o. ont fait DFE;
 l'enfant l. FOT; D'un m. r. BO; font le sien c. B. --

En .I. diaspre a or l'ont fait enbauser;
 Tres devant Tervagan ont fait le cors porter. 140
 La peüssiés veïr encensiers enbraser,
 Candelabres et cierges et lampes alumer.
 Bels fu li luminaires a lor messe canter,
 Et tant grans li offrande, nus nel poroit nombrer.
 Plus de .VII. mil bezans i veïssiés jeter 145
 Contreval vers le place, por le presse sevrer.
 Tres devant Tervagan font le cors enterrer,
 Molt rice sepulture d'or et d'argent fonder.
 L'apostoiles Califes commence a sermoner:
 "Cil qui a or .X. femes, si penst de l'engenrer, 150 114d
 Si croistera nos pules por crestiens mater;
 Li enfant qui venront feront molt a douter,
 Des Frans nos vengeront, nel vos quier a celer,
 De le gent maleoite qui no loi velt fauser."
 Se Soudans fu dolans, ne l'estut demander; 155
 Molt dolerousement l'oïssiés dementer
 Brohadas son enfant, et molt plaindre et plorer.
 "Bels fils," dist l'amirals, "qui pora gouverner
 Enprés moi tot cest regne qu'eüssiés a garder?

139 d. d'or C; En un riche d.l'o. O; le font e. DI; envoleper CBGE; l'o. bien f.enbasmer T. -- 140 Droit d. D; Par d. BGE; De d.T.firent O; l'enfant p. OF; d.roi Soudan o. I; T.en fait C; T.font le c.aporter GE; T*. -- 141 v.tant censier e. C; v.d'e. encenser F; v.tans(les T) chierges e. DT; e.alumer B; e.encenser E; I places 141/2 after 146: La peüst on veür ensancier e. -- 142 c.candoilles a. C; C. a or D; et l.enbraser B; et chandeilles a. OI; et tortins a. E; F expands: Et l'encens et le basme esprendre et alumer Cierges i ot moult grant desor maint candeler. -- 143 Grans fu I; T omits: fu; al service c. FI; a la m.c. BCGET. -- 144 Et si g. DE; o.c'on nel p. conter D; o.c'on ne le pot esmer F; c'on ne le puet n. BI; c'on nel p. n. GEO. -- 145 .VII.C. b. CD; .V.C. BI; cenz m.b.i v.ruer O; .XX.M. GE. -- 146 C.en la p. FDOGE; sor le marbre semer D; C.en la prese BI; pour la voie s. B; pour la gent desevrer I; p.eschiver T. -- 147 Par devant DBE; D.le roi Soudan I; c. apporter E; f.le roy e. T. -- 148 Et r.s. D; GE want. -- After 148 O adds: A pieres precioses a esmaus neeler Sur quatre lioncels qu'il firent a or ovrer Firent la sepulture aseoir et poser. -- 149 O Li evesque Cayphas O; Li vesque Calfas I; L'a. Calistes E; C. l'a. T; B expands: Quant fu fais li services si con m'oës conter L'apostoles Califes ne s'i vot oublier Desor .I. escafaut en est alés monter De la loi sar-rasine coumence a sermoner Oiës dist l'apostoles que je vous voel rouver D'ensaucier nostre loi devés bien pener Mahoumet vous coumande nel vous doi pas celer. -- 150 Cil ki ara E; ara .II. f. C; or a FDBOGT; .VII. f. IGET; sa f. O; pense de COET; or penst DG; si pens d'e. I. -- 151 Si croistra nostre pueples T; li poples D; BOIGE want; O-replaces by: Par non de penitence ce vos voil ge proier Et par obedience comander et rover Que pensez des enfanz a plenté engendrer. -- 152 qu'en v. C; qu'en istront T*; f.a redouter D; BOIGE want. -- 153 Vengeront nos(vous B) li heir OBIGE; ne vous q. C*IGET; qui tant nous font pener F; ne poront demorer B; O omits: vos. 154 Cele g.m. D; De la gieste m.q.nos v.deserter B; De cele g. m.q.no gent v.tuer E; q.no gent CFI; q.nostre l. O; m.no l. voelent f. T. -- After 154 B adds: A iceste parole si l'a laisiét ester; F places 155-63 after 168. -- 156 Hé Dex tant dolcement ~~l'o.~~ Regreter (d. I) DBOIGE; T wants. -- 157 B.son cier fil et fierement crier B; Moadas s.e.et li autre per O; e.m.p.et moult p. F; et mout souvent p. BIGE; e.a p.et regreter T. -- 158 d.li Sodans D; f.ce d.li pere OBIGE. -- 159 Apres m. CDFBIGET; m. mon roiaume FBO; t.mon r. DIGET; que aviés a g. C; que vous deviés g. F; c'avlés a guier D; r. aviez a g. OG; r.aviés vous a g. I; r. k'avliés a g. ET. --

Corbarans vos a mort por moi desirer; 160
 S'il ne s'en puet deffendre par julse porter,
 Et par tel escondit con jugeront mi per,
 Jo le ferai ardoir et a poure venter."
 Eublastris la roïne fist les caitis mander,
 Ki traient as carues et c'on fait laborer; 165
 Et sont .M. et .VII. cens qu'ele a fait delivrer,
 Al Temple Salemon et conduire et guier,
 Por l'arme son enfant, qu'ele pot tant amer.

- 5 Li crie sont abaisié et la noise acoisie.
 Em piés se drece et lieve l'amirals de Persie, 170
 Puis s'escria en haut, bien fu sa vois oïe.
 "Segnor," ço dist Soudans, "ne lairai nel vos die,
 Par Mahomet mon deu, qui cascuns de vos prie,
 Corbarans a ma gent tote morte et traïe,
 Vendue por avoir et forment mesbaillie. 175
 Mar acointai s'amor et sa grant drüerie,
 Car desos moi avoit tot mon regne en baillie.
 S'il ne se puet desfendre de ceste felonie,
 Jou le ferai ardoir en caudiere boulie,
 U pendre a hautes forces, a ce ne faura mie. 180
 Mais ja n'ert si hardis que de ço me desdie,
 Que par lui nen est morte ma grans cevalerie

160 p. vos d. D; p. lui a ireter E. -- After 160 O adds:
 Ge ne lairoie mie que nel face apeler. -- 161 Se il ne
 s'en p. outre C*; se puet FBOI; d. par vive poëstét I; por
 j. p. E. -- 162 Ou par FDBOIGET; tel jugement D; e. que
 j. BOE. -- 163 Ge l'en frai a. ou en p. O; f. destruire
D; et la p. FCDBIT; venteler B. -- 164 r. fait les prisons
 m. D; GE expand: Oblatris la r. o le viaire cler Le duel
 qu'ele demaine ne puet nus conforter (E wants this line)
 Tous les caitis a fet de sa tiere mander. -- 165 Que
 viegnent encaainés D; que il font l. B; c'on faisoit l. CE;
 t. a charrue T; C inverts the second hemistich of 165/6 in
 error. -- 166 Bien sont FDE; Et sont bien .VII. .c. (-1)
T; c. et a f. C; .M. et .V. .c. qu'ele fait d. D; qu'ele
 fist d. O; c'on a f. I. -- After 166 O adds: Et tres bien
 vestir et bon conduit livrer. -- 167 Al tertre S. D; et
 c. (conduit I) et mener CBOIGE; F inverts 167/8. --
 168 P. l'amour CFI; Brohadas q. I; e. trestous quites
 clamer F; e. lor fait le chief colper D. -- 169 s. amüe
 et la n. abaissie F; BOI want 169-171; GE replace by:
 Se Soudans fu dolans ne vous merveilliés mie Pour Brohadas
 son fil dont li arme est partie Mout souvent ciet pasmé
 devant sa baronnie Quant vint de pasmison mout hautement
 s'escrie (a haute vois escrie E). -- 170 s'en est levés F;
 s'en est drechiés D. -- 171 P. parla hautement F. --
 172 Baron d. li S. F; S. d. li S. I S. d. l'amirans GE; l.
 ne v. CFBIGET; nel l. nel D. -- 173 d. v. die C; qe je
 aoure et p. F; de nous p. T; BOIGE want. -- 174 a no gent
BI; g. confundue et t. O; m. et honnie G. -- 175 p.
 argent B; malbaillie BOIET. -- 176 E wants. -- 177 Et
 par d., r. a delivre C*; a. m. roiaume F; m. or en I; a.
 toute ma signorie E. -- After 177 GE add: Par Mahoumet
 mon dieu ki nous caiele et guie (qui tout a em baillie E).
 178 Se ne CI; de sa grant f. C; de iceste f. O; ne s'en p.
G; T wants. -- 179 geter en c. F; Ge l'en frai a. O; a.
 en plonc en point b. G. -- 180 U le pendrai as f. T; a
 unes f. DBIGE; a l'un ne f. D; F wants. -- 181 Ja n. hom
 si h. nisuns qui D; m'en d. DF; de cest CF; h. de ce me
 contredie T; BOIGE want 181-5. -- After 181 F adds: Ne
 qu'il pourjugeoient vers moi sen escondie; I adds: Par
 Mahomet mon dieu nen estordra mie (-1) Plus vilment que
 porais li torais je la vie. -- 182 ne soit m. CFDT*. --

Et mes fiux Brohadas, dont li arme est partie,

Et ma grans os destruite, confondue et perie."

Aprés ço respondi li fors rois de Nubie. 185

6 Li fors rois de Nubie respondi a Soudan:

"Par Mahomet, bels sire, tort as vers Corbaran!

Car tant le vi ferir al brant sarragoçan,

Ke de son fort escu n'ot entier .l. espan;

Par force vi abatre son tref et son brehan. 190

La furent mort li Turc, li Hongre et li [Persan],

Li mellor Sarrasin et li Samaritan;

De ton mellor roiaume i as perdu .l. pan,

De la cit d'Anthioce trosqu'en Jerusalan.

Mais or prie Mahon et ton deu Tervagan, 195 115a

Ke de ta gregnor perte te desfende en cest an;

Car molt par sont preudome tot icil crestian,

Car quant il sont armé des haubers jaseran,

Et ont espees nues de le forge Galan,

Plus souef trece fer que coutels cordouan. 200

Por .XXX. de nos Turs n'en fuiroit uns ayan."

"Taisiés, fiux a putain!" ço dist li rois Soudan.

191 H. et li brehan corr. from FDBOGET.

183 d. l'arme e. p. DT*; C wants. -- 184 m. gent a d. T*; et honnie et traie C; et vendue et p. D. -- 185 A. li r. CFDT; r. de Surie C. -- After 185 F adds: Cil a parlé en haut s'a la teste drecie; T adds: Et dist une parole qui tres bien fu oïe. -- 187 En la moie foi sire D; Par ma foi dist il sire B; Par M. mon dieu E; t. avés al Sodan C*; I expands: Pour M. d. s. entendés mon samblant Par la foi que jou doi Mahom et Tervagant Vous avés biaux dous sires grant tort a Corbarant. -- 188 del bon fer caboçan C*; l'i vi FBT; l'a vi O; f. del b. FDIT; de son acerin bran B; b. d'acier sorfran I; f. del fier s. G; de l'espee trançant E. -- 189 Qe de sa fort roele n'ot F; .I. (c'un E) seul pan CBOIE; n'i ot e. plaint grant D; e. ot perdu .I. grant pant T; E wants. -- 190 f. vola s. t. C; Et si vi abatu s. T. -- After 190 F adds: Et l'estandart coper a Hungier l'Aleman. -- 191 et li sergant C; li H. li T. BOGE; li T. et li Popellicant I; li T. li Bougre T. -- After 191 F adds: Et li Amoravis et li Leutisien; T adds: Sarrasin et li Hongre et li Popellicant. -- 192 Et li Amoravis et li Popellicant C; Li m. Arrabi FDBOGET; et li Sarragouchan FBE; li bon S. T; I expands: Li Mors et li Ermins et tous li Rubiant Et trestout li Turcople li petit et li grant Et tout li Arabit et tout li Sartiant. -- 193 as p. .I. grant p. FT; r. en as p. G; r. as p. .I. pendant E; DI want. -- 194 Des le c. CT; dusqu'a C; Des le chief d'A. F; Des la citié d'A. O; jusqu'en FOT; dusqu'en DOIGE. -- After 194 C adds: N'a remés chevalier qui n'i soit mors gisant. -- 195 M. p. or M. t. d. et T. C; M. p. Mahomet B; priés M. I; M. et après T. E; D*; T places 195/6 after 201. -- 196 Que de grignor damage CB; Que de plus grant damage F; Que il de g. p. D; Qu'il de g. hontage tei d. c. a. O; Q. de plus g. p. GE; Qu'il de g. honte te gart d'ore en [avant] T; d. or avant I. -- 197 trestot cil c. DI; C. m. s. pr. t. c. c. O; t. icist c. G; trestot li c. E. -- 198 Qant li Frans est a. F; Qui q. B; Q. uns en est a. GE; s. vestu D; de l'auberc DFBIGET. -- 199 Et a chainte l'e. FGE; Et les e. çaintes B; espee nue I; d'un lor fevre G. FO. -- 200 trencent BO; DI want. -- 201 Ja pour .V. Sarrasins ne fuira .I. espan F; Por .V. ou .VI. des n. D; des nos T. C; n'en seroit .I. fuians CG; vos T. ne f. uns huan O; ne f. .I. del champ I; n'en iroit u fuint E. -- 202 Et d. li amirax ois del f. a putan F; Et respondi li rois tu mens fel seduian D; Et (Çou G) d. li r. S. BOIGET; t. f. a p. BOIT; tais toi f. a p. (fel recreans G) EG. --

186 r. al S. CFDBOIGET.

- 7 Soudans ot la parole, qui pas ne li agreee;
 Iriés fu de sa perte, s'a la color muee.
 "Ahi! rois de Nubie, que le m'avés cantee? 205
 Dites d'un crestien, quant la teste a armee,
 Ne fuiroit por .XX. Turs une ausne mesuree?
 Donques est lor la terre dusqu'en la mer betee!
 Mais jo dirai le voire, si con ele est alee:
 Anthioce fu prise ains que fust afamee; 210
 Uns Turs le lor livra par une matinee.
 Secors me vinrent querre, c'est la vertés provee,
 J'en assamblai mes Turs de tote ma contree;
 A mon dru Corbaran l'avoie conmandee.
 Or dist qu'ele est perie et tote a mal tornee, 215
 Et Brohadas mes fiux a la teste colpee,
 Et li Rouges Liens le soie desevee.
 Molt en est paenie honie et vergondee,
 Et la crestientés garnie et honeree,
 Cele malvaise gens c'ains mais ne fu dotée. 220
 Jo di qu'il l'a traie et vendue et livree.
 S'il n'en fait tant vers moi que cose en soit mostree,
 J'en ferai le justise tel con el m'ert loee,

204 I. est FD; de la p. F; I. f. et dolans B; p. la c. ot
 (a T) m. IT; s'ot la c. G; E inverts: 204/5: Dolans fu.
 205 contee CDGE; l'avez trouuee F; quix la m'a. T; quai l. O;
 206 Que dis d'un c. F; Qui dites que François D; D. dont
 crestiens I; q. a la t. a. CFDBOIGET; c. qui a G. --
 207 Ne fuit pour .XXX. T. une seule liuee B; p. .V. T.
F; p. nos T. D; p. païen u. E; .XXX. hommes u. T*; .I.
 anste m. C; T. lonc une abaletree I. -- 208 tresqu'en
C; jusc'a FT; la m. salee ET; B wants. -- After 208
E adds: Ja mais ne lour sera par home contrestee. --
 After 208 there is a lacuna in I, which wants to 1367.
 209 M. d. la cose C; j'en d. FDBOE; c. la cose e. a. F. --
 After 209 F adds: Toute la verités m'en a esté contee.
 210 a. q. fud a. O. -- 211 T. se l. l. CT; la l. l. D; .I.
 T. lor delivra BO; T. si lour rendi E. -- After 211 F
expands: Ciz ot non Dasiens grant tour i ot qarree
 Et gardoit Andioce toute la maistre entree Cil rendi la
 cité verités est provee Garsiens me manda secours en ma
 contree Jou assanlai ma gent jusc'a la mer betee. --
 212 S. n' i ot noient D; S. alerent q. G; c' e. verités p.
CDBGE; ce est la verité p. O*; T*. -- 213 Et j' a. B;
 Jou a. GET; les T. OT; ma gent E; par t. m. DB. -- After
 213 GE add: Tant que (com E) jou oc ensamble mout grant
 ost ajostee (m. bele o. aünee E). -- 214 A C. m. d. FBGE;
 A C. avoie ma grant ost c. D; C. a m. d. O; Au fort roy C.
T; oc ma jent c. B. -- 215 Et d, t. a mort livree C;
 d. que elle est prise T; a mort t. F; et a dol malmenee D;
 perdue et m. atornee B; et t. malmenee OT; E omits: tote.
 216 Moadas O; f. o le C; a la vie finee E. -- 217 a la
 teste caupée E. -- 218 païenisme O. -- 219 Et la lois
 crestiene GE; durement amontee G; en est mout amontee E;
 cremue et redoutee F; c. garie DO; essaucié et montee B;
 essaussié et loee T. -- After 219 B adds: De l'avoir de
 ma tiere manans et asasee. -- 220 Ceste, qui ains ne B;
 g. que mais C; n. f. loee F; qui mais O; qui a. n. f. loee GE;
T*. -- 221 Je quic B; v. et t. et l. D; et vencue G; et
 faussement menee E; T wants. -- 222 S'il ne s'em puet
 deffendre D; il ne f. OG; G omits: moi; c'est la voire
 provee; Se il n'en prent bataille c'est verités provee E;
 pour m. que c. s. provee B; FT* omit: en. -- 223 f. ma j.
DCOGT*; Gel frai m. j. tele c. m'en iert l. O; tel c. iert l.
G; tele que m' e. E; tele c. m' e. DCT; ~~Et~~ tel j. com me sera
 l. F. --

De lui pendre u ardoir /en caudiere/ alumee."

La parole Soudan fu molt bien escoutee; 225

Tot se teurent païen, basset a recelee,

Fors Brudalan le preu; cil dist raison membree.

8 Brudalans fu molt preus, cortois et emparlés;

Molt sagement parla quant il se fu levés.

"Sire," fait il au roi, "ço soit vostre bontés, 230

Que mes niés Corbarans soit devant vos mandés.

Tres bien s'escondira de ço qu'est encoupés."

Çou dient tot li autre: "Sire, vos le ferés!

S'il se part de vo cort, que par droit soit menés,

Et se c'est autrement, ç sera foletés." 235

Et respont li Soudans: "Alés, si l'amenés!"

Uns i corut por lui, qui tos fu aprestés.

Adont fu il del roi durement esgardés.

"Sire," fait Corbarans, "a moi en entendés:

Jou soloie de vos forment estre honerés; 240 115b

Par vo conmant alai en estranges regnés,

Et fui contre François en bataille jostés.

Or est si avenu que sui desbaretés,

Et Brohadas vos flux i fu tos mors rués;

224 et sa car alumee corr. from C.

224 en fournaise embrasee F; ou en cartre a. D; a. s'ert
 la poulre ventee B; a. toute a une alenee (alumea G*) EG;
 a. par la gueule paree T*. -- O-wants 225-27. --
 226 T. otroient ensamble la raison creantee D; T. s'en
 tornent ensamble coiemet a celee E; T. s. t. ensamble BG;
 n'i ot noise menee B; n'i a raison sounee G; p. tot coi a
 r. C; p. n'i ot cri ne huee T. -- 227 B. qui d. bone r. C;
 p. a la r. senee DT; F. le roi B. E; ki d. BE; FG want. --
After laisse 7 GE add a laisse; see Appendix II. -- Laisse
 8 FOT want. -- 228 et molt bien e. DBG; et bien fu e. E.
 229 M. p. s. B; q. il fu escoutés CDB; GE want. -- 230 S.
 dist Brudalans B; dist il GE; a lui E; vos volentés C. --
 231 Q. C. m. n. D. -- 232 Mout bien se defendra E; de ce
 que l'encopés D. -- 233 Et d. GE. -- 234 S'il se depart
 de CDBE. -- 235 Uns si c. C; .I. mes s'en vait p. l. D;
 .I. Turs c. B; Uns en c. G; Uns i ala, que t. E. -- 238 fu
 il de maint D; fierement DB; regardés BE. -- 239 S. dist
 C. DBE; envers m. ent. D. -- 240 J. s. f. e. de v. aimés
CE; f. de v. iestre G. -- 241 vos coumans E. --
 242 matés C; o les F. D; f. entre F. a b. campés E. --
 243 Ensi est a. c'or s. D; que fui d. B; qu'i s. G. --
 244 m. getés CDBGE; f. en fu D; fu tost m. DBG. --

Co est dels et damages, ja mais n'ert recovrés. 245

Par Mahomet mon deu, et par mes loiautés,

Dolans en fui por vos que n'i fui mors jetés.

De mortel traïson sui de vos apelés.

Jo vos en port mon gage, s'en arés plege assés,

Que m'en desraisnerai, et li miens avoués 250

Il n'ert pas de no loi, mais de crestientés,

Uns sels contre .II. Turs, forciés et alosés,

Que jo n'ai coupe en cou dont je sui ci blasmés."

9 Or parla Corbarans qui molt ot esté mus,

Paor ot de la mort, tos en fu esperdus 255

Del dart qui fu lanciés, trencans et esmolus,

Et dist au roi Soudan: "Jo fui ja vostre drus;

Por vos ai jo paines et mains cols receüs.

Lais fust li gerredons qui or m'en fust rendus;

Se Mahons le souffrist, del dart fusce ferus. 260

Mais or m'en donés trives, tant qu'en soie creüs,

Et que soie al Sepucre alés et revenus.

La troverai de cels u je sui conbatus;

Ca t'en amenrai .I., mais grans ert sa vertus,

Et tu quiers par ta terre .II. Turs tos esleüs, 265

Les fors, les plus hardis, cels as mellors vertus,

245 ja mar le mescrelés D; ja nen ert E; restorés BGE.
 246 p.ses l. D. -- 247 D.en sui CBGE; Molt m'en poise
 por v.q.n.sui m. D; B reads 249/7/8; qu'il i fu m. GE.
 248 Et or de t.s. par v. D; v. deffiés C. -- 249 Si v,
 s'en aiés C; s'en donrai p. D; se prendre le volés B;
GE want. -- 250 Je m'en CG; Je m'en deffenderai u li m.
B; D replaces by: Que jo de traïson ne fui onques pensés.
 251 Et n'iert DGE; Ne n'ert B; l.ains iert de c. C; l.ains
 iert c. DBE; ains est c. G. -- 252 T.en bataille ajostés
D; Tous s.encontre .II. f. et a. E; s.envers .II. C; furnis
 et a. B. -- 253 Que n'ai c. CDBGE; de cou dont CDG; de
 cou de coi sui or retés E; ichi sui b. C; j.s.encoupés B;
 ci retés G. -- 254 C omits: ot. -- 255 Grant p.ot de
 m. F; m. mout en CFBE; m. pour ce fu T. -- 256 l.fu
 forment irascus D; C inverts 256/7. -- 257 Sire,d.il a
 lui D; d.a l'amiral F; J. sui C. -- 258 P.v.ai(F omits)
 soffert p. CFDBOGET; et travaux endurés C; et granz c.r.
OGT; et travax r. E. -- 259 L.est CFBOGET; Or est li g.q.
 ci m'en est r. D; que ci m'avés C; q.m'en est or r. F; ki or
 m'en est r. BGE. -- 261 me d.t. CFDBOGET; ~~q.ets.c.~~ CFGT;
 q.soie porquüs D; t.u je s. B; t.tels que soient tenuz O;
 t.se il vous plaist sans plus E. -- 262 Que jou s. FOGE;
 Que soye a Anthyoche a. T; Tant que B; et a.et venus FBE.
 263 u me s. CFDBGET; d'icels qui me s. O; -- After 263
F adds: Qui fiers ont les corages et ruistes les vertus.
 264 Ça en a. CE; .I. u g. C; Si en a.,~~he~~.et creüs B; Si t'en
T; de cels a grant (as grans T) escus FT; e.sis escuz O;
 qui g.e.et menbrus G; qui e.g. et corsus E. -- 265 q.en
 t. DBT; T.plus e. F; dous trestuz e. O; bien e. E. --
 266 De tous les mix vaillans c.a.gregnours v. F; De tous les
 p.h.de plus grandes v. B; L.p.f.l.p.h.o les greinors v. O;
 L.p.f.et h. DE; et des m. D; a mellor v. C; de m.v. E; Les
 meilleurs que tu pues ceus as meilleurs escus T; G wants.
After 266 F adds: Si les met en .I. camp armés et fervestus
 Contre mon crestien qui chi sera venus. --

Si combatra vers els; mais qu'a droit soit tenus,
 Que jo me sui vers toi loialment maintenus.
 Et s'il nes rent en camp recreans et vencus,
 Si soit tiue ma terre, et jo soie pendus." 270
 Et Soudans li respont, con hom aperceüs:
 "Jou t'afi loiaument que n'i ert deceüs;
 S'il puet les .II. Turs vaintre, qu'il soient confondus,
 Tos quites s'en ira la dont il est venus,
 Et tu de ma haïne quites et absolus; 275
 Et d'ui en .VI. semaines soit li jors atendus."
 Par le grant sale en lieve li parole et li hüs:
 "Corbarans, molt ies fols, tu seras confondus!"

IO Or est li termes pris, et li jors fu només,
 D'un crestien combatre contre .II. Turs armés. 280
 Illuec fist Corbarans que preus et que senés,
 Qui au rice Soudan a ostages livrés,
 Puis qu'il li demand^a, tels fu sa volentés.
 "Se li crestiens vaint, qu'il n'i ert enconbrés,
 Ains s'en ira tos quites el regne dont est nés, 285 115c
 Et tu de Mahomet assols et aquités."
 Congiét prist Corbarans,]atans s'en est tornés,
 Les .II. rois de Nubie en a o lui menés,
 Et montent es destriers, corans et abrievés;

267 V.e.se c. F; Se c. B; Cil c. O; S'il c. T; a els DT;
 m.par d. FDOF; m. que d. BGE; C wants. — After 267 F
adds: As espees d'acier et as espiels molus; B adds:
 Et si lor provera as lances a escus. — 268 contenus
FGET; l. tenuz O. — 269 S'il ne les r. BG; S'il nes te
 r. O; Se ne te r. E; r.el c. C; r.ans dels r. F. —
 270 Qite te claim m.t.et si s. F; s.ma terre t. T. —
 271 S.ot la parole cele part est venus (tendus D) FDBOGET;
C wants. — After 271 B adds: A Corbaran respont ne se
 tint mie mus; BDFOGET adds: Ensi soit or li gages donés et
 receüs; Si s.dist il li g. FT; Si s.ore li g. D; d. et
 retenus G: — 272 Et t'a. CFOGET; Jo a. D; sou ma loi
CFDBOGET; qu'il n. CFDOG; que n'erés d. T; retenus GE;
 que si ert r. E; B expands: Je t'a.s.m.l.n'en soies
 esperdus S'amainés .I. Francois ja n'iert d. — 273 Se
 il p.l.T. CGT; Et s'il p.l'estour v.qu'il ne s. F; Que se
 pues les T. E; qu'il n'i soit c. C; et (ne DO) faire recreüs
BDOGE; qu'il les ait c. T. — 274 Il en rira t. B; Ainz
 s'en ira t. OG; Ains en iras delivres la d.tu es v. E; i.de
 la ou e. T; ert v. CDBG. — 275 Et ers de m. E; de Mah-
 omet FCT; sauvés et a. F. — 276 en .V. s. C; .VII. s.
FBG; .VIII. s.s.li plais a. E. — After 276 B adds:
 Et respont Corbarans malaie sel refus. — 277 Par le
 palais e. E; FO omit en; et li noise et F; et (E omits)
 li cris et BOGET. — After 277 B adds: Et dient Sar-
 rasin en .XXX. lius et plus. — 278 C.tu ies CGE; m. est
 faus tu T. — 279 j.est n. FE. — 281 C. cum p. et cum
 s. O; GE want. — 282 Qui (Que D) o. demande S. li a l.
CFDT*; Bons o. li ad li reis S. l. (donnés B) OBGE. —
 283 CFDBOGET want. — 284 c. i vient C; c.
 vient D; c. voit G; qu'il n'i soit e. B; il n'en ert e. E.
 285 A. en i. C; Il s'en i. BG; s'en rira F; i. ariere
 el país d. E; fu nés CFDBOGE. — 286 Et il de M.
 absolus et sauvés F; Et vous de ma haine serés tous a. B;
 Et tu de ma haine OGE; solus et a. O; asolus et quités E;
 a. et delivrés D. — After 286 B adds: A icele parole
 ke vous dire m'oës. — 287 C. prent D; P.c. C. del
 Soudan est t. B; C. p. del Soudan D; si s'en est retornez
OE; C. puis si s'en e. G; T*. — 288 o soi m. T;
BOGE want. — 289 es chevax DBGE; e.c. es mules sejoirnés
B; et es muls sujornez OGE.

Et ont tant cevalcié les galos et les grés, 290
 Qu'a Oliferne vinrent, qui ert rice cités,
 Dont Corbarans estoit et sire et rois clamés.
 Quant il vint en la vile, grans joies fu menés,
 Par trestotes les rues ont les tinbres sonés;
 Cel jor fu Mahomés servis et celebrés. 295
 A l'entrer de la sale, al puier les degrés,
 Encontra il sa mere, de qui il fu amés;
 Calabre avoit a non, niece fu Josués,
 Et si sot d'ingremance, si ot ses sors jetés.
 Vielle estoit et mousue. .II. cens ans ot passés. 300
 Corbaran enbraça, assez fu acolés
 Et baisiés et estrains, car molt ert desirés.
 "Bels fils," ce dist li vielle, "bien voi dont vos venés.
 Por poi que vos ne fustes a le cort mors jetés
 D'un dart qui fu lanciés, trencans et afilés. 305
 Se Mahomés ne fust, lues fuissiés deviés."
 "Dame," dist Corbarans, "tot ço fu verités,
 Mais molt ai grant merveille que si tost le savés."

II "Bels fils," ce dist Calabre, "bien voi a ton sanblant
 Que tu n'ies mie bien del rice roi Soudant. 310
 Iriés est de sa perte, s'en a le cuer dolant,

290 Que t. o. c. l. g. et de leur grés (+I)T; t. lor
chevaus et poins et galopés B; o. trestut c. O; c. nus n'i
est ariestés GE. -- 291 Qu'il vinrent O. C*; qui est r.
CFT; qui fu r. D; GBOE conflate 291/2: Vinrent (Vient BO)
a O. dont fu (ert B) sires c. (d. s. f. c. E). --
292 e. rois et sires c. C; C. ert s. et rois et avoés D; e.
sires et T. -- 293 il fu en T; v. joie i fu demenés C; g.
joie i fu DT; g. baus i fu F; BOGE want. -- 294 Par totes
les eglises D; Par toutes les grans r. BGE; Par les g.
synagoges furent t. O; r. a lor t. B; F*. -- 295 Ce j.
CT; Pour cou que Mahons fust s. GE; et hounerés CDBGE; O
wants but places 302 after 295. -- 296 Al monter de
(en E) la s. GE; contremont as d. E; al piét droit C; des
d. CFDBG; al p. des [degrez O*]. -- 297 Encontre COT; E. cil
COGET; Encontre vint s. m. de q. ert molt a. D; de coi C;
de cui il ert a. FT; m. dont mout fu desirés B; m. dunt
fud plus a. O; de q. fu bien a. GE. -- 298 n. ensi se fait
nomer C; n. si fu ses nons només D; n. mere fu J. FT; BOGE
want. -- 299 Et sot de la gramair et s'ot s. C; Moult
(Et O) sot de nigremance FDO; Et sot de l'i. T; s'ot s. O;
BGE invert 299/300: Mout s. de i. B; Et s. de l'i. G; Mout
savait d'i. et ot E. -- 300 V. fu BGET; et cenue .CCC. a.
B; et froncie E; m. et ot .C. a. p. C; m. .VII. vins a. F;
m. .IX. vins a. T; O* wants. -- After 300 F adds: El
monde n'ot ainc feme tant ait les ars parés; BGE add: Et les
.VII. ars del ciel; et veüs et parés B; ot v. et parés G;
conneüs et visés E; B adds: Quant ele vit sen fil ses bras
li a gietés. -- 301 BOGE conflate 301/2: Lors (Lores O*)
fu estroitement baisiés et acolés; L. f. mout Corbaran b. E.
302 e. que m. D; fu d. DT; e. m. estoit d. F. -- After 302
B adds: Après l'araisona con ja oïr porés. -- 303 Ore f.
O*; d. Calabre DT; d. la mere BO; bien sai DBGET; b. v. que
v. FO; s. que v. querés E. -- 304 A p. q., al c. definés
E; Par p. T. -- 305 Del d. FOG; l. agus et D; t. et
enpenez O. -- 306 Se Mahons le souffrist tu f. mors rués
F; f. la f. T; devorés C; affolés D; BOGE want. --
307 est v. F; vous dites v. B; C. iceo f. O. -- 308 M. de
ce me marvel C; Moult forment me merveil F; M. de cou
m'esmervel B; M. ce est g. O; M. g. mervelles ai G; M. g.
merveille m'ai E; quant si t. FE. -- After 308 F adds: Mais
je ne sui noient ne plaiés ne navrés; D adds: Jo quit c'est
par diable que vous ensi ovrés. -- After laisse 10 O adds
two laisses; see Appendix III. -- 309 d. la vielle BOGE.
310 Que mult malement ies d. O. -- 311 si a le B; D
inverts 311/2: Et i. de; C wants. --

Irés est de ses homes, et plus de son enfant.
 Or t'en vas au Sepucure, .I. crestien querant,
 Qu'a .II. Turs se conbate en le cort l'amirant.
 Mais tu as en ta cartre caitis crestiens tant, 315
 Se nus t'en a mestier, por coi iras avant?"
 Cil consels fu donés par le gré Corbarant.
 La vielle se dreça contremont en estant,
 Grant ot l'entruelleüre, et le [poil] tot ferrant;
 De l'un oel ot a l'autre plaine paume tenant, 320
 Ne n'ot tant sage feme descì qu'en oriant.
 Et tint .I. bastoncel qui fu de [car d'enfant],
 A .II. boutonciais d'or, et deriere et devant,
 U fremoit la coròie quant aloit cevalcant.
 A .XXX. cevaliers vient a la cartre errant; 325
 Le carterier apele, Faramon le tyrant.
 Les caitis ot batus a se coròie grant.
 Cil pleurent et gaimentent, molt se vont dementant,
 Et criënt: "Deu merci, por coi vivons nos tant?"
 Es vos le carterier devant la dame errant. 330 115d
 Ele l'a apelé: "Faramon, vien avant!"
 Diva! c'ont cist caitif, qui se vont dementant?"

319 le poit corr. from CFD.
 322 de carcasant corr. from CO.

312 Dolans e. CFDBOGE;

312 forment t'en (te C) va doutant FCD; et si te (t'en O)
va retant BOGE; T wants. -- After 312 O adds: De
traïson te rette tort a mien sciant. -- 313 Aler vels
al S. O. -- 314 Qu'o dous O; Pour c. as .II. T. en l.
c. leoudant E; Qu'en la c. l'a. c. a .II. Persant T. --
315 en ta tour c. c. itant C; cr. chaitifs t. O; carte de
ces ca. itant E. -- 316 Se tu en CE; S'uns t'en avoit
m. BG; Si un t'en avoit m. O; pour k'iroiés a. BO; m. qe
l'iras quere a. F; qu'iras tu a. D; que iroiés a. G. --
After 316 D adds: Mais pren ent le meillor se le trai a
garant; B adds: Dame dist Corbarans vous parlés avenant
Faites les moi mostrer s'il vous vient a coumant S'il en
i avoit nul tant preu et si vallant Qui le vosist
enprendre n'iroie autre querrant. -- 317 Cis c. CBOGET;
d. ensi con je vous cant E; fu tenus mout tost de C. T. --
319 ot la furcheüre OGE; par le mien ensiant (sciant O)
GBOE; ot le cevelure C; p. ot f. CT. -- 320 oel dusqu'a
(jusqu'a BOGT) l'a. CDBOGET; Tres l'un o., une p. t. G; ot
p. p. grant C; p. p. de grant E; bien demi pié t. T. --
After 320 BOGE add: Et fu toute moussue et deriere et
devant (m. de neir et de blanc O). -- 321 Si n'ot si s.
C; Ne ot, en cest siecle vivant F; Il n'ot si s. B; N'avoit
plus s. E; Si n'ot T; d. en o. CDBGET. -- 322 d'un olifant
D; d'os d'olifant T; b. dont se va deportant B; f. couvers
d'argent G; b. mout joli avenant E; F replaces 322/3 by:
Vestu ot en son dos .I. paille escarimant Les bendes en sont
toutes a fin or reluisant. -- 324 Dunt feroit la corgiee
q. O; f. la couronne q. C; f. le corgié D; le scourgie T;
BGE want. -- 325 Od trente Sarazins O; vint CFDBOGET; c.
courant C. -- 326 Son c. F; Le portier D; Le cartrier en
a. O; Le cartrier BET; apela DBET; F. vien avant B. --
After 326 B adds: Et cil i est venus ne se va detriant. --
327 Qui les c. ot b. de se C; c. a b. O; corgié D; b. de se
corgié g. BOE; b. de s'escorgiee g. TG; F expands: b. d'une
c. tant Que li sans tous vermaus les va del cors courant.
328 et si crient m. F; et dementent, v. demenant G; p. de
mescief et se v. E; v. dolosant B; T*. -- 329 Et prient,
vivonmes t. C. -- 330 Avant le c. B; Atant es le chartrier
T; d. sa d. BOGE; le chartrier O; d. estant C. -- 331 La
dame l'apela F; La vielle l'a vell si li va demandant B; a.
frere or v. C; OGE want. -- 332 o. cil c. CFET; o. li c.
OBG; q. si se v. criant F; q. si v. DT. --

"Dame, jes ai batus, car molt me font dolant.
 Quant orent ier ovré a cel mur la devant,
 A cele viés posterne devers cel flun corant, 335
 Un des maçons tuerent a .I. martel trencant,
 Por çou ques destraignoit et aloit angoissant."
 "Ne m'en caut!" dist Calabre, "Par mon deu Tervagant,
 Menés les ~~mes~~ lasus, tres devant Corbarant,
 K'il velt parler a eus et dire son sanblant." 340
 "Dame," dist Faramons, "tot a vostre conmant."
 Venus est a le cartre, si lor dist en oiant:
 "Diva!" dist il, "caitis, maleüré creant!
 Vos ne vivrés ja mais tres cest jor en avant.
 Corbarans est venus d'Antioce le grant, 345
 U mena le secors le rice roi Soldant.
 Trestot i sont ocis Sarrasin et Persant,
 Et li Hongre et li Bougre et li Popellicant.
 Mors i est Brohadas, li fils a l'amirant,
 Et li Rouges Lions, qui nos par amoit tant; 350
 Corbarans, li miens sire, s'en est venus fuiant.
 Mandé m'a par se mere que vos i main errant;
 De vos se velt vengier, par le mien esciant.
 Mis serés au bersail, si trairont li enfant,

333 b. que m. G; O omits: me. -- 334 Q. il o. ov. BGE; Q. i. o. ov O. -- 335 c. mur devant C; d. le f. Jordant D; p. devant c. B; c. gué c. O; p. delés c. GE; T wants. -- 336 .I. coutiel t. C; t. d'un grant m. OE; d'un grant m. pesant G. -- 337 p. ce que d. CG; ques estreinoit et O; kes castioit et a. destraignant E; c. qu'eus d., a. laidenjant T; F*.
 338 Ne me c. OE; c. fait D; d. la vielle BDOGE. --
 339 Fai les venir avant C; M. les me l. F; M. les or l. D; Amenez les ça sus dedevant C. O; par d. CDBE. -- 340 Car p. v. a C; Qu'il v. a els p. et D; Il v. p. B which omits: a eus; Qui v. OG; et mostrer son s. O; Il v. a e. p. ET; s. talent FBGT; s. coumant E. -- After 340 F adds: Et viut cascun veoir son cors et son sanlant. -- 341 d. li cartriers t. B; a v. talent E; D replaces by; Et li chartriers s'en torne tost et delivrement. -- 342 e. en la c. d. l. par maltalent O; c. li cuivers aitant B; si parla e. GE. -- 343 Dites! fait il E; Or ça d. T; maleüreus c. C; malvaise gent c. F; maleüreus dolant BGET; m. dolant O; D wants. -- 344 vivreés mais D; v. mes plus O; de cel j. C; m. de c. FDBE; m. en c. G; m. puis c. T. -- 346 Ou m. le grant ost a l'amiral S. F; s. del r. OGE. -- 348 H. et li Turc et E. -- 349 M; est Moadas O; f. au roi Soudant BOE. -- 350 que il p. CE. -- 351 s. en est BGET; e. tournés f. FO. -- 352 Mande moi p. D; qe v. enmain avant F; que v. maine devant BO*; q. v. m. dedevant G; c'a lui venés esrant E; qu'a li v. maine errant T. -- 353 De v. se venjera GE; v. jel sai a e. F; par le mien sciant O. 354 bersaire TC; s. as bersaires O; s. el b. G; u t. (traient BO) GEBO; li auquant CF; li serjant E. --

Et li mellor turcople et tot li mius tirant; 355

Aprés serés tot ars ens en .I. feu ardant."

Et dist li quens Harpins, qui on ot batu tant,

Que del cief trosc'as piés en va li sans colant,

Et dans Jehans d'Alis et Foucers de Melant,

Et Richars de Caumont, qui le cuer ot vaillant: 360

"Nos ne volons plus vivre de cest jor en avant!

Al martire en irons, baut et lié et joiant.

Damedix ait nos armes, par son disne conmant,

Car li cors ~~seront~~ trait a dolor en morant."

Faramons s'abaissa, le bare vait haucant, 365

Le gaiole desferme, cil s'en issent atant.

Li Aleman aloient kyrieles cantant,

Et li clerc et li vesques miserere disant,

Te Deum Laudamus disoient li auquant.

Les moufles ont es bras, quis vont molt destraignant, 370

Cascuns ot en son col .I. carcan molt pesant,

Les caaines des buies as caintures pendant.

Par le large palais s'en vont tot arengant;

Paor ont de la mort, et des testes perdant.

Sarrasin esgarderent, les colors vont muant. II6a 375

355 Tot li m. m. vaillant D; Li m. li t. O; Et li menu
 t. G; et li millor t. C*; t. li petit et li grant BOGE;
 m. traiant F. -- 356 Et a. s. ars F; dedans .I.
 f. FE; a. en un grant f. O. -- 357 D. li cuens
 Bauduins T; que cis est mal tirans C; qu'en ot on b. B;
 qu'il ot b. O. -- After 357 B adds: De corgiés noees
 les costés et les flans. -- 358 Que des piés dusc'al
 (jusqu'au B) chief en FB; De l'un chief dusc'a l'autre en E;
 c. dusc'al piét C; jusqu'as OG; jusques p. li va li s. T;
 en vait li s. D raiant DT; corant BCOGE. -- 359 Et
 Harpins de Boorges et T. -- 360 C. le preuz et li v. T;
 q. mult ot le corp franc O; q. le c. ot mout franc G; q.
 ot le c. v. E; c. a v. B. -- After 360 B adds: Et li
 autre caitif ki mout furent dolant. -- 361 v. mais
 v. F; tres c. j. FO; cel j. C; ce j. GE; E inverts 361/2.
 362 A lui en i. nous b. BGE; Al joie en i. O. -- 363 p.
 le sien saint c. BG; par son saint c. O. -- 364 D omits
 Car; c. sont martyre CFD; c. ont martire BOGET; de duel et
 de torment C; en cest siecle mout grant BG; en cest siecle
 vivant O; et si ont grant torment E; et doulereus torment T.
 365 a. la chartre T; va CFT; sachant CD; BOGE want. --
 366 La j. desferment c. en eissant a. O; desferment F;
 et c. s'en vont a CE; c. s'en tournent a. G. --
 367 Li auquant en a. BG; Liét et baut en a. E; a.
 miserieles disant B. -- 368 Li c. et li evesques DO;
 vont lor ores disant D; L'evesque et li abbé leur sept
 siaumes d. T; c. et li prestre BGE; kirieles cantant B;
CF want. -- 369 L. cantoient FDBOG; T*. -- 370 Les
 buies o. CO; Les m. en lor b. B; qui les v. d. CFBO;
 qui m. v. d. D; es mains dont il ont dolor grant E; T* --
 371 ot a s. O; ot .I. charchant a son col T*; c. bien
 pesant C. -- 372 b. n'orent mie p. C; b. a chainture
 p. D; b. encontreval p. E; T*; G wants. -- 373 p. se
 v. CFDBET; p. les v. O; v. molt a D. -- 374 et de
 t. O. -- 375 S. esgardoient grant corox v. menant D;
 S. les esgardent CF; le color v. C; moult se v. merveillant
F; Les payens e. grant duel v. d'emenant T; BOGE want.

I2 Or furent no caitif el palais amené,
 Arengiét l'uns les l'autre, trestot encaané.
 Les mofles ont es bras, dont molt furent pené,
 Les espaulles ont routes del fer c'ont tant porté,
 Et le quir et le car a li carcans usé. 380
 Quar li paine fu grans qu'il /ont/ tant endure;
 Tot moroient de fain et de caitiveté.
 E! Dex, il i avoit tant cevalier menbré,
 Et tant gentil evesque et tant clerc ordené;
 Del Bui del Civetot furent tot amené, 385
 En l'ost Pieron l'Ermite furent desbareté;
 N'ont braie ne cemise, molt ont grant povreté,
 Ne cavel en lor testes, car tot furent tousé,
 Ne n'ont sollers ne cauces, li pié lor sont crevé,
 Et fendu trosqu'a l'os et plaiét et navré. 390
 Onques Dex ne fist home, saciés par verité,
 S'il les esgardast bien, n'en eüst pïeté.
 Tot ont paor de mort, lor cief sont encliné;
 Quant Corbarans les voit, de pitié a ploré.

381 quil a t. corr. from CFDBOGE.

376 f. li c. CDO; no baron el GE. -- 377 Rengié li
 u. vers l'a. G; u. les l'a. B; a. tuz e. O; D inverts
 377/8. -- 378 Les fers o. ens es mains d. il erent
 p. E; m. en lor b., f. lasé B; m. se sont p. C; T*.
After 378 F adds: Et es cols les carcans qi sont grant
 et quarré. -- 379 L'e. o. desroutes C; o. rouges d.
E; d. fais F; q'il o. p. FBET. -- 380 Car le cuir D;
 a lor c. C; c. ont li carcan GE; o. les chaitis u. T.
After 380 F adds: Les buies ont es piés dont il sont
 enfieré Moult par sont maigre et las et pale et descarné.
 381 C. li travals f. FO; C. le p. qu'il font q. D; Que
 li p. B; Mout fu grande la p. que t. o. e. T; que il o.
 (a C) e. GC; k'il orent e. BE; qu'il i o. e. O. --
 382 BOGE want. -- 383 A Dex FD; Et D. T; a. maint
 c. C*. -- 384 Et .l. g. e. T; c. coroné C. --
 385 C*. -- 386 A l'o. C; De l'o. FDBOG; E. qant fu
 d. FB. -- 387 braies ne cemises CDOGE; braies B; o.
 de p. E. -- 388 N'ont c., ains f. t. t. F; N'ont c.,
 tout estoient t. B; e. le t. C; leur teste T*; que t.
 f. usé G; t. erent t. E. -- 389 N'ont c. en lor p.
 ains erent tout c. B; soller, p. li s. C; soller ne
 cauche DFGET*; lor p. s. tout c. F; lor p. D; tout s.
 lor p. c. G; tot s. estrumelé E; O replaces 389/90 by:
 De l'angoisse del chaud sunt neirci et hadlé Li mustel
 sont rosti et tut li pié crevé Mielz semblent Sarazin
 ne funt crestiené Car il estoient megre et trestut
 eschané. -- 390 Moult furent tresqu'en l'o. C; Fendu
 sont E; ~~eschac~~ DE; jusque a B; duske a G; jusqu'a T.
 391 h. ce s. p. vreté CB; s. por v. O; h. tant eüst
 de durté E. -- 392 Se il l. e. BT; Que s'il l. e.
OGE; que n'e. e. pité BGE; n'en e. pitié O; esgardent
 b. n'en eüssent pité C; qu'il (qui D) n'en e. pité
TFD. -- 393 T. pour p. de m. ont les chié/s e. T*;
 les chiés ont e. C; BOGE want. -- 394 C. le v. C;
 v. s'a de p. p. F; BOGE want. --

I3 Corbarans d'Oliferne fist forment a loer; 395
 Nos crestiens esgarde, si commence a plorer,
 Ses cevels a desronpre et se barbe a tirer,
 Car ne set u il puisse cel crestien trover,
 Qu'a .II. Turs se conbate por se vie salver.
 Li rois Soudans ses sires, qui l'ot fait apeler 400
 De mortel traïson, le velt faire encouper;
 Car ne pot en son cuer veïr ne porpenser
 Que cele gens fust nee qui peüst sormonter,
 Ne tant grant ost destruire, ne tant prince afoler.
 Del droit c'ot Corbarans ne se pot il celer, 405
 Ne desist le grant mot qui l'ot fait effreer.
 Il a dit a se mere: "N'i [ai] que demorer,
 G'irai a Antioce, a Buïemont parler,
 Et au duc Godefroi, qui tant fait a douter,
 Robert de Normendie vaurai merci crier. 410
 S'uns de ces .III. vient ci por cest grant plait finer,
 Et il vaint le bataille, jo li ferai jurer
 Et tres bien fiancier et ostages livrer;
 Por s'amor me ferai batisier et lever,
 Rendrai Jerusalem u il voelent aler, 415
 Et avoec le Sepucre qu'il voelent delivrer."

395 fait C; OGE want; B replaces by: Or ont fait les
 caitis el palais amener. -- 396 Corbarans les e. BOGE; T*.
 397 c. prist a rompre F. -- 398 ~~prist~~ tel c. C; p. .I. c.
FGE; li c. T. -- 399 Qui a O; en la cort l'amirer D;
 p. la v. E. -- 400 ki l'a f. B; si l'a f. G; F wants;
O wants 400-6. -- 401 f. encombrer DT; F wants. --
 402 Or ne set Corbarans en son cuer p. F; Car ne set G;
 ne puet DBET; v. ne esgarder E. -- 403 U cele gens de
 France li p. C; Comment no crestien porrent s'ost s. F;
 Q. tele g., quel p. G; n. ques p. DB; fu telle q. T; --
 404 Ne Corbarans de France C; Ne t. g. gent d.n.t. roi a. F;
 Ne si g. D; Ne tele gent d. B; p. mater GE. -- 405 Tel duel
 ot C. qui n. s. p. c. C; Del doel, ne ne p. il c. B; ne s.
 pooit c. D; p. plus c. E; ne se sot pas c. T; F replaces by
 405/6 by: Del gage qil donna pour lui a delivrer En la court
 l'amirant qant ne s'en puet celer Or s'en repentiroit mais
 ne puet reculer Qe parmi la bataille nel convingne a passer
 Ou Soudans li feroit le chief del bu sevrer Et les membres
 del cors esrachier u coper Se Corbarans s'esmaie nus ne l'en
 doit blasmer Car il n'i voit caitif ou il se puist fier.
 406 q. le f. C; q. l'a f. e. GEB*. -- After 406 T adds:
 Pour demi l'or d'Espagne que li vosist /doner/ T*. --
 407 m. n'ai ci q. T. -- 408 Ge irai O; en A. FE; a l'amirer
 p. C; T*. -- 409 Et dire a G. C; f. a loer CDBOGET*. --
 410 en v. mercier B. -- 411 cel .III. G; i vient FDBT;
 v. cha COGE; por c. p. aquiter D; p. cest(ce CE) p. a
 finer(affiner T) FCBGET. -- 412 Et voist en la b. B.
 414 C wants. -- 415 Prendrai CBGE; Et prendrai (prendrons F)
 Jursalem DF; J. prendrai ou T. -- 416 Et rendrai le S.
CDBOGT; Le S. vaurrai des paiens d. F; que v. G; v. aorer CB;
E wants. -- After 416 F adds: Ja n'en i lairai un nel
 face desmembrer. --

"Bels fils," ço dist Calabre, "tu te vels vergonder!
 Miux voel que tu me faces d'un cotel acorer,
 Et ferir ens el cuer, et l'arme fors aler,
 Ke vers ton droit segnor vausisces jor fauser,
 Ne tu Mahom gerpir por lor loi honorer."

420 116b

- 14 "Bels fils," ço dist Calabre, "tu te vels vergoignier!
 Mius voel que tu me fieres d'un grant cotel d'acier,
 Que vers ton droit segnor vausisces jor boisier,
 Ne Mahomet gerpir por Jesu essaucier.
 Mais pren tos ces caitis et ses fai desloier
 Et tres bien revestir et doner a mangier.
 S'il en i avoit .I. tant orgellous et fier,
 Qui ses dex u il croit li vausist tant aidier,
 K'il fesist la bataille, fai li bien fiancier
 K'il s'en riront tot quite, et donras tel loier;
 Cascun bon palefroi et bon corant destrier,
 Et .C. mile bezans de ton or del plus cier."

425

430

- 15 "Dame," dist Corbarans, "entendés mon sanblant:
 Cist caitif que veéz ne valent mie .I. gant.
 Il sont maigre et caitif, enflé sont li auquant,
 Et pelu comme bestes qui par bos vont paissant."

435

417 d. la vielle BGE; d. la mere O; tu me v. v. CF; v.
 me tu v. DT. -- 418 M. aim que EG. -- 419 f. sevrer C;
 f. jeter DE; a. hors a. OT. -- 420 Qu'envers CGE;
 Q'endroit F; vo d. s. v. meserrer C; v. ja f. FBE; s.
 voisies ja pour f. G. -- 421 Ne (Et B) Mahomet g. CDB;
 Ne M. deguerpir F; tu (que T) M. guerpisses OET; l.
 aourer E; G wants. -- 422 d. la vielle BOGE; tu me
 v. CD; te dois v. F; C. v. me tu v. T. -- 423 M. aim
 q. EG; O omits: voel. -- 424 Qu'envers G; v. rien
 b. C; v. ja b. FBGET. -- 425 Ne tu Mahon fauser C;
 Ne tu Mahon g., avanchier D; Ne tu Mahon gerpises BOGE;
 p. lor loi e. CDBOGET; ~~F~~ replaces by: Je te donrai
 conseil qⁱ t'ara grant mestier. -- 426 Va p., s. f.
 tous d. F; p. de c. c. et les f. C; p. moi c. T; si les
 f. DBGET; O omits: et. -- After 427 F adds: Et si les
 fai biax fix et laver et baignier De quanqe il vorront
 ricement aaisier; O adds: Ja n'en conoisteras un jusqu'a
 un mois entier. -- 428 Se il en CGT; a. IIII. t. O;
 i a. I. G; o. ne f. DBOGE. -- 429 Que CFDG; Q. li d. F;
 Et ses d. B; Se li d., li voloit t. E. -- 430 f. le
 b. D; li affiancier F; b. cevaucher B; b. aficier E.
 431 il en iront t., et s'aront C; il en r. F; s'en
 iront DO; s'en ira tous cuites BGET; bon l. CFD; et
 ara t. B. -- 432 A c. p. ou b. F; C. d'eus p. u
 b. B. -- 433 .C. mil b. d'or C; .C. b. d'ormier G;
 .C. b. d'or fin E; or le p. CFDBOGET. -- After 433
C adds: Dame dist Corbarans ce ne vaut .I. denier;
T* adds: Dame dist Corbarans [bien] fait a otrier.
 434 Mere d. BOGE. -- 435 Cil c. CFB; Cels c. O;
 Ces c. T; que la voi C; v. tant ne quant D. --
 436 Il s. et m. et las e. F; Il s. si megre en chartre
 e. O; Il s. c. et m. GE; m. et pelu CT; e. tot li
 a. D; mal peu li a. G; et pelu li a. E; B wants. --
 437 P. sont c. b. q. p. cans v. B; Et velu c. OG;
 c. beste CD; qui en b. C; vait p. DG; E wants.

.XX. n'en vauroient mie .I. sol petit enfant."

"Bels fils," ço dist la vielle, "encore i a .I. grant;

Un maçon tua ier d'un grant martel trencant 440

Por ço quel destraignoit et aloit laidengant.

Bon cuer a en son ventre, par le mien esciant."

"Dame, li quels est ço?" "Vés le la, cel plus grant.

Se ne fust li gaiole u il a esté tant,

Del mal et des caaines va le color perdant, 445

Bien samble cevalier hardi et combatant."

Corbarans l'apela, si li vint dedevant;

Le caaine li oste et le carcan pesant,

Joste lui l'a assis, sel vait araisonant.

I6 Corbarans l'apela, si l'a mis a raison, 450

Puis li dist: "Bels amis, comment avés a non?"

"Sire, j'ai non Ricars, ja nel vos celeron,

Et sui de Calmont néz, qui fu le roi Karlon.

Al Sepucure en aloie, merci querre et pardon,

Veoir le Moniment et le Surrexion, 455

Et le saintisme Tenple c'on clainme Salemon.

A le mute fui pris en l'ost maistre Pieron;

Ti home m'amenerent, or m'as en ta prison.

Maint service ai rendu escuier et garçon,

438 .XX. ne s'en(O omits s'en) combatroient a .I. tout
seul en camp (encontre .I. s. O) GEO; m. pour combattre
.I. e. F; .I. bien p. DT. -- 439 d. Calabre il en i a
.I. tel g. C; v. .I. en i a ferrant F; v. il i a .I.
ferrant D; v. il en i a .I. g. BE; .I. franc O; v. j'en
[i sai] .I. vaillant T*. -- After 439 F adds: Je cuic
n'a plus hardi descî en oriant. -- 440 Un m. geta mort
d'un fort m. pesant C; m. pesant E. -- 441 c. ques d. CBG;
c. qu'il les aloit durement formenant E; qu'il l'angoissoit
et a. destraignant T; a manechant C. -- 442 O omits: le;
D wants. -- 443 la le p. CFO; c. voiez le O; la cil p. G.
444 ad geu itant O. -- 445 Del carchant et des buies C;
et de la paine v. sa c. B; et del travail v. et de famine T;
c. muant CGE; F inverts 445/6 : et de l'ahon v. --
446 samblast CFDBOGET; Que b. s. (Mout s. b. E) preudonme
et chevalier vaillant GE. -- 447 l'apele F; a. cil li CO;
et cil i v. errant B; a. cil li vient G; et cil li v.
devant E; venés avant T*. -- 448 Les chaenes, et c. p. O;
osta, c. devant C. -- 450 C. l'a assis DBOGET; C.
d'Oliferne mist Richart a r. F. -- 451 Amis ce dist li
rois F; P. lui ad demandé a. c. as tu n. O; Se li a dem-
andé GE; a. com as tu n. G; a. c. as n. E; dols a. D;
c. av. v. n. DT; B* wants. -- 452 S. ce dist li bers
R. m'apele on F; ja ne v. CET. -- 453 Et fui n. de C.
ville est C; qui est O; au r. K. CDBOGE; n. del regne
Phillipon F. -- 454 en aliesme FOGE; por q. le p. C;
seccurs q. O; por avoir le p. E. -- 455 V. le M. la
resurrexion O. -- 456 T. que fonda S. CBGET; c'on
clamoit S. D. -- 457 A (Al GEO) Civetout f. FBOGE;
p. a l'o. C; p. avoec m. E; p. de l'o. T. -- After 457
F adds: Et jou et tout cist autre qi sont mi compaignon.
458 T. h. mainerent or me tiens en p. F; or sui en C;
m'enmenerent tu m'as T. -- 459 M. travail m'ont r. T; C*.

De lor herbe soier, /de/ porter en maison, 460

Et de porter vo piere, vo cauc et vo sablon.

Maint coup en ai re^ucut de verge et de baston,

Et de trencant corgié et maint /point/ d'aguillon

Es costés et es flans, entor et environ.

Or voi nostre juise, sai que tot i morron; 465 116c

En l'onor Jesu Crist, ki soufri passion,

Ne me renoieroie por ardoir a carbon."

"Amis," dist Corbarans, "ne nos nel vos queron.

Mon besoing vos dirai por coi nos en parlon:

Jo fui a Anthioce au secors Garsion, 470

.VII. cens .LX. mil et le Rouge Lyon

I fumes cevalier sans conte de geldon.

Crestiens i trovames, hardis comme lyon;

Encontre nos s'armerent li prince et li baron,

Robers de Normendie od Robert le Frison, 475

Et Tumas de la Fere a le clere fa^çon,

Et Evrars de Gornai et de Monci Driuon,

Paiens de Camelli et Gerars del Dongon,

Et /Rogiers/ del Rosoi, qui cloce del talon,

Dans Raimons de Saint Gille o le Maine Huon, 480

460 des p. corr. from DOT. -- 463 poit for poIt.
 479 Robers corr. from DFBOET.

460 s. et p. CFBGE. -- 461 De p. vostre p. la c. et
 le s. O; vos pieres GE; D wants. -- 462 M. c. ai
 recheu DBET; c. i ai receu G; c. en ai eût CO. --
 463 t. secorgié et m. C*; trenchanz corgiees (coroies E)
OGET; m. cop d'a. BG; et de m. a. E. -- 464 En c. et
 f. C; Les c. D. -- 465 j. sorquetout C*; j. bien voi t.
 i m. D; j. bien sai FBOGET; q. t. m. F; q. nos m. BG; s. t.
 i m. O; q. or m. E; q. i m. T. -- 466 En l'o. Damedieu E.
 467 me relinquiroye p. E; a. en c. CFDBOGET. -- 468 ne n.
 le v. C; et nous le v. F; nous ne le v. B; ne n. el ne q. G;
 ne vous en requerron E; ne pas nel v. T -- 469 Me b., p.
 q. a vous p. C; Me b. te d. D; Le b. O; Le raison, c. vous
 en prion G; Mais ores v. T; p. q. le vous moustron F. --
 470 f. en A. CB; [A] A. alasmes T*; secourre G. FT. --
 471 .VIII. c. C; Cent et .LX. m. O; .VII. c. m. et .L. G;
 Et furent .V. c. m. E; Sept c. .IIII. vint m. T; o le
 R. L. CFBOGE. -- 472 Tout f. E; c. trestuit conté par
 non T; c. de garçon CFBE. -- 473 Crestienté t. OG;
 Les François i t. E; irié c. GE. -- 474 Li conte et DT.
 475 Ricars de N. B; N. et R. CDOET. -- 476 F. od la
 c. O; la ciere f. E; T reads after 479. -- 477 Gerars
 de G. FBOGE; T*. -- After 477 T adds: Buyamont et Tancre
 et le duc de Buillon. -- 478 G. de Digon E; G wants. --
 479 Et Robers C; de R. CE; G wants. -- 480 G. et le
 M. BT; o le conte H. E; O replaces by: Amoris a l'Oitru
 qui ot quor de baron Buiamon et Thancre et le M. H. --
After 480 F adds: Et Païen de Garlande et dans Raimbaus
 Creton Tangrés cil de Sesile o le duc Buïmon
 Bauduin et Wistasse Godefroi de Buillon. --

Et li rices barnages c'ainc plus fier ne vit on;
 Et tant i ot des princes que nomer nes savon.
 Nostre grant jent tornerent toute a confuzion
 Et jo m'en ving fuiant a coite d'esperon.
 Le roi Soudan trovai, orgellos et felon, 485
 Contai lui mes noveles, puis me tint por bricon;
 D'un dart me vaut ocire, sans nule altre oquison.
 Bataille m'estut prendre, u je vausisce u non,
 D'un crestien armé par tel devisiön
 Qu'a .II. Turs se combate contre le loi Mahon. 490
 Se tel pooles faire si con nos devisaon,
 Tu t'en iroies quites, tu et ti compaignon;
 Conduire te ferai al Tenple Salemon."
 "Sire," ço dist Ricars, "ci a grant mesprison.
 Ki d'un se puet deffendre, a grant pris le tient on! 495
 Neporquant se vos plaist, respit vos en queron;
 As caitis que veés, nos [en] conselleron,
 Et demain par matin savoir le vos lairon."
 Et respont Corbarans: "Nos le vos otrion."
 La nuit mangierent tot cil qui valt ne qui non, 500
 Les caaines lor ostent, les buies a bandon.

481 b. ainc CFDT; si f. T; b. del roiaume Carlon BGE;
O wants. -- After 481 B adds: Tangrés et Buieumon
 et li dus de Buillon. -- 482 Tant i avoit des p. F;
 des autres C; ot de p. BGET; n. ne s. CB; n. nel
 s. DG; n. n. (ne E) set on TE. -- 483 N. gent i
 t. a grant destrusion E; g. os torna t. a perdition F;
 a confondoison D; t. a grant c. B. -- 484 v.
 courant a E. -- After 484 F adds; N'amenai que .II.
 rois en ceste region. -- 485 t. en sa mestre
 maison T. -- 486 C. l. la parole F; C. l. le
 novele si m. E; Ge li c. n. O; les nouvielles GT*;
 p. m'en t. DBO; a bricon BGE. -- 487 m. v.
 ferir CFDBOT; d. m'eüst feru GE; s. point d'arestison C;
 por iceste acoison D; n. arestison BG. -- After 487
F adds: Maintenant m'apela de mortel traïson; B adds:
 Pour Brohadas son fil a la clere façon Qui trencié a
 la teste par desous le menton Et si m'en apiela de
 mortel traïson; G adds: Mes ne plot Mahonmet le dieu
 que nous creon. -- 489 a. pour t. C; p. grant
 aatison E. -- 490 c. Persant u Esclavon. GE. --
 491 S'ocire les p. si C; Et se tu le pues (veus T)
 f. FT; Et se tu les pues vaintre tres bien le creanton B;
 Se tu fais la bataille tu (t'en G) auras rice don EG;
DO want. -- 492 Tu i. tous q. C; Tu t'en iras tous
 q. FBGE; et tout ti (li O) c. FEO. -- After 492 D
adds: Se tu entrer osoies por moi en cest beson.
 493 O wants. -- After 493 D adds: Trestos les caitis
 qui sont en mon roion. -- 494 R. dit Sire ci a mult
 g. O; R. qui a C. -- 495 g. bien le FO; t. l'on O.
C*. -- 496 Mais pour quant CD; Non p. q., .I. r. en
 volon BG; Et portant O; s'il v. p. CFDBOGET; .I. r. v. D
 q. D. -- 498 s. le laisseron C; m. s'il vous plest
 le l. B; OGE want. -- 499 C. et n. bien l'o. B; OGE
want. -- 500 La n. ont a mengier et a boire (no caitif B)
 a foison FB; Le mangier ont hasté GE; quisinier et garçon E;
 Le soir m. T; qui qu'en poist ne q. DGT; m. qui volsist
 et q. C; O wants. -- 501 Et b. et c. osterent li
 garçon T; caines les osterent C; F replaces by: Paour ont
 de la mort moult sont en soupechon Cascuns bati sa
 coupe si a dit s'orison Que Damedix li face de ses
 mesfais pardon; GE reshape 501 as the first line of
laisse I7: Les caines lor ostent lor buies autresi.

I7 Or est li jors alés, la nuit furent ansi;
 Tel paor ont de mort, onques nus n'i dormi,
 Et Ricars [fu] entr'els, son conseil lor gehi.
 "Segnor, conselliés moi, por Deu qui ne menti: 505
 Corbarans me requiert ço c'onques mais n'oi.
 Li rois Soudans le het, por poi ne l'a mordri;
 Un dart li a lancié, mais a son cors failli.
 Par force et par proëce a un camp arrami
 D'un crestien armé qui Deu tiegne a ami, 510 116d
 Qu'a .II. Turs se conbate, qui soient Arrabi.
 Moi requiert que jel face, au brant d'acier forbi;
 Et se jo le puis vaintre, juré m'a et plevi,
 Ke nos serons tot quite si con nos sonmes ci,
 Conduira nos au Tenple que Salemons basti." 515
 Quant li caitif l'entendent, de joie s'ont fremit;
 A haute vois s'escrient, tot ensamble a .I. cri:
 "Ricart, fai la bataille, Dex nos fera merci!
 Car se tu ne le fais, mort sonmes altresi."
 Et Ricars lor otroie a loi d'ome hardi. 520
 Benoitte soit la mere quel porta et norri,
 Et li pere ensement ki lui engenui.

502 Lor est li j. fenis E. -- After 502 F adds:
 Li caitif sont ensanle qi moult sont effrei; B adds:
 Les caines lor ostent et les buies ausi. -- 503 n'en
 d. C; ne d. DOET; c'onques nus O. -- 505 S. entendez
 p. D. O; F expands: Seignour ce dist li ber entendés
 envers mi Pour Diu consailliés moi qi onques ne menti.
 506 r. o. m. c. n'oi^v F; m. ne vi C. -- 507 S. me
 h. B; h. par p. T; a poi ne l'a ochi E. -- 508 Il li
 lança .I. d. D; .I. fort d. li lança B; Un grant d. li
 lança m. al ferir f. O; D'un d. qu'il li lança ET; m.
 mie nel feri T. -- After 508 B adds: Pour Brohadas son
 fil dont a le cuer mari. -- 509 p. paor a .I. c.
 aati C; p. pooir a D; p. posté a FET; p. pecié a B. --
 510 qe Dix t. FGET; ki D. ait a a. B; q. tient D. a
 a. O; C wants. -- 511 A .II. T. D; c. Persant u (et O)
 A. GEO. -- 512 q. le f. FBOGETC*. -- 513 Et se v.
 les p. D; Et si ges p. v. O; les p. v. CFBGE. --
 514 Qe n. ironmes cuite F; Que n. seromes q. B; C omits:
 tot; si comme s. c.; Que s. trestuit cuite T. --
 516 GE want. -- 517 A haut s'en escrierent C; A hautes
 v. li crient B; v. e. FE; e. li chaitif a un c. OGE.
 518 D. le fera pour ti F. -- 519 s. et traïⁿ CDE;
 s. et honi BGT. -- 521 Bien ait de Deu la m. qui p. D;
 m. quil p. C; m. qi tel home n. F; qui t'a engenui T*;
GEO invert 521/2. -- 522 Et l. p. qui soit qui D;
 Et li p. si soit q. FB; qui t'ama et norri T;
C wants.

18 Li quens Harpins parla: "Ricart, fils a baron,
 Tant jor avons esté en ceste fort prison,
 Tant mal i avons trait, et persecusion, 525
 Et tant fain et tant soif, dont forment nos dolon;
 Maigre sommes et las, [plain] de caitivison.
 Sire, frans cevaliers, met nos a garison!
 Por Deu fai le bataille vers les Turs a bandon,
 Car, par le foi que doi al cors saint Simeon, 530
 Si n'estoit por icou que tant par ies frans hon
 Et premiers apelés, nel feroit se jo non."
 Et Ricars li respont, belement par raison:
 "Hé! Harpin de Bohorges, tu as cuer de lion,
 Nul mellor cevalier ça dedans nen avon. 535
 Se Deu plaist et la virgene, le bataille feron,
 Si bien que le ferai a no salvation;
 Or soit Dex en m'aïe, qui souffri passion!"
 Harpins l'ot de Bohorges, s'en froncist le grenon,
 Par fierté de proëce estraint si .I. baston, 540
 K'il le rompi parmi, s'en ceent li tronçon.
 Li cuers li sosleva el pis sos le menton;
 S'a cel point fust armés sor .I. ceval gascon,

523 Ce (Et GE) dist li q. H. BOGE; p. gentix f. F; f. de
 b. T. — 524 en c. region F. — 525 T. i a. m. t. C;
 t. tante (mainte F) percussion EFT; tante persecution OG;
B expands 525/6: Et tant mal endurét entre la gent Noiron
 Et tant faim et tant soif tant persecution Et tant
 travail souffert dont forment nos dolon. — 526 Tante f.
 tant s. O; s. tante destruction F; T*; GE want. --
 527 T*; OGE want. — 528 T*; DBOGE want. — After 529
O adds: Que Deus le vaintra bien en cui nos nos fiom.
 530 Par cele f. O. — 531 Se ne fust p. E; p. itant que
 si estes D; p. ce que tu [par es] tant p. O; q. t.
 iestes GET; preudon FDBOGET. — 532 Et primes te fud
 dit n. O; p. aparlé T; nel feïst CF; se moi non D.
 533 R. li respondi FB; Et R. respondi D; doucement p.
CFDBOGET. — 534 Sire H. de Borges CFBGE; Sire cuens
 de B. T; com as c. D; cuer avés de l. F; cuer avés de
 baron BT; mout iestes vaillans hon GE; O wants. --
 535 c. de d. n'avom D; ne savon BT; OGE want. --
 536 et la virge FDOE; et saint Piere B; et sa mere G;
 certes bien le f. OGE; T*. — 537 qu'ele sera CFDBT;
OGE want 537-45. -- 538 Or soit del tout en Diu F; Dex
 nos s. en aide DB. — After 538 D adds: Et le virge
 puchele que reclamer devon. -- 539 H. l'oï de Borges qui
 froncha le menton C; Quant H. l'a³oï si f. T; si f.
 (froncha D) le g. BD. -- 540 P. f. se parti s'e. si C;
 P. force de p. D; P. force et par p. T. -- 541 Si le
 r. p. qu'en D; Que p. le r. B; Que r. l'a p. T; r. en
 .II. F; s'en volent li FT. -- 542 Le c. qu'il ot es p.
 li s. amont D; el cors sor C; sor le poumon B. --
 543 cest p. C; sor le c. CF; destrier g. D. --

Ains qu'il fust mais repris ne jetés en prison,
 Le comprascent molt cier Persant et Esclavon. 545

19 Molt sont lié li caitif quant Ricars l'otria
 Que il por Corbaran la bataille fera.
 Or est li nuis alee et li jors esclaira.
 Corbarans et sa mere mie ne se targa;
 Venue est a Ricart et se li demanda 550
 S'il fera la bataille, quel conseil pris en a.
 Et Ricars li respont, voirement le fera,
 Encontre les .II. Turs por lui se combatra,
 Et vers le roi Soudan bien le deliverra,
 Et sa vie et sa terre bien li aquitera. 555 117a
 Quant Corbarans l'entent, Dex, tant grant joie en a!
 .VII. fois en .I. tenant le face li baisa.
 Corbarans d'Oliferne son mantel desfubla,
 Par les resnes de soie al col li ataça,
 Et Ricars le desfuble, a Harpin le dona. 560
 Calabre prist .I. autre, au col li afubla,
 Et Ricars le desfuble, c'onques n'i sejorna,
 A dant Jehan d'Alis maintenant le bailla,
 Et dist a Corbaran que ja n'afublera
 Ne de vair ne de gris, ja tant ne l'en donra, 565

544 A. ne f. F; Ançois qu'il f. m. pris B. -- 545 Le
 comparassent c. CDBT. -- 546 R. otria C; FDBOGET
 want 546/7. -- 548 La n. est trespassee et O; j.
 repaira B. -- After 548 O adds: Li soleulz est levez
 qui la clarté dona. -- 549 C. ne sa O; C. d'Oliferne GE;
 ne s'aresta E; ne s'atarga CGT; ne s'oublia FB; m. noient
 ne s'atarja D. -- 550 Venus BOGET. -- 551 q. congié
 prise en a O. -- 552 r. volontiers le FBGE; D inverts
 552/3. -- 553 T. au brant se D; T. bien s'enbatera B;
 tres bien se OG; mout bien se E; T. vers eus se T. --
 After 553 O adds: A l'espee trenchante andous les
 conquerra. -- 554 Envers le DBOGE; b. le desrainera C;
 S. moult b. l'aqitera F. -- 555 Et s'ounor et C; b. li
 deliverra F; t. toute li aquitra G; -- After 555 F adds:
 A l'aïe de Diu qui vertu li donra. -- 556 D. si g.
CBO; D. com g. DET; e. moult g. j. en mena F. --
 557 .V. cent f. O; f. sa f. F; la bouce li b. G; le
 menton li b. E. -- After 557 O adds: Mais ainz velt
 seürté qu'il bien li tendra Tute la covenance que
 devisé li a Qu'il s'en iroint tut quite ce li afiera
 Al Temple Salemon /conduire/ les fra Corberan et sa
 mere tres bien li afia Sur le cors Tervagant en après
 li jura Mahomet et Caym en plegges li livra Et Ricars
 lur respont que bien les en crera. -- 559 Par l'atache
 de s. FDGET*; Et par les las de s. B; Des ataches de
 s. al c. li laça O; le resne, a c. C; a son c. l'a. D.
 560 d. dant H. le d. G; le bailla DO. -- After 560
B adds: Quant Corbarans ce voit .I. sorris en gieta.
CDB* expand this episode: La vielle prist .I. autre
 a son col li lacha C; La v. en p. .I. autre, a s. c.
 li ferma D; La v. p. le sien et au c. li frema B. --
 Et Richars le deffuble CDB; .I. vesque le donna C;
 au vesque le porta D; au v. le donna B. -- DB add:
 Li bons clers ordenés (ensigniés B) forment l'en merchia.
 561 La vielle p. (prent E) le soen OGE; La vielle p.
 .I. a. a son c. li ferma T; C. en p. B; tantost E; li
 rafubla GE; c. li aferma O; li reposa CD; li referma F.
 562 le reprent GE; onques n'i ariesta G; mout petit
 demoura E; d. gaires n'i s. FCDB; n'i aresta O; d.
 Bauduin le bailla T. -- 563 sempres le redona
 (redonra E) OGE; le dona D; T wants. -- 564 Et si
 d. a /Calabre/ q. C*; ja n'en a. CD.

Se tot si conpaignon que il tant amé a,
 Ne sont tot revesti, adonques l'amera;
 Et s'il honor lor fait, molt bon gré l'en sara.
 Son maistre cambrelenc Corbarans apela;
 De pailles de bofus vestir les commanda. 570
 Li cambrelens s'en torne, bien les aparella.
 Li jors est esbaudis, miedis aproisma,
 Et li mangiers fu bels que on i apresta.
 Li rois demande l'ewe et on li aporta,
 Et quant il ot lavé, Ricart mener quida 575
 Dejoste lui mangier, mais il li devea,
 Et dist que se lui plaist, joste roi ne sera,
 Avoec ses conpaignons et bien et mal prendra.
 Li rois ala seür, molt forment projeta
 Que Ricars fust servis de quanque lui plaira, 580
 Et tot si conpaignon, ja nus n'en i faura.

20 Li rois se vait seür el maistre mandement,
 A le plus haute table, il et tote sa gent,
 Et Ricars vait seür d'autre part ensement,
 Trestot si conpaignon entor lui bonement. 585
 La mere Corbaran ne s'atarga nient;
 Ele ert en .I. diaspre laciét estroitement,

566 q. maint jor a. a C; q. tant aime et ama O. --
 567 revestu FCDBOGET; a. le viestira C; ensi com lui
 plaira F; a. retenra D. -- After 567 D adds: Les vestemens
 après que on li baillera. -- 568 f. adonques l'amera F; f.
 en (a E) b. g. le prendra OGE; Et si l. f. h. m. T. --
After 568 B adds: Quant Corbarans entent que Ricars si
 parla. -- 569 c. maintenant a. F; c. li rois en a. BOG; T*.
 570 De p. d'or listés v. C; De cendax et de pailles v. F;
 De p. de samis v. D; De palie de O; De p. et de b. E; T*.
 571 t. bel les a. OT* -- 572 Li j. fud e. midis a. O;
 e. esclaircis FG; et midis aprocha C; m. aprocha DET*; m.
 trespasa B. -- 573 fu pres E; q. on apparilla CE; c'on i
 aparilla BGT; qu'on lur aparilla O; F wants. -- 574 dem-
 anda B; et l'en li a. O; C wants. -- 576 Seoir d'encoste
 lui m. E; l. seoir m. DBOG. -- 577 Et d. ja s. D. p. E;
 se Deu p. BOGE; j. lui ne FBE; p. dejoste r. -- 578 Mais
 o s. c. et m. et b.p. D; c. m. et bien p. C; c. bien et m.
BE; c. b. et m. souffera O; c. b. et m. prendera G. --
 579 Li r. s'en (en G) va s. et tres bien BG; Li r. se vait
 s. mes tres bien O; commanda DBOGE; Corbarans va s. mais m.
 f. proia T; s. son cambrelain proia F; s. et mout bien c. E.
 580 R. soit s. DBGET; R. fu s. F. -- 581 ja nesuns n'i
 f. C; c. que n. n'i faillera D; c. que ja .I. n'en f. BG;
 que ja n. ne (n'i ET) f. OET; F expands: Dist li senescax
 Sire si ert com il vorra Tout erent bien servi qe ja nus
 n'i faurra. -- 582 r. s'ala s. CD; r. s'en v. BG; r.
 ala s. el plus haut m. E; au m. m. DBT. -- 583 p. maistre
 t. F. -- 584 p. bonement D. --- 585 Et tout si
CDBOG; c. s'asient tout arrouteement F; l. ensement D.
 586 ne se targe CG; ne se targa FOT; ne targe de n. E.
 587 En .I. d. a or (d'or T) l. CFDBOGET. --

Et tenoit une verge a .I. pumel d'argent;
 De cief en cief le table, et menu et sovent,
 Lor faisoit apporter le vin et le piument, 590
 Et blanc pain buleté et les mes ensement.
 Dans Harpins de Bohorges [mangoit] molt roidement,
 Et Ricars de Calmont, et bevoit molt sovent;
 Grant mestier en avoient, ce saciés vraiment.
 Si autre compaignon ne s'atargent noient, 595
 Et quant il ont mangiét et but a lor talent,
 Les napes ont ostees boutellier et servent.

2I Or orent li caitif et mangié et beü,
 Et sont tot conreé de paille et de bofu
 Et de molt rices jupes, merci au roi Jhesu, 600 II7b
 Que si con il por nos en la crois penés fu,
 Ses face il delivrés et conduise a salu.
 Ricars ot un bliaut trestot a or cousu,
 Li mantels de son col et la pene qu'i fu
 Et li tassel a brasme, ki sont a or batu, 605
 Valurent bien .M. livres de fin argent fondu.
 Ricart a fait faire armes, frain et sele et escu;

588 .I. vergial a C; a un noiel d'a. E. -- 589 t. m.
 et s. O. -- 590 a. et menu et sovent B*; v. ot le O.
 591 Le b. p. FBGE; et sinmles e. D. -- 592 menga FB;
 mangoit delivrement E; m. durement CFDBOGT. -- 593 Et R.
 et li autre F; buvoient s. FO; C. i b. C; bevoit seürement
D; rebuvoit m. s. BGET. -- 594 Car m. en a. c. s.
 voirement O; en avoit BGET; a. s. tos v. E. --
 595 Li a. CE; ne se targent n. CDBGT; ne se faingnent
 n. E; FO want. -- 596 Q. il orent m. D; et b. a ensiant E;
 et beü a t. T. -- 597 Lor n. D; o. bachelier C; escuier E;
 et sergent CFDBGET. -- 598 Qant o. F; Or ont nostre GE;
 François E; o. nos c. T; c. bien m. C; c. m. et b. O. --
 After 598 O adds: Trestut a lur talent si com plaisir
 lur fu. -- 599 Après s. tout vestu F; Vestu s. richement
 de porpre et de b. D; Et furent c. BGE; Et furent tuit
 vestu T; s. bien c. C; s. bien revestu O; de p. de b.
BOGT; d'un p. de b. E. -- 600 r. dras m. BE; m. le
 roi T. -- 601 Quarssi T; Ensi c. BO; n. pendus en le
 c. f. C. -- 602 Les face tous d. F; Si les f. il
 delivres EG; f. iaus delivrer C; et conduire a s. OT;
 Les voeille delivrer T. -- 603 b. estroit OGE; al cors
 vestu O; a or tissu C; a or batu DBE. -- 604 m.
 d/eson/ dos la p. qui i fu T; et l'atache q. fu CG;
 c. la p. qui ens fu E. -- 605 Li t. a breteces C*;
 t. as brasmes F; Et li t. meisme BE; qui ens erent E;
 tissu DBE; OG want. -- 606 Valoyent b. T; .XX. l.
C; .C. mars F; .C. l. D; .XX. mars BOGE; de bon a. G.
 607 R. a fait armés D; Et R. f. f. a. O; a. et bon f.
 et e. T; BGE want. --

Corbarans d'Oliferne .I. auferrant gernu

Li a fait amener et par le frain rendu.

Et dist li quens Harpins: "Ricars, que targes tu? 610

Mais monte en cel ceval, s'essaie ta vertu!"

22 Dist Harpins de Bohorges: "Ricars, ne t'atargier,

Mais monte en cel ceval, si le va essayer!"

Remembre toi de France, de cel païs plenier,

Dex doinst que i puissions sain et sauf repairier, 615

Et veïr no linage, qui est en desirier."

Atant es Corbaran, sel prist a araisnier:

"Ricars, fiux a baron, monte sans atargier,

Si verrai con tu ses ton ceval eslaisier,

Et ton escu porter et l'espiel palmoier. 620

Se t'en voi bien deduire, si t'en arai plus cier,

Et serai plus seürs de mon droit desraisnier."

"Sire," ço dist Ricars, "bien fait a otroier."

Ricars saut el ceval, qu'estrier n'i valt baillier;

Gros fu par les espaulles, cors ot gros et plenier, 625

Et large a forceüre et le viaire fier.

Contreval la cité sont cargié li solier,

Et dames et puceles et bacelier legier,

L'uns d'els le dist a l'autre, et prist a enseigner:

608 .I. palefroït B. -- 609 f. tendu CD; T*. -- 610 D. H. de Boorges R. c'atarges tu D; Ce d., R. ne t'atargier O*; que atens tu C. -- 611 Va monte FE; Quar monte BGT; m. ens el c. si saie ta C; c. essaie O. -- 612 Ce (Et GE) d. li quens H. BOGE; ne te targier G. -- 613 Va monte F; Car m. B; Monte sus ce c. T; m. ens el c. C; si te va CFDBOGET. -- 614 F. del (le FBET) douch p. CFDBOGET. -- 615 D. nous d. q'i p. F; q. i puisies B; q. nos i p. O; q. je i puisse T; encore v. BOT; a joie r. GE. -- 616 V. nostre l. q. en a grant d. O; l. q'en est FDBT; l. dont avons d. E. -- A. eth vos C. p. l'en a raisnier O; C. si p. C; C. qel p. F; C. quis p. D; sel prent a B; C. prent l'ent a a. GE. -- 618 R. ce dist li rois O; m. sor cel destrier FOGET; s. delaier DB. -- 619 Si le te v. corre aler et e. (asaier GE) OGE; s. .I. c. CFDBT. -- 620 Et t. espiel brandir et l'escu enbracier B; Et tes armes p. ton escu m. T; et la lance C; p. ton e. F; et tres bien D; et tun e. O; manoir CFDOGET. -- 621 Se b. te v. d. mout t'en T; Se te v. E; v. biel d. G; d. ge t'en O. -- 622 Si s. BOE; S'en s. G. 623 a mercier F. -- 624 Li bers s. D; Sour le c. monta k'e. B; Sur le c. en monte OGE; que l'e. ne velt b. O; que n'i bailla estrier E; DGT omit qu'. -- 625 Lé f. p. l'espaules le c. grant et p. O; G. fu et espaulus E; et lés par le braier GE; e. dous et grant T; ot grant et p. CFD; e. le c. ot mout p. B. -- 626 Et l. enforcheüre COET; L. ot le f. F; L. la f. D; L. ot l'enforceüre B; Et l. f. G; le visage f. C; pour le miols chevaucier E. -- 627 s. c. s. C; s. couvert li s. F. -- 628 De d. de p. GET; et de vallés l. G; de maint vallét l. E; de b. l. T. -- 629 Li un demostrent l'a. et present a sainier C; Li .I. le d. B; Li uns d. O; Li uns disoit a l'a. GE; Li uns si d. T; et prent a OGET; conseillier DBGET. --

"Cil seut porter le piere, le cauç et le mortier, 630
 Et si n'avoit de pain le jor c'un seul quartier.
 Or n'a en ceste route nul si bel cevalier;
 Cis fera la bataille, ses dex li puist aidier."
 La veïssiés puceles et dames escorcier,
 Tant en vait après lui, nes vos sai esprisier; 635
 La defors s'aresterent desos .I. olivier.
 Ricars point le ceval des esperons d'ormier,
 Et li destriers li saut del pré plus d'un quartier.
 Ki li veïst s'ensegne contremont desploier,
 Et son escu porter et l'espiel manoir, 640
 Bien li peüst menbrer de gentil cevalier.
 Et quant ot fait son tor, mist soi el repairier;
 Galopant s'en repaire par desos .I. mourier.
 "Segnor," dist Corbarans, "cis fait molt a prisier!
 Molt m'est bien avvenu de mon droit desraisnier." 645 117c
 Li mere Corbaran le prist a embracier;
 En se canbre le maine, se il velt dosnoier
 U parler a pucele, bien s'i puet aaisier,
 Car la vielle en vausist avoir .I. iretier.
 Mais Ricars nel fesist por la teste a trencier. 650
 Une espee li done, li poins en fu d'ormier,
 Et fu le roi Herode, dont il fist martrier

630 Cis s. CFDBOG; p. la paille T. -- 631 a. le j. de p. BGT; a. le j. d'un p. E; que .I. q. DBET; qu'un q. O.
 632 Or n'a en Oliferne F; c. terre n. BT; c. vile O; n. plus b. OG. -- 633 Or f., se D. l'en p. C; Chil f. DT; b. se D. FBOGT; li viut a. BGT; b. Mahon li p. E. --
 634 Dont v. F; La peüssiez voier p. e. O; d. esforcier GE.
After 634 O adds: Bacheliers et meschins enfanz plus d'un miller. -- 635 T. en cort CFDBOGE; a. ax nus nel porroit prisier D; ne v. s. anonchier C; l. qe nes v. s. prisier F; nus ne les puet prisier B; nus nel puet e. G; nus nes pot e. E; sai a prisier OT*. -- 636 Cha d. F; La dehors OT; Par d. E; CBGE omit: s'. -- 637 R. le c. broche des e. d'achier C. -- 638 li chevax li DBGE; s. el pré CO; p. pres d'un q. D. -- 639 Qui la T; v. l'e. CFDBOGET; contre al vent d. F; contrevent d. DBG; c. baloier OET. --
 640 p. son espiel paumoier F; et l'escu m. C; et son e. B; O replaces 640/1 by: Tant comm cheval pot corre lever et abaisier Guenchir et trestorner et paiens manescier. --
 641 de (d'un E) vaillant c. CBGE; d'un j. D. -- 642 Q. ot f. son eslais m. F; Q. il ot f. son cours m. E; ot ses tors fais m. CO; ot son cors f. DG; ot s. t. f. m. B; f. ses cours prist s. a r. T; s. al r. FDBO. -- 643 G. chevaucha p. delés .I. T; r. dedesuz O; .I. lourier GE. -- After 643 F adds: Sor le destrier d'Arrabe se prist a afficier Tant fort qe tout l'a fait desous lui archoier. -- 644 cil CT. -- 645 a. a m. E. -- 646 C. vait Ricart e. F; le prent GE; a araisnier BT*. -- 647 l'enmainne FDBG; se volsist d. D; e. s'il v. O; T*. -- 648 Ne parler GE; s'en p. CDBOGT; b. se p. E; acointier F. -- 649 Car Calabre en v. FDBT*; la v. v. C; OGE want. -- 650 M. il nel feïst mie OGE; R. ne f. point T; p. les membres t. DBG; teste t. CFOE.
 651 d. dont li p. B; d. le pumel fu T; en est C. -- 652 Qui fu, ~~ki~~ le f. B; H. mout faisoit a prisier E; f. detrenchier O.

Les petis Innocens tres devant sa moillier;
 L'espee fu molt digne, forment fist a prisier.
 Calabre le pormaine por lui esbanoier,
 Soventes fois le fist et laver et baignier;
 A grant aise sejourne .I. mois trestot entier.

655

- 23 Ricars et li caitif ont sejorné .I. mois,
 Et ont pris penitance, molt fisent que cortois.
 Od els ot .X. provoires et .I. abé de Blois;
 Souvent les fait confés li vesques del Forois;
 Le semaine jeunent les .II. jors u les trois.
 Trosqu'a .CCC. cevals, arrabis et turcois,
 A fait Corbarans corre tos les plains d'Olifois;
 Li troi qui le cors vainquent sont si blanc sonme nois,
 A Ricart les presente, n'en ~~[prist]~~ pas le sordois;
 Un des blans a coisi, qui fu fors et espois,
 Isnels et arrabis, fors et grans et demois;
 Ses armes sont vermelles, et li tains fu tos frois.
 Or vont a lor bataille, s'ont torsé lor harnois,
 Plorant a grant paor, n'i ot point de ~~[gabois]~~.
 Or les conduise Dex, qui desor tos est rois.

660

665

670

653 Les p. enfanchons CFD; tout d. C; par d. D; I. dedevant
O; I. dont fist grant destorbier B; ET want. -- 654 fu
 boinⁿ et bien pooit trencier E; m. riche et mult a p. O;
 m. bone BG; d. moult f. C; d. bien fait FT; d. bien f.
DB; a essaucier CFDBT. -- 655-57 OGE want. -- 656 le
 fait D. -- 657 sejourment FBT; t. .I. m. e. CBT. --
After 657 F adds: Tout furent bien servi ja n'en estut
 plaidier. -- 658 c. sejournerent .I. OGE. -- 659 Et
 (Il E) prisent p. FGE; Et pristrent p. D; de chou font
 q. F; p. dont f. OE; dont f. G. -- 660 Avoec eus sont
 .VI. prestre et F; D'aus i ot .XX. p. B; Cil qui les
 confessa fud a. O; Il i ot .II. p. GE; et .I. vesque de
 B. E; e. ont des p. C; ot .V. p., a courtois T; D wants.
 661 S. le f. C; v. de F. DET. -- 662 Le maine genurent
C*; En la s. j. B; OGE want. -- 663 Dusc'a E; Jusqu'a T;
 a. et norois CET; morois BG; cortois O*. -- 664 I fist
 C. C; Fist c. C. FBOGE; C. quierre tos les p. d'Abilois D.
 665 q. les cours F; ki tot venquirent BGE; q. miex
 corurent T; s. ausi b. com n. C; s. tot b. B; furent b.
GE; O wants. -- 666 R. les presente EG; p. mais nes pr.
 p. tous .III. C; ne pr. pas FO; nes pr. mie tous .III. B;
 n'i pr. p. GE. -- 667 des grans a c. q. fu grans et T;
 b. i c. C; b. a saisi FO; f. et blanc et e. F; fu grans
 espagnois D; fu blans et e. B; fu boins a esplois E. --
 668 Et sains et a., et norois C; Corans et abrievés
 isniaus ademois B; f. et fiers ademois D; et g. a demaneis
O; et a coure ademois GE; f. et demanois T; F wants. --
 669 Les armes BT; v. d'un bon paille griois F; v. mais li
 t. si fu blois D; fud d'orfreis OGT; et li rains fu a
 orfrois E. -- After 669 F* adds: Une crois i ot d'or en
 l'escu d'Anbiois En l'onnoir Jhesu Crist qi est gloriex
 rois. -- 670 a la b. BCGE; tout torsé B; b. si toursent
F; b. t. ont l. ET. -- 671 P. ont g. O; n'i a p. BO.
 672 q. sor t. e. li r. C; qi fu mis en la crois FGE; q.
 sor trestous e. D; q. de nos t. O. -- After 672 F adds:
 Car n'i a Sarrasin ne Franc ne soit destrois. --

24 A lor bataille vinrent a .I. mardi matin;
 Corbarans i mena del linage Chaïn
 Entrosqu'a .V. cens Turs, ne sanblent pas frarin, 675
 Et sont vestu de paille et de gris et d'ermin.
 Li caitif cevalcierent d'autre part .I. cemin,
 En Sormazane entrerent par le porte Sanguin.
 Par soi se herbrega li linages Caïn;
 Corbarans descendi a l'ostel Hodefrin, 680
 A nos caitis livrerent .I. grant palais marbrin;
 Senescals lor livrerent, Salatré et Rogin,
 Et .XXX. damoisels et .I. cortois meschin,
 Ki servent al mangier et del pain et del vin.
 Quant Soudans l'oï dire, si tint le chief enclin, 685
 Et od lui d'Espaigne le rice almustadin;
 Tot prient Mahomet, Tervagan et Jupin,
 Ke de ceste bataille lor face tel destin,
 Dont François aient honte et honor Sarrasin.

25 A un joisdì au soir herbrega Corbarans, 690 117d
 A nos caitis livrerent .I. palais qui fu grans;
 Largement les conroient cevalier et serjans.
 Quant Soudans l'oï dire, molt fu grains et dolans.

Laisse 24: O wants to 1398 (except for Appendix IV) --
 673 A la b. en vont C; A le b. v. .I. joesdi par m. E; b.
 vont BT; par .I. BGT; par .I. josdi m. FD. -- 674 de la
 gent de son l. B -- 675 Tresques a C; Dusques a, qi ne sont
 p. F; Jusque a BT; .XV. mil del lignage Chaïn B; ne furent
 p. T; Dessi a .CCC. T. GE; ne sanla p. E. -- 676 Ains s.
G; Tout s. E. -- 677 chevalchoyent T; p. le c. GT; c.
 contreval le c. E; p. lor c. B. -- After 677 F adds:
 Tout cevaucent ensanle tout le sablon caucin. -- 678 par
 la p. Caïn B; le p. Apollin E; F expands: Car Sarmagan
 parvinrent qi siet desor .I. rin Belement s'arouterent
 François et Sarrasin Et entrent en la ville par le porte
 Sanguin. -- 679 Par els se herbergierent li parent
 Apolin F; h. celle g. Apolin T. -- 680 C. herberga a l'o.
 Hildegrin B; Sondequin C; Halaguin F; Heldegrin D;
 Noldegrin T; GE want. -- 681 livra F. -- 682 S. l.
 baillierent S. et Ragin FGT; et Tangrin C; et Rachin D;
 et Sanguin B; l. Salatet et Ragin E. -- 683 d. qui sont
 c. T; .I. noble m. G. -- 684 Ses s. E; et de p. et de v.
CFBGET; D wants. -- 686 Et (Il E) ot en sa compagne le
BGET; o soi d'E. CD; le rice mustandin G; le roy Alexendrin T;
F replaces by: Assés ot entour lui de linage Caïn. --
After 686 GE add: Et bien .XIIII. rois del linage Jupin
 (Caïn E). -- 687 Qui p. BGE; M. et lor dieu Apolin GE;
 Cahu et Apolin T. -- 688 cele b. FT. -- 689 Qe F. F;
 Que h. a F. et GE; T*. -- After laisse 24 DBOGET add two
laisses (Appendix IV). -- 690 Par un FBT*; j. matin h. B.
 691 A n. François livra .I. p. avenans E livra FBT*. --
 692 Ricement sont servi de nobles mes vaillans F; Bien fait
 contraer B; L. lor baillierent G; L. lour livra E; l. servoient
 bachelier et s. C; botellier et s. DGET*. -- 693 d. g. en
 fu et FDBG; d. mout par en fu d. E; d. si en fu mout d. T.

Al matin sont monté quant jors fu avenans,
 Alerent as meskides et roi et amirans, 695
 Plus offrèrent le jor de .III. mile bezans.
 A Richart canta messe li abes de Fescans;
 Li vesques del Forois lor fu vrais sermonans,
 Et dist une proiere conme bons clers saçans:
 "Si voir con Dex fist home, li premiers fu Adans, 700
 Diex, et alas par terre plus de .XXXII. ans,
 Quant Judas vos vendi, li cuvers souduians.
 En le crois en souffristes et paines et ahans;
 Quant Longis vos feri de le lance trencans,
 Sans et eve en issi par le lance corans; 705
 Il le terst a ses iex, qui estoit non veans.
 Maintenant vit plus cler que nus oisiais volans,
 Garda ens en la crois, dont si vit vos sanblans.
 Il vos cria merci, et fu vrais repentans,
 Et tu li pardonas et fus humles et frans. 710
 Si voirement, bels Sire, con jo sui fins creans,
 Si vien en la bataille, soiés Ricart aidans,
 Et faites les .II. Turs vencus et recreans."
 Uns Turs les escouta qui bien fu entendans,
 Ki conta la parole a l'amiral Soudans. 715
 Quant li amirals l'ot, iriés fu ses sanblans.

694 El demain par m. F; Au m. par son l'aube BGE; L'endemain par m. T; fu ajornans CD; fu apparans FBET; q. li j. fu parans G. -- 695 A. Sarrasin au moustier o les Frans F; A. au moustier CBG; A. a lour idles E; Devant Mahom a. et T; D wants. -- 696 P. i o. d'or de C; de .IIII. m. F; de .C. m. BGE; de .C. mars de b. T; DG invert 696/7: de .II. m. D. -- 697 A Gerars cante m. .I. bons clers sapians G*; m. uns vesques sapians E. -- 698 v. de F. CDET; li fu CFT; i fu GE; drois s. (preeschans T) BGET. -- 699 Il dist B. -- 700 Dex ki fesistes h. BT; Dex vous fesistes h. GE; h. le primerein A. C. -- 701 Et ala p. la t. jusc'a .XXXII. a. F; Et D. ala p. t. tot droit .XXXII. a. D; Et alastes p. BGET; t. pres de G; t. bien pres E. 702 J. le v. FD; as q. D; mescreans DC; T wants. -- 703 En le c. souffri Dix et painne et a. F; en souffri D; c. u s. B; T wants. -- 704 L. le f. qi estoit non sachans F; f. del fier ki fu t. BGE. -- 705 yaue l'en vint jusques as poins coulans T; p. le hanste c. CFD; coulans F. -- 706 Et il en t. ses i. CBT; Et il t. D; qu'il avoit n. C; i. lues si fu alumans F; qu'il e. BG. 707 Sempres en v. BGE; que .I. o. E. -- 708 G. en la c. Sire B; Il g. en la c. E; Esgarda en la c. ou il v. T; c. biaux Sire vo s. C; c. Dix si v. FD; vos ahans F; si connut tes s. BGE. -- 709 Il te c. FBGET; m. tu (si B) li fus pardonnans FB; et voirs fu r. G; m. v. en fu r. E; fu bien r. T. -- 710 p. qui f. CDBGET; humelians E; F wants. -- 711 Sire si com c'est voirs et je T; v. vrais Dex c. D; s. fer c. CFD; s. voir disans BE; s. voirs c. G. -- 712 Se vient a la b. C; d. R. s. a. DE; T expands 712/3: Si garissiés R. que n'i soit recreans Et va en la bataille par tes dignes commans Encontre les .II. Turs si soyés hui aidans. -- 713 Qu'il face les .II. T. matés et r. F. 714 .I. mes D; l'a escouté DT; q. f. b. e. DB; b. estoit creans F. -- 715 La p. a contee a F; Cil c. B; Ki c. les nouvieleles lor signour l'amirans G; Son signour aconta pou que ot dit li Frans E; p. au riche roy S. T. 716 Q. l'a. l'entent i. CT*; Q. l'a. l'oï D; Et q. Soudans l'oï B; Q. Soudans l'oï dire GE; grains en fu et dolans BE; s'en (si T) fu grains et dolans GT.

"E! Mahon," dist il, sire, or faites vos conmans;
Or verai des .II. diex li quels ert plus vaillans."

26 Li jors de la bataille fu par .I. venredis.

Corbarans est montés, o lui .XX. Arrabis,

720

Princes et amirals del linage haïs;

Ricart maine et Harpin et dant Jehan d'Alis,

Si ot .V. crestiens qui tot furent eslis.

Ahi! con sont vestu, ne sanblent pas mendis!

Mantels ont a lor cols de palie et de samis.

725

Tos les degrés en montent del grant palais antis.

Corbarans a Ricart par le destre main pris,

Le Soudan apela, si l'a a raison mis:

"Rois, j'offre ma bataille ains que past miedis.

Vois ci mon crestien, cevaliers est hardis,

730

Vers .II. me deffendra tos les mellors eslis

Que vos porrés trover en trestot cest païs,

Que ne vendi vos homes, ne traïson ne fis,

Ne de l'ost d'Anthioce or ne argent ne pris.

Ains nos i combatimes a nos espiaus forbis,

735 118a

A ars et a saietes et a dars lanceïs;

731 Vers .II. de me d.

717 Ahi Mahonmet sire F; Mahoumet je vous prie BGE; M.
 je vous en pri qu'or f. v. talans T; que faices mes talans B;
 c'or (or E) faiciés mes c. GE. -- 718 v. de nos d. li q.
 est mix v. F; v. tes vertus con eles sont poisçans B; v. de
 mes Turs GE; .II. Turs li C; q. est p. ET; p. poissans D.
After 718 F adds: Et qi plus porra faire et plus sera
 poissans A celui qi vaintra me serai voir tenans
 Tant com je viverai ere a lui atendants. -- 719 Au j. FD;
 b. qe vint vint an v. F; b. avint .I. CD; b. estoit un E.
 720 C. i mena Turs et Amoravis GE; l. .C. A. F; l. .XXX.
 A. B. -- 721 a. qui furent (erent E) de grant pris BGE;
 qui furent seigneuris T. -- 722 R. mena H. D; BGET expand:
 R. mena o lui et d. J. d'A. Et Harpins de Beorges; o lui
 (o eus GE) fu eslis BGE; li chevaliers hardis T. --
 723 Et .IIII. c. de nos millors caitis F; Et .V. franc c.
 corajous et hardis B; GET want. -- 724 E! Dix c. F;
 Et si erent v. T; et de vair et de gris FBGET. --
 725 de pailles de s. CBG; et bliax de s. F; de pourpre et
 de s. E. -- 726 d. de marbre DGET; en m. qui fu bis D;
 m. el p. signoris F; se sont el p. mis GET; p. voltis B.
 727 d. puig p. BGE. -- 728 S. en a. GE; Le S. en apele T;
 a. il l'a C. -- 729 R. je frai la b. C; a. q. soit m. CET;
 R. jou frai ma b. a. q. pase midis B. -- 730 e. eslis T*.
 731 V. .II. se combatra t. F; .II. m'en d. C; .II. se d.
 de tes m. amis B; d. de tes m. GE. -- 732 Q. tu poras
 ja prendre en t. ton p. B; Q. v. i p. prendre en G; Q. v.
 p. ja prendre en E; v. porés t. F; en tot vostre p. DG; t.
 vo p. CFET. -- 733 C'ains traïson n'amai ne BGE; h.
 n'envers vous ne mesfis T; t. n'en f. D. -- 734 Se de l'o.,
 or n'eüsmes ne p. T; a. n'en p. D; B omits: d'. --
 735 Mout n., as b. d'acier f. T; i contenismes F; c. a
 esperons f. C; a n. piuus G; B wants. -- 736 A dars, et
 a espiés l. C; As a. et as s. et as d. BT; FGE want. --

Feu grigois lor jetames por els ardoir tos vis,
 Ja ardoient les lances, des escus li vernis,
 Quant li vesques del Pui i vint tos aatis,
 Armés sor son destrier, le crois enmi son pis; 740
 Ens el feu le geta; li vens fu tos guencis,
 Li feus grigois estaint, sor nos est revertis.
 Tel bruïne jeta, tot fumes esbleuis;
 L'uns de nos ne vit l'autre ains fu passés midis.
 Devant mon estandart fu grans li capleïs, 745
 La furent mort li prince dont vos m'avés requis;
 La u tes fils fu mors fu grans li fereïs,
 Ançois qu'il fust rescous ne el quir de cerf mis,
 I pris plus de .C. cols desor mon escu bis."
 "Tot ço tieng jo a fable," dist Soudans, "que tu dis! 750
 Tu aras la bataille, tu en soies tos fis.
 Alés vos adouber, Sorgalé de Valgris,
 Et Golias de Mieque, qui freres fus Longis.
 Maint crestien avés detrenciét et ocis!
 Se vos par .I. François estes andui conquis, 755
 Dont ne sai jo que faire se ma loi ne gerpis."
 Corbarans s'en repaire a l'ostel des caitis;
 Ricart a fait armer a dant Jehan d'Alis,
 Et Harpins de Bohorges s'en est bien entremis.
 .I. hauberc li vestirent, fort et blanc et trelis, 760

737 l. lanchames F; l. jeterent D; T*. -- 738 Il a. C; a.
 des l. CF; a. lor l. B; l. li e. tout v. G; li e. d'or v.
E; l. o les e. v. T; e. si v. C. -- 739 t. ademis T. --
 740 s. ceval FDBE; sa crois F; e. le p. CGE; e. son vis B;
 c. devant son p. T. -- After 740 F adds: Et tenoit en sa
 main le lance Jhesu Cris. -- 741 Ens en f. jeta eve li
 fus lour f. g. E; li fus fu D; t. fu li v. g. B; j. chaicun
 fu esmarris T. -- 742 s. n. regeneris C*; Lues fu de
 maintenant desor n. r. F; Li f. fu tost e. D; n. fu r. DBGE;
T wants. -- 743 Tel fumiere g. C; T. b. me g. t. en fu e.
F; t. f. esbahis CE; t. nos a e. D; t. en f. esbahis G; B
 omits tot; T wants. -- 744 l'a. si fu F; l'a. ançois fu
 m^hledis B; l'a. p. fu m^hledis GE; a. passa m^hledis T*. --
 745 e. fu mis li c. C; li fere^hs D; li lance^hs GE. --
 746 d. tous m'a. F; d. jo fui ci r. D; m'a. repris C; GE
 replace 746/7 by: Iluec fu Brohadas vostre chiers fils ocis
 (B. li v. f. o. E); T wants. -- 747 caple^hs C; T wants.
 748 A. que f. r. ne de Frans departis T; A. que f. GE; f.
 tra^hs C; ne en cuir F. -- 749 Rechiuc plus GET; c. sor
 m. e. vautis E; F expands: I ot de nostre gent plus de .XX.
 ocis Plus rechiu de .C. cols sor l'escu vert et bis. --
 751 La b. averas F; T'en a., or en s. G; La b. en a. n'en
 quier plus de respis T; tous en sui contrequis (entrepris E)
FDBE. -- 752 Murgalé DF; de Valbis FDBGET. -- 753 qui
 fu f. CFD; Borgis C; f. fu BGE; M. du parenté L. T. --
 755 Se par .I. seul F. F; .I. seul home e. B; Se or pour .I.
F. e. au dessous mis T. -- 756 Je ne s. que je face se E;
 que faice se G; se Mahon ne C. -- 757 C. s'en retourne a
GET; as ostés d. C; l'o. as caitis FDBGET. -- 758 R. fist
 bien a. T. -- 759 Et dans H. de Borges CE; e. moult e. F;
 b. entrepris CB. -- 760 v. b. et f. C; v. qui fu f. et t.
DB; v. blanc comme flors de lis GE. --

Elme sarragoçan li ont el chief assis,
 Et a çainte l'espee dont li brans fu forbis;
 La mere Corbaran l'avoit gardé mains dis,
 A Ricart le dona quant ele l'ot assis
 En se canbre al forn^{el}, quant il li fist .I. ris. 765
 A son col a pendu .I. fort escu vautis,
 Orlés estoit d'azur, et d'argent bien floris,
 Une crois i ot d'or par sisne Jesu Cris.
 Al perron li amainent le blanc qui fu eslis,
 De trestote Oliferne, environ le païs, 770
 Ne remest tels cevals el regné de Lutis.
 La sele fu d'ivoire et li arçons jointis,
 Li poitrals fu laciés et li frains [el] chief mis,
 Et Ricars i monta que estrier n'i a quis.
 Il se joinst en l'escu, el ceval est brandis, 775
 Il broce le destrier des esperons masis,
 D'ambes pars les costés en est li sans saillis;
 Et point parmi les rues comme fals ademis.
 Tant fort brise les pieres, li feus en est espris,
 Li rue et li palais en est tos esclarcis. 780 118_b
 Soudans l'a esgardé, tos en est esmaris;

773 f. es chief corr. from 761, 788.

761 .I. e. s. G; li ont ens el chief mis F. -- 762 Et
 ot c. E; c. une e. li b. en f. f. G; e. li fers est
 burnis C. -- 763 C. l'ot garde m. FDB. -- 764 q. elle
 fist .I. ris D*; C*. -- 765 En le c. [al] corniaul q.
C; c. jolie q. E; q. il fu desgarnis D; il jeta .I. B. --
 766 c. li pendirent .I. D; c. ot p. B; p. son f. F; e.
 trelis G; T wants. -- 767 Ouvrés (Ourlé E) de fin acier
BGE; e. entor d'or [et d'a] C*; e. d'acier et F; e. de
 fer et D; et (E omits) de bon quier boulis GE; T wants. --
 768 or en non de J. C; or p. signor J. F; or en s. D; pour
 le non J. B; pour s. GE; T wants. -- 769 p. l'amenerent
C; a. le blancét ademis F; T*. -- 770 En t. FBGET*; O.
 n'env. F; O. et (n'en E) trestout le GE. -- 771 c. nel
 r. FG. -- 772 s. en fu B; i. li a planteis F; a. voltis
DB; i. li a. fu j. T. -- 774 Et il i (G omits) est m.
EGT; m. c'a e. ne s'est pris DB; q'e. n'i a requis F; qui
 n'ia e. Bq. E. -- 775 Isnellement [et] tost est es arçons
 saillis T; j. en cheval si a l'e. b. C; DBGE want. --
 776 Pais b. B; le ceval d. BD; CGET want. -- 777 D'a.
 .II. les c. F; li est (a C) li s. FC; GET want. --
 778 p. ces r. DB; p. la rue E; com faucons a. DT. --
 779 Le p. fent et b. li f. D; b. la p. FC; b. ces p. B;
 en est saillis CFDBGET. -- After 779 C repeats 778. --
 780 Le r. en esclarchist et li p. marbris D; La r. en
 retentist et li p. voltis B; en fu t. T; GE want. --
 781 Et (Que E) li rices S. en est t. e. (abaudis E) GET;
 en fu e. FDB; esbahis B. --

N'est mie de mervelle s'il est espaouris !

Ja trovast on boin plait qui bien l'eüst requis.

- 27 Sorgalé s'adouba, Soudans l'a commandé;
 Cauces a ploieices, d'un clavain adoubé, 785
 Et vesti .I. hauberc, Soudans l'a molt gardé;
 La maille en est plus blanche que n'est flors en esté.
 Elme sarragouçan li ont el cief fremé,
 Et a çainte une espee al senestre costé,
 Ne le [mesericorde] n'a il pas oubrié, 790
 Molue et bien trencant, d'un brun cotel tenpré;
 Et pendi a son col .I. fort escu listé
 Ki fu d'os d'olifant, de nerf desus orlé;
 Quant on i fiert de lance, del fer n'en a joé.
 Et quant li Turs ot bien tot son cors acesmé, 795
 Al perron li amainent .I. destrier sejourné;
 Les costés ot aufanies et le cief sascomé,
 Et de frain et de sele l'ont molt bien conreé.
 Li arçon sont d'ivoire entaillé et ovré,
 Li penials et li feutre d'un brun paille roé. 800
 Li Turs i est montés, qu'a estrier n'en sot gré;

790 mesricorde corr. from 819.

782 s'il en est esmaris B; GE invert 782/3; D wants.
After 782 F adds: Il abaissa le chief tous li mua li vis.
 783 I t. .I. b. C; Ja i t. on pais F; q. l'en eüst
 r. CFDBGET. -- After 783 F adds: Et Ricars s'en passe
 outre si vient es prés floris Corbarans fu o lui et
 mil paien de pris La atent sa bataille or li soit
 Dix aidis Et la vertus del ciel et li sains Esperis
 Sorgalés s'est moult tost armés et ferveſtis Et Golias
 de Meqe q. fu frere Longis. -- 784 Murgalés D;
 l'ot c. DBT. -- 785 C. a a doublés C; C. ot p. FBG;
 Les cauces a cauciés ET*; d'un fort hauberc safré B;
 p. et fort c. orlé G; le c. endossé E; d'un fort c.
 boclé T. -- 786 .I. gladoire F*; h. que S. ot g. E;
 S. l'ot m. CFBG; B inverts 786/7; T*; D wants. --
 787 Le ventaille est p. C; Li clavel sont p. F; n'est
 la f. el pré D; que f. qui n'est en prés G; q. n'e. li
 f. de pré E; -- 788 li a el C; T reads: 787/89/91/
 88/92/93/94/95/90/96. -- 789 c. l'espee FDGE. --
After 789 F adds: Une toise ot de lonc et demi pié
 de lé. -- D reads: 789/92/93/94/90/91; GE place 790
after 793. -- 790 Et la m. FD; Nes la m. ET; n'i a
 mie o. C; n'i a plus o. FG. -- 791 Et clere et bien
 tempré C; Esmolue et t. G; Qu'esmolue et t. E; d'un
 (de FBT) boin achier t. CDFBT; de fin acier t. GE.
After 791 D adds: Dont il colra Richart detrenchier le
 costé. -- 792 pendu F. -- 793 Q. fu tos d'o. D;
 Il fu, de cuir de cief o. G; n. de cuir o. CDB; et
 de fort cuir o. E; n. de cerf o. T. -- 794 l. fiers
 n'i puet ariester C; del fer a on j. D; T expands:
 Q. on i f. de l. de fer bien acéré Ne le puet
 empirier .I. denier monnaé; FBGE want. -- 795 Q.
 li T. ot tres b. le son c. a. D; adoubé FB; GET want.
 796 Al destrier li a. qe il ot pumelé F; d. abrivé T.
 797 Les c. et les flans et le c. sousdolé C*; Les c.
 ot vermax D; GET want. -- 798 l'ot m. D; b.
 acesmé FE; atorné BT. -- 799 i. a fin or noielé F;
 et orlé T. -- 800 Li poitraus C; Et li p. et f.
 d'un bon arcier tempré F; d'un (de T) bon p. CBET.
 801 Li T. saut es arcons q. F; Et il i (G omits) e.
BGET; que e. C. --³

Molt par fu grans et fors s'eüst crestienté,
 Bien se deüst combatre a .II. en camp malé.

- 28 Golias s'adouba, plus ne s'i valt targier;
 Cauces ot ploieices, d'un fort clavain [entier], 805
 Et vesti .I. hauberc, Soudans l'avoit molt cier,
 La maille en est plus blanche que n'est flors d'aiglentier;
 Elme de quir boli se fist el chief lacier.
 Onques escu ne lance ne valt cis Turs baillier,
 Ains prist l'arc et le coivre dont bien se sot aidier. 810
 Onques en paenie n'ot nul mellor archier;
 N'onques ne traist a rien, s'il le vaut damagier,
 K'il nel fesist fauser u la flece brisier.
 A se çainture porte dart trencant por lancier,
 Saietes et engaïnes, tot li ara mestier; 815
 Et porte pic et mace trencant a claus d'acier,
 Et a çainte une espee enheudee d'ormier,
 Ki fu plain pié plus longe d'un autre cevalier,
 Et prist mesericorde, se il vient al luitier,
 Dont il quide Ricart ens el cuer estecier. 820
 Quant li caitif le virent, si orgellos et fier,

805 estrier corr. from CFDBGT.

802 f. (fust G) fors et fiers GET; se eust c. T; C places
 802/3 after 807. — 803 B. s'en peüst c. B. —
 804 Et G. s'adcube G; ne se v. p. t. F; ki (que E) ne se
 v. t. BGE; ne se v. atargier T. — 805 C. a p. DG; Et
 cauça unes c. qui mout font a prisier E; Et a chaucees c.
 d'un blanc auberc e. F. — 806 h. que S. ot m. E.
 807 m. avoit p. T; f. d'olivier E. — After 807 C adapts
 802/3: Moult par fu gens et fors s'eüst crestiener
 Bien se deuist combatre a .II. en camp entier. —
 808 b. li font el c. FG; b. li f. E. — 809 n'i v. FG;
 li T. CFDBGET. — 810 A. prent G; b. set a. C; E wants.
 811 N'onques, n'ot m. chevalier C; Encontre p. F; p. ne
 n'ot m. G; n'ot .I. si bien a. T; E wants. — 812 Onques
 nel t. arriere se le v. d. C; Onques FE; Quar ainc ne, se
 le v. T; r. que ne fesist perchier E; v. enpirier G. —
 813 Qui nel C; Que T; ne f. DBGET; f. froer et la lance
 b. G; f. verser B. — 814 dars trenchans FDBTC*. —
 815 Et s. trencant E; Et s. d'acier T; car t. li a m.
CFDT; t. cou li a m. B; qui (que E) t. li ont m. GE.
 816 Et pic et m. porte a c. t. d'a. T; p. u m. dont bien
 se sot aidier B; t. a fer d'a. E; C*. — 817 c. l'espee
FET; dont li poins fu d'o. F. — 818 Et fust p. F; Q. p.
 p. fu plus l. B; Trop l. fust .I. p. a a. T; p. trop l.
 .I. a. CFD; l. que a. GE. — 819 m. se ce v. DFG; se
 convient E; m. que /ne/ faut T*; au lanchier CF. — 820 D. il
 c. a R. tous les membres trencier F; R. sous el c. effichier
C; R. tot le cors detrenchier DT; R. es costé e. E; el cors
 e. G. — After 820 F adds: Puis li ont amené .I. aufferant
 destrier Tous fu couvers de fer et devant et derier
 Et Golias i saut q'estrier n'i vot baillier Moult fu grans
 et hideus bien sanla avressier; B adds: On li a amené .I.
 boin courant destrier Li Turs saut es arçons qu'estrier
 n'i vot baillier. — 821 B wants. — After 821 F adds:
 Grans paours lor em prist je nel vous doi celer.

- Ki lor veïst le terre engouler et baisier,
 Et batre lor poitrines, vers Deu humeliiier,
- D "Gloriox Sire Peres, qui tot pues justichier, 133b
 Garissiés hui Richart de mort et d'encombrier." 825
 Li vesques et li abes commence a verseillier
- A Une saint Orison qui est ens el sautier.
 Quant Ricars de Calmont a veü l'aviersier,
 En crois se couce a terre, et prist Deu a proier: 830
 "Pater, Alfa et Om., qui tot as a baillier,
 Ki car et sanc presistes en le digne moillier,
 Sainte virgene Marie, por icels desloier,
 Ki ierent en Infer des Adan le premier,
 Qu'il n'estoit saint ne sainte, tant t'amast, n'eüst cier, 835
 K'il ne li convenist a Infer repairier.
 Pitiés vos en prist, Dex, nel vausistes laisier,
 En Jursalem alastes le pule perecier;
 La loi prophetisastes; nel vaurent otrier
 Pilates, Barrabas, ains vos fisent loier 840
 A le saintisme estake, et batre et coloier.

824-27 A expands unsuccessfully:

Et priier Damedeu, qui tot puet justicier:
 "Glorious Sire Pere, qui de disne moillier 118c
 Nasquisistes en terre, garisiés d'enconbrier
 Dant Ricart de Calmont. Li clerc a verseillier

822 t. engloter et B; t. acoler et GET. -- 823 p.
 pour ex humilier E. -- 824-6 variants of D. --
 824 G. Dex font il q. F; q. tout as a baillier T. --
 825 de mortel e. T. -- 826 Et li v. et li autre C;
 c. a proier CB; a. present a F; GET want. -- 828 V.
 saintisme saume q. F; DBGET want. -- After 828 B adds:
 Puis Ricars le cortois ki tant fait a proisier Que Jhesus
 le garise de mort et d'encombrier Et li doinst les .II.
 Turs ocire et detrencier Qu'encor veroient France le
 grant pais plenier. -- 829 Q. issi R. avec l'a. C;
 Et R. li gentius q. il vit l'a. BGE; R. ~~aveu~~ si fier a. T;
D wants. -- 830 Ancois se c. a t. si se prent a sainier B;
 t. commence a D. p. C; T*; FD want. -- After 830 CFDBGET*
read: Une orison commenche (Une proiere dist F) qui moult
 fait (fist E) a proisier. -- 831 Sire Pere propises
 ki B; Glorious Sire Peres G; Biaus Pere glorious E;
 t. pues [justicier] T*; a jugier C. -- 832 Et car et
 s. CB; prist C; presis FBGET; en la virgene (virge FT)
 m. CFDGET; la france m. E. -- 833 En la v. M. B;
 S. v. puciele p. G; S. M. dame p. E. -- 834 I. tres
 A. CG. -- 835 Que n'e., q. t. t'eüssent c. E; t.
 l'amast C; s. qe t. oïssiés c. F; que t. euissent c. B;
 t. alast die/ū] T*. -- 836 Que il ne c. CE; Qui
 ne le c. DG; Que ne li (le B) TB; en I. FBET; trebucier E.
 837 D. ne v. C; n. vosis plus l. F; D. nes v. GT. --
After 837 F adds: En terre descendis pour ton cors
 traveillier. -- 838 En Jherusalem fustes p. T; alas
 tes amis p. F; a. pour le p. C; a. vo p. B. -- 839 Le
 l. lor anonchastes F; p. qui mout fist a prisier E.
 840 P. et B. DGE; P. et Caïfas B; Quant il vous orent pris
 si v. T; cil v. f. F; E expands: Pilate et Barabans nel
 volrent otroier Ains vous present biau sire si vous fisent
 loier. -- 841 Et a le sainte e. ET; b. et estoutier T; C wants.

Çou soufristes vos, Dex, por Diable engignier,
 Et en le sainte crois vostre cors travellier,
 Par ton destre costé le digne sanc raier,
 Le piere de Calvaire et fendre et peçoier; 845
 Desci qu'en Gorgatas fesis ton sanc glacier.
 Terre braist et crolla, beste ne valt mangier,
 Ne li oisel volant canter n'esleécier,
 Tristre furent et mu, n'i ot que corecier.
 Longis qui te ferì ne se sot dont gaitier, 850
 Terst le sanc a ses iex, [sel] fesis esclairier;
 Vit le ciel et la terre, et les plaies segnier.
 Il te cria merci, vausis lui otroier,
 Pardonastes li, Dex, molt en ot bon loier.
 Tes cors fu demandés par .I. sol cevalier, 855
 Josep avoit a non, Pilate ert soldoier;
 .VII. ans l'avoit servi, n'en quist autre loier
 Mais ton cors a despendre et laver et baignier,
 Et tes plaies enoindre, el Sepucure coucier.
 Au tierç jor surrexis, n'i vausis plus targier, 860
 S'en alas en Infer, tes bons amis aidier,
 Ki avoient de toi mervellos desirier.
 Adan jetastes fors, et Evain sa moillier,
 Noel et Abrehan et Abel le legier,

842 v. Sire p. T. — 843 En le saintisme c. B; c. pener
 et E; F wants. — 844 Puis del digne c. C; Par (De T)
 ton digne c. DFT; De ton d. c. GE; le vermel s. B; le
 presious s. G. — 845 Le p. de mal aire fesis f. et
 brisier F; La p. ki fu dure fesis f. et percier B; C. fist
 et f. et perchier D; C. fist f. T; C. en convint p. G.
 846 D. en G. DBET; fisent C; s. raier CDGET; F wants.
 847 et cria b. FT; ne pot m. B; n'i v. G. — 848 Ne li
 o. voler lor cans e. GE; c. ne eslecier F. — After 848
B adds: Ne li poiscons noer en mer ne en gravier. —
 849 F wants. — 850 f. moult te s. bien g. C; ne si
 savoit g. D; ne se v. ains targier B; ne s'en s. pas g. G;
 ne se pot pas g. ET. — 851 T. se main CGE; Le s. t. FT;
 Il le t. a, si le fist e. B; i. tu f. C; ~~i. sel f. FDGET~~;
 f. resclairier T. — 852 et tes p. CDGET; et la plaie F.
 853 te pria m. FBGET; sel v. o. F; tu li vaus o. E. —
 854 Et tu li pardonnas F; Tu li pardonnas D. il en ot
 b. l. E; p. Sire m. DB. — 855 s. soudoier B. —
 856 J. avoit n. C; P. chevalier B; GE omit: ert; D wants.
 857 n'en vot a. F; n'em prist a. D; ne quist B; n'en
 ot a. GET. — 858 Fors t. DT; d. bien aromatzier D;
 d. el Sepulcre coucier F. — 859 Et puis t. p.
 oindre GE; Et a oindre t. p. T; del digne onguement cier F.
 860 nel v. laissier C; p. ne v. t. E; v. atargier T.
 861 En I. en a. F; A I. en a. D; Si a. GET; a I. CBE;
 pour t. a. FD. — After 861 D adds: Qui t'avoient
 servi de bon corage entier. — 862 De vos a. Sire m. D.
 863 A. en getas f. F; A. en traisis f. G; A. en jetas
 hors ET. — 864 et Noé le l. E. —

Et Jacob et Esau et Josep son fil cier; 865

Moyset le prophete, c'on jeta el vivier

Quant il fu nés de mere, c'on le rova noier,

Et en herbe et en jonc le fist estroit liier

Cele qui le jeta ens el parfont ramier.

Li fille Pharaon s'aloit esbanoier, 870 118d

Et .II. serors l'enfant, sor le rive el gravier;

Illueques le trova la roïne al vis fier.

Ele le fist garder, norir et alaitier,

Puis fist le roi son pere maintes fois courecier,

Quant Dex li rois de gloire en fist son messagier. 875

Ensi, Dex, con c'est voirs, et fesis perecier,

Tes saintismes aposteles tot le monde cerkier,

Les tiens saints ewangiles espondre et pornoncier,

Langages lor donastes, c'ainc n'orent latimier;

Si garis hui mon cors de honte et d'enconbrier, 880

Qu'ocie ces .II. Turs a m'espee d'acier;

Ensi que tes caitis quin ont tel desirier,

Glorieus Sire Pere, en faites desloier."

29 Or sont tot .III. armé, si vont a lor bataille,

La desous en .I. pré sos l'eve de Quinquaille; 885

Li flos de mer i monte par tote la rivaille.

865 J. et Esau CFDBGE; J. et Ysaye T; et J. au viés
 fier B. -- 866 p. commencha a muier F; commencha
 a nonchier D; el gravier C. -- 867 m. on l'envoia
 n. C; m. on le F; m. on le cuida n. T. -- 868 En
 herbes (herbe D) et TD; Ens en l'e. et el j. B; En l'h.
 et ens es j. GE; le f. on bien l. F; l'avoit on fait l. D.
 869 p. gravier CFBGET*; D wants. -- 870 C wants.
 871 Et .II. puceles o lui D; A .II. s. B; Atant es vous
 l'e. GE; el sentier E; CFT want. -- 872 Aluec t.
 l'enfant o le viaire f. F; t. la pucelle au CDBGET*.
 874 Et fist T; m. efforts (estor D) commencer FD. --
 875 Q. li vrais D. de T; -- 876 E. c. c'e. v. D. CF;
 E. c. ce fu v. que Dex fist p. D; Si c. ce fu v. D. BE;
 Si c. ce fu v. Sire G; Ainsi comme c'e. v. T; que f. B;
 qu'il f. E. -- 877 Et feïs tes a. CT; a. par t.
 (trestout E) le mont c. DBE; a. l'evangile noncier F.
 878 Les t. saintismes angles despondre et anoncier G;
 Et l'evangile e. par tout et p. T; despondre DCE; et
 preschier CE; F replaces by: Aval parmi le mont pour
 le pule adrecier; B wants. -- 879 d. ainc CFBT;
 a. n'o. (n'i ot B) amparlier FB; n'i o. l. E. -- After
 879 F adds: Si voir com je che croi sans point de
 moncengnier; B adds: Si com ce fu voirs Sire m'os
 ci tesmoignier. -- 880 Si g. Dix m. F; Si garisciés
 m. B; Sire gardés m. T; de mal et C; d'ochirre et
 d'enpirier D; de mort et BET. -- 881 Qe ces .II.
 T. o. a l'e. F; Que vaine les (ces T) .II. T. GET;
D inverts 881/2: Et ces .II. T. o. -- 882 Et si
 q. CGE; Et ces c. ausi qui en o. grant mestier D;
 ces c. CBGET; les c. F; qui o. CGET; q'en o. FB. --
 883 Et de prison nos faites jeter et d. D; en faces
 d. F. -- After 883 F adds: Et aler au Sepulcre
 qes puisse convoier Lors a levé sa main son chief
 prist a sainnier. -- After laisse 28 T adds a
 laisse, Appendix V. -- 884 Il s. C; O. s. li
 Turc a. s'en v. F; armé il v. T*; a la b. EC; en la
 b. G. -- 885 La d. (defors B)ot une isle GEB;
 La dehors T; en une ille FT; fors l'aigue F; sor le
 bos de Bacaille C. -- 886 Li fluns de m. i court E;
 m. i vient F; sans nule defensaille BGE; C*.

Soudans l'a faite clore par itel devisaille,
 De lices et de cordes, de pels par tel fremaille,
 S'om i vient eslaisiés, que ses destriers n'i saille.
 La les maintent tos trois, n'i ot que une entraille; 890
 A .XXX. rois d'Aufrique font garder le bataille.
 Li baron vont veoir li quele espee taille,
 Et Soudans descendi sos le pint en l'onbraille;
 Corbaran a mandé qu'il a lui parler aille,
 Ja dira tel parole, ne quit que rien li vaille: 895
 "Corbarans, faisons plait, la cose soit finaille,
 Met toi en ma mercit, ton cors et ta vitaille.
 J'en prendrai bon conseil voirement et sans faille."
 Corbarans fait sanblant que de rien ne l'en caille.
 "Rois, vois mon cevalier a la fiere coraille, 900
 Vois con armes li sèent et con il bien les baille.
 Grant paour puet avoir qui a tort me travaille!
 Porquant si n'est il mie de cele baronaille
 Ki fu a Anthioce a le grant assanblaille,
 Ki tes Turs ne prisoient vaillant une maaille; 905
 Od mes autres caitis l'avoie en ma servaille.
 Va, fai les metre ensamble sans [nule] demoraille.
 Jo n'ai mie paor que li siens dex li faille."

887 S. l'a fait enclore C; S. l'ot fait bien c. F; S.
 l'avoit enclos p. i. devinaille D; S. le fist enclore BG;
 S. l'ot fait enclore p. cele d. E; par tele d. CBT; p. tele
 devinaille G. -- 888 Defors l. de c. F; De l. et de p.
 de c. p. f. B; finaille E. -- 889 Se nus i v. poignant F;
 Se li destriers i v. que par force n. s. B; Que se on s'i
 eslesse q. le d. T; v. a laissor, faille C*; s. (le E)
 cevax ne FGE. -- 890 Tant le maine Soudans G; La les
 maine Soudans E; mainne F; n'i avoit c'une e. DE. --
 891 A .XI. r. d'A. F; fait g. FGET. -- 892 le q. sor
 portaille C*; q. e. mix t. FDE. -- 893 Li S., F; s. un
 p. FT; p. en l'erbaie D. -- 894 Et manda C. F; que p. a
 l. a. C; que a l. DEGET. -- 895 p. ce cuit F; p. je croi
 q. pau li v. E; ne croi C; q. riens i v. CD; r. n'i v. B.
 896 C. fait son p. C; C. f. pais FBGE; la c. s'anoiaille
CFDG; laissons ceste bataille B; la tençons riens ne vaille
E; T wants. -- 897 Et m. en ma m. B; me manaide t. C; m.
 et t. c. et l'entraille E; et la v. GT; D wants. --
 898 Jo p. DB; mon c. T; c. volentiers et C; c. tout
 vraiment s. f. F; c. a ma grant baronaille B; c. dist
 Corbarans s. G. -- 899 ne li c. CFDBGET. -- 900 mon
 crestien a la dure corage G; v. nos crestiens a E. --
 901 il b. s'eslaisse C; et com bel il l. F; et comment il
 l. DT; et com b. il l. B; et que il E. -- 902 G. tort as
 par Mahon qui a t. m. travailles T. -- 903 s'il n'est D;
 barnelaille C. -- 904 f. sous A. F; a la fiere a. B; a
 icele a. E. -- 905 v. .I. oef de qaille F; vaillissant
 une maille E. -- After 905 E adds: La teste li trençoient
 a toute le ventaille Autressi les carhoient com li vens
 fait la paille. -- 906 Com .I. autre caitif C; O les a. E;
 Et ces a. T; c. a. en TF; ma fremaille DETC*. -- After 906
B adds: Le cauc et le sablon portoit a la muraille. --
 907 Va si l. B; Or les f. T; s. autre d. F; n. detriaille E.
 908 n'ai nule p. B; li miens d. E. --

30 Quant ot li rois Soudans Corbarans ne l'entent,
 Del plait qu'il li requist durement se repent; 910
 Il livre ses ostages et les Corbaran prent.
 .XIIII. rois apele des mellors de sa gent,
 Sor Mahomet li jurent sans nul engignement,
 De garder la bataille par droit et loiaument.
 Puis fist garder le camp, saciés si ricement, 915 119a
 Entrosqu'a .V. cens Turs, tot en porpensement.
 La les maintent tos trois, maintre communalment,
 Et Ricart eslongierent des .II. Turs .I. arpent.
 Li doi Turc sont alé a .I. consellement.
 Et dist li uns a l'autre: "Conpaing, a moi entent, 920
 Au quel que il guencisse, l'autres ne face lent
 Ke il nel fiere u traie maintre communalment;
 Por çou le conquerrons plus tost legierement."
 Li caitif sont en haut el maistre mandement,
 Li vesques del Forois ses mains vers Deu en tent: 925
 "Glorieus Sire Pere, qui salvastes no gent,
 Nos vos alames querre, bels Sire, en or^uient,
 Veoir vostre Sepucre et vostre Moniment,
 Quant Corbarans nos prist, qui nos tint longement.
 Por toi avons soufert maint doleros torment! 930
 Hui cest jor, se toi plaist, le gerredon nos rent,

909 Q. voit CBGE; T*. -- 910 p. que requis a d. BG;
 qu'il a requis ET; requiert CD; d. s'en r. C; r. moult
 forment se FT; se r. d. E. -- 911 les o. a C. les p. E;
 et Corbarans les p. CDBG. -- 912 [XIII] r. apela tout
 del mix de F*; .XIIII. Turs a. GE; du millour E; a. sans
 nul delaïement D; C*. -- 913 Sor Mahon li jurerent F;
 S. M. jurerent ET; M. lor j. G; jure s. n. encombrement C.
 914 b. et bien l. CB; p. (pour G) voir et l. EG. --
 915 P. fait, ce s. vraiment D; Saciés puis f. g. le c.
 si cïerement B; sac. seürement C; c. çou sac. r. G; sac.
 mout r. E; F expands: Cil furent moult preudome bien
 tinrent sairement Lors fait crier son ban Soldans par
 ce couvent Qe nus hom n'i parolt pour atraire le dent
 Son senescal apele se li dist belement Se nus i sonne
 mot des lor de ma gent Sel me faces savoir ne m'en mentir
 noient Dist li senescax sire tout a vostre talent. --
 916 Dusques a C; Endés qu'a, des meillors de sa gent D;
 Desi que B; Desi a .XXX. T. G; Et sont bien .XXX. T. E;
 Qu'il y a T. t. apenseement T*; t. porpenseement
CFBGE. -- After 916 F adds: Fist garder la bataille
 Soldan par sairement Qe serus i parole pendus sera al
 vent. -- 917 En l'isle sont mené li troi c. F; Les
 menerent t. .III. G; Qui t. .III. les menerent dedens
 l'encloement E; maint et c. CT; m. et c. D; t. tos et
 isnelement B. -- 918 Ricars s'est eslaissies d. F; Et
 Richars eslonja les .II. T. DT*; Et Rs. s'eslonja d. GE;
 e. de tiere plain a. B. -- After 918 F adds: Enmi le pré
 s'estut ou les paiens atent. -- 919 Et li d. T. s. trait F.
 920 Dist Golias de Meqe Sorgalé or m'entent F; GET want,
 921 Au q. qe li Frans vingne F; g. l'uns ne se f. E; g.
 que l'autre ne soit l. T; a. nel f. FDBG. -- 922 Q'il
 ne le f. ou f. tost et isnelement F; Qu'il ne le f. DB;
 il ne f. GE; t. moult tost ireement C; t. molt angois-
 sosement DT*; t. mout aïreement B; t. senpres (trestout E)
 de maintenant GE. -- 923 P. cel CF; P. c. iert conquis
 p. G; Et par si ert conquis sans nul delaïement E; c. mout
 p. l. B; c. mout t. T; p. t. ireement C*. -- 924 s. as
 murs el plus haut m. B. -- 925 L'evesque T; de F. CDET;
 v. D. s. m. e. t. (estent T) DBET; m. v. ciel [en] t. F.
 926 Damedix dist il P. F; ki formas tote g. B; qui sauvas
 toute g. GE; s. vo g. CF; T*. -- 927 v. aliesme g. FGE;
 v. allions q. DT; v. aliens requerre B; S. isnellement C;
 S. en Bellient FDBET. -- 929 Mes C. n. G; p. mout n. GE;
 p. si n. C; q. n. a l. B. -- After 929 B adds: Tenus en
 sa prison mout dolerousement. -- 930 GE want. --
 931 H. cel j. C; se te p. E; q. n. en r. FGET; p. nos en
 r. venjement D. --

Et vien en le bataille par ton commandement,
 Que Ricars puist conquerre les Turs hardiement."
 A iceste parole sains Espirs i descent,
 Ki dona a Ricart molt grant rehaitement. 935
 Il broce le destrier des esperons d'argent,
 Et point vers Sorgalé qui sos l'escu l'atent.
 Et Goulias de Mieque le saiete destent,
 El coler del hauberc le fiert molt roidement;
 Quanqu'il consiut des mailles trença reondement, 940
 Que del carnal del col bien travers doit li fent.
 Ricars senti le plaie et vit l'auberc sanglent;
 Damedeu reclama: "Pater omnipotent!"
 Le grant non de Jesu escria hautement.
 Vers l'arcier est guencis tost et isnelement, 945
 .I. colp li a doné tant acesmeement,
 Le clavain de son dos li desront et desment;
 Parmi le cuer le fiert, que gaires n'i mesprent,
 Que l'arçon par deriere li peçoie et porfent,
 U il voelle u non del ceval le descent. 950
 Li Turs muert et cancele, brait et crie et s'estent;
 L'arme enportent diable en Infer a torment.
 De cestui est delivrez, de l'autre se deffent.
 Sorgalés point le bai qui ne cort mie lent,

932 Et vaintre la b. p. t. digne commant C; b. se toi
 vient a talent B. -- After 932 B adds: Et aïe Ricart
 ki la est en present. -- 933 Si que R. conchiere F; Que
 les .II. T. c. p. son grant hardement B; Et faites (Et
 si fai T) les .II. T. vencus et recreant GET; c. ces T.
D; par hardement CFD. -- 934 A icele p. CGE; S.
 Esperis d. CFBGET; D replaces by: Et li bers fu el camp
 Deu reclaime sovent. -- 935 R. g. evertuement F; R.
 proece et hardement GT; R. et cuer et hardement E; g.
 le hardement C; g. esforcement B; D wants. --
 936 Et broce D; Il broca E; le cheval GE. -- 937 Et
 vient v. S. F; p. a S. GE; Murgalé D; ki ens el camp
 l'a. B; qui son e. li tent E. -- 938 M. se s. F; --
 939 El col desor l'aub. C; le feri durement B; le f.
 si r. (durement GE) TGE. -- 940 Tant com c. DG;
 Quanque c. del col bien .II. doie li fent B; trenche T;
 m. t. molt laidement D; m. li va tot derompant E; C wants.
 941 Qe de c. F; Et del car. des mailles trence reondement
B; Que le c. du c. de t. li pourfent T; c. li trencha
 .I. arpent C; b. troi doie li f. DGE. -- 942 R. sent
 le saiete GE; et voit CGE; p. voit li h. s. F; et l'a.
 v. s. D. -- 943 r. le pere o. CBG; r. a cui li mons
 apent E. -- 944 Le g. n. Damledeu D; J. reclama h.
CFBE; J. apiele h. G; J. cria mout h. T. -- 945 V. le
 Turc se genci C; V. Goulias guencist BT; V. le Turc e.
 g. G; V. Sorgalé en vient t. E. -- 946 Puis li (Dont
 il E) donna .I. c. GE; t. aïreement B. -- 947 Le c.
 c'ot vestu E; li desmaille et d. F. -- After 947 G adds:
 Que l'anste forte et roide a .I. fier d'orient. --
 948 P. le chief le C; P. le cors li met q. E; c. li met
 que de rien n'i D; q. noient n'i T. -- 949 Et l'a.
 daërrain en .II. moitiés li fent F; Et l'a. G; l'a. de
 d. CBT; l'a. de devant D; p. et desfent CBG; li p. et
 desment E. -- After 949 C repeats 948. -- 950 il
 vosist CFBGE; n. a terre le d. D; l'i d. B; T wants.
 951 Li T. chiet et c. C; Li T. se m. et b. E; T. c. mors
T; et c. et si s'estent ET; m. et toelle b. G; b. et c.
 forment DB. -- 952 en I. le pullent DB; FGE invert
 952/3: D. en p. l'a. en dolerex t. F; I. al t. GE. --
 953 De c. a il pais a l'a. E; d. vers l'a. CFDGT; De
 celui e. T. -- 954 Murgalés D; Goulias p. le vair
 qui [mie] li destent E*; p. le vair G. --

Fiert Ricart en la quisse, a descouvert le prent, 955
 Coupe le cuir et feutre, et li destriers s'en sent.
 Estes les vos ansdeus a .I. touellement!
 Cascuns tire sa lance, n'en puet avoir noient.

3I Quant l'uns s'estorst de l'autre, et il s'est desevrés,
 N'i a cel n'ait se lance, atot s'en est tornés, 960 119b
 Et sont bien eslongié .II. arpens mesurés;
 Et fuiscent ingaument, mais Ricars est navrés.
 De traïson se doute, qu'il n'i soit enconbrés,
 Mais Soudans tint se trive, onques n'en fu blamés;
 Ne feroit traïson por .XIIII. cités. 965
 Ricars esgarde au ciel, si est resvigourés.
 Grant ot la fourceüre si fu molt bels armés,
 Le vis lonc et traitis, fiers fu et redoutés,
 Beneoite soit l'ore qu'il fu de mere nés,
 Par lui fu ses linages tos jors puis honorés. 970
 Ricars point son destrier et le sien Sorgalés,
 Grans cols s'entredonerent sor les escus listés,
 Les fers trencans conduient dejoste les costés;

955 R. f. CT; R. en l'escu a BGE; q. qu'en d. C. --
 956 Copé li a le f. CT; C. aluec la sele qe li cevals
 s'en F; C. l'ane DG; et la sele D; C. l'elme et le f. et
 li d. s'estent B; que li d. CDT; f. li d. ne s'en G;
E wants. -- 957 E. l. v. ensanle a F; a. combatre
 ireement G. -- 958 C. tira B; t. sa regne D; nel p.
CD; pot CGET. -- 959 Q. l'u. estort son cop C; Tant s'e.
 l'u. de l'a. FDT; Q. s'e. l'u. de l'a. cascuns sten est
 tornés B; Il tournent l'u. de l'a. tost furent d. G; Q.
 s'estent l'u. de l'a. tost se sont d. E; cascuns est d.
CDT; es les vous d. F. -- 960 Or ot (a E) cascuns sa l.
GE; atant s'en (en E; se T) sont t. GET; l. arrier s'en C.
 961 Et se s. e. GE; T wants; F inverts 961/2: Andoi s. e.
After 961 B adds: Mout furent boin vasal cascuns fu bien
 armés. -- 962 Et tout fust uelment C; Et furent i. FG;
 Mout f. i. m. cascuns fu n. B; Dont f. i. E; Des cous sont
 par igal m. T; R. fu n. GE. -- 963 Moult se d. Ricars F;
 que n'i s. CF; que ne s. GE; qu'il ne s. T. -- After 963
F adds: Et q'il n'i soit trais de Persans ne d'Esclés.
 964 S. tient bien t. o. ne f. C; S. tient justice ja n'en
 estra b. D; t. si trives FB; t. bien droit GE; t. bien
 trieves T; ja n'en sera b. F; que il n'en f. b. E. --
 965 N'en f. C; N'en f. pour nului pour que il fust cosés E;
 Ne fesist t. T. -- 966 R. garda le (au T) c. si s'est
 r. FT; R. garda au c. dont fu r. D; R. regarde B; el ciel
CB; si s'est esvigorés C; E replaces by: Et R. fu tous pres
 enmi le camp armés; G wants. -- 967 G. fu sa contenance
 et bien estoit mollés E; o. l'enforcheüre CBT; et fu bien
 bel a. F; fu bien acesmés G; et fu DB; m. bien a. CDBT.
 968 Le v. fier et f. fors fu C; Le viaire t. F; t. et fu
 bien G; t. et si fu E; fenestrés GE; T*. -- 969 Benoitte
 s. li eure F; L'eure fust b. que il fu engenrés E; que de
 m. fu n. BT*. -- 970 l. fu li barnages toudis p. oun. G;
 l. furent François durement h. E; l. a tous j. on. B; t. dis
 p. T*; j. plus h. C. -- 971 R. le d. broce et li Turs S. C;
 Il brocent les d. les frains abandonnés GET*; b. le d. et le
 son Murgalés D; p. le cheval et B. -- After 971 T adds:
 Isnellement et tos es les vous assemblés. -- 972 c. se
 vont doner DE; c. se sont donnés s. T; s'e. des (es E)
 espius noelés GE. -- After 972 DBGET add: Trestos les ont
 perchiés et les haubers fausés D; Les Escus o. p. et lor h.
 f. B; Lor esqu sont p. lor h. ont f. G; Si que les ont p. E;
 Tant qu'il l. o. p. T; F adds: Desous les rices boucles
 les ont frains et troés Et les haubers des dos desmailliés
 et faussés. -- 973 Li f. t. descent d'encoste les c. C; Que
 les fers ont conduit T; c. par dalés les c. ET. --

Li lance au Turc peçoie, li fus en est quasés,
 Et li Ricart se tint, qui fu plus fors assés. 975
 Une aventure avint dont Dex soit aorés,
 Que li [destrier] se sont des frons entrecontrés;
 Tant durement le hurte li blancars afilés,
 Que au bai de Castele est li cous desnoés.
 Lors caï li destriers si versa Sorgalés, 980
 Et Ricars de son poindre s'en est outre passés;
 Et li Turs saut en piés, trait l'espee del lés,
 Prist l'escu as enarmes, .IIII. fois s'est mollés,
 Et jure Mahomet: "Ricars, avant venrés,
 A preudome vos tieng s'avoec moi descendés. 985
 Molt ferés grant folie se a colp m'atendés."
 Et dist une parole par coi sera grevés:
 "Je vos doins en aïe le deu u vos creés!"
 Et Ricars li respont con hom amesurés:
 "Sarrasins, li miens dex n'ert ja par toi donés! 990
 Car nel crois ne ne l'ainmes tu ne tes parentés.
 Se il me velt aidier tu seras enconbrés."
 Ains que li Turs se fust vers Ricart retornés,
 Le hurte del ceval si qu'il l'abat es prés,

974 li fiers en B; en fu q. G; est volés D. —
 975 q. p. f. fu a. CF; q. p. fu f. a. D; q. p. ot
 force a. E. — 977 Car li d. E; F omits: li; s. de
 f. C; des flans B; des chiés T; entrehurtés CDBT.
 978 Si d., b. afeutrés T; d. se h. F; d. le fiert li
 destriers pumelés (sejornés E) GE; li blancés a. FDB.
 979 Qu'al bai de C. B; li cors deviés T. — 980 Si
 c. li chevax G; Dont c. li chevaus si v. Murgalés E;
 Si c. T; c. li chevaux DB; et v. Murgalés D; et v.
 S. CFBT. — 981 Et R. s'en e. o. de s. p. p. D; R. a
 s. E; p. en est CBGE. — 982 Li T. sali em p. E; T.
 resaut sus t. CD. — 983 P. l'e. ens e. puis si est
 atirés E*; e. et bien si e. m. C; e. .X. f. si e. m. G.
 984 R. s'avant v. (venés T) FT; R. n'i duerés GE. —
 985 Jou v. t. a p. GE; p. te t. C; si o m. d. CFDBGT;
 si a m. E. — 986 Ce sera g. f. D; GET want. —
 987 Puis d., dont il s. E; p. pour q. CFDB; s. irés C;
 p. dont mout s. g. G. — 988 v. donne en C; a.
 celui en cui c. E; les dex GT. — 990 m. Sires
 n'e. F; T omits: ja; C*. — 991 C. ne le c. ni a. C;
 C. tu ne l'a. pas ne li tiens p. E; Quar tu nel c. ne
 a. T; ne ne a. D; ne aeures tu G. — 992 a. tost
 s. DT; vergondés D. — 993 se soit v. R. apensés D;
 f. a R. E; R. pourpensés CF. — 994 Le hurta d. FE;
 c. k'il le rabat B; si que l'a. C; si le rabat GE.

Ke del cief li caï li vers elmes gennés. 995

Ja en fust li murmure par la cité levés,

Mais Soudans tient ses trives, n'en doit estre blamés.

A l'entree del camp en fu li bans criés

Que il n'i parout / hom, tant soit rois coronés,

Et se il le fesoit, as forques fust levés. 1000

32 Or fu li Turs en l'ille, s'ot escu et espee,

Molt fu frans et hardis, del mius de sa contree;

Durement fu iriés, s'a la color muee.

Ricars point le ceval, n'i fist autre arestee,

Grant colp li a doné sor le targe listee, 1005 119c

Bien une ausne et demi est de l'anste passee.

Li Turs osta se targe si l'a el pré jetee.

Ci pert Ricars se lance qu'en l'escu fu entree,

Et pres de l'arestuel est ronpue et froee.

Li Turs reprist l'escu, s'a le guige acolee, 1010

Et trait le brant tot nu par molt grant aïree,

Molus fu et trencans, plus que fausaceree;

995 Et del c. BT; De son c. cañ jus li G; li vola li C;
c. ses v. FT. -- 996 Li murmures en est F; Ja en fu li
m. DB; Ja i fust li m. p. t. l'ost l. GE; par toute l'ost
alés FDB; p. toute la cités T. -- After 996 BDF adds:
Li parent as .II. Turs ont lor adous coubrés (rovés D)
Ja fust Ricars ocis iluec et decolés (o. et illuec
desmembrés F); C adds: Que Richars fust ochis et illuec
decolés Li parent as .II. Turs ont lor adols conrés;
GET* add: Et Ricars detrenciés ocis et afolés (decoupés T).
997 M. S. tint CFBT; t. justice dont d. e. loés D; t. les
t. B; onques n'en fu b. BT; t. ne d. C; GE want. --
998 Et a l'entrer del (ou T) c. FDBT; Mes a l'entrer GE;
c. i fu E. -- 999 Q. n'i parole hons C; Q il n'i par ot
h. D; s'il n'est r. c. CD; Q. ja n'i p. h. s'il n'ert r.
c. F; N'i (N'en GE) p. (passast T) h. ne fenme nes .I. r.
c. (ne mais r. c. E) BGET. -- 1000 Sempres ne fust ocis
et (u G) as f. l. BGE; Qui ne soit lors ocis et as f. l. T;
il ce f. C; il i parloit, fu menés D; -- After 1000 F*
adds: Par icel sairement est li estours remés Qe paien
n'en issirent une seus tant soit osés Sous une viés
posterne les a uns [mes] menés illuec gaite Ricart tant
q'il soit retournés Or le garisse Dix qi en crois fu penés.
1 Or est, si (et E) a traite l'espee GE; li T. a pié F;
s'ot l'e. et l'e. T. -- 2 N'ot plus h. paien en toute la c. B;
Il estoit mout h. d. m. de la c. E; f. fiers et h. CDGT;
f. fors et h. F; des miols de CT; h. et de bone pensee D;
h. al miols de G. -- 3 DD. se desfont s'a. B; I. et
abosmés GET; la c. a m. T. -- 4 p. le destrier C; n'i
ot point d'a. G; c. sans nule demoree E. -- 5 li va
donner s. C; t. roee GE; t. doree T. -- 6 Plus d'une
a. CB; Toute u. a. FDE; d. outre li e. p. C; d. de la
lance e. p. F; e. la lance passee DB; d. li a outre p. E;
T*. -- G*replaces 6-10 by: Brandist la lance ki fu
bien aceree Ausne et demie li a outre passee La lance
brise en l'esqu est remesee Li Turs oste le trons si l'a
el pré gietee Et puis reprent l'esqu et a traite l'espee.
7 o. le t. arriere l'a g. C; o. la lance si l'a el camp g. F;
oste la lance si l'a es près g. E; t. qu'il l'a e. B; T*.
8 Si p. R. C; q'est en l'e. F; l. en l'e. est froee T*;
est entree DB. -- 9 Car p. F; Que p. BE; p. de la moitié
en est outre f. E; a. et froissié et D; a. fu r. T*; et
quassee DCB. -- 10 Li T. gerpi l'e. C; Li T. saisist l'e.
E; et a (tint T) traite l'espee ET; l'e. la targe a a. D;
l'e. s'a l'enarme conbree B. -- 11 Et tint FCB; b. d'archier
p. D; GET want. -- 12 Esmolue et t. comme f. a. GE; M. et
bien t. T. --

999 parlast h. FBGE.

Tant fort coite Ricart que une bastonee
 L'a reculé en l'ille, dont li eve est palee,
 C'ainc Ricars ne pot faire ne guencir ne tornee, 1015
 Par deriere li done li Turs si grant colee
 Amont desor son elme u la crois est doree,
 Le cercle o le jagonce en abat en la pree.
 Sor l'escu de son col est l'espee coulee,
 Enfresci qu'en la bocle est la targe colpee; 1020
 Del carnal de l'espaulle li coupe tel denree,
 Se ço fust cars de porc, petit fust acatee!
 Li Turs recuevre tost sans nule demoree,
 Si l'a el bon cheval tot a estoc boutee,
 Tres par miliu del ventre et enpainte et colee; 1025
 Li destriers cancela, car la mort a goustee.
 Ricars descent a pié de la sele doree;
 Li bons destriers ciet mors sos lui gole bae.
 Quant Ricars sent l'espee, l'erbe voit sanglente,
 Des grans dolours qu'il a tient la ciere enclinee, 1030
 Et li Turs le regarde, grant joie en a menee.
 A Ricart escria: "Une en avés trovee!
 Anqui arés vers moi molt petite duree.
 Relenquis le tuen deu, car ta vie est oltree!"
 Ricars ne respont mot; ire li est montee. 1035
 Al roi Soudan en fu la novele portee:

13 T. f. cerche R. a u. C; R. demie b. G; R. toute u. E.
 14 R. l'a en C; Le recule en l'i. d. la rive e. p. F; L'a
 r. el pret B; De l'une part de l'i. GE; d. la rive estoit
 lee D; d. l'aigue estoit alee G; u ele estoit palee E; i.
 qui de piex fu fremee T. — After 14 BGET add: De palis
 (Et de peus B) et de lices close et (estoit E) avironnee
G. — 15 Quant R. CT; Ainc R. F; Quar R. B; Que vers
 lui ne p. f. nesune trestournee GE; f. ne guenci ne t. C;
 f. guencie ne t. FDBT. — 16 P. d. le fiert BGET; en
 l'ielme tel c. GET; d. moult g. F. — 17 A. par desous
 l'iaume C; A. parmi s. FD; BGET want. — After 17 D adds:
 Enfresi qu'al nasel li avoit mailentee. — 18 Que le c.
 li trance et la coiffe doree G; Le c. et le j. fait cair
 en la p. E; Le c. maintenant en T; j. li a. B. — 19 T
 wants. — 20 Desi qu'en la b. e. l'e. avalee B; E. en la
G; Que dusques en E; Jusqu'en la b. fu la grant t. coupee
T; e. li t. troee C*; c. l'a fendue et c. FGE; D wants.
 21 Et le car de l' (s' G) e. trencié et entamee EG; c. de
 la char li colpa D; c. de son col li a tel piece ostee F;
 e. a grant piece sevrete B. — 22 p. bien en valist
 denree F; p. bien valust deneree B; p. fu a. D; GE want.
 23 T. a recovré s. T; s. point de d. E. — After 23 B
 adds: Voit la lance Ricart gesir enmi la pree Cele part
 est venus si l'a amont levee. — 24 Le branc a el c. F;
 Si l'a t. a e. el b. c. b. GE; S'a l'espee au c. T; l'a
 au b. c. CDB. — 25 T. parmi le ventaille et estrainte
 et c. B; Et t. parmi l'entraille GE; Que t. parmi l'entraille
 l'a e. T; et fendue et E; CD want. — 26 Et li d. cai
 tous envers en la pree F; c. qui le m. ot g. C; c. quant
 la m. B; GET want. — 27 R. chaï a p. T; de sa s. D. —
 28 Ses d. cai m. F; Li b. chevax DT; quiet m. envers g.
 b. D; les li chaï g. b. T; m. les li B; GE want. —
 29 Q. R. voit le plaie l'erbe ensanglentiee F; R. senti le
 branc vit l'e. ensanglentiee B; R. senti la playe l'e.
 vit s. T; s. le colp l'e. D; GE want. — 30 De le dolor
 qu'il a (ot FT) CFDT; Del g. doel que il a B; Del g. doel
 qu'il en a G; Del g. duél qu'il a tint la teste clinee E;
 tint la c. FBG; tint la teste e. D. — After 30 B adds:
 Dameldeu reclama ki fist ciel et rosee. — 31 li T. l'esgarda
C; Et li Sarrasins a B; Et li Sarrasin ont GT; Dont ont li S.
E; g. j. demenee BGET. — 32 s'escria F; a. portee CFDB;
GET want. — 33 a. o moi F; m. petit de d. FDB; GET want.
 34 R. tost ton d. ou ta v. e. F; finee FDB; e. alee C; GET
 want. — 36 en est la n. F; en est la parole portee D; en
 est B; en ont la GET; contee CFE. —

"Bien l'a fait Sorgalés, tele li a donee
 Que de son bon ceval pert tote la coree,
 Et li Frans est a pié, ja a color muee.
 S'auques le coite ensi Sorgalés a l'espee, 1040
 Ne demoëra gaires que sera vergondee
 Li lois que li Frans tient et li nostre honoree".
 "Taisiés !" ce dist Soudans, "fole gens esgaree.
 Ne faites de nient si grant esperonee,
 Car ja n'ara li Turs vers le François duree. 1045
 Onques par Mahomet ne fu tels destinee;
 Molt deciet hui no lois que tant jor ai garde".

33 Or fu Ricars a pié, perdu a son ceval,
 Et a traite l'espee dont d'or sont li signal,
 Molue et bien trencans, li poins est a cristal; 1050 119d
 Vait ferir Sorgalé a loi de bon vasal.
 Cil tent l'escu encontre, li brans descent aval
 Amont desor son elme u il ot .I. coral,
 Les pieres en abat et les flors et l'esmal;
 Li coiffe de l'auberc ne li valt .I. dosal. 1055
 Si pres li rest l'orelle sor le vaine orghenal;
 La guige de l'escu, le boucle et le quiral
 Li trence d'outre en outre dusqu'en l'esperonal.

37 B. le fait CFDBGT; Murgalés DE. -- 38 Q. du b. c. p. trestoute la T; c. part t. C; c. a parti la D; GE want.
 39 F. est navrés c. li a m. F; p. s'a le c. C; p. la c. a m. DB; GET want. -- 40 S'a. l'i c. e. S. de l'e. C; le c. si F; e. petit ara duree D; GET want. -- 41 Il ne demora g. quant s. B; q. ne soit v. F; Se il (S'auques T) le tient ensi ja s. v. GET. -- 42 q. François tiennent et la n. amontee F; li F. tiennent CBGET; a la n. mellee E. --
 43 T. d. li S. T. -- 44 si g. espreveree F; g. espoëntee T; B inverts 44/5: si faite espoëntee; DGE want. -- 45 Ne puet avoir li F. GE; v. les F. B; T. contre le Franc T. -- After 45 B adds: Mout est preus li François si fier bien de l'espee.
 47 M. abaisse h. F; la l. FBGET; me lois C; q. maint j. D.
 48 Or est R. D; p. ot s. CFBGE; p. par devant s. T. --
 49 Et tint t. FDBT; Il ot t. E; qi d'or ot le s. F; d. s. d'or li s. D; l'e. (s'e. G) d'or furent li s. BGE; s. li esmal C. -- 50 Esmolue et t. G; p. ert C; p. fu FBGT; de c. CFDB; E wants. -- 51 Murgalé DE; a l. d'ounme v. GE.
 52 Cil tint CB; Cis t. F; Si li a trencié l'ielme G; L'elme li a caupé E; l'espee ciet a. C; li cols d. BGET. --
 53 o. maint coral DB; GET want. -- 54 f. de cristal D; f. a e. B; FGET want. -- 55 .I. cendal FBT; v. mie .I. ail D; .I. ingal G*; ne li valut un ail E; T* inverts 55/6. --
 56 o. de la v. B; o. les la v. GE. -- 57 la b. (li hauberc T) a e. BGET; et le carnal D. -- 58 Li trencha o. CFDBE; Li copa o. G; Tout li t. o. T; tres'en F; jusqu'en BT; parmi l'e. GE. -- After 58 G adds: El pré feri l'espee demie pié i entra.

34 Li Turs fu molt dolans et plains de felonie;
 Vit s'orelle a la terre desor l'erbe florie, 1060
 Li sans vermels l'en cuevre del cors une partie,
 Et tient traite l'espee molue et bien forbie,
 Trencant et aceree, contre soleil verdie.
 Molt le doute Ricars, nel mescreés vos mie;
 Crois fist contre le brant et dist: "Adonaie! 1065
 Le vrais espirs del ciel, ne m'obliés vos mie.
 Dex, Pere Rois poissans, soiés hui en m'aie".
 Et li Turs fiert Ricart, qu'il ne l'espargne mie,
 En travers parmi l'elme qui fu fais a Surie,
 K'il li trenca tot outre, et la coife sarte, 1070
 Le quir et les cavels li abat sor l'oie.
 "Ricars", ço dist li Turs, "trop pensés grant folie,
 Ki quidiés escaper de m'espee forbie.
 Quant vers moi t'aatis, molt ies plains d'estotie;
 Maint fiere bataille ai par mon cors furnie. 1075
 Corbarans iert pendus et sa terre saisie,
 Ja li caitif par toi n'aront avouerie".
 "C'est en Deu", dist Ricars, "qui tot a en baillie.
 Se il me velt aidier, poi vaura t'estoutie;
 Assés verrons con iert ains l'eure de conplie. 1080
 De vos ferai dolant l'amiral de Persie,

59 et forment se grami T; p. de derverie B. — 60 Il
v. s'o. a t. C; Voit s'o. FD; V. s'o. gesir B; S'o. v.
jesir E; sor l'e. qui verdie DBT. — 61 v. en goufe d.
C; v. l'i c. FB; v. l'encort D; v. li ciet G; v. en
ciet aval la praerie E; v. li queurt sus li u. T. —
62 Et tint t. FDBGET; Et t. l'espee nue GE; esmolue et
forgié G; aceree et f. E; C conflat 62/3: Et tint t.
l'e. contre s. raidie. — 63 et afilee c. B; et
bien fondee E; c. s. flanbie GE; s. ondie T. —
64 M. redoute R. E; ne le m. m. CE. — 65 E wants.
66 Li verais esperis ne DB; Esperiteus Jhesus ne G;
Jhesus emmanuel ne T; ne m'oublier Dix m. F; E wants.
67 D. P. tous p. C; Sois me R. P. p. h. en aie F*; Vrais
P. espiritaus s. moi en a. D; D. P. speritable s. me h.
en a. B; GET want. — 68 Dont en vint a R. E; R. que
ne CE; R. ki ne BGT. — 69 En t. le feri en l'e.
de S. E; f. en S. CFDGT; f. a Rousie B. — 70 Li t.
trestout outre et le broigne s. G; Il li t. trestot la
c. a desartie E; Que li t. CT; trenc FDBT; outre en
outre et T. — 71 De c. et de c. E; li a. les l'o.
DT. — 72 T. moult FG; pensas g. CFB; T. vous
pensastes g. E. — 73 Qui cuida s. B; F wants. —
74 Q. a moi t'a. m. ers p. C; m. pensas grant folie DB;
FGE want. — 75 T replaces by: A plus de mil François
~~en~~etolu la vie; GE want. — 76 C. est (ert E) destruis
et GE. — 77 Ja cil c. p. t. n'a. alegerie C; t. je croi
n'a. aie E. — 78 qi nous a F; GE want. — 79 a. petit
pris t'e. T; GE want. — After 79 T adds: Ja par Mahon
mon dieu nen averés aye Dist li Turs orguillous et plains
de felonnie. — GET want 80-91. — 80 Et si v. C; A.
verrés c. e. en l'e. F; v. que iert a. ore de D.

Se Dex le me consent, li fils sainte Marie,
 De le teste o tot l'elme n'en porterés vos mie".
 Quant Sorgalés l'entent, durement s'engramie.
 Ricart est corus sore par molt grant arramie, 1085
 Sor l'elme l'a feru, qui luist et res^clarcie;
 Se l'espee ne fust a senestre guencie,
 De le bataille fust finee l'aatie!
 Jusqu'el pré vers le terre est l'espee abaisie.
 Ricars voit le grant coup, s'a le color cangie, 1090
 Le ciel a regardé, envers Deu s'umelie.

35 "Sarrasins", dist Ricars, "bien sai a escient
 Que t'espee est molt bone, senti ai le trencant.
 Navré m'as en l'espaulle, et mon elme luisant
 M'as trenciét outre en outre, et le coife tenant, 1095 120a
 Le quir et les cavels, bien est aparissant.
 S'or ne me puis vengier, bien ai le cuer dolant,
 Puis que jo voi mon sanc fors de ma car corant.
 Ne dout toi ne ta force .I. denier valissant,
 Or t'est molt grans mestiers que te vois es courant". 1100
 Ricars tient le brant nu, qui le cuer ot vaillant,
 Ke li dona Calabre, li mere Corbarant;
 Longement l'ot eü en son tresor plus grant,

83 t. atot l'e. CFDB. — 84 Q. Murgalés, se grami D; l'e. moult forment s'e. F. — 85 g. aatie C. — 86 l'e. le feri q. B; l. et reflanbie CFB; D wants. — 89 Jusque pres de le t. C; Dusq'el pré verdoiant F; e. l'e. glacie CFB; l'e. guencie D. — After 89 F adds: Plus de pié et demi est bien dedens ficie Se bien ne le tenist ja mais ne fust baillie. — 90 c. la c. a noircie D; c. sa c. a c. B; c. noircie F. — 91 Vers le c. regarda et vers D. D. — After 91 B adds: E! Dex ce dist Ricars Pater Adonaye Garisciés hui mon cors que li Turs ne l'ocie. — 92 b. voi a e. D. — 93 b. j'ai s. le taillant C; s. ai le tallant B; s. en ai le brant FGE; T wants. — 94 N. m'a G; et en l'e. l. E. — 95 M'a t. G; M'as feru autresi en la c. E; t. tot en o. bien est aparissant D; le c. devant C; et ma c. B. 96 Les chevox et le cuir sos la coiffe tenant D; El c. et el c. dont bien e. aparant E; et le caviel b. C. — 97 S'or (Se B) ne m'en p. CB; Se v. ne m'en p. T; s'arai le c. C; v. moult ai le c. FD; le c. en ai d. B; GE want. 98 Li sans vermaus m'en vient encontreval courant (raiant E) GE; s. defors m. C; f. de mon cors coulant (isçant B) FB; DT want. — 99 Ne d. ja mais le mort .I. F; Ne prist. B; f. le montance d'un gant C; DGET want. — 100 Or est, q. tu v. C; DBGET want. — 101 R. tint CFDB; C omits: nu; Cil (Il T) tint traite l'espee GT; R. tenoit l'espee E; q. le cors ot DB; esmolue et trencant GE; molue bien trenchant T. — 102 d. la viele la m. GET. — 103 L. l'ot gardeee en C; Rois Soldans l'ot eü FD; .IIII. ans l'avoit gardé B; .CCC. (.CC. E; Soissante T) ans l'ot gardeee GET.

Uns juus le forja es desers d'Abilant.

Li Turs n'ot point d'escu, en travers tint le brant 1105

Por recevoir le colp qui li vient a fendant.

Ricars sot d'escremie, sel fier en retraiant,

Le bras par son le coste li fait voler avant,

Le manicle de fer et l'espee luisant;

Et dist al Sarrasin: "Bien sai a esciant 1110

Ke Dex me vient veoir par son disne conmant

En cest camp envers toi, bien est aparissant".

Quant Sorgalés l'entent, ne va pas coardant;

Une mesericorde avoit al lés pendant,

Ague et afilee, molue et bien trencant. 1115

Li Turs le sace fors, vers Ricart vient corant,

K'il li quide ficier ens el cuer maintenant.

Mais Ricars li guenci, sel feri en ruant,

Li blans aubers del dos ne li valut .I. gant;

Sos la destre mamele, plaine palme tenant, 1120

Le car desor les costes li va aval rasant.

Or saciés bien a certes et s'en soiés creant,

Se ses Dex nel salvast, de mort n'eüst garant.

36 Segnor, or escoutés, por Deu qui ne menti,

Con tost Jesus de gloire a home repent, 1125

Et si tost con lui plaist, senpres l'a converti.

105 n'ot nient d'e. CDB; de tr. mist le b. C; d'en tr. D.
 106 P. le c. r. D; v. en f. C; li vint a E. --
 107 sot e. si le f. en traiant F; sot escremir G; se
 fiert C; f. en traversant GE. -- 108 Le b. li a
 coupé illuec de maintenant T; FDBGE invert 108/9: Et le
 b. o le coute li fist v. F; Et le b. par le ceute li
 fist v. el camp D; Le b. entor le ceute si fist v. B;
 Le b. sulousc les costes G; Le b. en son le ceute E; li
 fet v. el camp GE. -- 109 C*; f. a l'e. T; f. o l'e.
F; trenchant CFGET. -- 110 Puis d. CT; Et (Dont E) d.
 a l'avresier GE; or sai FDBCT; or voi bien voirement E.
 111 Dex m'est venus aidier D; me vieult aidier CFBGE; par
 le son saint c. DG; par le mien ensiant E; s. commandement
T. -- 112 c. dolorous b. B; c. perellous b. G; T*; FDE
want. -- 113 Murgalés D; GET want. -- 114 m. ot
 li Turs bien (mout GE) trencant BGET. -- 115 m. et
 af. ag. par devant B; af. esmolue et poignant G; af. con
 rasoirs de ghingant E; et tres perçant T. -- 116 Li T.
 le trait del fuerre F; Li T. l'a f. sacié E; Et li T. l'a
 sachiee T; f. a R. DBG; vint c. FDBET; v. poignant C. --
 117 Bien li c. B; K'il le (Que le E) quida ferir e. el cors
 m. GE; cuida f. F; ferir el cuer de m. C. -- 118 M. li
 ber BGE; R. le g. C; se g. DBE; R. a g. T; f. en alant F;
 sel fiert en traversant G. -- 119 b. h. mailiés
 ne D; li valsist C; B inverts 119/20: Li tranca de l'a.
 ne. -- 120 Sor le d. CFBGET; d. partie E; p. p. li
 fant GE. -- 121 La c. sor les costés B; La c. dalés
 l. E; li va l'aciens raiant BT; li va laiens r. GE; a.
 ruant C; a. raiant F; a. fendant D. -- After 121 T
adds: Le sanc cler et vermeil li va aval courant. --
 122 s. tout a c. et s. bien c. C; s. a fiance BE; et si
 s. c. BG; et si s. certant E; c. si en s. T. --
 123 Que se D. CDBGET; Se D. ne li aidast F; n'oïst de
 m. g. FBG. -- After 123 D adds: Seignor or porrés
 ja oïr miracle grant. -- 124 h. converti CFD. --
 126 Tantost com il conmande GE; a home c. E; p. del
 mal tost repentí F; p. a sa loi c. T; l'a repentí D.

Quant li Turs a veü que Ricart ot failli,
 Gentilment l'en apele, si li cria merci.
 "Ricars", ço dist li Turs, "entendés envers mi.
 Ocire te quidai, mais tes dex t'a gari; 1130
 Li miens dex c'ai tostans honoré et servi,
 [M'a] bien hui en cest jor a mon besoing fali,
 Et moi et mon linage en cest siecle honi.
 Voir ne croi en Mahon ne qu'en .I. chien porri,
 Ains croi en Jesu Crist, qui de virgene nasqui, 1135
 Et qu'il ala par terre et mort i recoilli
 Ens el mont de Cauvaire, u Longis le feri
 De le lance el costé, que li sans en issi;
 La piere qui dure ert en trenca et parti,
 Et qu'il fu el Sepucure et qu'il resurrexi". 1140 120b
 "Molt as bone creance", Ricars li respondi.
 "S'or eüsses baptesme, par verté le t'afi,
 T'arme en iroit cantant a joie en canp flori".
 Li ber prist le vert elme qui sor l'erbe caï,
 Si [l'aclina] a l'eve, trestot plain l'en enpli, 1145
 Crois fist par dedesore de Deu le beneï,
 Versa lui sor la [teste], contreval expandi;

 1145 lacilna.

 1147 sor la terre corr. from EDET.

1132 mont .

127 Li T. q. il cou voit GE; Q. ce voit Sorgalés T; qu'a
 R. CFDGET; a f. CFDBGET. -- 128 a. et li prie m. C; li
 pria m. FGE; li crie m. T. -- 129 R. d. Sorgalés enten
 .I. pou a mi T; T. or entent e. D; T. or e. a mi GE; C
wants. -- 130 m. les dix E. -- 131 Li m. que ai t. D;
 Li m. que j'ai t. BT; Li m. que j'ai tous jours GE. --
 132 M'a h. b. CF; M'a or b. D; M'a hui en, b. honni B;
 M'o. h. en ices t j. GE; a ce (cest FG) b. f. CFG. --
 133 l. vergondé et h. E; s. falli CB. -- 134 Je ne c. T;
 M. nes q'en FBG. -- 135 A. voeil croire en cel diu q. F.
 136 Et qui a. CDBGET; t. et de mort surexi GE. -- 137 Sus
 el (le T) m. CFDBGET; C. quant L. CGE. -- 138 c. et le s.
T; en sailli CDBGE. -- 139 q. ert d. T; d. est en perça
 et rompi C; t. et fendi FDB; en fendi et p. G. -- 140 Et
 qui fu DBT; S. après r. B; et qui r. CT; et qe il surrexi
FGE; et qui i surrexi D. -- After 140 F adds: Et qe icele
 mort pour peceours souffri. -- 142 Se e. b. C; S'or
 fuissies baptisies F; p. verité te di FE; p. v. le te di
BGT. -- 143 i. courant tot droit en Paradis C; en alast
 c. FBGE; c. de j. BGE. -- After 143 F adds: Et Sorgalés
 respont ber dont le fai ensi. -- 144 Ricars p. son v. F;
 prent G; q. a tere c. E. -- 145 Si le clina en l'e. C;
 Si s'a. vers l'aighe B; Si le puisa tout p. de l'eve qu'il
 coisi E; Puis s'enclina vers l'yaue T; a. en l'e., p. l'a
 compli G*; p. l'a e. CBT; F expands: A l'aighe de Cincaille
 s'en vient courant al ri Il s'abaisse a la rive trestout
 plain l'en empli Isnelement et tost repaire a l'Arrabi.
 146 C. i f. p. d. DT; f. desore l'aigue de F. -- 147 t.
 trestout li respandi B; t. sor le chief FBG; respandi CF;
 descendi D; t. de chief en chief chaⁿ T; c. l'e. GE. --
After 147 D places 150: En vraie repentanche li Turs le
 recuelli. --

Puis a pris .I. poil d'erbe et en trois le parti,
 Si le dona au Turc, maisa le et englouti,
 Par molt vraie creance li Turs le recoilli. 1150
 "Or me trence la teste", dist il, "al brant forbi,
 Car ne vauroie vivre .I. sol jor aconpli
 Por tot l'or de cest monde, tant ai mon cuer mari."

- 37 "Sarrasins", dist Ricars, "molt par as bien erré,
 Qui Deable as gerpi, laisiét et desfié. 1155
 Abaisse le ventaille del blanc auberc safré,
 Trenceraï toi la teste a ton brant acéré.
 Jo et mi compaignon en iermes delivré;
 Ne puet estre autrement, tel ses de verité,
 Molt a envis le fas, mais tel m'as conmandé". 1160
 "Ço voel jo", dist li Turs, "ensi m'est destiné,
 Car ne vauroie vivre tant qu'il fust avespré
 Por tot l'or de cest mont, por mon grant parenté,
 Car l'orelle ai trencié, le brac del cors sevré,
 Si me tenroient mais mi parent en vilté. 1165
 Mais trence moi le teste, si seras aquité,
 Vos et vo compaignon al Sepucure mené,
 Et de Deu et de moi te soit il pardoné".
 Dex, con Ricars ploroit et quel dol a mené!

148 Et après un p. E; d'e. en t. le departi F; en crois le p. CGE; l'a p. T. -- 149 Puis le bailla au T. D; le d. le T. et il le requilli B; T. maïsser et e. C; E wants. After 149 F adds: En l'onnour Damedix de corpus domini. 150 Pour m. C; m. bonne c. T; c. pour corpus domini B; D places 150 after 147 and replaces by: Puis a dit a Ricart amis enten a mi. -- After 150 FB add: Donc (Puis B) apela Ricart doucement (belement B) et seri. -- F adds: Ricars fix a baron pour l'amour Diu merci. -- 151 Qe me trences F; Or me trenciés le cief (la t. E) GE; t. au b. d'acier f. FDGE; T omits: al. -- 152 T*. -- 153 t. ai le c. noirchi C; t. ai le c. m. (tenri E)BGE; T*. -- 154 b. ovré DG; T*. -- 155 Que D. as l. g. et d. CB; Que le D. as hui g. D; Quant D. T*; as l. et g. le malfé G; as l. g. et adossé E. -- 156 v. de ton a. F; a doublé G; T*. -- 157 t. a mon b. DGE; t. al bon b. B; t. de t. T. -- 158 en serons d. CFDBT; en serons acuité E. -- 159 a. tu ses CFBT; tu le ses de verté D; ce ses E; G wants. -- 160 Mais envis le fara m. F; Mais a e. B; m. tu m'as CB; m. si m'est c. D; m. tu l'as T; GE want. -- 161 Jou le v. d. GT; Richart ce d. E; e. l'ai d. C. -- 162 t. que f. CE; f. ajorné G. -- 163 P. l'or ne pour l'argent de la crestienté F; p. tout m. p. GE; D wants. -- 164 l'o. ai perdue FGET; le b. et le costé E; D wants. -- 165 Si m'en t. BG. -- 166 M. trenchiés CB; t. s'en s. FT; serés CFDBET; s'en ieres G; delivré GE. -- 167 F expands: Tu et ti c. de la mort delivré Et si serés ensanle au Sepulcre mené. 168 m. vos s. DGT; s. tout p. CF. -- 169 D. que R. C; p. qel d. a demené F; p. cou saciés par vreté G; p. saciés par verité E. --

Le brant al Turc a pris, contremont l'a levé, 1170
 De meesme s'espee li a le cief coupé;
 Mais molt en fu dolans, ce saciés par vreté.
 Vencue a sa bataille, Deu en a mercié.
 Molt en furent dolant li parent Sorgalé,
 Maintre communalment ont grant dol demené. 1175
 Atant es vos les gardes qui le canp ont gardé,
 A Ricart ont osté son blanc auberc safré,
 Qui qu'en poist ne qui non de l'ille l'ont jeté;
 A l'ostel as caitis l'ont salvement guié.
 Quant li caitif le voient, s'ont de joie ploré; 1180
 Il li baisent les mains par molt grant amisté,
 Et les iex et la face par molt grant pieté.
 Illuec pleurent li clerc, li vesque et li abé,
 Et li povre et li riche, li cevalier menbré.
 Corbarans nel tient mie a trop vilain prové; 1185 120c
 Vint au rice Soudan, qu'il ot araisoné,
 Voiant tot le barnage a son droit demandé:
 "Rois, rent moi mes ostages; j'ai le canp aquité".
 La fist li rois Soudans molt grant nobilité,
 Que il li rent tos quites volentiers et de gré, 1190
 Ses bras li mist au col se li a pardoné
 Le mort de Brohadas dont ot le cuer iré,

170 b. d'acier a F; GE want. -- 171 GE expand: De m.
 l'espee que li Turs ot porté En camp et en bataille li a
 le chief copé. -- 172 d. s. par (de BT) verité CBT; FGE
want. -- 173 a la b. BFDt; et le camp affiné F; D. en
 soit aoré B; a aoré CT; GE want. -- After 173 F adds:
 Damediu en aoure le roi de maïsté. -- 174 M. par en sont
 d. li p. Murgalé D; GE want. -- 175 Maint et c. C; Li rices
 parentages a g. G; Ses rices parentés en a g. d. mené E;
 Trestuit c. T; B wants. -- After 175 F adds: As armes sont
 couru si se sont adoubé Ensanle se sont tout andoi li parenté
 Ricart cuident ocirre ains q'il soit avespré. Between 1176
 and 1178 D expands this episode; see Appendix VI. --
 176 Et est venus as g. que le c. a maté C; qui bien l'ont
 avisé G; E omits: vos; qui l'avoient juré E; F wants. --
 177 Et (Qui B) saisirent (saisissent D) R. au b. CDBCT; Et
 saisissent R. par le h. s. E; F wants. -- 178 Q. soit bel
 ne T; p. et cui n. F; n. l'o. de l'i. g. FDB; n. l'o. fors
 del camp mené C; l'i. ont E. -- 179 l'o. les c. l'o.
 saïnnement posé C; l'o. souavet mené BG; s. mené FDT. --
 180 le virent CB; de j. en ont p. C; D wants. -- 181 Puis
 li T; g. pïeté FGE. -- 182 Et le bouce et GE; m. grande
 pité CDT; m. g. amisté FG; p. g. humilité E. -- 183 p. sor
 lui li c. et li a. D; p. li prince B; c. l'evesque et T. --
 184 r. et li prince casé F; r. et c. m. E. -- 185 C. ne
 t. FDBGET; a v. effree DB; a fol v. p. FE. -- After 185
F adds: Mais a preu et a sage et a bien apensé. --
 186 V. a r. C; Vient F; Au S. est venus B; Venus est au
 (a T) S. ET; qui l'ot ochoisonné CFT; si l'a a. DBGE. --
 187 Oiant t. F; t. son b. CFDBT; GE want. -- 188 m. les
 o. CG; o. le c. ai a. T. -- 189 Alueques f. S. F; m.
 bonne loiauté FT; m. grande loiauté CDBE; m. rice loiauté
G. -- 190 Ses ostages li quite C; Qu'il li r. D; Qui (K'il
G; Il ET) li (les T) rendi t. q. BGET; par bonne volenté T.
 191 Son brac GE; c. puis li T. -- 192 d. le cuer o. i. C;
 d. ot son c. B; T*; GE want. --

Puis li rendi se terre et toute s'ireté,
 Et le senesçaucie de trestot son regné?
 Après a Corbarans a lui congiét rové. 1195

- 38 "Sire", dist Corbarans, "donés moi le congié,
 Si m'en irai ariere a Oliferne al sié".
 "Non ferés", dist Soudans, "ançois arés mangié!"
 Puis fist demander l'eve; .C. damisel proisié
 Corurent as bacins qui d'or sont entaillié. 1200
 Quant li rois ot lavé et ses mains essuié,
 El faudestuef s'asist, sor .I. paille ploié,
 Joste lui Corbarans, qui molt ot le cuer lié.
 Or manjuent ensamble par molt grant amistié;
 La veïssiés venir mainte rice daintié. 1205
 Mais ançois que il voient le solel abaisié,
 Se cil Sire n'en pense, qui pardone pecié,
 Ara il de ses homes grant duel et grant pitié.
 Lyons de la Montaigne ot molt son cuer irié
 Por Sorgalé son oncle, qui le chief ot trencié; 1210
 Il joste son linage, qui molt sont courecié,
 Plus furent de .X. mil quant sont aparellié;
 De Sormazane issirent et sieré et rengié.
 Se Damedix n'en pense par la soie amistié,
 Ricars et li caitif seront tot detrencié. 1215

193 Et rendue s. t. et son (le E) grant i. GE; et se
 grant hyreté CFB; et trestot s'i. D; T*. --
 194 t. s. barné G; t. le r. E; T*. -- 195 Et li
 rois C. B; a c. demandé D; GE want. -- 197 O. au
 fié CBT; E expands: Si m'en retornei a O. arier
 Se menrai les caitis que tant ai travilliés. --
 198 N. ferai d. S. s'arés o moi m. F; a. arons m. C.
 199 Li rois demande l'aighe B; Dont fist l'a. corner E.
 200 As barons donnent l'aige as b. e. E. -- 201 Q.
 s. m. o. l. li r. et e. G; o. s. m. l. et e. E; l. s'a
 s. m. e. F; l. s. m. a e. D. -- 202 f. s'asiet C;
 p. roié CBGET; p. vergié F. -- 203 Dalés sit C. E;
 ot son c. T; B expands: Et li rois Corbarans qui mout
 ot le cuer lié S'asist dejouste lui par mout grant
 amisté. -- After 203 F adds: Mais il orent ançois
 pour no Frans envoié Moult ordeneement sont ensanle
 arrengié. -- 204 La mangierent e. li doi roi resognié
B; mengeront D; mangierent T. -- 205 La peulsiés vir
 tant maint r. d. C; Assés orent viande vin claré et d. D;
 Iluec a porté maint mout r. d. G; maint r. d. B;
 (daintié GB); La v. v. (porter T) de maint r. ET. --
 After 205 E adds: Et nostre caitif furent ricement
 aaisié. -- 206 Ja ne vera (vesront E) le viespre ne
 le s. coucié GE; E inverts 206/7; a. que il voie le D.
 207 Mais se Jhesus n. p. qui tout a a baillier E. --
 208 A. cascuns la teste et les membres trencié F; Qu'il
 a. de s. h. et dolor et p. D; Il a. de B; K'il a. de s.
 h. mout grant part detrencié G; E wants. -- 209 Li
 Viex de la M. C; M. a m. CB; m. le c. G; ot son c. m.
 i. T. -- 210 Murgalé D; S. son frere q. ot le c. t.
T; o. que ià vit detrencié C; ki a le c. t. B; q. mors
 ert en l'erbié E. -- 211 Sa compaigne assanla q. F;
 l. car m. fu c. E; m. est c. GT. -- 212 de .II.
 mil D; de .XX. mil G. -- 213 i. tout s. F. --
 214 la s. pitié DBGET; F replaces 214/5 with: Desous une
 montaigne se sont tout embuiscié. -- 215 A nos
 caitis voront les tiestes jus trencier G; Il feront nos
 Francois dolans et courecié E; et no c. CB. --

- 39 Al mangier est assis li rices rois Soudans,
 Par molt grant amistié dalés lui Corbarans.
 Li caitif d'autre part s'aseent par les bans,
 A une rice table qui siet sor trois dormans;
 Et fu tote doree, faite d'os d'olifans, 1220
 Les listes furent d'or, a pieres resplendans;
 Jagonces et topaces et grisolis ardans
 Ot environ les listes, vaillant .C. mil besans.
 La veïssiés venir boutelliers et servans,
 Et rices damisels qui sont fil d'amirans, 1225
 Ki servent al mangier molt ricement nos Frans.
 Se cil Sire n'en pense, qui souffri les ahans,
 Ja ne sera li vespres ne li soleus coucans,
 K'il aront grant paour de lor testes perdans.
- 40 Ricars et li caitif sont assis au mangier 1230 120d
 A le table dormant qui molt fait a proisier.
 Goulias ot .I. fil qui molt ot le cuer fier,
 En .I. diaspre a or s'ert fais estroit lacier;
 Molt ert bien de la cort et niés au boutellier.
 Devant le roi Soudan servoit a son mangier, 1235
 U il gardoit les Frans, si prist a consellier,
 Et a dit a son oncle: "De duel puis esragier!"

216 m. s'est a. E; li amirax S. F. -- 217 a. jouste l.
CFDBGET. -- 218 Nos c. T; p. s'asissent FD; p. sont asis
 en uns b. G; p. sont assis sor les b. E; p. ces b. CF.
 219 u. haute t., sus .VIII. d. T; q. sist FD; sor .II. d.
D; t. que soustienent d. G; q. i estoit d. E. --
 220 t. d'ivoire entaillié par pans GE. -- 221 Li peçoul
 f. E; o. a listes diamant C; l. en sont d'o. F; p. reluisans
BE; D*; T conflates 221/2; Les l. f. d'or et charboncles
 ardans. -- 222 J. et sardines et c. tos a. B; t. ot es
 bors flambians E; et crisolis arains C; et charboncles a. D;
F wants. -- 223 D'e. les listees valent .III. c. b. C;
 Tout e. les l. bien valent .C. b. GE; e. la liste BT; bien
 valoit .M. b. B; v. .C. mars pesans T; l. plus de mil d'un
 tenans D. -- 224 b. et sergans CFDBGET. -- 225 Et gentius
 amirans qui sont f. de sergant C; Et r. bacelers q. GE. --
 226 r. les F. E. -- After 226 CFDBGET add*; Des mes c'ont
 a plenté fu la joie mout grans BGE; De m. bons a p. s'en f.
 la j. g. C; D. m. ont a fuison les livrisons sont g. F; D. m.
 c'o. a p. fu li reliés m. g. D; De m. y ot p. et la j. fu
 g. T. -- 227 s. grans a. D. -- 228 Ançois qe il soit v.
F; Ja ains ne s. v. DB. -- 229 Pres erent de morir et des
 t. p. F; a tout p. B; p. tout des t. p. G; de la teste p. C;
 des t. a p. D. -- 230 et nos c. s. a. a m. T. --
 231 q. tant f. G; m. fist a CDBE. -- 232 f. c'om pot
 mout resoignier E; T*. -- 233 s'est f. CFB; se fait
 e. G; se fist e. E; e. cauchier C. -- 234 et drus al
 b. C. -- 235 S. seant a s. C; S. seoit a s. D; s. de
 mes premier F. -- 236 CFDBGET want*. -- 237 Il a
 d. FT; o. bien devroie e. F; o. bien p. vis e. T; o. mout
 me p. e. B. --

Cis grans m'ocist mon pere, molt me puis bien vengier.
 Je nel lairoie mie por les membres trencier
 Que jo nel fiere ja de cest coutel d'acier". 1240
 Par le mance l'estraint, qu'il vaut envoyer;
 Ses oncles le saisist et prist a castoier:
 "Bels niés", ço dist li oncles, "vels me tu escillier,
 Et faire pendre as forces et del regne cachier?
 Une rien te dirai, sel te voel acointier; 1245
 Se commences folie en cest palais plénier,
 Trestos li ors d'Espagne ne vos puet respitier,
 Ke Soudans ne vos face de male mort jugier".
 Le coutel li toli, s'apele .I. chevalier,
 Ses cosins ert germains, si l'avoit forment chier. 1250
 "Menés ent mon neveu, ce vos voel jo proier,
 Trop a beü del vin, sel me faites coucier".
 Quant l'entent li vallés, le sens quide cangier,
 A .XXX. damisels, parens a l'aversier,
 Est venus a l'ostel, mist la sele el destrier. 1255
 "Segnor, ore i parra qui me venra aidier,
 Et cil qui m'aidera mon cier pere a vengier,
 Tos les jors de ma vie l'ara mes cuers plus cier".
 Et cil li respondirent: "Nos nel poons laisier!"
 Par le cité le vont lor parens acointier. 1260

238 Cil Frans m'o. C; C. g. ocist FT; Cil g., jo m'en p.
 v. D; Cil gars o. BG; Cil a ocis E; m. m'en p. CF; p. or
 m'en p. GET. -- 239 J. ne l. CFBGT. -- 240 Je nel voise
 ferir au brant fourbi d'acier E; Q. ne le f. T; ne le ferisse
 de cel c. C. -- 241 m. le prist q. DBG; E wants. --
 242 o. le coisist sel prent a G; o. l'aperçoit sel p. E;
 o. l'a saisi sel prent a T. -- 243 B. n. laissiés ester
 v. F; d. ses o. t. m. v. vergongnier E; o. tu me v. C; o.
 tu te v. e. T; t. vergognier B; t. enginier G. --
 244 Et p. a unes f. D; p. a f. FE; ou del r. DG; CT want.
 245 d. bien t'en vois a. D; d. que tu v. GE; d. si te T.
 246 Se f. c. E; c. bataille en G; en cel p. CF. --
 247 Tous li o. CT; de Pavie ne te poroit aidier C; de cest
 mont ne te p. replegier T; o. del mont DB; ne te porroit
 plaischier D; ne te p. FBE. -- 248 ne te f. FDBET; t. a
 m. m. BE. -- 249 Le brant li a t. E. -- 250 c. fu g. B;
 c. g. fu E; et se l'a. mout c. ET. -- 251 M. m'ent CG;
 n. el ne v. v. p. C; n. sel ~~me~~(si le B) faites cochier DB;
 n. je (ce T) vs. en vl. p. ET. -- 252 b. de vin CFBGET; v.
 molt m'en doi corechier D; ~~je vous~~ en voel prier B; f. le
 moi c. GE; si le f. T. -- 253 Q. li v. l'e. (l'oï) T DT;
 v. del sens F; quida BT. -- 254 p. a l'escuier C; B expands:
 Atant salirent sus vallét et escuier .IIII. vins d. p. a l'a.
 255 o. met la s. GE; B expands: Le maiment a l'o. pour soucorre
 et aidier Lors a apielés li paiens au vis fier. -- 256 me
 vorra a. CDBGE. -- 257 Celi q. T. -- 258 Ert t. j. mes
 amis et s'ara bon loier F; v. l'en averai p. B; v. l'en arai
 mes p. G; v. vous averai p. E. -- 259 c. lor r. CF; c. r.
 sire D; c. ont respondu ET; r. ne vous p. GE. -- 260 c. en
 v. CGE; c. s'en v. DB; p. anoncier T. -- After 260 B adds:
 Qui dont veïst l'uns l'autre tantos apparillier. --

Il vestent les haubers, lacent elmes d'acier,
 Et çaignent les espees, dont li poing sont d'ormier.
 De Sormazane issirent le grand cemin plenier,
 Et ont passee une eve d'autre part el gravier,
 En .I. parfont marçais dejoste ,I. viés sentier; 1265
 Illuec sont enbusciét li gloton losengier.
 Lyons de la Montaigne l'aperçut tot premier.
 Il a pris .I. message, si li fait acointier
 Qu'asi velt Corbaran ocire et detrenchier.
 Quant Arfulans l'entent, si dist al messagier: 1270
 "Ricart ocirai jo se jel puis exploitier".

41 Or furent enbuscié li parent Sorgalé,
 Li Goulías de Miech refurent esconsé.
 Dex garisse Ricart et le crestienté!
 Soudans n'en savoit mot, que ja ne fust pensé, 1275 121a
 Puis en fist il justice au los de son barné;
 S'en furent .CL. ocis et essorbé,
 Por çou qu'il assaillirent ceus qu'il ot afié.

42 Li rices rois Soudans est del mangier levés.
 Quant les napes sont traites, li vins est demandés; 1280

1269 Quasi velt

261 Et v. D; Et v. les clavains GE; l. les e. C; e. d'ormier ET. -- 262 e. a leur flans senestrier T; E wants. --
After 262 B adds: Et montent es cevaus et es corans destriers
Tout cil ki les esgardent s'en pueent mervillier. -- 263 i.
le c. tout p. C; i. tot le (.I. T) c. p. BT. -- 264 Dont
trespassent une aige C; o. p. .I. gués GE; p. .I. g. CG; par
dalés le g. E; p. le g. T. -- 265 En .I. p. (petit GE)
marais TGE; m. d'encoste .I. v. lairier C; m. dalés .I. v.
s. F; v. mostier D. -- 266 Illeuques s'enbuisa la gens a
(E omits: a) l'avresier GE; g. pautonier DBT. -- 267 Li Viols
de la M. C; M. les (F omits: les) perchut DGF; M. les a. p. BT.
After 267 B adds: Cil fu niés Sorgalé s'ot le visage fier
.C. en ot avec lui Dex lor doinst enconbrier. -- 268 .I.
sergant si lor f. B; se li (lor GE) a fait noncier FGE; si
lor f. envoyer D; li fist a. T; f. aguier C; -- 269 Car il
v. C; Qu'il volra C. B; K'il voellent C. GE. -- After 269
B adds: Si tos con le vera sans plus de l'atargier. --
270 e. respont al G; e. a dis au T. -- 271 R. ocira on sel
poons e. E; R. vorrai ocierre se le p. T. -- After 271 B
adds: ~~Qui mon pere a ocis Golias le querrier; followed by a~~
long episode given in Appendix VII, incorporating laisse 41
and lines 1279-87 in the last laisse of the interpolation.
272 Murgalé D. -- 273 M. feri en l'autre lé C; M. se
furent resconsé F; M. se resont tot (G omits: tot) armé EG.
274 et no c. F; T*. -- 275 Car S. n'en set m. il ne f. ja
p. GE; m. car ja FT; que mal lor f. D. -- 276 P. qu'il en
f. j. au l. de s. regné C; f. il juise GE; j. a loi de F; j.
a l. T. -- 277 Et f. puis pendu a dol et e. D; f. .X. mil
o. C; f. .C. pierdu et .L. e. G; f. .C. et plus pendu et
e. E; f. il o. qui si orent ouvrés T. -- 278 c. c'ot
aseuré GE; C*. -- 279 Li rois S. li riches D; e. de m. E;
S. fu du m. T. -- 280 On a osté les n. G; v. fu d. DET.

.M. damisel proisiét a hermins engoulés,
 A coupes coverclees et a hanas dorés,
 Devant le roi Soudan fu li vins aportés.
 Espices et piemens, bougerastres alnés
 Fu avoec le cler vin ens es henas mellés. 1285
 Quant li rois ot mangiét et il ot but assés,
 Corbaran apela, et si li dist: "Tenés!
 Ceste rice nef d'or plus vaut de .II. cités,
 Les pieres i fist joindre dans Judas Macabés,
 Sebile la roïne l'ot en sa garde assés. 1290
 Et la coupe et le vin par tel covent tenés,
 Que tos mes [maltalens] vos soit hui pardonés,
 Et la mors Brohadas, dont sui grains et irés;
 Et que d'ore en avant soiés mais mes privés,
 Senescals et baillius de trestos mes barnés". 1295
 "Sire", dist Corbarans, ".V. cens mercis et grés!
 Je m'en irai ariere, car trop sui demorés,
 Par le vostre merci le congié me donés".
 Et Soudans li respont: "Si con vos conmandés.
 A Mahon, a Jupin, soiés vos delivrés! 1300
 Cil qui en Infer garde ne vos ait obliés,
 De Paradis vos gart, que n'i soiés trovés".

281 Doi d. E; Uns d. T; p. as h. CDG. -- 282 As c. coulorees
C; A c. de fin or E; et as henas CFD. -- 283 fu tost li v.
 portés GE; D wants. -- 284 Clarés et autres boires b. F;
 Qu'espeses et p. b. assés B; p. i ot a grant plenté GE; p.
 autres herbes assés T; b. amés CD. -- 285 Et a. le c. v.
 ens el hanap C; a. le bon v. F; GE wants. -- 286 Q. l'amirans
 Soudans fu de boire asasés B; roi ont m. et il ont b. D; r.
 ot beüt GE; et tout li autre a. G; et li autres barnés E; et
 beü a plentés T. -- After 286 D adds: Au maistre dois se
 sist Soudans li amirés. -- 288 or miols v. GET; de .X. c. C.
 290 l'ot (F omits: l') ja a Rome a. CFDBGET. -- 291 t. c.
 prendés CFDBT. -- 292 Que li miens m. DB; m. mauvaistiés
 v. G; s. ci p. FGET; s. tous p. CDB. -- 293 d. fu g. C;
FDBGGE want. -- 294 Et des or en GE; a. serés plus mes p. B;
 s. mes plus p. D; s. mout~~m~~. p. G; s. vous m. p. E. --
 295 B. et s. si com estre solés T; b. sor t. F; t. mes (le B)
 regnés DGB; trestout mon regné C; trestout m'iretés E. --
 296 C. grans m. a bons g. F; C. vostre m. B. -- After 296
FDBGET add: Il a prise la coupe al pié li est alés ~~Ja~~ (Se E)
 li oïst baisié qant il (sus DGE) fu (est G) relevés Sire
 dist Corbarans le (vo T) congié me donnés. -- 297 Si m'en
 i. FDBGET; a. que (car E) mout ai d. GE; t. ai d. C*; quær
 mout s. desirés T. -- After 297 GE add: S'enmenrai les
 caitis que tant arai penés. -- 298 CFDBGET want. --
 299 Et r. li S. D; Li S. T; r. a Mahonmet alés F. --
 300 A Margot et J. FT; A Mahomet mon dieu DB; s. v. commandés
CFDBG; s. v. asamblés E; soit vo cors eommandés T. --
 301 Et c. q. I. g. CGE; Et c. g. I. tient D; Qui en I. nous
 port n'i soyons o. T; en I. maint il soit vostre avoés B;
 v. (nous F) soit o. CFD. -- 302 q. n'i (ne E) s. entrés GE.

A iceste parole devala les degrés,
 Les caitis enmena et rengiés et serrés.
 El palais fu Ricars del Soudan acolés, 1305
 Tos ses rices tresors li a abandonés;
 Mais ains Ricars n'en prist .II. deniers moneés.
 Ensemble od Corbaran s'en est Ricars alés,
 As osteus les enmaine Corbarans tos serrés.
 Il vestent les aubers, s'ont les elmes fremés, 1310
 Et caingnent les espees as senestres costés.
 De Sormazane issirent, les gonfanons levés,
 Siereement cevalcent [li] caitis aroutés.
 "Segnor", dist Corbarans, "un petit m'entendés:
 Anuit songai .I. songe, dont molt sui effreés, 1315
 C'uns grans ors m'asaloit de la outre cel gués,
 Les iex avoit tos roges con carbons enbrasés,
 Et les ongles trencans con coutels afilés;
 A plus de .M. lupars vermels tos colorés,
 Et a .VII. cens brohons, trestos descaanés, 1320 121b
 M'asailloit li grans ors comme s'il fust dervés.
 Devers destre partie, illueques de delés,
 .VII. cens senglers salvages ot illuec assanblés,
 Les dens fors de lor goles, trencans con faus en prés.
 Ricart corurent sore, parmi tos les armés, 1325

303 A cest mot Corbarans devale l. d. F; A icelle p. avalent
 (devalent E) l. GE; p. avala l. DBT; C wants. — 304 Ses
 c. F; A lor osteus s'en vont GE; que n'i sont demoré E. —
 305 Del S. fu R. el p. a. D; R. de S. T; del S. apielés CF;
GE want 305-9. — 306 Ses t. les plus r. D; Tout son riche
 tresor T; li fu a. FT; li soit a. C. — 307 n'en viut .II.
C. — 308 Ensanle C. FB; C. en est CB; R. tornés D. —
 309 A l'ostel CFDB; o. sont venu et rengié et s. D; o. as
 caitis se sont tout asamblé B. — 310 Puis v. T; a. les e.
 ont f. B; v. les clavains G; lacent e. gesmés GET. —
 311 c. leur e. T; al senestre costé C. — 312 les frains
 abandonés C; les g. fremés DG; T*. — 313 c. no c. B; c. ne
 sont pas ariestés G; c. ne se sont desrouté E; T*; F wants.
 314 S. fait C. C; c. envers moi e. D; T*. — 315 d. je s. E.
 316 a. de l'autre part ces prés D; a. d'autre part en ces
 prés B; o. ces g. (grés F) CFE; E omits: grans; T*. —
 317 a. plus r. CFBET; c'uns c. e. CF; que c. e. BET. —
 318 Les o. plus t. que rasoirs a. T; c. acherés DBG; E wants.
 319 Et plus de DBT; Et a p. de .M. leus v. GE; p. d. .XX. l.
 t. v. c. F; v. et c. CET. — 320 Et bien .V. c. C; a .V.
 c. GE; t. encaenés DB. — 321 o. com se il f. CBG; o. aussi
 com f. d. F; o. aussi comme d. E. — 322 D. d. guencie
 alluecques et d. C; p. sous ces abres ramés F; p. devers els
 de d. D; p. avoec çaus de d. B; i. par d. GET. — 323 .V. c.
 s. CDB; Atant es .C. s. G; Es .C. s. s. E; poignant tous
 abrievés GE; s. sont i. C; ot avuec a. FDB; s. y avoit a. T.
 324 d. hors de E; f. de la gole t. c. f. de p. D; t. et
 afillés CBGE; f. les p. F; T wants. — 325 R. courroient s.
CFDBGET; s. enmi t. G; p. nous t. a. FGE. —

Et il se desfendoit con vasaus adurés.

Dans Harpins de Bohorges avec s'ert ajostés,

.VII. cens en ocioient a lor brans acérés".

- 43 "Segnor", dist Corbarans, "jo ai molt grant paor,
 Del songe c'ai songiét sui forment en error; 1330
 Car ço m'estoit avis que jo iere en l'estor.
 Li lupart m'asailloient par si ruiste vigor,
 Que tos nos detrençoient nos escus poins a flor;
 Desos moi m'ocioient mon destrier misoldor.
 La veoie entor moi tel noise et tel tabor, 1335
 Et tel caple d'espee et tel cri et tel plor,
 Que tot me gerpisçoient mi parent li mellor".

- 44 "Segnor", dist Corbarans, "ne lairai nel vos die,
 Lions de la [Montaigne] est de grant segnorie;
 Tost a mandé ses homes, josté sa compaignie, 1340
 Por nos contregaitier est tornés a folie".
 "Segnor", dist Corbarans, "ne vos atargiés mie,
 Que cascuns ne calenge et son cors et sa vie".

327 B. ert avec a. CD; B. s'ert o lui a. F; B. fu a. a. BT; GE want. — After 327 F adds: Et li caitif cascuns tous abrievés. — 328 .V. c. CDB; .II. c. F; Sept vins en ont ocis T; en i ocisent B; o. o les b. FD; GE want. — After 328 F adds: Tous les eussent mors ja n'en fust piés remés Mais il s'eparpeillierent amont parmi les gués Sire dient François se vous plaist entendés Chou est senefiance qe vous combaterés. — 329 S. fait C. C. — 330 B inverts 330/1: Del s. que sonjai BG; s. en mout grant esfror GT*; s. que j'ai fait s. D; s. certes en paor C; s. ai je au cuer frëor E. — 331 C. il m'e. GET; a. q. ja n'ere (u jou ere E) aseior GE; q. estoie en DT; F expands: Car il m'estoit a. qe g'ere en une tour Si com je m'en aloie a l'estage maiour Si vi dedevant moi grant noise et fort estour. — 332 Grant l. m'a. F; p. moult r. CDB. — 333 t. me depeçoient mon esqu paint a f. GE; n. depechoient D; n. destruisoient B. — 334 C omits: moi; m. me caoit mes destriers m. D; moi o. T; m. d. coureor E. — 335 Lors avoie e. F; Jo v. D; Ja v. B; La oïssiés ^{t.} ~~te~~; ^{n.} ~~mpose~~ GE; lés moi et tel t. G; tel cri et tel t. E; et t. baldor C. — 336 Le c. des espees et le c. et le p. E. — After 337 F adds: Sire dient François ne soïés en esrour Tous vous vaurra mal faire qi ara le piour. — 338 S. fait C. C; ne l. ne v. CBG; nel l. ne T; nel l. nel D. — 339 Li Vius de la M. B; de grande voidie E. — 430 Tous a m. FBT; h. avec sa T. — 341 P. n. contregarder G*; n. adamagier E; e. entrés em f. GE; n. ici gaitier T; c. car ne nous ainme mie F; c. et torner affolie D; c. et entrer en f. B. — 342 S. fait C. or ne v. targiés m. C; Baron s'il nous assalent F; S. s'il vos assaillent DBGE; ne v. i targiés m. G; T wants. — 343 Or deffende c. T; c. n'i c. F; c. n'i calenst D; ne calent G; et s'onor et E. — After 343 F adds: No crestien respondent nous ne vous faurons mie; T adds: Vo diex vous aidera en qui je mout me fie. —

- 45 Dist Harpins de Bohorges: "Corbarans, entendés;
 Plus avons de .L. cevaliers adoubés, 1345
 De la terre de France tos preudomes clamés,
 Estre les crestiens, dolans, escaitivés.
 Par le vostre merci .I. ceval me prestés,
 Et dant Jehan d'Alis .I. autre en redonés.
 Se besoins vos croisoit, fier vos i porés". 1350
 Dist Ricars de Calmont: "Sire, car lor donés".
 "Volentiers par mon cief, quant vos le me loés".
 .XXX. en prist en se route, corans et abrievés,
 Les seles sor les dos, les frains es ciés fremés,
 Ricart en apela et se li dist: "Tenés, 1355
 Recevés les cevals et si les departés.
 Donés vos compaignon icels que vos volés,
 U mius sont emploiét, issi con vos pensés".
 Les haubers et les elmes, les espius noielés,
 Lor dona Corbarans, et les escus listés. 1360
 Quant sont aparellié, es les vos tos montés!
 Cascuns fait .I. eslais, aval parmi les prés;
 Corbarans fu molt liés quant les vit adoubés.
 Ricars vint as caitis, ses a araisonés.
 "Segnor", ce dist Ricars, "un petit m'entendés: 1365 121c
 Se païen vos assalent, tres bien vos desfendés".

344 Ce dist li quens H. sire rois e. GE. -- 345 P. sonmes
 de GE; de .III. cens c. D. -- 346 F. pour p. GE; C*. --
 347 E. l'autre maisnie et les clers ordenés F; Et somes en
 vo terre dolant et esgarés B; Et sonmes de nos tieres d. GE;
 Outre les T. -- After 347 F adds: Et de moi et d'els tous
 moult bone aïe arés. -- 348 c. me donnés GE. -- 349 en
 delivrés CFDBGE; en baillérés T. -- After 349 F adds:
 Bauduins de Biauvais soit avuec nous joustés. -- 350 Se
 besogne v. croist BGET; b. nous c. F. -- 351 Rainmons
 de C. C; C. por Dieu car l. d. E. -- 352 c. puis que
 vous le volés (loés E) GE; v. le commandés FB. --
 353 p. par le r. CFD; en la r. GE; T*. -- 354 d. et
 casqun frain dorés G; es c. posés B; E wants. --
 355 Corbarans a parlé amis Ricars t. F; a. si li a dit t. C.
 356 R. ces c. CFDBE; T wants. -- 357 D. as c. a ces
 que C; c. et cex q. D; iteus com vous savés G; v. loés T.
 358 La ou m. soit assis ensi F; e. et ci c. D; e. si c.
 v. le savés GE. -- 359 Et les a. aussi et l'espiex n. F;
 et les brans acérés GE. -- 360 Les d. C. --
 361 a. et es chevaus m. GE; a. chaicun est tost m. T; l.
 v. aroutés C. -- 362 C. rent DE; son e. DEF; C. fist
 .I. B; C. point son cheval G; Et c. s'eslessa a. T;
 amont parmi C; a. p. ces p. FD. -- 363 T*. --
 364 R. vient F; C omits: a; T*. -- 365 S. d.
 Corbarans envers moi e. D. -- After 365 GE add; Par le
 mien ensient que vous bataille arés. -- 366 p. nous
 a. F; a. mout b. ET. --

Et il li respondirent: "Ja mar en parlerés!
 U tot mort u tot pris, itels est nos pensés,
 Miux volons estre mort qu'estre renprisonés".
 Sor la rive de l'eve avoit arbres plantés; 1370
 Il en trencent maques, mervellos fus quarés.
 Cil qui n'orent nule arme sont de caillos torsés.
 Et Corbarans cevalce, si est venus as gués,
 Et quant cascuns fu outre de l'autre part passés,
 Lions lor corut sore, si les a escriés; 1375
 En se conpaigne avoit .X. mile ferarmés.
 Quant Corbarans les voit, molt en fu effreés
 Et a dit a ses homes: "Del bien ferir pensés!
 Se jo vis en escape, que n'i soie afolés,
 Saciés vostre services vos ert gueredonés". 1380
 A iceste parole ont les cevals hurtés,
 Sore lor sont coru, les frains abandonés.

46 L'agais est desbusciés de la selve ramee;
 Plus furent de .X. mil, cascuns lance levee,
 Et l'arc de cor tendu, le saiete enpenee. 1385
 Lions de la Montaigne ot bien la teste armee,
 Et sist sor .I. destrier a le crupe tiulee.
 E! Dex, tantost le porte tot une randonee,

367 I resumes; Et il i r. C; Et cil li r. B; Et il (cil L)
 ont respondu TI. -- 368 t. m. u gari c'est li nostre
 p. GE; m. ou delivres i. T; F wants. -- 369 Cascuns
 vaurroit mix estre m. qe enprisonés F; M. amons tous morir
 q. I; M. amons e. m. c'a e. encainés E; e. ochis [que] e.
 enp. C*; e. ocis q. BT*; qu'e. rencainés G. -- 370 r.
 d'une iaue DB; a. a. assés D; a. aubiaus p. (plentés E)
GE; T*. -- 371 La cueillirent m. F; Cil i t. m. et mout
 grans f. B; Ilueques t. m. m. et q. I; Il i t. E; et grans
 (gros T) bastons q. FET*. -- 372 C. q. n'avoit nul a.
 s'est des c. F; Cis q. n'o. nules armes I; a. ont des c.
 combrés C; s. des c. D; a. ont des c. BI; a. ont les c. GE.
 373 c. si vient premiers as g. F; c. s'est repairés as g.
GE; c. qui e. I; v. al gués C. -- 374 C. d'iaus si feri
 si est o. p. I; Et q. il furent o. dela les gués p. E; q.
 il se fu o. F; l'a. p. es prés DB. -- After 374 F adds:
 Par dela le riviere es les aceminés. -- 375 L. de la
 Montaigne les a bien e. F; Li Vius lor c. B; L. est
 debuschiés quan les ot avisés I; E conflat: 375/6: L. les
 escria atout mil ferarmés; G wants. -- 376 .X. mille Turs
 armés F; .X. mil paiens armés I; G wants. -- 377 C. le
 vit B; C. le v. T; C. l'entent E; si en fu BE; en est e. F;
G wants; I expands 377-382; see Appendix VIII. --
 378 d. as caitis FDBGE; de (del FB) b. faire p. CFBG; de
 b. f. ET. -- 379 GE conflate 379/80: Car se jou en escap
 bien ert geredonés. -- 380 s. iert bien g. D. --
 381 A icele p. CT; o. loi c. C; G replaces 381/2 by: Il
 metent a la voie s'ont les gués trespasés; E wants. --
 382 Sor aus en s. B; c. lor f. C. -- 383 Li gais C; de
 le forest r. E. -- 384 Bien i f. .V. cens cascun la tieste
 armee. -- After 384 I adds: Et furent bien armés com pour
 faire melee N'i a cel n'ait espiel et au flanc saint l'espee.
 385 Et l'a. t. de c. D; Ou a., pour traire a l'avolee I; A ars
 de c. tendus GE; t. et saïtes barbees C; t. a s. E; la s.
 entesee FBT. -- 386 Li Vius de la M. B; b. sa t. BT; M. a
 b. CG. -- After 386 I adds: La lance tint ou poing que
 bien fu aournee. -- 387 .I. cheval a GT; c. doree D. --
 After 387 I adds: Qui plus keurt par montaigne c'autres
 chevas la pree. -- 388 A! D. com tost l'enporte FB; D. tant
 fort le porte et de grant r. C; D. com (que T) il l'enporte
DIT; D. si tost le p. d'une grant r. E; de moult grant r. F;
 une grant r. B; le sablon et l'estree I. --

Ne si tenist oisials ne faucons avolee,
 Devant trestos les autres plus d'une abalestree. 1390
 S'est escriés en haut, a se vois haut et lee:
 "Corbarans d'Oliferne, anqui vos ert retee,
 La mors de Sorgalé vos ert cier comparee!"
 Quant Corbarans l'entent, n'i fist autre arestee,
 L'escu prist par l'enarme, s'a le lance branlee, 1395
 A .III. claus de fin or ot ensegne fremee.
 Li uns broce vers l'autre par fiere randonee,
 Cascuns feri son per sor le targe listee,
 Ke les lances peçoient, li plus forte est froee.
 Corbarans d'Oliferne mist la main a l'espee, 1400
 Amont parmi son elme fiert Lion tel colee,
 Que le maistre des [pierres] en a jus avalee;
 Sor l'escu de son col est l'espee coulee,
 Enfresci qu'a le boucle a le targe colpee.
 Nel pot tenir clavains ne le calce noee, 1405
 C'un braon de le quise nen ait al brant portee.
 Corbarans s'escria a molt fiere alenee:
 "Lions de la Montaigne, mar veïs ta posnee!
 Par Mahon, mar i fu traïsons porparlee!
 Se de ci escapés, çou est cose provee, 121d 1410

1402 queres corr. from CBI.

389 t. qarriax ne FDBG; saiete enpennee DBGE; t. f. ne o. a. T.
 390 a. le trait d'abalestree F; E wants. -- 391 A haute v.
 escrie GE; que n'i fist demouree E; h. n'i fist (fait T)
 autre celee CDBGT; h. sans nulle demoree F; a mout grant
 alenee I. -- 392 e. mostree T; I expands: C. d'O. vostre vie
 est finee Fis a putain traîtres a. v. iert r. -- 393 de
 Murgalé D; de Goulias, c. achatee I*; S. c. sera c. F; S. v. e.
 gueredonnee E. -- 394 Q. l'e. C. n'i a fait ar. E; C. l'oi, a.
 avisee I; e. s'a la coulour muee F; e. ne f. D; e. n'i ot a. G;
T*. -- 395 L'e. tint as enarmes et (s'a E) la lance planee GE;
 p. as enarmes I; l'e. s'a la guice acolee F; la l. conbree D;
B expands: L'e. p. as enarmes s'ensegne a escriee Puis a pris
 en sa main une lance planee. -- 396 or une e. f. CD; or fu
 l'e. f. B; or la baniere f. GE; or a l'e. f. T; FI want. --
 397 Il brocent l'uns v. l'a. G; Et brocent les cevaus a une r. E;
 l'a. toute une r. CFI. -- 398 O resumes: C. fiert s.; C omits
 sor; s. (en E) la t. roee IGE; F wants. -- 399 Que les hanstes
 p. OG; Que leur l. T; f. est quassee CFDB; et volerent par la
 pree O; si (et E) volent en la pree GE; I expands: Par deseure
 la boucle est chasconne troee Lors lances sont brisiés la plus
 fors est quassee. -- 400 Quant les lances sunt fraites C. trait
 (tint G) l'e. OGE. -- 401 A. dessus l'e. f. L. tel testee D; f.
 le Viel t. B; healme l'en dona t. c. O; ielme li done t. GE; C*.
 402 Le cercle od les jagunces en aloit en la pree O; Le cercle
 o le jaigonce li abat en la pree GE; des cercles en F; en est I;
 j. craventee C; T wants. -- 403 est c. l'e. D; l'e. avalee F;
T inverts 403/4. -- 404 E. qu'en DBOIT; E. a le G; Desi que
 en la E; b. est la t. DBIET; b. est fendue et c. F. -- 405 Nel
 (Ne C) p. (puet BO) garir c. (haubert OI) FCDBOIGE; ne c.
 noellee CT; ne la coiffe doree F; ne la jupe fresee D; ne la
 brogne safree BI; ne clavein bien roee O; ne la c. doree G; ne
 li c. safree E. -- 406 .I. b. de la teste li abat en la
 pree F; Que dou b., a la char ostee I; q. en a au b. D; q. ne
 l'ait del b. sevrete O; n. et outre colpee G; ne li ait
 desevrete E; ne li a. hors ostee T; a b. copee C. -- 407 C.
 li escrie une en avés portee F; A haute voiz s'escrie (GE omit
 s') n'en (n'i GE) fist autre celee OGE; C. li cria T; m. grant
 a. CDBT; I* expands: Quant le voit C. grant joie en [a] menee
 I li a escriet a m. grant a. -- 408 Li Vius de B; M. trop
 menés grant p. I; m. estes assemblee O; m. i fu l'asanblee GE.
 409 m. avés la traïson menee I; i as t. F; t. pourpensee BT;
OGE replace by: La gent que ge voi ci (ci v. E) tut iert (ert
 toute E; est G) a mort livree. -- 410 Et se de c. escapes
CD; Se jou de ci escape F; Et si tu en escapes OG; Car ce de
 si eschap IT; Et s. tu nous escapes c'est li c. averee E;
 c'est verités p. CFI; ço iert c. p. O; verités e. p. T. --

Soudans te fera pendre par ta goule paree".

Quant Li^uons l'entendi, s'a la color muee.

- 47 Li^uons de la Montaigne fu forment coreciés,
 Por son sanc que il voit fu molt grains et iriés
 Il broce le cheval des esperons des piés, 1415
 Tint le brant el poing destre, qui d'or fin fu segniés,
 Vait ferir Corbaran sor l'escut qui'st vergiés,
 Que les flors et les pieres en a jus envoiés.
 Sor l'escu de son col est li brans adreciés,
 Enfresci qu'en la boucle est fendus et perciés; 1420
 Nel pot garir clavains n'aubers menus mailliés,
 Qu'a le car del costé ne soit li brans froiés,
 Ke del quir en osta, dont forment fu quaissiés.
 A hautes vois escrie: "Corbarans, renoiés!
 Por la mort de mon oncle vos ert colpés li ciés, 1425
 Quant de ci partirés ja mes n'esterés liés.
 Ja ançois n'ert li vespres ne li soleus cociés,
 Que mal ert par vo cors cascuns Frans ostagiés".
 Quant li caitif l'entendent, es les vos desrengiés!
 Ja sera Corbarans, mien escient, vengiés. 1430

- 48 Dans Harpins de Bohorges sist armés el destrier,
 S'o^u ansdeus les rois l'un vers l'autre tencier.

411 S. vous f. FBI; S. vous pendera p. vo g. estesee T; p. ta (la FE) g. baee CFE; p. la g. DBGT; g. parjuré O. --
 412 Q. li Vius l'a oï s'a B; L. l'ot oït s'a I; e. la c. a m. T; s'a sa teste juree F; OGE want. -- After 412 F adds: Corbarans n'en irés vo mort est affiee. -- 413 Li Vius de B. -- 414 P. le s. de sa teste qi'st a terre raiés F; De s. s. qu'il v. O; s. qui del cors li descent dusc'as piés D; s. qu'il v. fu mout fort gramiiés E; v. est m. T; fu forment airiés B; fu il g. I; fu forment gramoiés G. -- 415 Et b. le c. vers lui s'est eslaissiiés D; des e. d'ormier BE. -- After 415 G adds: Liens les escria ki preus fu et legiers N'en irés Sarrasin anqui serai vengiés. -- 416 T. l'espee ou p. d. dont li puins est d'ormier I; T. son b. T; b. en son p. q. GE; d'or fu enseigniés CFBGT; fu a or s. E; DO want. -- 417 s. l'elme qi'st v. FGET; en l'ealme v. O; l'e. de quartier C; qu'ert v. D. -- 418 en fait j. trebucier B; en a j. trebuciés G; j. devalez O; FI want. 419 li b. glaciés F; li cops a. E; DI want. -- 420 E. q'a la F; E. a la G; Desi que a la E; b. fu f. et trenchiez O; et froissiiés T. -- 421 Ne p. durer c. C; N. puet g. D; g. haubert tant fust m. m. I; g. haubers ne c. tant fust ciers G; c. ne hauberc bien m. OT. -- 422 Que la c. CBT; Q'en le c. FO; Car la c. D; des costés ne s. au branc tailliés T; li [b.] glaciés C*; li b. touciés E; -- 423 Le c. li a copee moult est li rois bleciés F; Que le c. DGE; Que del char en porta d. f. fu greinez O; Li sans en chiet a terre durement fu bleciés I; Et du c. T; c. li o., fu bleciés B; o. mout fu f. q. TC; fu iriés D; fu plaiés GE. -- 424 Haute v. escria C; Liens est escriés FI; v. s'escrue D; v. li crie T; GEO expands Ah. v. e. (s'escrue O); n'i est mie atargiés G; ne s'est mie (pas O) atargiés EO; Corbarans d'Oliferne a mort iestes jugiés. -- 425 P. amour de m. frere v. e. li chief coupés T; OGE want. -- 426 Q. vous m'estorderés I; m. ne serés l. CFDBIT; OGE want. -- 427 A. que soit li v. B; Ja ainz ne sera v. OI; Ja ne sera li v. GE; a. nen iert v. C; T wants. -- 428 N'erent pas le François de vo cors o. B; Q. par vo cor seront François mal o. I; e. pour vo T; F. designiés C; GEO replace by: C'a (Que a O) ceste espee a or; ne t'iert li ciés trenciés G; ne vous caupe le chief E; vos iert trenchié le chiefz O. -- 429 Q. no crestient l'e. F; Q. nos c. IT; l'oierent chascuns est d. I; OGE want. -- 430 C. isnelement v. B; DOGE want. -- 432 Andels les r. oï F; S'a oït les .II. r. IT; l'un a l'a. FDBIGE; l'a. plaidier IE. -- After 432 O adds: Et broche le cheval des esporuns a ormier. --

A Lion de Montaigne se valt il acointier.
 Bien a passé .III. ans ne pot armes baillier,
 Mais or n'est pas bastars a le lance abaisier. 1435
 Fiert Lion de Montaigne sor le targe a ormier,
 K'il li fent et peçoie, l'auberc fist desmaillier,
 Par dedesor l'asele en fist le sanc glacier,
 Toute plaine sa lance l'abati el gravier;
 Puis a traite l'espee a loi de cevalier. 1440
 Ja n'eüst pris la teste quant plus de .M. arcier
 Destendirent a lui, qui li fissent laisier;
 Plus de .VII. cens saietes enpenees d'acier
 Li ont fait en l'escu et en l'auberc ficier;
 Damedex le gari, qui tot a a baillier! 1445
 Harpins prist le ceval, mist soi el repairier,
 Corbaran encontra devant lui el sentier.
 Cou dist li quens Harpins: "Recevés cest loier,
 Faites ent vo plaisir, pensés del cevalcier,
 Cevalciés a bataille, n'i avés que targier!" 1450

49 Corbarans d'Oliferne prist le ceval corant,
 Il ne le rendist mie por son pois d'or pesant.

433 A L. se il puet F; Au Viel de la M. B; A L. de la M. O;
 A L. se vaura jusqu'a poi a. I; A L. l'orgillous G; A L. se
 vaura se il puet a. ET. — 434 B. a pensé B; B. ot p. G;
 p. .II. a. D; p. .I. an I. — 435 M. ne fu p. b. a la l.
 baissier B; M. n'est mie b. I; M. ne fu mie las GE; b. de
 l. baissier O; b. de la l. brisier T. — After 435 I adds:
 Il broche le cheval des esperons d'ormier. — 436 F. L.
 sor la t. qi fu painte a o. F; Et vait ferir le Viel B; Et
 a ferut L. nel vaut mie oublier I; Mervillos cop li done
OGE; Si grant coup fierit T*; t. d'o. GE. — 437 Que li f.
CT; Que l'escu li f. O; L'escut f. I; f. et percha F; f. et
 estroé et le h. doblie D; l'a. fet d. GET. — 438 P. dejuste
 l'a. D; I inverts 438/9: Contreval a la tere li fait le s.
 raier I; a. li f. le fer g. DBG; le fer g. FE; le s. raier CT;
O wants. — 439 Par desceure sa I; l'a. del destrier O;
 l'abat ens el g. G; B wants 439-443. — After 439 D adds:
 Que li guiges de son elme feri el sablonier. — 440 Et p.
 a trait l'e. C; l'e. et le bon brand d'acier O; l'e. dont li
 puns fu d'ormier GE. — 441 Ja en eust F; Ja em presist la
 t. DIGET; Ja eust prise la t. O; au branc forbi d'acier T.
 442 destendent FDGE; I d. a l. FG; A l. d. tot si l. D; I
 treïstrent a l. O; Il d. a li si li ont fait l. E; l. se l.
 f. C; T expands: Quant payens d. sus li plus d'un millier
 Ou il vosist ou non le li ont fait laisser. — 443 Et p.
 de .VII. s. T; .VII.XX. s. enfleschiés d'a. D; .V. c. IG;
 e. d'ormier F. — 444 Font Harpin en l'e. F; f. en l'a.
 et en l'e. f. D; e. et ou h. T; et en l'ielme f. GE; COI want.
 445 q. t. puet justichier E; a jugier DBG; O wants. —
 446 Et saisi le c. O; H. tient le I; Il tourne son c. GE; s.
 al r. OE. — 447 C. d'Oliferne e. al g. O; e. tres enmi .I.
 s. F; e. qui mout iert airiés I. — 448 Et dist FIE; li c. a
 li montés sus ce destrier T; r. cel l. C; r. c. (cel O) destrier
BOIGE. — 449 Montés isnelement p. I; p. de c. CFBET; p. del
 exploitier O. — 450 Chevauchons a F; S'irés a la b. que n'a. I
 b. vous n'a. E; n'aiez q. O; DB want. — 451 C. fu mout tos
 montés en l'auferrant B. — 452 Il nel r, m. p. plain O; p.
 de besant BOIE; p. d'or tout son p. T. —

Ses barons et ses homes va doucement proiant:

"Segnor, or del bien faire, franc cevalier vaillant!

Se jo puis escaper, del mien vos donrai tant, 1455 122a

Le plus povre de vos ferai rice et manant".

Et il li respondirent: "Tot al vostre conmant!

Nos ne vos faurons mie tant con serons vivant!"

Lions fu remontés sor le blanc ataignant,

Ses barons et ses homes vait molt bien ordenant. 1460

Es vos grande bataille mervellouse et pesant!

Espeusement i vont li Sarrasin traiant,

Et dars et gavrelos espeusement lançant,

Et maques de fer l'uns vers l'autre jetant.

Huimés orés bataille et molt ruiste beubant, 1465

Et molt bone cançon, s'il est qui le vos cant;

Onques tele ne fu des le tans Moysant.

La peüssiés veïr tante lance brisant,

Et tant clavain desronpre, tant auberc jaserant,

Et tant Sarrasin braire et tant Turc glatisant. 1470

.VII. cens s'en i pasmerent sor l'erbe verdoiant,

Dont diable enporterent les armes maintenant.

Se li Turc s'entrocient, n'en donroie .I. bezant.

Mais cil qui de la virgene nasqui en Belliant,

453 v. durement p. C; vait belement p. I; v. bonnement p. T.
 454 S. barons fait il fr. I; f. crestien v. O. — After
 454 I adds: Ne vous atargiés mie mais poingniés tost avant.
 455 Si g'en p. OE; Se j. e. p. I. — 456 Le povre de v.
 plus O; f. rice m. GE; D replaces by: Ja mais ne serés povre
 en cest siecle vivant. — 457 Et si li B; Et il (cis I) ont
 respondu EIT; tot a v. CFBOIGET. — 458 Ne v. f. m. en
 trestut nostre v. O; Ja ne vous i f. O; f. ja t. B; t. que
 seriens v. C; t. que soions v. E; c. soions v. DGI. —
 459 L. refu montés CD; L. se fu montés F; Li Vius f. r. s. .I.
 cheval corant B; le brun a. D; le b. acesmant O; le bai a. I;
T wants. — After 459 I adds: .I. cheval merveillous mout
 iniaus et courant. — 460 v. forment rehaitant F; v. b.
 reconfortant B. — 461 Es v. fiere b. B; E v. mout fort b.
 orgueilleuse et I; Estes v. la b. mout fort et mout p. T; b. qui
 qu'en poist ne qui chant D; F conflates 461/5: Huimais orrés b.
 m. et p., and wants 462-64; OGE want. — After 461 I adds:
 Ja mais n'orés si pesme encontre tant de gent Fierement si
 aiderent nos chevaliers vaillant A maint felons paiens vont
 les testes trenchant Aval la praerie furent li chaples grans.
 462 Les escieles se hurtent li archier vont traiant OGE. —
 463 g. mout durement l. I; g. de totes pars l. D; g. mout
 ruistement l. B; g. lancent e. GE; g. i vont souvant l. T.
 464 m. plonmees l'un a I; l'a. ruant BIT; f. li u l'a. j. C.
 465 H. verrés b. et orible et pesant C; o. chanson mout aspre
 et mout pesant I; B conflates: 465/6; b. s'il est ki le vous
 cant; OGE want. — 466 C omits: le; FDBOIGE want. — 467 t.
 n'olte d. I; fu puis le T; FDBOGE want; B replaces by: Ains mais
 de tant de gent n'oïstes si pesant Li .I. vont vers les autres
 de ferir desirant. — 468 La p. v. un estor si (mout E) pesant
OE; La veïsiés entr'aus .I. estour si pesant G; La veïssiés
 percier tant escut reluissant I. — 469 Tant fort escu troer
 t. OGE; c. fauser t. I. — 470 S. mort et B; D wants. —
 471 .VII. c. en i p. C; Plus de .VII. c. se pasment B; S. c. se
 p. s. l'e. veridiant O; .VII. c. en i verserent s. I; .V. c. E;
 s'en sont pasmé T. — 472 D. li d. enportent FG; D. d. enportent
O; e. lor a. C; a. tout errant I. — 473 s'e. je n'en d. .I.
 gant F. — 474 M. Dieu q. O; v. fu nés en B. B; I alters
 474-76 and adds: Mais Diex gart nos François par son digne commant
 Qui de la sainte vierge nasqui en Beliant E vous parmi la presse
 le fort roi Corbarant Et Richart de Chaumont armét sor l'auf-
 ferant Et Harpin de Boorges sor Favel le courant Et dant
 Jehand'Alis et Fouques de Mielant Bauduin de Biauvais sor le
 bai ataignant Li vesques dou Forois li abes de Fescant
 A icele ennaie les mainnent requant Une grant bastonnee par
 le mien essiant. —

Quant l'angeles s'aparut as pastors belemant, 1475
 Garisse nos François et maint a salvemant.

50 Al departir d'un gués, al puier d'un tolon,
 La fu grans li bataille del linage Mahon.
 Tant i lancent et traient, n'est se mervelle non,
 Et sonent et taburent que oïr les puet on 1480
 De deus loees grans lor timbre et lor reson.
 Atant es .I. païen qui Arfulans ot non,
 Frere fu Sorgalé, niés le Rouge Lion,
 Et vait cercant les rens sor .I. cheval gascon.
 "U est Ricars de France, del roiaume Karlon, 1485
 Ki mon frere m'a mort par mortel traïson?
 Hui cest jor se jo puis, t'en rendrai gerredon!
 Couperai toi le teste par desos le menton,
 Le bu en ferai pendre, si trairont mi geldon".
 Corbarans en entent le noise et le reson, 1490
 La est venus poignant a coite d'esperon.
 "Arfulans, que demandes a Ricart le baron?
 Rois Soudans m'apeloit de mortel traïson;
 Vers .II. m'a desfendu, qui qu'en poist ne qui non.
 Se tu vels le bataille, moi et toi le faisons". 1495
 Et Arfulans respont: "Et nos mius ne queron!"
 Il brocent les cevals et muevent de randon,

475 Q. l'estoile apparu et bele et reluisant F; l'a. aparut
as p. ens es cans G; p. maintenant C; p. jentement D; OET
want. -- 476 Cil g. nos Frans et mete a s. F; m. a (B omits:
a) lor garant DB; et mene a s. O. -- 477 d. des gués IGE;
al pié del t. O; al issir d'un I; a p. .I. t. E; p. d'un
grant mon B; T*. -- 478 La fu la g. b. de la geste (gent O)
M. FO; Fu mout g. la meslee du l. Noiron I; T*. -- 479 T. i
getent et C; T. t. et l. I; T. i t. et l. G; T. i t. et
bersent E; l. et gettent O: -- 480 Il s. et t. n'est se
mervelle non C; Et cornent et FI; et demainnent grant son F;
Et souvent i t. T*; O omits: et; o. n'i p. E. -- 481 De
.VII. l. g. l. timbres et l. ton B; De .III. I; lieues
planieres CIT*; bien oïr le puet on C; entour et environ I;
l. loins l. noise et l. tenchon D; g. en ot l'om bien le son O;
et l. cri et l. son G; FE want. -- 482 A. eth vos un p. O;
p. A. (Afernant I) ot a n. GEI. -- 483 Fius estoit S.
(Golia /s/ I) BI; F. iert a S. G; Murgalé D; S. et n. le O; n.
au R. DBT; F*. -- 484 va cerchier l. r. s. .I. destrier g. OI;
r. entour et environ FB. -- After 484 FDB add: A haute vois
escrie (s'e. D) FD; clerement a .I. ton F; bien oïr le puet
on D; Li paien s'escriva clerement a haut ton B. -- 485 Ou
es alés R. d. FI; Ou es R. D; U es tu R. de F. O; T*. --
486 m. pere m'as m. F; m. pere m'a m. B; f. m'as m. D; m.
pere ocesis I; p. m. (mavaise I) achaison OI; T*. --
487 H. cel j. se jel p. l'en donrai g. C; si g'en p. O; en
prendrai vengison PE; en auras g. G. -- 488 Trencherai
li (t. I) TI; C. lui la t. CE. -- 489 Le cief en F; Le
cor f. ardoir et livrer a charbon I; Et si le f. p. T; p.
sel t. D; mi garçon CT; BG want. -- 490 C. entendi la
n. BT; del glouton B; et le tençon CET; et la frichon D; e.
et la n. et le son I. -- 491 Moult tost li vient p. F;
v. avant a B; v. courant a GE; O*. -- After 491 I adds:
La ou voit le paien si l'apela bricon. -- 492 Traîtres
q. d. j'enten bien ta raison I; O*; T wants. --
493 Li S. me retoit de I; m'apiela BE; O*. -- 494 Uns
d'iex m'a C; V. d. se defende q. que p. O; .I. d'eus me
desfendi que de fit le set on I; V. lui m'a GE; m'en
deffendi DB; p. et q. n. F; T*. -- 495 feron IOG; C*; T*.
496 A. li r. C; Et A. a dit IE; r. ne nous G. --
497 Lor broche le cheval sans nule arestison I; Puis b.,
viennent de r. T; et montent de r. C; et vienent a bandon G;
c. de mervillous r. E. --

- Mervellos cols se donent es escus a bandon,
 Ke les lances peçoient, s'en volent li tronçon.
 De lor cols s'entrabatent ambedui el sablon, 1500 122b
 Et resalent em piés li Sarrasin felon,
 Od les espees nues se muevent grant tençon.
 Li maisnie Lion entor et environ
 Saisissent Corbaran, qui qu'en poist ne qui non,
 La teste li trencascent sans nule altre okison. 1505
 Quant li caïtif le virent, molt sont en grant friçon;
 De Corbaran rescoure se misent en randon,
 Cil qui sont as cevals brocent a esperon,
D Et cil qui sont a pié del pas plus que troton, 137c
 Et escrient ensamble: "Monjoie le Karlon!"
 Ens en la gregnor presse fierent par contençon. 1510
 La veïssiés d'espees molt fiere caplison,
 Tante pierre ruer et tant colp de baston!
 Corbarans est montés par grant airison,
 Lors le çaça li rois le trait a .I. boïon.
 Se li Turc s'entrocient, n'en donroie .I. bouton, 1515
 Mais Dex mete nos Frans a grant salvation,
 K'il sont en grant peril entre la gent Noiron.
- 51 Molt fu grant li bataille, bien se sont conbatu,
 Li Turc et li Persant, maint colp i ont feru.

498 Sus les escus se [fierent] par si fort contençon T*;
 c. li d. D; c. se fierent et d. es blason G; e. a lion
BOIE. — 499 Q. leur l. T; les hanstes p. s'i v. O.
 500 s'e. ou il voeillent ou non I; s'e. andui el O; a. li
 baron BT. — 501 Lor r. I; Puis reviennent ensemble li
T; p. andoi comme baron F; p. ambedoi li baron E. —
 502 A lor e. BI; n. esmuevent (s'e. B) TB; n. se (s'i O)
 mainnent g. IOG; g. caplison G; n. en m. le t. E; m. tel t. D.
 503 La gens L. assanle e. F; La m. le Viel B; Et resailent
 en piez la m. env. O; La m. Arsulant e. I. — 504 Saisirent
BIT; C. par (a I) l'auberc fremillon FI; C. entour ot maint
 felon E; C. sanz nulle arrestoison T. — 505 t. ja n'eüst
 raenchon D; t. ou il vausit ou non I; t. que de fi le savon
T; s. n. (a. B) arestison CBGE; s. n. raançon O. —
 506 c. i vinrent m. C; c. le voient FIGE; s'en ont al cuer
 f. F; v. s'en furent en f. DI; del roialme Charlon OGE. —
 507 Pour C. r. T; r. se metent C; r. furent en grant fricon
I; m. a bandon CFBT; OGE want. — 508 C. ki orent c. B;
 s. es c. C; s. a c. F; s. a cheval OIGET. — After 508
 reading of D; de p. p. grant t. C; i ceurent le t. BE; le
 pas et le t. I; le p. p. del t. G; le grandisme t. T; q. le
 t. O; AF want. — 509 OGE want. — 510 Et en la g.
 p. se f. a bandon O; Dedans la g. IE; p. vont ferir a bandon F;
 p. se misent (maitent GE) a bandon IGE; f. a c. DT; f. a
 entençon B. — 511 La v. des e. O; d'e. si f. DB; m.
 grande c. CI; e. tante grande c. OGE. — 512 Et tantes
 pieres r. O; T. p. jeter IGE; c. des baron C; T wants. —
 After 512 I adds: E. Diex com bien le fissent nos crestiens
 baron. — 513 Corbaran ont rescous p. C; Ct. remonterent
DI; Ct. ont monté T; p. g. aatison FT*; Ct. funt monter que
 qu'on peist et qui non O; sor .I. cheval gascon I; G inverts
 513/4: C. fu m. sans point d'arestison; E*. — 514 L. les
 cache C; L. les c. FOT; Ariere l'ont mené D; Lor escapa li
 r. B; L. recacent le roi .I. arpent a roon G; L. encauchent
 les Turs .I. arpent a bandon E; r. tut le t. d'un b. O*; r.
 et li et si baron T; I wants. — 515 F wants. —
 516 D. mene n. O; m. François I; a sa s. C; a salve (saine B)
 garison DB; a lor s. GET; F wants. — 517 Qui s. CDBI;
 Il s. O; p. a Deu les coumandon BOG; p. vers la geste N. I;
 le g. Mahon CD; T*; E replaces by: Mais Corbaran rescousent
 u Turc voellent u non; F wants. — 518 b. moult se CT*.
 519 et li paien GE; i o. m. c. f. IET. —

Brisiés sont les lances et perciét li escu, 1520
 Et li pluisor en sont parmi le cors feru;
 Et cornent et buisinent, si grans noise ne fu
 Nostre François i sont ricement maintenu,
 A .VII. cens Sarrasins i ont les ciés tolu.
 Molt se sont bien armé li jovene et li quenu 1525
 Des armes as paiens qui sont mort estendu.
 Et Arfulans s'en fuit, car molt i a perdu,
 O lui .M. Sarrasin, dolent et irascu.
 Il n'en i a .I. ^{eu} ~~suel~~ ne soit navrés el bu,
 U n'ait aucun des membres desor son cors perdu. 1530
 Soudans l'a oï dire, dolans et irés fu,
 Devant lui les manda, et il i sont venu.
 Fierement les araisne, c'onques n'i ot salu:
 "Fil a putain, garçon, Sarrasin mescreü!
 Molt m'avés hui honi, et ma loi confondu, 1535
 Et mes Dex parjurés, Mahomet et Cahu.
 Ja mais ne mangerai, si serés tot pendu".
 Trestos les a fais pendre a .I. caisne foillu.
 Puis manda Corbaran amistié con son dru,
 Et de le traïson, qu'il nel sot ne n'i fu, 1540
 Pres est qu'il s'en desfende a lance et a escu,
 U portera juïse u en eve u en fu.

520 Froissiés ont I; [B.] y ont T; lor l. COIT; et p. lor e. CIT; l. p. sont li e. DBO; G wants. -- 521 p. s'i s. FB; DG want. -- After 521 I adds: Iluec ot tel melote et tel cri et tel hut; B places 526 after 521 and adds: Enporterent diable lor mestre Belgibu Cil ki vif sont remés en sont tout esperdu. -- 522 Il c. B; Mout c. et taburent ains tes n. I; et taburent si CT; Et sounent et GE; g. joie ne E; O wants. 523 N. caitif CFDBIGET; s'i sont GT; se s. fierement combatu E; s. fierement m. BIG; s. (s. mult O) fierement contenu FDI; r. contenu C. -- 524 A .CC. S. i sont l. B; A .V. c. IE; S. les c. i o. t. O; c. chevalier i F; i sont li chief t. FDGE; C wants. -- After 524 DB add: No gent prenent les (lor B) armes bien se sont revestu. -- 525 b. prouvé li I; F omits: bien; D inverts 525/6. -- 526 Les a. B; OIGE want. -- After 526 D adds: Entre paiens se fierent maint en ont estendu Des mors et des navrés ont le plaine vestu. -- 527 Or s'en vet A. qui grant honte a eü B; A. en f. C; f. qui m. CEOI; f. que m. GE; i avoit p. O; i ot p. IT; D expands: Quant le voit Arsulans Dex si dolens en fu Enfuies est tornés molt grant honte a eü. -- 528 S. n'ont lance (lances G) ne esqu (esques G) OGE. -- 529 Ains n'en I; i ot un OI; s. ki n'et del sanc (q. d. s. n'ait O) perdu GEO. -- 530 Ou que n'a. a. m. T; m. defors s. CI; m. et trencié et p. F; d. le c. D; c. tolut I; OGE want. -- After 530 D adds: Et Lions d'autre part ra son chemin tenu Molt i fu grans la perte que il ont recheü Maldient Mahomet Tervagant et Cahu Et Corbarans chevauche qui l'estor a vencu. -- 531 Rois S. l'oi d. B; Et S. l'oi d. i. et d. en fu O; d. pres n'a le sens perdu D; d. mout en fu irascut I; d. i. et d. fu GET. -- 532 Les traïtors m. D; D. soi l. m. OGE; Par devant li les mande T. -- 533 a. onques CFOIT; a. si coume homs irascus G; a. car mout fu irascu E. 534 p. glouton S. CDGE; p. dist il S. BI; S. malostru I. -- 535 Bien m'a. T; hui m. l. h. et c. B; et no loi E; O*. -- 536 D. abaissiés M. I; O*. -- 537 si s. confundu OG. -- 538 .I. arbre f. I; .I. arbre ramu T; c. ramu F; c. brancu D; O replaces by: Sun seneschal apele Pharaoun de Kernu Pren moi les traïtres gardez ke soient pendu Mes triwes ont enfraintes mult sunt irascu; GE want 538-49. -- 539 mande CO; a. et salu FBOI. -- 540 qu'il ne l'a oi ne O; qu'il n'en s. I; t. ne sot mot ne T. -- 541 e. que s'en IT; q'il se d. a l. ou a e. F; O omits: et a. -- 542 U portra un j. C; Et porterai j. F; Ou a porter j. DB; Et p. IT; ou a iaue ou a fu D; j. a charbon et a f. O; T omits: Ist ou. --

Corbarans d'Oliferne l'en a molt bien creü,
 Et il et li caitif sont a pié descendu
 Por reposer lor cors des cols qu'il ont eü.
 Après remontent tost, n'i sont plus arestu.
 Or s'en vait Corbarans qui l'estor a vencu,
 Mais navrés fu el cors d'un dart trencant molu,
 Molt honeure Ricart et tenoit por son dru.

1545 122c

- 52 Or s'en vait Corbarans, sa bataille a vencue; 1550
 Et fu el cors navrés, molt sovent color mue,
 Tant a perdu del sanc tos li cors li tresue.
 Forment ainme Ricart qui, a l'espee nue,
 A vencu les .II. Turs, dont l'onors est rendue.
 Ensanble cevalcierent a grant route estendue; 1555
 Mais n'ont gaires alé quant li tans lor remue.
 Uns vens grans [et] espés qui descent d'une nue,
 Uns torbellons lor lieve, la porre est esmeüe,
 Si grans et si espés que torble lor veue.
 A senestre se tiennent, s'ont lor voie perdue. 1560
 Lés le mont de Tigris, dont li pierre est mousue,
 Trestoute une viés voie qui n'estoit pas batue,
 Ki estoit de verde herbe et de liere encreüe,
 Trestout a esperon ont lor voie acoillue.

1557 A omits: et

543-49 O replaces by: Corberant vint a la terre dont il nez fu Sa mere et sa maisnee li sunt encontre alu Mult fud grant la joie qui la demené fu Et trestut por lur seignor qu'il quidoient avoir perdu Mult furent nos Crestiens a grant joie reçu Maint beau don lur fud doné et maint cheval kernu. — 544 et ses c. C; et nos c. T. — 545 P. l. c. r. d. I; P. respasser., du chaut qu'i o. T; r. les c. D; q'il ont feru F. — 546 A. retournent t. C; A. sont remontés n'i I; r. tout n'i B; n'i s. arresteu F. — After 546 DB add: Des cols que cascuns ot molt tres dolens en (dolerous B) fu. — 547 C. n'i a plus attendu D; q'i a l'e. v. F; qui fu navrés ou bu T. — 548 M. el c. fu n. DB; N. estoit ou c. I; D'un dart qui trenchans ert mais le champ a vaincu T; d'un d. qui t. f. D; d. t. agu B. — 549 M. honoroit R. CFDI; et t. a s. CFDBT; et Harpin le membrut I. After 549 DB add: Por ce que par lui sont li .II. Turc (li païen B) confondu. — O omits the rest of the poem and ends the story with one laisse, Appendix IX. — After laisse 51 F adds one laisse, Appendix X. — 550 s'en va CBIET. 551 Il fu n. ou c. T; s. se tressue E. — 552 s. mout souvent color mue E. — 553 R. ki par B; s'espee BI. 554 A ocis l. E; d. s'onnors e. creüe CFDBET; d. s'o. e. I; T. par sa boine aventure G. — 555 E. chevachent I. — After 555 CDBIGET add: Desci a Oliferne n'i a regne tenue C; D. c'a O. DI; en O. T; n'eüst BT; n'i ont D; n'i ot IGE; B adds: Ne fust une aventure ki lor est avenue. — 556 N'orent g. B; t. se r. FDBIGET*. — 557 .I. g. v. et D; I wants; T*. — 558 t. relieve q. descent d'une nue C; t. se l. la poudriere e. meüe FT*; t. i l. D; qui la p. a meüe DB; l. et la p. e. cheüe I; li p. en e. esmute G; l. dont li p. e. creüe E. — 559 Tant g. FDBGET*; qui t. FE; qu'il torblent B; I wants. — 560 s. s'en (se FCT) tournent CFIGET*; s. tournerent s'o. DB. — 561 Vers le BI; F expands: L. le M. de T. ont lor sente accoillue .I. tertre moult hidex d. li p. e. m. — 562 Estoit u. BI; qui n'est mie seüe B; qui n'estoit mais seüe I. — 563 Qui de v. erbe e. et de jons parcreüe B; Qui de v. jons et d'erbe e. si parcreüe I; de iere creüe C; et d'iere entrecreüe EG; DFT want. — 564 o. la sente venue B; v. tenue IGE; DFT want. — After 564 FBET add: Li vens et la poudriere et liiaus les argue.