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LE PAS SALADIN:

AN OLD FRENCH POEM OF THE THIRD CRUSADE.

FRANK E. LODEMAN, of Cornell University.

Baltimore, Md.

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LE PAS SALADIN:

AN OLD FRENCH POEM OF THE THIRD CRUSADE.

Thesis presented to the University Faculty of Cornell University for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Introduction.

THE author of the Pas Saladin, a historical poem of the Third Crusade, is unknown. The only copy of the poem hitherto discovered is that in manuscript No. 24432, of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. The text, with the addition of a few historical notes, was published by M. Trébutien in 1836, but no study of the dialect of the poem has yet been attempted. The work of M. Trébutien is reviewed in the Histoire Littéraire de la France, Vol. xxiii, 485, and is also referred to by M. Gaston Paris, in La Légende de Saladin, 37. (Extrait du Journal des Savants, mai à août 1893.)

The poem is short, containing but six hundred and eleven eight-syllable lines rhyming in pairs. The manuscript is in good condition an d legible, but carelessly written. Many of the rhymes are faulty, and the metre is not strictly observed, lines of seven or nine syllables being of frequent occurrence.

The object of the present paper is to determine the dialect of the poem, and the date of its composition. The text is an exact copy of the manuscript and agrees in the main with that of M. Trébutien.

The scene of the story is laid in Palestine. Philip Augustus, King of France, and Richard of England, have reached the Holy Land at a time when the country was all but conquered by the Saracens. The city of Jerusalem has been delivered into the hands of the enemy through treachery, and Guy, its King, sold to Saladin. But the arrival of the Crusaders has given renewed hope to the Christians. It is learned that the Saracens are to pass through a narrow defile, and Philip, with the twelve knights he has gathered around him, attacks and completely overthrows the infidels. The Holy City is re-conquered and Guy restored to his throne. Richard who, as Duke of Normandy, is a vassal of the French crown, does not lead an independent army of his own, but is one of the knights fighting under the banner of Philip.

There is a striking resemblance between this little poem and the great Old French epic. We find the same contending parties—the French on one side, opposed to the Saracens on the other—and, as in the *Chanson de Ro*land, the former are led by their king with his twelve paladins. The counterpart to the treachery of Ganelon is easily recognized in the treason that has given over the kingdom to Saladin; and though the ties of friendship between Roland and Oliver are wanting, Hugo de Florine and William de Barres, in our poem, are evidently reminiscences of those two paladins in the *Chanson*.

The similarity between the two poems extends not merely to the general outline, but even to some of the minor details. There is, however, one important difference. In the Pas de Saladin the parts are reversed in so far as it is the infidels and not the Christians, that meet with disaster. As in the battle of Roncevaux, the enemy, in this instance the Saracens, is met and overcome in a narrow pass. When their leader, King Escorfal, sees that the day is lost, he blows a horn to rally his friends around him, but all is in vain, and he is struck and cut down to the saddle by Richard. Similar prodigies of valor are, of course, performed by all the knights, who individually slay many of the infidels and apparently win the battle by their bravery alone. After this defeat, the Saracens, seeing that the passage is strongly guarded by the Christians, do not attempt a second encounter, but retreat for safety, to the fortified town of Damietta.

There is a fine spirit of chivalry running through the poem. All the odium is cast upon the traitors who have deceived their king and country. Saladin, although an infidel, is a generous enemy, and as Guy has lost all and is too poor to buy his freedom, he is set at liberty without payment of ransom. The excuse of Saladin is very characteristic. He retreats not before the superior number of the enemy, but because, belonging to the order of knighthood himself, he has loved chivalry all his days, and would not cause the death of so many brave knights for any amount of treasure.

The author in the above story makes use of two traditions which were quite generally credited during the Middle Ages. The first, that Richard with the aid of eleven companions defeated a large body of Saracens, is not without some foundation, as is shown by M. Paris, *loc. cit.*, 42.

On the first of August, 1192, the King of

⁺ Deprinted from MoD. LANG. NOTES, vol. xii, 1897.

England landed at Jaffa, in order to reconquer the city which had lately fallen into the hands of the enemy.¹ A few days later and while still encamped outside the walls of the town, his forces were attacked by greatly superior numbers. Taken by surprise, the Christians could not have avoided defeat, but for the distinguished valor of Richard and a few knights, who alone had been able to procure horses.² This victory, though barren of ultimate results, was one of the most brilliant of the Third Crusade. The names of the nine warriors who followed the King at once became celebrated and are mentioned by the various chronicles, while a painting representing the scene of battle was executed by the order of Richard.3

To this original painting are probably to be traced those representations of the Pas Saladin mentioned by the author in lines 6 and 597. Similar ones were found in many of the castles during the thirteenth century; they represented Richard and eleven knights defending a narrow pass against a large Saracen army. King Philip, although present, does not take part in the combat, but directs it from a distance, and at its close welcomes the victors. On an eminence overlooking the field is posted a Saracen spy, who reports the progress of the battle and the names of the Christian knights engaged in it to Saladin, stationed on the other side of the hill. These names, as shown by marginal inscriptions, varied in the different paintings, while that of the spy was always Espiet or Tornevent.4

Two other versions of the same story are found in the Chronicles of Flanders and in Jean d'Avesnes, but neither can be considered as the source of the present poem. The first of these is very similar to the *Pas Saladin*, and the names of nine of the knights are the same.⁵ In Jean d'Avesnes the entire episode is considerably shortened, and the scene laid in England, which the Sultan has invaded with the aid of a powerful fleet. On attempting to march inland, he is met and attacked at

1 Wilken, iv, 544; Stubbs, 407-409.

2 " " 552.

a narrow pass by twelve knights and forced to retreat.⁶ The majority of the names of the knights still correspond with those in the *Pas Saladin*, and fully one-half are found in all three versions.⁷

The Pas Saladin was still popular at the close of the fourteenth century, and was even represented on the stage. Such a representation is described by Froissart in his Chronicles, Book IV, Chap. ii. It was given in honor of Isabel of Bavaria, on the occasion of her public entry into Paris, in 1389.⁸ The play was probably founded upon the same version as that of our text. The twelve knights, including Richard, after receiving permission from King Philip, attack and completely rout a Saracen army commanded by Saladin. At the close of the battle the knights are also rewarded by Philip.

The author of the poem also accepts the tradition which says that the Holy Land was lost through treachery.9 This report was generally credited by the French, and especially by the partisans of Guy de Lusignan, but is unsupported by any authorities. There was, indeed, a powerful faction among the nobles opposed to the election of Guy, but no overt act of treason was ever committed by them, and, at the invasion of Saladin, all parties united for the defense of the kingdom.¹⁰

The conspiracy occupies but a subordinate position in the *Pas Saladin*. The chief conspirator is the Queus de Tribles, and his four confederates are the Marcis de Ponferan, Pierre Liban d'Ascalone, the Sires de Baru, and Queus Poru de Sate. These names indicate that the author was familiar with the tradition as related in the *Récits d'un Ménestrel de Reims*, pp. 14 to 24, though otherwise he has borrowed little from this or any other version.

A short account of the principal historical characters mentioned in the poem may here be given.

Most authorities speak of Guy de Lusignan as a man of inferior power, who by his am-6 Gaston Paris, 46.

7 " " 44.

8 " 45; Hist. Lit. xxiii, 485.

9 Hist. Lit. xxiii, 486.

³ Gaston Paris, 43; Stubbs, 415-420.

^{4 &}quot; " 42.

⁵ Gaston Paris, 43.

¹⁰ Michaud, ii, 40; Wilken, iii2, 252, 272.

bitious intrigues was the cause of many of the misfortunes that befell the Holy Land. He was of no distinguished family and owed his position entirely to his marriage with Sibylla, the elder daughter of King Amalric.¹¹

On the death of Baldwin V., Guy, instigated by his wife, laid claim to the throne of Jerusalem.¹² Raymond, count of Tripolis, who had been promised the regency for a certain number of years, and who was the choice both of the nobles and the people, prepared to defend his rights.¹³ This might have caused serious dissensions among the Crusaders, had not the sudden attack of Saladin united the different factions. Guy, against the advice of Raymond and of the more cautious among the leaders, decided to assume the offensive and to march against the Saracens.¹⁴

This proved to be a fatal mistake, for by the loss of the battle of Tiberias or Hitten, the Christian army was destroyed and nearly the entire country fell into the hands of the enemy.¹⁵ Guy was taken prisoner and released a year later, only on condition that he would renounce his kingdom and return to Europe.¹⁶ The promise was probably never meant to be kept, and one of his first acts on regaining his freedom was to have the bishop absolve him from his oath.17 Guy then proceeded to Tyre, one of the few places that still remained in the power of the Crusaders, but he was refused permission to enter by Conrad de Montferrat. Thereupon he gathered the soldiers that were still faithful to him and laid siege to Acre.18

The dispute between Guy and Conrad was renewed with greater bitterness on the arrival of the French and English, and it was with difficulty that a compromise was finally agreed to. It was determined that Guy should continue to be recognized as King during his lifetime, and that he should be succeeded on his death by Conrad.¹⁹ The agreement was, how-

11 Michaud, ii. 32; Stubbs, cv, cxxiv; Archer, 64.

12		**	39; Wilken, iii2. 251; Du Cange, 343.
13	**	64	36; " " 241.
14	**	**	43; " " 273.
15	**	"	45; " " 295; Stubbs, 14-16.
16	44	"	93; " " 287, 297; " 59.
17	44	**	93; Stubbs, 59.
18	"	60	94; Wilken, iv, 251, 252; Stubbs, 60-62
19	, 	"	

ever, never carried out. Conrad was soon after murdered,²⁰ and before the conclusion of peace, the crown was given to Henry of Champagne.²¹ Guy removed to Cyprus, which had been awarded to him by Richard as a compensation for the loss of Jerusalem, and henceforth occupied himself solely with his new kingdom until his death in 1195.²²

Sibylla was the elder daughter, not the sister of King Amalric. She was first married to William Longsword, by whom she 'aad a son, afterward Baldwin V.23 In 1180, sne married Guy de Lusignan, and on the death of Baldwin in 1186, she succeeded in having her husband crowned King.24 By her second marriage she had two children, but both she and her children died during the siege of Acre.25

Three of the five traitors mentioned above can be easily identified; namely, Raymond, the Count of Tripolis, Conrad, the Marquis of Montferrat, and Renaud de Sagette. The Sires de Baru may be either the historical Jean d'Ibelin, le vieux Sire de Barut, or Baudouin d'Ibelin, the lord of Rame. Pierre d'Ascalone can not be identified with any of the characters of the period.

Raymond, the leader, is accused of having delivered the Holy Sepulchre to the Saracens, and of forcibly abducting the wife of Guy, in order to obtain for himself the kingdom of lerusalem. Such an incident really occurred during the Third Crusade, but the names of the actors are not the same as those given by our author. It was not Raymond, but Conrad of Montferrat, who on the death of Sibylla, at the time of the siege of Acre, abandoned his first wife and married Isabella, the second daughter of Amalric. Her first husband, Humphrey de Thoron, was still living, but Conrad had no difficulty in securing a divorce both for himself and for Isabella, and thus, as her husband, he became a claimant to the throne and a formidable rival to Guy.*6

20 Michaud, ii. 145; Stubbs, 338-341. 40 " 146, 160; " 21 342, 347. ... ~ 66 22 383; 350. ** 23 29, 36; Wilken, iiiz. 171; Stubbs, ciii, 96. .. 44 ** 196, 253; ** " 97 32, 39, 40; " 24 48 110: 66 iv, 306; ** 25 civ. 26 Michaud, ii, 110; Wilken, iv, 308; Stubbs, civ, 119-122.

There was, however, some foundation for the charge of treachery brought against Raymond. He had been appointed regent during the minority of Baldwin V. and desired to retain the power in his own hands after the death of the King.27 This led to an open rupture between himself and Guy. Raymond, returning to his own country, prepared to maintain his claim by force and even called in the aid of Saladin.28 A serious conflict was, however, averted; for at this time the truce which the Christians had made with Saladin was broken, and the country was threatened with an invasion of the infidels. The common danger made them forget their dissensions, and they promised to unite their forces against the enemy.29 But the reconciliation was in vain. The French, fifty thousand strong, under the leadership of Guy met the Saracens near the city of Tiberias, and, after a heroic struggle, lasting two days, were completely defeated.3º Raymond was one of the few who escaped. He cut his way through the Saracens and fled to Tripolis, where he died shortly afterwards of despair. He was accused by both the Saracens and the Christians; by the first of having violated treaties, and by the second of having betraved his country and religion.31

Conrad de Montferrat, by his birth-he being connected both with Leopold V. of Austria and with Frederick Barbarossa-and by his sagacity and bravery, became a celebrated leader among the Crusaders. He first served under the Emperor Frederick in Italy, and then went to Constantinople, where Isaac, the Emperor of the East, gave him his sister in marriage and the title of Cæsar, for quelling an insurrection in the city. Eager for further distinction, he set sail for Palestine, arriving at Tyre soon after the battle of Tiberias. Here everything was in confusion, and his presence alone saved the city from destruction; for the inhabitants, hopeless of defending themselves, were making overtures to Saladin for the surrender of the place. He was at once given the chief command and, with

27 Michaud, li, 36; Wilken, iii2, 241, 249; " cii, ciii, "

" \$57.

64 * 40; 38

- " ⁴⁶ 43, 42, 20
- " " 45; Stubbs, 14-16 30
- 46 " 49; Wilken, iii2, 294. 31

the aid of the many knights and soldiers that flocked to his standard, soon compelled Saladin to raise the siege.32 Guy also repaired to Tyre on his release from captivity, but was refused admittance by the inhabitants who were unwilling to recognize him as their king.33

The divorce of Conrad from his wife, his marriage with Isabella, and his intrigues against Guy have been related. The departure of Philip Augustus left him unsupported by any powerful prince, and considering himself continually ill-treated by Richard of England, he entered into an alliance with the Saracens.34 Soon after this Conrad was assassinated. Reports differ as to the originator of the crime: one authority relates that he was killed by an emissary from the Old Man of the Mountain. Chief of the Assassins, for an injury done to some merchants. Others accused Saladin of having caused his death, while a third party believed Richard^{*}himself was the author of the crime. The latter report found its chief supporters among the French.35

Renaud, the lord of Sidon or Sagette, scarcely deserves the name of traitor. It is true he desired the election of the Marquis of Montferrat to the throne, but he was not a strong partisan, and he tried to bring about a reconciliation between Conrad and Guv even before the battle of Tiberias. Escaping to Tyre after the battle, he opened negotiations with Saladin for the surrender of the place, but was forced to fly before carrying out his designs. It is doubtful if his overtures to the infidels were due to a desire to betray the city. In 1192, Renaud was taken prisoner by Saladin, but was soon after released and restored to a part of his former possessions.36

The identity of the Sire de Baru can not be positively determined. In 1197, the title was conferred by Henry de Champagne upon Jean d'Ibelin, also called the vieux Sire de Barut. He was well known for his military and ad-

33 Michaud, ii. 93; Wilken, iv. 252; Stubbs, 60.

" " 140; " " 480; Archer, 216. 34

35 44 ** 145; ** " 483; " 229-233; Stubbs, 338-341.

36 Du Cange, 439; Wilken, 224; Michaud, ii. 49.

³² Michaud, ii, 91, 92; Wilken, iv, 217, 225-233; Stubbs, 18, 19. Archer Table, iv.

ministrative talents, but took no prominent part in the intrigues against Guy de Lusignan.37

It was otherwise with his uncle, Baudouin d'Ibelin, the lord of Rame. Baudouin, one of the most powerful nobles of his time, strenuously opposed the election of Guy, and was in favor of marching upon Jerusalem, in order to crown Humphrey de Thoron by force of arms. After the flight of Humphrey, most of the nobles gave in their allegiance to Guy, but Baudouin still refused to recognize his authority and withdrew to Antioch. It was even asserted that he made a private treaty with Saladin, to the effect that the latter should defend his territory in case he were attacked by Guy.38 This disaffection greatly weakened the cause of the Christians and made a profound impression upon the Crusader. As both Jean and Baudouin belonged to the same family, it is possible that the author may have confounded the two.

Li Baus d'Escaloingne, of the Ménestrel de Reims, 39 has been changed, in the *Pas Saladin*, to Pierre Liban d'Ascalone. The proper name Pierre was added no doubt for the sake of the metre; while Liban must be a misspelling for li Baus, or le Bau. Such a person is, however, not mentioned in any of the chronicles of the period. In 1175, the title of Count of Jaffa and Ascalon was conferred upon William Longsword, Marquis of Montferrat, and after his death, two years later, was borne by Guy de Lusignan himself. Both Jaffa and Ascalon were captured by Saladin after the battle of Tiberias.49

The names of the twelve knights who guard the defile against the Saracens are historical, and all, with the exception of Renart de Boulogne, took part in one or more of the Crusades. The list furnishes some evidence connecting the legend of the *Pas Saladin* with the battle of Jaffa, for it includes the names of three of the Crusaders who accompanied Richard in his voyage from Acre to Jaffa, in

37 Du Cange, 231; 232.

38""" 364, Michaud, ii. 40; Wilken, iii2. 254 Stubbs, cv.

39 Récits, 21.

40 Du Cange, 348. 41 Wilken, iv. 543. 42 Gaston Paris, 44.

rr92; namely, William de Barres, Hugo de Florine and the Count of Cleves.4²

More direct evidence is found in the corresponding list in Jean d'Avesnes and the *Chronicles of Flanders*. Both of these contain the name of André de Chauvigni, who is mentioned by all the chronicles as one of the nine mounted knights who were present at the battle:4²

The names of the knights are here taken up in the order in which they are chosen by William de Barres and Hugo de Florine; lines two hundred and twenty-seven to two hundred and fifty-two.

William de Barres, one of the greatest warriors of the Third Crusade, belonged to the suite of Philip Augustus. Instead of proceeding directly to Palestine, the King and his followers remained some months in Sicily where an incident occurred, which nearly prevented de Barres from taking any further part in the Crusade. In a personal encounter between the King of England and himself, arising out of a tilting match with reeds, outside of the city of Messina, Richard was so severely handled that he ordered de Barres never to appear in his presence again. It was only by the repeated entreaties of Philip and his vassals, that Richard finally relented and that de Barres was allowed to accompany the Crusaders to the Holy Land.43 Here he won great distinction, being present at the siege of Acre. and taking part in many engagements against the infidels. The time of his return is not stated, but he was at the battle of Bouvines, in 1214, where he saved the life of Philip Augustus.4*

The only mention of Hugo de Florine is by Wilken, in his *History of the Crusades*, ii. 543. In 1192, when Richard had definitely decided to give up the conquest of Jerusalem, and was making preparations to return to England, he was strongly urged to come to the relief of Jaffa, at that time besieged by Saladin. While part of the Crusaders marched towards the city by land, he set out by sea, and the name of Hugo de Florine occurs in the list of French knights that accompanied the King.

43 Michaud, iv. 133; Wilken, iv, 186; Archer, 43-46. 44 Archer, 44.

Geoffrey de Lusignan was the elder brother of Guy, King of Jerusalem. As one of the leaders of the Crusaders, he did excellent work at the Siege of Acre, and his name is always mentioned as that of a valiant knight.45 He was, no doubt, a braver and better soldier than Guy, and Vinisauf compared his feats of arms to those of Roland and Oliver. At the news of his brother's election to the throne, in place of Raymond, the choice of the people, he is said to have exclaimed: "Well, if they have made a King of him, they would have made a God of me, if they had known me."46 One clause in the settlement of the dispute between Richard and Philip that gave the throne to Guy, refers to Geoffrey, to whom was given the county of Jaffa and Ascalone, in reward for the services he had rendered the cause of the Crusaders. He did not enjoy the title long, but returned to France in October,47 1192.

The fourth knight may represent either Renaud de Chatillon or Gauche de Chatillon, as both were prominent at this period in the East.

Renaud de Chatillon, the son of a powerful nobleman of Champagne, came to the Holy Land in 1147, as a common soldier, being too poor to maintain a following of his own. Having married Constance, the widow of Raymond, prince of Antioch, he became rich and powerful, and carried on many expeditions against the infidels.48 In 1160, Renaud was captured by the governor of Aleppo, and remained in prison for sixteen years. On regaining his freedom, he found his wife dead, but by a second marriage he restored his fortunes and became lord of Carac, and of some castles near the frontiers of Arabia and Palestine. He now renewed his incursions into the territory of the Saracens, paying no heed to the truce that had been declared between the Christians and the infidels.49 Neither Baldwin IV, nor his successors were strong enough to compel Renaud to keep the peace, and as Saladin was, therefore, unable to obtain re-

45 Michaud, ii, 14, 99; Wilken, iv, 253, 299, 337; Stubbs, 71.

46 Robson, i, 413; Stubbs, 216.

48 Michaud, ii, 28; Wilken, iii2. 32; Stubbs, xcix.

dress, war broke out afresh. Renaud was thus the immediate cause of that terrible contest, in which Jerusalem was lost to the Christians.⁵⁰ After the battle of Tiberias, he was taken prisoner for the second time and, by the express orders of Saladin, slain for his alleged insults to the Mohammedan religion.⁵⁴

Gauche de Chatillon, known later as the Count of St. Pol, and a crowd of noble knights arrived in Palestine in 1189. They had preceded Philip Augustus, and all joined the army of Guy de Lusignan who was besieging Acre.⁵² Gauche greatly distinguished himself throughout the war and, after the return of Philip to France, held a high command in the Christian army under Richard. He was also present at the battle of Bouvines and died in 1219.⁵³

Neither Renart de Boulogne, nor Walram of Limburg, the fifth and sixth knights chosen, took part in the Third Crusade. Michaud states that a count of Boulogne joined the Counts of Champagne and of Chartres in the Fifth Crusade, but nothing is said of his further adventures.54

Walram, Duke of Limburg, brother of the Duke of Brabant, took the Cross in 1196.55 He was placed in command of one of the armies raised by Henry VI of Germany, and arrived in Palestine in 1197, or five years after the departure of Richard.56 The Germans found the country in a state of peace, and, being unable to persuade the resident Christians to open hostilities, they marched against the Saracens alone. The renewed war was of short duration, for on receiving the news of the death of the Emperor Henry, the Germans re-embarked and returned to Europe in March, 1198. It is stated by Röhricht that Henry III, Duke of Limburg, with his two sons Henry and Walram, is said to have fought under Richard at Arsûf, in 1192, but it is doubtful whether he took part in the Third Crusade.57

50 Micbaud, ii, 41; Wilken, iii2, 264. 44 " 48,50; " " 287,289; Stubbs, 51, 51 52 Marin, i, 172 : Robson, i, 458. 53 44 ** 60 06 54 Michaud, ii, 216. 54 " 185; Wilken, v, 16. 55 ... ** 187. 56 57 Wilken, v, 22,42, Röhricht, ii, 337.

⁴⁷ Wilken, iv, 373; Du Cange, 344; Stubbs, 235.,

⁴⁹ Michaud, ii, 29,33; Wilken, iii2, 67; Stubbs, 12.

The career of Richard, King of England, is too well known to need recounting at this place.

Philip, Count of Flanders, was the grandson of Fulk of Anjou, King of Jerusalem. He first took the Cross in 1177, in explation, it was said, of his many sins. Baldwin IV was then on the throne, and as the leprosy by which he was attacked nearly incapacitated him for ruling, he offered the regency to Philip, who refused it. Philip's stay was short; he returned to Europe soon after Easter of the following year.5⁸ Ten years later he joined the Third Crusade; but he can not have been one of the knights that fought with Philip Augustus, since he died at the siege of Acre, in June, 1191, a short time before the arrival of the King of France.59

The identity of the next knight on our list, William Longue Espee, is doubtful. A William de Longa Spata, an Englishman, is mentioned by Wilken as being one of the knights that accompanied Richard in his expedition to Jaffa, in the latter part of 1192. No further particulars are given, and no allusion is made to him by other historians.⁶⁰

The same name was also borne by William, Marquis of Montferrat, the brother of Conrad, but as he died in 1177, he could not have taken part in the Third Crusade. He was justly celebrated for his bravery and experience in war, and in 1176 was married to Sibylla, the daughter of King Amalric. Their son, later

58 Wilken, iii2, 172,174; Michaud, ii, 29. 59 " iv, 12,335; Stubbs, 217. 60 " " 543. crowned as Baldwin V, died very young.61

Simon de Montfort, the tenth knight, was one of the leaders of the Fifth Crusade, but did not join the Third. He later became notorious for his cruel war against the Albigenses.⁶²

A name similar to that of Bernarz, Reiz de Orstrinale, or de Horstemale, is mentioned by Röhricht, Vol. ii, p. 336. It is there stated that Bernhard, Baron of Horstmar, a German, fought under the banner of Richard, and that he drew upon himself the notice of Saladin for his great bravery in the battle before Akka. Later on he joined the army of Walram of Limburg, and distinguished himself in the battle of Bairut, in 1197.⁶³

Dietrich, Count of Cleves, the last knight chosen, was the brother of the Bishop of Lüttich. The accounts of his exploits are very meagre, but he is mentioned by both Wilken and Röhricht as taking part in the Third Crusade. He first joined the army of Frederick Barbarossa, and when the death of the Emperor left the Germans without a leader, he entered the service of the King of England. He accompanied Richard in his voyage to Jaffa, but the time of his return to Europe is not stated.⁶⁴

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61 Wilken, iii2, 171,239,249; Michaud, ii, 29; Du Cange, 342. 62 Wilken, v, 112.

63 Röhricht, ii. 211,354.

64 " ." 151,330; Wilken, iv, 543.

TEXT.

Del recorder est grans solas, De cheaus qui garderent le pas Contre le roy Salehadin ; Des douzes princes palasin

- 5 Qui tant furent de grant renon. En mainte sale les point on, Pour miex vëoir leur contenance; Moult est bele la remembrance A regarder a maint preudome.
- A cel tempoire fut a Ronme
 Li vaillans papes Lusiiens,
 Qui fist croisier mains crestoiens.
 Car Jherusalem ert perdue,
 En mains de Sarrasins cëue ;
- 15 Li roys Guis d'Acre desconfis, Par traisons vendus et pris, Et fut livreis Salehadin. Cis roys prist Acre et mist a fin Tons les crestiens que il trova,
- 20 Dont mains paiens le compara. Des traïtors faus losengiers Li quens de Tribles fu premiers, Et li marcis de Ponferan, Et d'Ascalone Pieres Liban,
- 25 Apres li sires de Baru, Et de Sate, quens Poru. Cilz cink firent le traïson, Et vendirent le roy Guion A Salhadin le roy soudant,
- 30 De quoy il orent maint besant. Le saint sepulcre li livrerent : Madit soient de Dieu le pere ! Le roy traïrent par envie, Et la sainte terre en fust perie.
- 35 Quant li papes l'oît a dire,
 Au cuer en ot dolor et ire,
 Hastiement, si com je crois,
 Fist il sermoner de la crois,
 En douce France et en Bretaigne,
- 40 En Engleterre, en Alemaigne. Li bons roys Phelippes de France, Cis se croisa sans demorance; Et d'Engleterre roys Richars, Ensemble lui mains bons vassaus.
- 45 Dont se croisent isnele pas Tuit cil qui garderent le pas, Et avec eus maint bon preudonme Dont dire ne vos sai la somme. Princes et dus et mains contors
- 50 Se croisierent por Deu amors, La mer passent a ost banie,

Et ariverent en Surie. Moult i avoit riches conrols Du roy de France et des Englois;

- 55 Chascun prist terre por ligier, Pour reposer et pour aisier. La trouverent le roy Guion, Qui issus estoit de prisons; Les roys conjoît doucement,
- 60 Et les contat son errement."Sire," fait il, au roy de France,"V. traîtor par leur hubanceOnt mis a grant destructionLa terre de promission.
- 65 Li quens de Trible est premerains, Et si vos di, bien por certains, Ma fame vot prendre et avoir, Par tant qu'il voloit estre roys, Li partriarche en fu moiens.
- 70 Ma dame onques par nule riens A ce ne vot se acorder, Ains m'aportoit grant loyaute, Et vraie amor sanz point d'amere Qu'elle moy tint bien a mari.
- 75 Elle fu suer roy Amari,
 Et partant que morut sans oir,
 Fui ge de Jherusalem roys;
 Dont li mavais orent envie,
 Et me vorent tolir la vie.
- 80 Car vendus fut Salehadin Argent empresent et or fin.
 Par teis furent lor covens fais : Lor terres tenroient en pais Livrer me durent sor lechans,
- 85 Lor seremens prist le soudans. De tout ce ne savoi ge rien, Mais le soudans le me fist bien Apres dirai qu'il en ait vint. Bataille avoms a Salhadin,
- 90 Et cant i vint a l'assembler, Li mavais traîtor prouve, Lor banieres laisont chaîr, Et se tornerent a fuïr, Cel jor ne plot au roy de gloire
- 95 Que li nostre eussent victoire. La fui ge pris et retenus, Crestiens mors et confondus. Salehadins a tous saisi, Jherusalem et le païs.
- 100 De tant me fist il grant bonte, De prison me laisast aleir, Car je n'avoy or ne argent,

Et li me fist tous mes despens. Or avons cher assise Seur,

- 105 Car en fuisent fondu li mur."
 Quant li roys Guis ot tout conte, Le roy em prist moult grant pite; Moult doucement le conforterent, Et la roine qu'avec li ere,
- 110 "Seignor," fait il, "cil le ros mere A cui Marie est fille et mere:" Assise fu Sur a grant joie. La veïst on moint tref de soie, D'or et d'azur, inde et vermel,
- Reluir encontre le soleil;
 Ou il ot maint bon chevalier,
 Qui moult faisoient a prisier.
 Et cant li roys soudans le sout,
 Il assembla tantost son ost,
- Apres manda au roy de France
 La bataille sans demorance;
 Et li bons roys li ramanda
 Cant voet se vengne il l'atendra.
 Philippes li roys fu preus et sages,
- 125 Bien fist gaitier tous les passages. C'on ne poïst sa gent grever. Par devers Acre coste la mer, Droit a l'entree de Surie, Au fort passage d'Armonie,
- 130 La ot roces et derubans.
 De la loga li roys soudans,
 Qui moult ama chevalerie,
 Et honnora toute sa vie;
 De guerre fu moult preu et sages.
- 135 Par mi la roce est li passages Moult par est fors et perilleus.
 Salehadins li orgueilleus, Jura Mahon et Apolin Passer i fera Sarrasin,
- 140 Qui aus crestiens franc destorbier, S'il ne sevent bien gaitier. Mais il alat tout autrement. Au roy de France apertement A on trestot conteit l'afaire,
- 145 Que li soudans vet par la traire Son grant ost conduir et mener. Li roys respont : "laissies aler. Li oiseillons dist en apert : Tiex quide gaaingner qui pert."
- 150 Li roys Phelippes dist en oiant : Seingnor Francois, venez avant, Pour [Dieu] et si me conseilliez ; Jones hons sui, si n'ai mestier.

Pellerin sommes, gel vos di,

- 155 Celui qui son sanc respandi Pours nos trestous arecheter, Par lui avons passe la mer; Bien devon mes en celui croire, Cui juif fisent ainsi boire.
- 160 Ce fu li tres dous Jhesu Crist, Cui en la crois Pilate mist, Por racheter tous ses amis. Las convint le ferit Longis De la lance par mi le cors ;
- 165 Por nos trestous se mist a mort, Bien nos en doit tous remembrer, Et cel sepulcre se fist poser, Qui est en mains Sarrasins. Et se vesqui Salehadin,
- 170 Qui dit qu'a nos se vet combatre.
 Or sachent tuit et un autre,
 Contes et dus et chevaliers,
 Que je sui tous apareilles
 A faire tout quanque vos vorres."
- 175 Des iex conmencent a larmeir Li barons tous de grant pitier, Quant le roy virent si humilier, Et si biaus mos dire et retraire Chascun ot le roy debonnaire.
- 180 Embrases d'armes et d'armor Por Jhesu Crist nostre seingnor, Au roy respondent hautement : "Nous vos aiderons loyaument, Bien devons faire vo plaisir,
- 185 Et avec vos vivre et morir."
 En pies fust Huës de Florine, Si regarda vers la marine.
 Si achoisist le roy Richar, Ensemble lui maint bon vassal,
- 190 Parler venoit au roy de France.
 Et li bons Hulles si s'avance
 Au roy a dit trestot en haut :
 "Sires, vees ci le roy Richart."
 "Ce me plaist bien," ce dist li roys,
- "C'est bien raison qu'au conseil soit."
 Ci sachent le roy d'Engleterre
 De son cheval mist pie a terre,
 Le roy salue et son barneit.
 Li roys de France autreteit
- 200 Li rent salus cortoisement. "Sire," fait il, "certainement Mandes nos a Salehadin Bataille par vos Sarrasin. Par ce est cous cilz tuit ensemble;

- 205 Pour Dieu! nos mostres bon exemple. Pour que si bien nos deffendon. Que ne s'en gabent li glouton, Li Sarrasin, fel deputaire." Richars cis ne se vot pas taire, 210 Ains respondit : "Tres bien m'agree, Sus les corons gule baee; Riens ne nos vaut li lons termines." "C'est voirs," dist Huës de Florines, "Mais se vos tuit me voliez croire, 215 le vos dirai parole voire." "Par foy, ouil," dient li roys. Huës apella le Barrois: "Sires Barrois, venez avant. A ces grans roces, la devant, Dist li soudans qu'il passera. 220 Nos douze garderons le pas, De teis qui entrer vorons. Se Dieu plaist, bien le deffendrons, Puis que grees le m'ont li rovs." "Et je l'otroie," dist li Barrois, 225 Se il sunt chevalier de pris. "Par foy," dist Hues, "ainsi l'afis, Or enlissies, sire Barrois." "Si m'ait Dieus, je prent Gofroy, 230 Qui est sires de Lasegnon." "Et jou, Gautier de Chastilon, Pour quov ferov lon prolonge?" "Et je pren Renart de Boulongne," Ce dist li Barrois en riant. 235 Et Huës, le duc Valerant, Qui Lenborc tient et cele terre. "Gi' enlis le bon roy d'Engleterre, Dist Guillaume, "par saint Bavon!" Huës, le conte Philippon De Flandres, car bien li agree. **24**0 Et li Barrois prist Longue Espee Guillaume, qui fu grans et fors. Huës prist Simon de Monfors, Ki falis n'estoit ne couarz. 245 Li Barrois prist messi Bernarz, Ki li reiz est de Orstrinale. "Or arez vous, sire de Barre,
- Choisit a vostre volonte?"
 "Or me convient un porpensoir,"
 250 Ce dist Huës, "par saint Urry!"
 Je pren le preu conte Tiry
 De Cleves, qui n'est pas larrier.
 Ouant est monteis sus son destrier,
- Et il le fiert des esperons ; 255 Plus joins que uns esmerilhons,

Seit il une lance brisier. Or est il bien tens de laisier, Huimais cesti enlexion; Trestout a point nos .XII. aston

 260 On n'i puet ne metre ne prendre, Mais veult chascun ses armes prendre. Trestuit l'alerent fianchier, Dont il fesoint moult a prisier. Philippes lor fist messe chanteir,

- 265 Apres s'alerent adobeir.
 A tant monterent en chevaux,
 Li rois de France les sengira;
 A Dieu les a tos conmandeis,
 Et il chevacent bien sereis.
- 270 Et si ont tant esporonneit
 Droit a brochier sont armeit.
 La descendirent des destriers
 Les atachent aus oliviers ;
 Tot a pie furent li baron,
- 275 Fier et hardi comme lion.
 Chascun estoit d'ire enbrasseis,
 Et si estoit moult bien armes;
 Tant furent rengiez grans et mendre,
 Le pas vauront moult bien deffendre
- 280 Encontre touz les Sarrasins. Or dirai de Salehadin Trestot ensi qu'il esploita Tantost tuit son conseil manda, Les rois et tous les amirans.
- 285 "Biaux seignor," ce dist li soudans,
 "Je weil que vous me conseilles.
 De cha la meir ce est tos mieus
 Et li crestien tirent de la.
 Or son François venuz de cha,
- 290 C'est pour ma terre calengier, Acre cuident bien regaingnier. C'est pour aidier le roy Guion, Que je ai mis hors de prison. Car li roiaumes vint a li
- 295 De par la suer roy Amary, Qui sa fame est, bien le seit on. Niece, Godefroy de Bulon Qui Jerusalem conquist, Et tant paiens a la mort mist.
- 300 Apres conquist, dont il me toche, Seur et Trible et Antioche, Et bien .CC. castias fermeis, Et prist .LX. fors chiteis, Ce conquist dedens. 111. ans.
- 305 Loeir me doi de Tervagant, Et de Mahon, mon avoe,

Car je ai tot reconquiste, Ce que cis Godefrois gangna. Or sont Franchois logiet de cha 310 Par Mahumet! s'ont fait folie." Li rois respondit d'Amarie, Qu'on appelloit Malaquin: "Grant tort avez, Salahadin, Qui ci nos faite sojorner. 315 Alons les Francheis renverseir Apertement, sans atargier, Faites venir tos vos archier, A pik, a dars, a gavelos; Dedens ces roches astons enclos 320 Faite vostre ost outre passier." A cel conseil sont acordez Turs et paiens et Sarrasin. Et moult bien plot Salehadin. Li soudans a dit en oiant : 325 "Roy Malaquin, venez avant, Vos condureis bien l'estendart Avec le bon roy Escorfart. Li passages n'est pas trop lon, Bien passerez vous .x. a fron. 330 Alez li faites l'avangarde, Cevachies et si n'ares garde. Volentiers, Sire, par Mahon A tant monterent, si s'en vont, Achemineis sont par la rue. 335 Desous at mainte roche ague. Vont et joiant s'en vont li rois, Et enmoinent en leur conrois Oui vant .x. mille Sarrasins. El premier chief fu Malaquin, 340 Et Escorfaus fut a son leis. Ains qu'il soient oultre passeis Averont il tel enconbrier, Oui les ferat les cuers irier ; Car a l'issue d'autre part 345 La troverent .xii. lyepart. Ce furent noble chevalier; Le pas lor vorront calengier, Ce orreis dire en petit d'oirre. .ii. Sarrasins plus noirs de more 350 Vinrent poignant hors a l'issue. Chascun d'eaus de paor tressue, Cant il vinrent sor les Franchois. "Diex, bonne estrine," dist li Barrois. A cest mot est passeis avant. 355 Del fuere trait le bon nu brant, Le paien fiert de tiel vertut, Le brache li trence a tot l'escut.

Et chist astoit rois Malaquins, Qui conduisoit les Sarrasins.

- 360 Fuïr s'en vot, mais il ne pot, Car li Barrois li rent tiel cos Parmi son chief de branche molu, Jusques es dens l'at pourfendu, Mort le trebuce do ceval.
- 365 Moult empensa roy Escorfal, A vois escriant a ha[ut]ton:
 "Ferez avant, signour gloton, On nos at mort Roy Malaquin. Qui veïst Turs et Sarrasin,
- 370 Venir poingnant hors a l'issue.
 Mais cil qui proece salue,
 Lors ont si fort liciet le pas,
 Par la ne paisseront il pas,
 Qu'anchois n'i ait maint paien mort.
- 375 Rois Escarfaus sonat .i. cors, Por Sarrasins mies rebandir, Puis trait son branc, si va ferir Le roy Richar sor l'elme agu; Ne l'enpira pas .i. fistu.
- 380 Al roy Richar forment en poise; Par grant aïr le branc entoise, Le paien fiert de tiel randon Tot le pourfent jusqu'en l'archon, Si qu'a la terre l'at verse.
- 385 "Glos," dist Richars, "or en aveis!"
 Qui dont veïst les chevaliers
 Conmencer un estor planier,
 Bien poïst dire sans doutance,
 Que puis les .xii. pairs de France,
- 390 Qui furent mors en Ronceval, Ne trovaist on les parigal, Qui furent cil dont je vous conte. Qui dont veïst Renar le conte Cil i feront comme vassaus,
- 395 Mors le trebuche des chevaus. Ansi faisoit li preus Huons, Plus aigrement comme lyons, Les coroit sus sans misericorde, Car del sepulcre li recorde.
- 400 Philippes de Flandres, li vaillans, Jofrois et li dus Walerans, Cis i ferirent des espees, Et mainte teste y ot copees Des Sarrasins et des paiens.
- 405 Li quens de Cleves li fist bien, Et tout loyaute, a dire voir, Chascun i fist bien son devoir. On ne les set de quoy repreudre,

Maint bon essemple i puet on prendre

- 410 Qui a bien beë et a honnor. C'erent del monde li meillor, Et la flor de chevalerie, Qui grant noblece senefie. Or vous dirai du roy soudant,
- 415 Qui forment s'aloit merveilant. Quant il vit son ost recueilleir, Car bien quidoit outre passeir. Car li cuers li dist et li tesmoigne, Que li crestiens li font vergoigne,
- 420 Et grant domage de sa gent.
 Il en appelle Tornevant,
 Son espie que moult amoit.
 Les preus chevaliers connoissoit
 Par toute France et en Bretaigne,
- 425 Et Engleterre, en Alemaigne, Car jadis i suet conversier. Les escus seit bien devisier, Car d'armes est bien connoissans.
 "Tornevent," ce dist li soudans,
- 430 "Va tost monter sor ces grans roces. Pren garde se François delogent, Ou s'il sont aus paiens melleit." "Ensi que l'aveis commandeit Sera il fait," dist Tornevent.
 435 Si tant a l'aler se prent,
- 435 Sh tant ar are se prent, Tant que venus est au rochier, Apertement va sus puier. De sour la roche haute et grant, Fu li espie au roy soudant,
- Qui d' armes fust apris et sages, Et regarda vers les passages, Droit a l'issue del rochier. La vit il .xii. chevaliers, Qui moult forment se combatoient
- 445 Au Sarrasins qui la venoient. Qui par force quident passer. Tant en i firent jus verser, Que toute pleine en est la voie. Mais tant vos di ge totevoie,
- 450 C'est sans passer aus Sarrasins, Tant furent preus li palasins, Et voulentiers le pas defendre, Qu'ançois se voront moult cher vendre Que il soient ne pris ne mort.
- 455 De l'espie vos dirai lors, Qui les barons a regardes, Et lor escuz bien avises; Trestous les connut Tornevent. Atant de la roche descent,

- 460 Si s'en reva droit au soudant; Je li dirai son convenant. Quant li soudans vit Tornevent, Si li demande apertement: "Qu'as tu vëu? ne me ment pas."
- 465 "Sire," fait il isnelepas,
 "Je ai vëu trestout le monde,
 Si com il clot a la reonde,
 Sans plus en .xii. chevaliers.
 Par Mahomet! il sunt enlies
- 470 Par les plus preus, les plus vaillans, Que soient eus en l'ost de France, Et les plus fors, les plus hardis, Ensi com rose et flor de lis Seurmonte de biaute les flors.
- 475 Habonde et proece et honnors Es chevaliers dont je vous conte.
 .xii. en y a trestout par conte Par leur armes connus les ai. Or escoutez, ge's nommerai :
- 480 C'est d'Engleterre rois Richars, Et de Boulongne, quens Renars; Li quens de Flandres Phelippons ; Et de Monfort, mesire Simons; Tierris de Cleves li vaillans;
- 485 De Lenborc, li dus Vallerans; Mesire Bernars de Horstemalo; Et li preus Guillaume de Barre; Mesire Gautiers de Chastillon; Mesire Jofrois de Losegaon;
- 490 Mesire Guillaume Longe Espee;
 Chasaun a bien la teste armee,
 Et mesire Hues de Florine,
 Li dousiesme : je vous afine
 Que tuit sont preus, hardis aus armes.
- 495 Chascun tient l'escu as enarmes, Bien semblent angles enpannet C'est la flor de crestientet. Et si croire ne m'en voulez, Droit a l'issue del rochier
- 500 Les pourriez v

 e
 or a vo gent font grant bataille;
 Car a vo gent font grant bataille.
 Et moult en ont navres et mors.
 A terre en vi gesir maint cors;
 Et sor l'oriere del chemin
- 505 Vi gesir mort roy Malakin,
 Son compagnon roy Escorfart,
 Qui conduissoit vostre estendart."
 Li soudans ot le cuer dolent,
 De ce qu'ot dire Tornevent.
- 510 Bien l'escoutoit et tint l'oreille,

Des chevaliers moult se merveille, Que tout li mondes loe et prise, Bien voit qu'il sont de grant emprise. Moult s'apensa de grant bonte

- 515 Que ce seroit trop grant pite De mettre telle gent a mort; Ce ne feroit il pour nul tresort. Les preus d'armes haoit mie, Touz jourz amast chevalerie,
- 520 Quar .i. quens Hues l'adouba Trestoute l'ordre li moustra. Li soudans l'avoit en prison Por ce li quita sa rençon ; Puis s'en rala en Galillee,
- 525 Sires estoit de la contree. Apres li rois soudans parla, Le roy de Halpe en apela, Le roy d'Aufrique par la main tint.
 "Avez oy, seingnor cousin,
- 530 De l'espie et contes et dis ?
 De ce vous dirai mon avis :
 Cil .xii. dont je l'os parler
 Pourroient plus nos gens grever,
 Que tout li ost des crestiens.
- 535 De trestout ce certains soiens Que par ci n'i voi point de passage."
 Dist li soudans, qui moult fu sage,
 "Mahomet! en cui je crois,
 Ce sont François de grant bonfois."
- 540 Li rois d'Aufrique li respont:
 "Vers Damete nous meton, Car c'est la clef et c'est li serre, Et li plus fors lieus de la terre; Bien est garnie, fort sont li mur,
 545 Dedans serons nous asëur."
- A cel conseil sont acordet,
 A tant est leur ost atornet
 Vers Damete vont tout droit,
 Mais d'Escofart sont en effroit,
- 550 Et del vaillant roi Malakin. Ci vous lerai de Salhadin, Si vous dirai des haus barons, Cui le passage gardent tous. Quant paiens virent deslogier,
- 555 En haut les pristrent a huchier :
 "A en alez seingneur glouton ! Ves ci le tref le roi Phelippon, Ou il ratant le roi soudant." Li Sarrasin s'en vont finant.
- 560 Ni a paien, Tur, ni escler Qui ait talent de retourner,

Car chascun resoignoit la mort. Des hauts princes vous dirai lors, Ou'a l'ost françois sont retornes.

- 565 Mains preudons est encontre ales, Li rois Phelippes y ala, L'un apres l'autre salua, Et les acole par douçor. Assez i ot lermes et plor
- 570 De la grant joie qu'il avoient, Des vaillans princes qu'il ravoient Dont moult furent reconfortes, Et toust li ost renlumines. Li rois de France fu cortois :
- 575 Par la main prist Richart l'Anglois, En son tref maine les barons, De tous leur oste les blasons, Et les aida a desarmer. Le souper firent appareillier,
- 580 Puis pristrent l'iaue, sëoir vont. Vin et viandes a foison Firent venir et aporter. Chascun menga a grant plente, Il en avoient bon mestier,
- 585 Car moult estoient traveilliet. Quant orent mengie et beut, Lor mains lavent grace ont rendue A Jhesu Crist de maīste, Qu'il leur a fait si grant bonte,
- 590 Que sain et sauf sont repairies, Dont li barnages fu tous lies. Moult firent grant chevalerie, Quant au soudant de paiennie, Alerent deffendre le passage.
- 595 Grant honneur firent leur lignage, Tous jours en iert la renonmee, On les point en sale pavee.C'est .i. tres nobles mireors, A ceulz qui tendent a honnors,
- 600 Et maintienent chevalerie. Prions a Die le filz Marie, Qu'en paradis mete a soulas Les .xii. qui gardont le pas, Et la noble chevalerie,
- 605 Que li rois Guis ot en baillie. Pelerin furent outremer, Arrier ne vorent retourner, Soient pris Sur, Acre conquise, Et li roi Guis mis en baillie.
- 610 D'Acre fu rois et du pais ; Ainsi secourt Dieus ses amis.

THE following is not an exhaustive study of the language of the text, all characteristics not essential to the determination of dialect having been omitted. In referring to the dialect spoken in central France, the shorter word "Freuch" is almost always used in place of "1sle-de-France."

VOWELS.

A.

Latin tonic a in open syllable and before oral consonants becomes e and ei.

Examples:—1, recorder; 38, sermoner; 56, reposer; 72, loyaute; 90, assembler; 100, bonte; 106, conte; 113, tref; 126, grever, 127, mer; 128, entree; 147, aler; 202, mandes; 17, livreis; 101, aleir; 144, conteit; 175. larmeir; 270, esporonneit; 287, meir; 302, fermeis; 303, chiteis; 340, leis.

This development to *ei* is of some importance as it occurs so regularly throughout the text. The rhymes *bonte: aleir*, 100; *vorres: larmeir*, 175, as well as in lines 276, 314, and 384, prove that there was no difference in the pronunciation of *e* and *ei*, which must have been *e*. The writing of *ei* for Latin *a* belongs especially to the East, and its presence in Picardy, where it is found only in the eastern half, is probably due to the influence of the Wallonian (*Lor. Ps.* viii; *Rom. Stud.* iv, 360; *Neu.* 18).

Aticum hecomes age.

Examples :—125, 135, 328, 441, 536, 553, 594, passages; 420, domage; 591, barnages; 595, lignage.

Aige, a special eastern characteristic, is frequently found in Wallonian, and more rarely in Picardy. In French, it is always age (Chev., xxxiii; Neu., 12; Rom. xvii, 555).

Atr becomes er.

Examples:-32, pere; 111, mere.

This is the regular French characteristic, while the eastern *eir*, or *air* does not occur (*Rom.* xvii, 554).

After a palatal, or palatalized consonant, a becomes *ie*, e.

Examples:—12, croisier; 56, aisier; 117, prisier; 125, 141, gaitier; 147, laisies; 176, pitier; 104, 453, cher.

The group ie was originally pronounced as a diphthong with the accent on the i (*Rom.*

vi, 322). Later it was written and pronounced e. Schwan, 280, says that the diphthong ie was reduced to e at the end of the thirteenth century, and that the first examples are found after ch, as cher for chier. In the east of France, the reduction did not take place before the middle of the thirteenth century, and it rarely occurred in Picardy. Except in the Norman dialect, which lies outside of the present discussion, the change seems to have been a late one, and the fact that the rhymes *ie*: *e* occur quite frequently in the text, would indicate that the MS. could not have been written much before the close of the thirteenth century. In lines 107 and 515, ie is pronounced e in pite, a word which has retained the diphthong to the present day.

a+n becomes an.

The nasalized a is of little importance in the present investigation, for since the twelfth century, both \bar{a} and \bar{c} were pronounced alike in most of the northeastern dialects as well as in French (*Sch.*, 298). They are found rhyming together in line 7; namely, *countenance*: *remembrance*, but elsewhere in the text they are generally kept separated.

The development of *ain* and *ein* is similar to the above. They rhyme together in the twelfth century, and both rhyme with *oin* in the middle of the thirteenth century (*Sch.*, 304, 305). That their pronunciation in the text was the same is proven by the writing of *point* for *peint*, in lines 6 and 597, and of *maine* for *meine*, in line 576.

Checked tonic a and atonic a remain.

Examples :---2, garderent; 4, palasin; 9, regarder; 51, passent; 101, laisast; 173, apareilles; 180, embrases; 180, armes; 187, regarda; 193, Richart; 197, cheval.

The writing of ai for a is a special Burgundian and eastern characteristic, and more rarely found in both the Wallonian and Picard (*Lor. Ps.*, xiii; *Chev.*, xxxiv). In the former it may occur in the ending of the imperfect subj., as *aisse*, *aist*, etc. (*Rom.* xvii, 568).

Two examples of *ai* for *a* are found in the text; namely, *paisseront*, 373, and *trovaist*, 391.

a before a palatal or palatalized consonant becomes ai, e.

Examples :—56, aisier ; 82, fais ; 83, pais ; 91, mavais ; 147, laissies; 183, aiderons ; 184, faire ; 158, mes (magis).

Originally ai was a diphthong and in the Alexis it still assonances with a. It begins to rhyme with e in the early part of the twelfth century, and by the middle of the thirteenth century ai was also pronounced e (*Sch.*, 281). The reduction of the diphthong was somewhat later in the north. In the text it is always found rhyming with itself, but the pronunciation was no doubt e, as this vowel replaces it in a few words (*Auc.*, 60; *Rom.* xvii, 555).

at+ consonant becomes au, a.

Examples :—21, faus ; 44, vassaus ; 72, loyaute; 182, hautement ; 183, loyaument ; 192, haut ; 199, autreteit ; 266, chevaux ; 294, roiaumes ; 32, madit ; 78, 91, mavais.

The regular French form is au, while a belongs to the Wallonian, where l fell without being vocalized. The rhymes *combatre: autre; haut: Richart; chevaux: sengira*, in lines 170, 192 and 266, appear to indicate a Wallonian pronunciation, but they are not impossible in French, as *au* remained a falling diphthong as late as the sixteenth century (*Sch.*, 29c).

In the East, pretonic a is often found written in place of other vowels. A few examples are found in the text. 259, 319, *aston*; 358, *astoit* (*Rom.* xvii, 560).

In line 108, e, out of Latin a, rhymes with open e, conforterent: ere. The open and close e were pronounced alike at the beginning of the twelfth century, but e, out of a, remained distinct until the middle of the thirteenth century (Sch., 272).

E.

Tonic g in open syllable becomes *ie*.

Examples:—24, Pieres; 70, rien; 186, 197, pies; 195, 405, 417, bien; 236, tient; 249, convient; 495, tient; 596, iert.

Deus becomes Dieu, Deu, Die.

Examples:-32, 353, 611, Dieu; 50, Deu; 601, Die.

Dieu and Deu are French forms, while Die is regularly Picard. The diphthong ie replaced both ieu, out of iu, and the older ieu from eu (Chev., xliv; Neu., 42). e before a palatal or palatalized consonant becomes i.

Examples :---25, 61, 193, sire; 117, 263, prisier; 135, 164, 362, mi (medium); 226, pris.

No examples occur of $\underline{e}+j>ei$, which is often found in Wallonian. The Picard has *i*, like the French (Z. xii, 256; Z. ii, 276, 300).

Open e in position remains.

Examples :--34, 55, 40, 64, 83, etc., terre ; 68, estre.

The well known Picard and Wallonian characteristic of writing *ie* for *e* does not occur (*Atex.*, 269; *Chev.*, xxxvii).

el+consonant becomes el, iau, ia.

Examples :---378, elme; 178, biaus; 285, biaux; 474, biaute; 302, castias.

The *el* of *elme* was the original development of *el*+consonant, and hence common to all the dialects; it was retained in Lorraine. With this exception, all of the examples show Picard influence. *Castias*, line 302, may he either Picard or Wallonian, as in the latter dialect *l* falls without being vocalized, and it has the vowel of the former. However, neither *iau*, nor *ea* belong exclusively to their respective dialects, and in this, as in most other cases, there is a mixture of forms near the frontiers (Z. i, 564; Auc., 64).

Tonic e in open syllable becomes oi.

The diphthong *oi* is common to most dialects, but not to the Norman, where the older *ei* was retained. The two examples *reiz*, 246, and *francheis*, 315, therefore, seem to be due to Norman influence, but as they stand alone, they are probably mistakes of the copyist (*Sch.*, 84).

In the northeast atonic oi is reduced to i, especially before ss, as in *connissance*, but this reduction does not occur in the text (*Rom.* xvii, 557; *Auc.*, 65).

Before *l*, *ei* remains.

Examples:—114, vermeil; 115, soleil; 415, merveillant; 195, 283, 321, etc., conseil; 510, oreille; 511, merveille.

E.

e+n becomes ein, ain, oin.

Examples:--448, pleine; 576, maine; 337, enmoinent.

The number of examples is too small to show how $\ell + n$ was written by the author, and none of them occur in rhyme. In *enmoinent*, we have one of the few special Burgundian characteristics that are met with in the text.

el+consonant becomes eu, eau.

Examples:--47, eus; 599, ceulz; 2, cheaus; 351, eaus.

In the case of el+consonant, the French did not develop an a before l, thus half of the above examples are of eastern origin (Auc., 64; Z. ii, 275).

-etja becomes -ece.

Examples:-371, 475, proëce; 413, noblece.

The suffix *-etja* regularly became *-eise*, *-oise*, but it gave way early to the learned suffix *-ece*. This in turn was replaced at the close of the thirteenth century by *-esse*. (Sch., 251; Jahrb. viii, 36).

I.

Tonic *i* remains.

Examples :---4, palasin; 14, Sarrasins; 581, vin.

This is the usual form in all the dialects, though a few changes are noted in the Wallonian, where *ien* is sometimes written for *inum* (*Rom.* xvii, 558).

д.

Tonic o in open syllable becomes ue, oe, eu.

Examples:--36, 418, 508, cuer; 75, 295, suer; 260, 409, puet; 123, voet; 261, veult.

The development of ϱ is similar in all the dialects with which we are concerned, but it did not take place in all of them at the same time. The final diphthongization to *eu* first began in the north, and was completed before the close of the thirteenth century; but it did not become universal in France before the fourteenth. In addition to the regular development, tonic ϱ in Wallonian may become *ou* and *oi* (*Neu.*, 47; *Sch.*, 276, 277; *Rom.* xvii, 559).

g before a palatal or palatalized consonant becomes ui.

Examples :--258, huimais ; 291, 446, cuident; 437, puier ; 224, puisque ; 389, 524, 580, puis, The development of $\varrho+j$ exactly corresponds to that of $\varrho+j$. It may become either ui, or oi, and the same dialects that write ei for $\varrho+j$, also write oi, and this is also true for i and ui (*Rom.* xvi, 122; *Z.* xii, 256; *Z.* ii, 276, 300).

 ϱ +nasal becomes ue, ω .

Examples:—6, on; 9, 47, preudomne; 41, 44, 47, etc., bons; 153, hons; 22, 26, 65, 405, etc., quens.

In French the diphthongization of g takes place before *m* but not before *n*, although the latter is common to both the Picard and Wallonian. The northeast sometimes develops a parasitic *i* before *n*, an example of which is furnished by the text, in line 255, *joins* (*Sch.*, 102; *Neu.*, 44; *Chev.*, xlii; *Rom.* xvii, 559).

Tonic g in position remains.

Examples :—51, 119, 146, etc., ost; 97, 165, 299, etc., mors; 129, 136, 242, fort; 164, cors; 375, cors (cornu).

This is the usual form in the Isle-de-France, though it may diphthongize in the Wallonian (*Rom.* xvii, 560; *Sch.*, 105).

Atonic g becomes o, ou.

Examples:—36, dolor; 68, voloit; 19, trova; 76, morut; 475, 599, honnors; 133, honnora; 452, voulentiers; 500, pourriez.

The difference between the French and the northeastern dialects is again mainly one of time. In the latter dialects the diphthongization is completed before the close of the thirteenth century, but not in the French. In *hounora* and *voulentiers*, we see northern influence, the French having, contrary to rule, retained the o in these words to the present day (Sch., 135).

a+u becomes o.

As a+u becomes open g in French, I speak of its development here, instead of under a.

In French, this g does not diphthongize, but it remained and assonanced with open g, out of Latin short δ , since the time of Alexis. In the Wallonian, it may become either *ou*, *au*, or even *oi*, while the regular development in the Picard was to *eu* (*Sch.*, 109, 276; *Auc.*, 65; *Z.* ii, 299).

Two northern forms, suet and sout, occur in

the text. Suet, in line 426, is an unusual formation, and is probably a mistake of the scribe for *seut*. The second example is of interest, as it furnishes evidence helping to establish the origin of the MS. The word *sout*, line 118, contains the diphthong *ou* common to the Wallonian, but this could not have been written by the author, since it rhymes with *ost* in the line below, which has an open ρ .

As the two vowels ϱ (*Lt. o*) and ϱ (*Lt. a*+*u*) were kept separated in Wallonian and were pronounced alike in French, the correct form must have been *sot* (*Sch.*, 268).

ol+consonant becomes *o*, *au*.

Examples :--79, 607, vorent; 174, vorres; 222, vorrons; 347, vorront; 279, vaurent.

The *o* remains in the Isle-de-France, but becomes au, or ou in the North (Auc., 63; Neu., 65).

o

Tonic o, in open syllable becomes o, ou, eu.

Examples :—21, 62, 91, traitor; 36, dolor; 49, contor; 50, 73, etc., amor; 110, 151, 181, seing-nor; 410, hounor; 411, meillor; 367, signour; 124, 134, etc., preus; 136, perilleus; 137, or-gueilleus; 556, seingneur; 595, honneur.

The development of close *q* is quite uniform. It becomes o, ou and eu, and the main difference between the dialects is again one of time. The diphthongs ou, eu become dominant in the North during the thirteenth century, while in the Isle-de-France, o still continued to be largely written; in some classes of words, especially those ending in *or*, it was retained during the greater part of the next century. In all the dialects, the diphthong ou was the intermediate form between the older o and the modern eu, but in a few words, as in amour, espous, etc., the development was arrested at ou. A special Wallonian characteristic, which is also, though more rarely, found in the Picard is *oi* for close *o*. This does not occur in the text (Sch., 277, 292; Rom. Stud. iv, 360; Neu., 43; Jahrb. viii, 399).

Tonic o in close syllable becomes o, ou.

Examples ;—4, 221, douzes ; 8, 53, 107, etc., moult ; 341, oultre ; 519, 596, jourz ; 86, 98, 103, 106, tout ; 144, 192, 274, tot ; 94, jor.

Little need be said about close o in position. It was diphthongized to ou, but there the development was arrested, and unlike o in open syllable it never became eu. The chief thing to be noted is that in the great majority of cases, it is represented in the text by ou instead of o. The diphthong ou is of early date, but it did not become the dominant form in French until the close of the thirteenth century. In the works of Rutebuef, who wrote in the last half of the century, o, for Latin q in close syllable, is still extensively used (*Sch.*, 99).

Tonic *q* before a nasal becomes *on*, and not *oun*, or *un* as is sometimes the case in the North (*Neu.*, 44; *Rom.* xvii, 560).

Examples:--5, renon; 16, 27, traïson; 58, 101, prison; 176, barons; 207, 556, glouton.

Atonic o becomes o, ou.

Examples :—1, solas; 602, soulas; 85, 87, 118 soudans; 207, glouton; 367, gloton; 398, coroit; 314, sojorner; 568, douçor.

The northern dialects during the thirteenth century generally prefer ou. It will be noticed that the same word is written sometimes with o and again with ou, and this confusion occurs in case of other vowels. This, however, need not mean that the pronunciation also varied. Atonic o was, at this time, probably pronounced like German u, but the custom of representing it by ou had not yet become firmly established.

CONSONANTS.

С.

ca becomes ch, c(k).

ce, ci, ti become c (s), ch.

Examples :— 14, ceu; 92, chair; 84, chans; 104, 453, cher; 266, chevaux; 412, 519, 592, 600, chevalerie; 364, ceval; 331, cevachies; 290, 347, calengier; 302, castias; 300, toche; 488, Chastillon; 504, chemin.

10, cel; 27, cilz; 42, cis; 287, 289,cha; 358, chis; 303, chiteis; 309, 352, franc*g*is; 539, 564, franc*g*is.

The treatment of c, in the French and Picard, is of great importance in establishing the dialect of the author. Before Latin a it was written ch (tch) in French, and c (k) in Picard, while before Latin e, or i, it became respectively c (ts) and ch (tch). Thus the development of c in the two dialects is so different, that there can be no difficulty in noting the influence of each upon the text.

The Picard forms although numerous are

outnumbered by the French. What little evidence is furnished by the rhyme also indicates the French pronunciation of c. In line 300, c before a in *toche* has the sound of ch, since it rhymes with *Antioche*. The rhyme *roces: delogent*, line 430, is incorrect in both the French and Picard dialects, but as g in *delogent* is soft, the French sound of c in *roces* would be less offensive to the ear than the hard sound of k that it has in the Picard (*Auc.*, 57, 61; *Rom.* vi, 617; *Alex.*, 85-89).

The hard and soft sound of g is generally represented as in French, but a few Picard forms, as *menga* and *loga*, are also found. The rhyme gives us no indication as to what was the pronunciation of g by the author (*Auc.*, 55, 62; *Alex.*, 89, 90; *Darm.*, 80).

Examples:---59, conjoit; 126, 420, 501, 516, etc.; gent; 309, logiet; 431, delogent; 554, deslogier; 570, joie; 586, mengie; 131, loga; 318, gavelos; 583, menga.

L.

l before a consonant is replaced by u, or falls.

Examples :—8, 53, 107, 108, etc., moult; 29, 85, etc., soudant; 59, 108, doucement; 72, loyaute; 178, 285, biaus; 212, vaut; 287, mieus; 32, madit; 78, 91, mavais; 376, mies; 601, filz.

The words without u show Wallonian influence, for the Picard usually follows the French, and vocalizes l, since the end of the eleventh century. The one exception to the above rule is when l is preceded by i and followed by s. It then falls in French, but the Picard, on the contrary, makes no distinction between the vowels, and replaces l by u according to the general rule (*Rom.* xvii, 565; *Neu.*, 69; *Chev.* xlviii).

In order to rhyme with *conseilles*, *mieus*, in line 286, must have lost its *l*. As the copyists seldom changed the rhyme, this would indicate that the MS. is of Wallonian origin, but this view is not borne out by the remaining evidence.

Before and after a palatal, l becomes \tilde{l} .

Examples: 1-89, 121, bataille; 115, soleil; 137, orgueilleus; 152, conseilliez; 173, apareilles; 195, conseil; 415, merveilant; 416, recueilleir.

In French, \tilde{l} is represented by *il*, or *ill*, while in the Wallonian, it is often written *ilh*.

Of all the examples in the text, only one shows the influence of the latter dialect; namely, *esmerithons*, in line 255 (*Rom.* xvii, 565; *Rom.* xix, 82).

S.

ts and tj become s, z.

Examples :— 1, grans; 1, solas; 136, fors; 162, 165, 166, 173, etc., tous; 173, apareilles; 174, vorres; 277, armes; 152, conseilliez; 214, voliez; 218, venez; 519, touz; 569, assez.

No difference was made in Picard in the pronunciation of s and z, but as they were kept distinct in the other dialects until quite late, their development is of some importance. In the Wallonian, s became z during the first half of the thirteenth century, while they were kept separated in French until near the close of the century (*Rom.* xvi, 127; *Rom.* xvii, 564; *Sch.*, 251, 322).

In the Pas de Saladin, z is seldom written, but is nearly always replaced by s. The rhymes solas: pas, 1; crois: crois, 37; crois: bonfois, 538; and soulas: pas, 602, prove that the use of s for z cannot be ascribed to the copyist alone, but that it was also known to the author.

s before consonants is generally retained.

Examples:—18, 85, prist; 19, 97, crestien; 34, fust; 38, 87, etc., fist; 37, hastiement; 103, despense; 140, destorbier.

It is omitted in 130, derubans; 390, Ronceval; 432, melleit.

The fall of s before consonants was earlier in French than in either the Wallonian or Picard. It, however, continued to be written in many words long after it had become silent. and thus its retention in the MS. cannot be considered as a characteristic of any particular dialect, nor is it a proof that it was still pronounced. In fact the MS. is not without evidence that the contrary must have been the case. In toust, line 573, for tout, s is inserted where it does not properly belong, and such a wrong insertion of a letter may be taken as evidence of its fall. Melleit, line 432, shows that it was silent also before liquids. Here s was assimilated to l (Rom. xvi, 123; Darm., 102).

The prosthetic e, or i before s impure, has always been a characteristic of the French, but it is often omitted in the Wallonian (Lor. Ps., xliii; Sch., 183, Rom. xvii, 564).

Examples :--241, 490, espee; 254, esperons; 326, 507, estendart; 353, estrine; 357, 427, 457, escut; 387, estor; 422, 439, espie; 465, isnelepas; 560, escler.

W. __

(German w becomes gu, g.

German w belongs especially to the Wallonian and the East, while in French it is replaced by gu, or g. The letter occurs twice in the text. *Walerans*, line 401, is a German word which did not enter into the popular language, and which, therefore, is written with w, or with v, as in lines 235 and 485. The w of *weil*, 286, is for Latin v, and may be either Wallonian of Picard (Z. ii, 275; *Rom.* xvi, 121; *Jahrb.* viii, 330).

A Wallonian characteristic that does not occur in the text, is the insertion of w between two vowels, in order to destroy the hiatus, as in *owes*, *owist*, etc., (*Rom.* xvii, 563; *Z.* ii, 284; *Jahrb.* viii, 390, 407).

Ñ.

 \bar{n} becomes gn, ngn.

Examples:---39, Bretaigne; 40, Alemaigne; 110, 285, seignor; 151, 181, 529, seingnor; 350, poignant; 370, poingnant; 506, compagnon; 562, resoignoit.

This mode of writing \tilde{n} agrees with the French, but in the Wallonian it is generally represented by *nh*, *ngh* or *ng*. The writing of *ngn* (or \tilde{n} is foreign both to the French and the northern dialects (*Rom.* xvii, 565).

qu becomes qu, c.

- Examples :--5, 12, 46, 58, etc., qui ; 27, cink; 30, quoi ; 68, 74, 88, 95, etc., que ; 80, car ; 90, 118, 123, cant ; 106, quant.

When qu lost its labial sound in French, it was pronounced like k, and hence was often replaced by that consonant, or by c. Both forms occur indiscriminately in the text (*Sch.*, 214).

The Wallonian often adds r to the end of a word, and drops it in the group mute plus r. Neither characteristic occurs in the text (*Rom.* xvii, 565). Examples :---63, destruction, 81, empresent; 95, 181, nostre; 170, combatre; 171, autre.

Contrary to the French usage the Picard and Wallonian do not insert a consonant in the groups l'r, n'r, m'l, and s'r. The author of the MS. has followed no regular rule. There is either assimilation, or the consonant is onitted from the first two groups, but it is always inserted in the last two (*Sch.*, 230; *Auc.*, 58; *M. L.* i, 475-479, *Jahrb.* viii, 392).

Examples:—79, 607, vorent; 174, vorres; 279, vauront; 347, 453, vorront; 83, teuroint; 350, 352, vinrent; 44, 189, 204, ensemble; 555, 580, pristrent.

The development of final t will be spoken of under verbs, and that of t+s has been mentioned under s. Otherwise, the consonant presents nothing of interest for the study of the text.

ARTICLE.

The article has undergone but few variations since the earliest times, and its use in the different dialects was with few exceptions the same.

The forms in the text are nearly all French. There is one example of the use of the masc. *li* for the fem. *la*, in *li serre*, line 542, but elsewhere, and even in the same line with *serre*, the regular feminine article is used. The use of the masc. article for the feminine is a universal Picard characteristic, and even occurs in the Wallonian, so that its absence from the text is strong presumption against a northern origin (*Rom.* vi, 617; *Neu.*, 118; *Rom.* xvii, 566).

Examples :—11, 15, 22, 23, 25, 35, 41, 65, 69, etc., masc. li; 4, 28, 29, 31, 33, 57, 99, 115, etc., masc. le; 8, 38, 51, 64, 79, 109, 121, 135, 161, 164, etc., Nom. & Acc. Fem. la.

All of the contracted forms belong also to the dialect of the Isle-de-France.

The modern Nom. Sing. le is a late formation. In the texts examined by Knauer, *Jahrb.* x, 1, *li* is still nearly exclusively used in those dating from the beginning of the fourteenth century, and Fallot (*Rech.*, 41), states that *le* is very rare until after 1300. Therefore, as *le* occurs four times; namely, in lines 85, 87, 107 and 196, it may have been added after that date.

Another variant of the Nom. Sing. *li* is *el*, in line 339. This is a very unusual form and is evidently a mistake of the copyist, who must have intended to write either *li*, or *le*. According to Fallot, *loc. cit.* 42, no authenticated example of *el* for the Nom. Sing. has yet been noticed.

In line 495, as is a contracted form for *a les*. The later *aus* dates from the thirteenth century (*Rech.*, 45). The contractions *del*, *al* were replaced during the thirteenth century by *du* and *au*. *Do*, a strictly Burgundian form, became *dou*, *du*, at about the same date (*Rech.*, 44).

NOUNS.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century, the declensions were much simplified, and all masculine nouns received an s in the Nom. Sing. They were still further simplified toward the close of the century. At this time, the accusative takes the place of the nominative, with the result that the declensions of all nouns, both masculine and feminine, were reduced to one; namely, they have no ending in the singular, while the plural adds s.

The ending of the Nom. Sing. is still quite well preserved in the text, but it is apparent that the confusion, incident to the general breaking up of the declensions, has begun. Thus both correct and incorrect forms appear in the same line, as *fu moult preu et sages*, 134; *tout li mondes loe*, 512; *li preus Guillaume*, 487, and, further, in lines 80, 278, 328, etc.

It is not clear what forms were used by the author, as the evidence furnished by the rhymes is misleading. Some, as sages (N. S.): passages (A. P.), 124; amirans (A. P.): soudans (N. S.), 284, and further in lines 130, 168, 338, etc., demand a Nom. Sing. with s, but others, in lines 3, 49, 67, 344, etc., pay no attention to the ending. The question cannot be satisfactorily settled without the aid of a second MS.

In the examples given below, adjectives are included as their declension does not differ from that of the nouns.

Examples :-- Nom. Sing. with s, 11, 15, 18, 22,

26, 35, 41, 43, 65, etc.; without s, 69, 80, 134, 339, 365, etc.; Nom. Pl. with s, 49, 176, 349, 451, 494, etc.; without s, 62, 91, 105, 207, 208, 274, 275, etc.

PRONOUNS.

The pronouns of the first person singular are je, ge, gie, jou.

The earliest form of the first personal pronoun, in the dialect of the Isle-de-France, was *jo*. It is still found in the *Alexis*, where the *o* is never elided before an initial vowel, while in the *Roland*, though the elision is not universal, it is no longer rare. Thus *jo* was reduced to *je* at the end of the eleventh century, and soon became the dominant form. There were no further modifications in the French, but its development in the Picard and the East has been slightly different.

In Burgundy, during the first half of the thirteenth century, ge was used by the side of, and indiscriminately with, je. Another variant of the same pronoun was gie, belonging to the last half of the century, and also confined to the East.

The Picard has but two forms, an earlier *jou* and the modern *je*. Unlike the French, however, the latter does not become universal until quite late, examples of the use of *jou* being found during the fourteenth century (*Alex.*, 33; *Sch.*, 396; *Rech.*, 235-240).

The Acc. Sing. of the first personal pronoun is me, never mi, as in the North, and its use in the text needs no comment. The tonic form moi occurs once, in line 74, as object of a verb in place of me. Fallot, loc. cit. 242, states that moi for me, or mi dates from the second half of the thirteenth century, and that, while in Picardy it was especially written after verbs, in Burgundy it was placed after prepositions. However, the solitary example found in the MS. can prove nothing. The use of moi in place of the nominative je, as subject of a verb, dates from the fourteenth century, and does not occur in the text (Jahrb. xi, 234; Rech., 242; Sch., 395, 396; Neu., 22).

Examples :---79, 84, 100, 101, 103, 152, 214, 224, 229, 249, me.

Of the plural of the first and second personal pronouns, it need only be said that in the majority of cases they are written with o, as nos and vos, instead of the modern nous, vous.

Examples :—156, 165, 166, 170, 212, 202, 205, 314, etc., nos; 183, 541, 545, nous; 66, 154, 174, 183, 185, 214, 215, etc., vos; 247, 286, 329, 414, 493, 552, vous.

THIRD PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

The Nom. Sing. masculine, of the third personal pronoun, had in Old French the same form as today. During the thirteenth century, an s was sometimes added by analogy to the first declension of nouns, but this usage never became general, and does not occur in the text (*Jahrb.* xi, 235).

The feminine pronoun was written either *ele*, or *elle*, and both were common in the Middle Ages. The latter, however, became the dominant form after the thirteenth century, and is the only one found in the text (*Rech.*, 249).

Examples :—19, 38, 61, 68, 100, 116, 201, 220, 254, 256, *il*; 74, 75, *elle*.

The Nom. Pl. of the Modern French differs from the old form only by the addition of s. Throughout the thirteenth century, *il* remained unchanged, but it is replaced by *ils* during the next century. Fallot, *loc. cit.* 249, gives 1305 as the date of the first example of *ils* in the texts which he examined (*Sch.*, 398; *Jahrb.* xi, 235; *Rech.*, 249).

Examples :---30, 269, 432, 454, 513, 584, il.

The objective singular was *li*, or *lui*. The former, though not found in Modern French, was still in frequent use during the fourteenth century. The old rule that *li* should be used as indirect object after verbs, and *lui* after prepositions, remained in force until toward the close of the thirteenth century. The rule is observed in our MS. in the case of *li* with verbs, but there is confusion between the two forms after prepositions (*Jahrb.* xi, 236; *Rech.*, 251-257, Sch., 398, 399).

Examples :---*li*, after verbs, 122, 240, 357, 361, 461, etc.; after prepositions, 109, 294; *lui*, after prepositions, 157, 189.

Of the objective plural, it is only necessary to mention the use of *les*, for the dative *lor*, in line 60, a characteristic common to the Wallonian. In all French dialects after the close of the thirteenth century, the objective was often written in place of the nominative, both in the case of pronouns and of nouns. The only example occurs in line 104, where *li* is used for *il*, as subject of a verb. The earlier and later forms of *lor* and *leur* are used indiscriminately; namely, *lor* in lines 264, 347, 372, and *leur*, lines 577, 589 (*Rom.* xv, 130; *Rech.*, 257).

Possessive Pronouns.

With the exception of *vo*, in lines 184 and 501, all of the possessive adjectives and pronouns are French. This is of some importance, as the Picard forms occur quite frequently in most of the northern dialects (*Rom.* xvii, 566; *Neu.*, 63; *Sch.*, 411).

Examples :—306, mon; 290, ma; 103, mes; 119, son; 155, 197, 198, 253, 283, 340, 377, son; 126, 133, 296, 420, 523, sa; 162, 261, 611, ses; 317, vos; 533, nos; 95, nostre; 248, 320, vostre.

The possessive *lor*, *leur*, does not add s when before plural nouns. The change from *lor* to *lors* and *leurs* dates from the close of the thirteenth century (*Sch.*, 411; *Rech.*, 273).

DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS.

Both classes of demonstrative pronouns, those from Latin *ecce-ille*, and those from *ecceiste*, are represented in the text. The decleusion of the first class, including both tonic and atonic forms, is as follows,—

> Nom. Sing. cis, chis, cil. Ac. Sing. cel. Nom. Pl. cil, cilz, cis. Ac. Pl. ceulz, cheaus.

Examples :—18, 42, 209, 308, cis; 358, chis; 110, cil; 10, 167, 321, 546, cel; 46, 371, 392, cil; 27, 204, cilz; 402, cis; 2, cheus; 599, ceulz.

With the exception of the Picard *chis*, *cheaus*, all of the above are French. The Nom. Pl. *cil* remained unchanged up to the close of the thirteenth century, when it added *s* in analogy to the declension of nouns. In lines 155 and 158, *celui*, in place of *icelui*, is used as an absolute pronoun.

The second class is not so numerous. It includes the usual Isle-de-France forms, and only the Picard feminine accusative *cesti*, in line 258, needs be noted (*Sch.*, 402, 404; *Rech.*, 299-306).

CONJUGATION.

The verbs present some unmistakable Wallonian characteristics, such as the retention of final t in the third person, singular, and past participle, and the writing of ei, for e(a). The former is treated here, as it concerns more especially the verbs.

Intervocalic t and final t, unsupported by another consonant, disappears in French by the beginning of the twelfth century (Sch., 175, 318; Grundriss, 581). Though probably no longer pronounced, it is still represented in the Alexis, and it prevents the elision of a preceding e, before a word with an initial vowel (Alex., 34). In the Chanson de Roland, fifty years later, it has begun to fall, and was soon after dropped entirely. During the following two hundred years, this rule is strictly adhered to in all the better MSS., but in the fourteenth century, final *t* reappears in the third person, singular, and the past participle of verbs. Here we again meet with such forms as amet, *fut*, which were correct in the twelfth century, but which had been replaced by others without t (Jahrb. xii, 163).

But such forms are late and comparatively rare, and do not adequately explain the frequent use of final t in the text. Its presence must, therefore, be due to some outside influence, as it cannot be considered a characteristic common to the dialect of the Isle de-France. Of all the northern and eastern dialects, the Wallonian is the only one that generally retains an unsupported final t during the thirteenth century. In the dialect of Namur, it is of frequent occurrence even as late as the end of the century, but this is exceptional, and, as a rule, it has fallen before 1250. The same characteristic is also found in eastern Picardy (*Rom.* xvii, 563; xix, 81).

Examples: *—without t*, 19, trova; 22, 69, 75, 112, 124, 134, 242, 339, fu; 42, croisa; 91, prouve; 105, fondu; 106, conte; 120, 283, manda; 122, ramanda; 123, atendra; 127, coste; 131, loga; 132, ama; 138, jura; 139, fera; 187, regarda; 210, 240, agree; 211, baee; 217, apella.

With 1, 10, 17, 80, 340, fut; 60, contat; 76, morut; 142, alat; 144, conteit; 270, esporonneit; 311, respondit; 335, 363, 368, at; 343, ferat.

The above examples show that the French

forms are much more numerous than those of the North.

FIRST PERSON PLURAL.

With the exception of *sommes*, and of the perfect tense, the ending of the first person plural is *-ons*, or *-on*. The latter is not a dialectical difference, but is sometimes used in place of *-ons* (*Darm.*, 222). This ending is assured by the rhyme *deffendon*: glouton, line 206.

Examples:—89, avoms; 104, 157, avons; 154, sommes; 183, aiderons; 184, devons; 211, corons; 221, garderons; 223, deffendrons; 541, meton; 545, serons.

According to Diez (Gram., 567), the regular ending for the Picard is -omes. The French ending -ons is, however, found in some parts of Picardy, and is the rule in Wallonian. The ending -oms, of avoms, in line 89, is the primitive one, and does not stand for -omes. It was gradually replaced by -ons (Rom. Stud. iv, 361).

IMPERFECT, -ions, -iez.

The ending of the first and second person plural of the imperfect and conditional is, in French, *-ious* and *-icz*. The older form *-icns* is still occasionally used in Rutebuef, but it finally disappears by the end of the century. The Picard has *-iemes*, while throughout the East *-icns* and *-icz* were retained. These further differ from the French in having but one syllable. The ending *-iens* in our text occurs only in nouns, but it, as well as *-iez* in *pourriez*, line 500, counts as two syllables (Z. ii, 281; Diez, Gram., 567).

IMPERFECT, -eve.

No examples occur of *-cvc*, the ending of the imperfect indicative in the East. This tense is of frequent occurrence, but always with the regular French ending *-oi*, *-oit*, etc., (Z. ii, 276).

Examples :-- 53, 522, avoit ; 58, 276, 277, 525, estoit ; 72, aportoit ; 83, tenroient ; 190, venoit ; 232, feroy ; 312, appelloit ; 415, aloit ; 417, quidoit ; 422, amoit ; 510, escoutoit.

PERFECTS, iu.

The perfect tense offers several forms that distinguishes it sharply from the Picard and Wallonian. Thus the endings *-in*, *-arent* are entirely wanting, while *-ont* and *-isent* are rare. . Suchier, *toc. cit.* 255 ff., has fully described the development of the *iu* perfects. They may be divided into two classes, according to the endings of their stem accented forms, namely, a. those in *-oi*, *-ot*, *-orent*, and b. those in *-ui*, *-ut*, *-urent*. These are the regular French forms, and the only ones that appear in the text (*Rom.* xvi, 121; Z. ii, 283, 286).

Examples:—36, 106, 116, 130, 179, etc., ot; 30, 78, etc., orent; 94, plot; 209, 360, vot; 360, pot; 76, morut; 84, durent; 458, connut.

PERFECT, -ont.

The perfect ending *-ont* occurs in *laisont*, 92; and *gardont*, 603. On account of their similarity to the endings of the present tense, they never came into general use, even in the Wallonian, but were soon superseded by the regular forms (*Rom.* xv, 132; xvi, 121; *Z.* viii, 122).

PERFECT, -istrent.

Both the endings *-strent* and *-sent* are found in the text. The latter is the regular Picard and Wallonian form. The ending *-rent* is simply a variant of *-strent*, formed by analogy to *vinrent*, and belongs to the French (*Sch.*, 437; Diez, *Gram.*, 580; *Auc.*, 62).

Examples :--27, 447, 579. 582, 592, 595, firent; 159, fisent; 177, 554, virent; 555, 580, pristrent.

PERFECT, -event.

The Wallonian ending *-arent*, of the third person, plural, perfect tense, is entirely wanting, and only the French forms in *-erent*, or *-ierent* are found (*Rom.* xvii, 567; Z. ii, 276).

Examples :—2, 46, garderent ; 31, livrerent : 52, ariverent; 57, 345, trouverent; 93, tornerent; 266, 333, monterent.

Many of the changes which the verb underwent during the last half of the thirteenth century, do not appear in the text.

The ending e of the first person, singular, present tense, began to be added at this time, and it is frequently found in Rutebuef. The only example *otroie*, line 225, must be due to the copyist, as the word counts as two syllables and not as three (*Sch.*, 435).

Other examples are *di*, 66, 154, and *dient*, 216, in place of *dis* and *discut* respectively; *sui*, 153, 173; *baee*, 211; *corons*, 211; for later *snis*, *bee*, *courons*. The modern forms, mentioned by Schwan, 433, 442, 444, all date from the close of the thirteenth century.

ELISION AND HIATUS.

It is unnecessary to make a detailed study of the rules of elision and hiatus, as they remained constant throughout the greater part of the Middle Ages.

Final mute e before a following vowel suffered elision since the earliest times (*Alexis*, 31). Although the monosyllables *je*, *ce*, *se*, *que*, were generally subject to the rule, they could if the metre required it, form hiatus before a word with an initial vowel as late as the sixteenth century (*Traité*, 394). This was due to the fact that their vowels, in the early literary period were distinctly pronounced, and it was not until after the time of the *Alexis*, that they were reduced to mute e (*Alexis*, 31).

The examples in which the e is elided are so numerous that none are here given. In the following, the final e forms hiatus.

Examples :--204, ce est ; 226, se il ; 255, que uns ; 287, ce est ; 293, 307, 466, je ai ; 454, que il.

Examples of elision which are not tolerated in the modern language are as follows:—the relative *qui* in *qu'a l'ost*, 564; and *gel*, 154, for *ge le*, and *ges*, 479, for *ge les*.

Pretonic *e* in hiatus, counts as a separate syllable. It first became silent in the North during the thirteenth century, but it did not disappear in the lsle-de-France until much later (*Traité*, 397; *Sch.*, 309-311; *Jahrb*. viii, 407).

Examples :—14, ceue; 95, eussent; 113, 369, veist; 464, 466, veu; 467, reonde; 500, veoir; 545, aseur; 586, beut.

CONCLUSION.

ON comparing the results obtained from the preceding examination, it is evident that the language contains, in addition to the forms of the Isle-de-France, a great number which are purely north-eastern. These dialectical differences are so numerous, and of such a character, that their use by the author of the poem seems improbable. If this supposition is correct, the present MS. is obviously a copy of an earlier one, and the question then arises, what was the dialect of the author.

Although the frequent occurrence of the same characteristics is not necessarily a proof of their presence in the original MS., yet the indications that point to the French are so numerous and complete, that it must be regarded as the language used by the writer. A list of the characteristics found in the text, and belonging to the different dialects under consideration, will show more clearly the influence of each. The most important of the forms not common to the French are as follows :—

- 1. Retention of final t.
- 2. a becomes ei.
- 3. z becomes s.
- 4. c+a becomes c(k).
- 5. c+e, *i* becomes *ch*.
- 6. Fall of *l* before a consonant.

During the thirteenth century, final t had disappeared from all the dialects except the Wallonian and eastern Picard. There are many examples of it in the text, but that final t belonged to the original MS. can be shown neither by the metre, nor the rhyme.

The second characteristic is not as distinctive as the first. It is common to several dialects, and may even be found in French. The rhyme shows that ci had the same pronunciation as the French e.

The reduction of z to s took place in Isle-de-France after the middle of the thirteenth century, and, although the former continued to be used, the pronunciation of both was the same. As the MS. was probably written at the close of the century, or even later, the use of s for z in the rhymes need not be regarded as a characteristic belonging especially to the Picard.

The fourth and fifth characteristics are apparently foreign to the French, but their pronunciation, which alone is of importance, is in doubt. The only positive evidence as to the pronunciation of the palatal by the author is furnished by the rhyme toche: Antioche, line 300. Here c before a has the sound of ch. A peculiarity to be observed in the use of these forms is that, instead of being distributed evenly throughout the text, nearly all of them are found crowded together within a space of less than two hundred lines, while in the rest of the MS. they are comparatively rare. This may be due to carelessness in copying, and if so, it is an additional proof that the scribe was from the North.

The sixth characteristic is interesting only on account of the rhyme *conseiltez:mieus*, 286. Although this seems to favor a Wallonian origin, yet this supposition is unsupported by other examples, and even contradicted by the rhyme *sout*: ost, in line 118.

The remaining characteristics are nearly equally divided between the two north-eastern dialects. Many of them are represented by but a single example, and need no individual mention. They may be grouped together as follows:—

- 1. el+consonant becomes iau.
- 2. *l* becomes *ilh*.
- 3. The pronoun cesti.
- 4. The feminine article *li*.
- 5. The use of *les* for the dative *lor*.
- 6. The ending -ont of the perfect tense.

The evidence in favor of the Isle-de-France as the home of the writer is more positive. The following list will show at once that the vowels, the consonants, and the grammatical forms are essentially French, and that but few characteristics are missing compared to the large number that have been omitted from the Wallonian and Picard.

VOWELS.

r. e in position, and o remain and do not diphthongize as in the North.

2. Atonic e in hiatus is still counted as an extra syllable.

3. u before oral consonants may become either e, or ei, but its development in the endings *aticum* and *atr* is French.

4. e+j and e+j become *i* and *ui*.

No. 2 is of some importance as it affects the metre, which, like the rhyme, generally remained unchanged.

CONSONANTS.

The consonants show a greater admixture of northern characteristics, but the regular French forms as given below are in the majority.

- 1. c+a becomes ch.
- 2. c+e, *i* becomes c(s).
- 3. l is vocalized to u.
- 4. Final t falls.
- 5. German w becomes gu.

GRAMMATICAL FORMS.

I. The feminine article li is used in a single instance, but elsewhere we find la.

2. There is no trace of the possessive pro-

nouns mi, mis, mon, etc.

3. The forms of the verb are all French, as is shown by the ending *-ons*, of the first person plural; *oi*, of the imperfect; and *-erent* and *-ierent*, of the perfect tense.

The presence in the text of the Wallonian and Picard characteristics may be accounted for in various ways. As the different dialects are not separated from each other by sharply defined boundaries, the MS. may have been copied either by a single scribe, speaking the mixed language of the frontier, or by one from any one of the northern dialects. The latter is the more probable.

The date of the MS. cannot be determined, but since the development of the French during the Middle Ages was very rapid, it may be approximated with sufficient accuracy by an examination of the forms of the language.

The rhyme of s and z indicates that it must have been written after the reduction of ts to s, which took place about the close of the thirteenth century.

The following indications must also be considered, namely:—

1. The declensions are still in force.

2. The suffix -ece is used in place of the more modern -esse.

3. The plural of lor is without s.

4. Final e has not yet been added to the first person, singular, of the present tense.

Although some of these forms do not disappear until quite late, yet they are rarely found together in the same MS. after the middle of the fourteenth century. I think, therefore, that the beginning of the fourteenth century may be regarded as the most probable date of the composition of the poem, while it may have been copied some years later.

NOTES.

6. The exploits of the knights were commemorated by mural paintings. The *Pas de Saladin* must have been very popular during the Middle Ages, if, as is stated here, representations of it were painted on the walls.

11. The Pope, at the beginning of the third Crusade, was Clement third and not Lucius. The latter succeeded Alexander third in 1181. He lived but six months in Rome, being driven forth by a rebellion in 1182, and died at Verona, in 1185.

55. The usual form of expression is *prendre terre en ligee*; namely, to hold land in fief. *Ligee* from the old Frankish *ledig*, is also written with the ending *ie*, and may, therefore, rhyme with *aisier*, in the line below.

69. Heraclius, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, at the time of its capture by Saladin, took an active part in the defense of the Kingdom. He clearly foresaw the danger that threatened the Christians in Palestine, and, as early as 1180, journeyed to Europe, in order to preach another Crusade against the Saracens. The accusation made against the Saracens. The accusation made against that he favored the election of the Count of Tripolis to the throne, in place of Guy de Lusignan; but this cannot be construed into an act of treason, for Raymond was the choice not only of the nobles and clergy, but of all the people as well.

73. Amere is evidently a mistake of the scribe for ameri. As it stands it rhymes with neither the preceding, nor with the following line, although the context shows that there have been no omissions. By omitting *point d*⁷, which can be done without changing the meaning, the number of syllables will be correct.

76. Both partant and leschans should be separated into par tant and le champ.

88. Read avint and not ait vint.

89. Avoms is an older form.

104. Seur is the city of Tyre. In line 301, it counts as two syllables.

105. Fuisent is an older form for the more regular fussent (De Chev., iii, 254).

110. Cil le rosmere should be cil le vos mere. Mere, from merir, in connection with the pronoun le, formed a stereotyped phrase, and was used to express good will.

138. The Christians of the Middle Ages confused the Saracens with the early Pagans. In the literature of that period, the name of Apollo is often coupled together with that of Mohammed, both being regarded as the gods of the Infidels.

148. The two lines are from the Lai de l'Oiselet. The exact quotation is as follows:-

Li proverbes dit en apert: Cil qui tot convoite tot pert. (Lines 409-410).

263. The name of Longis is of frequent oc-

currence in the literature of the Middle Ages, and he is supposed to have been the one who thrust the spear into the side of Christ while on the Cross.

167. En cel sepulcre gives a better reading than et cel sepulcre.

169. Ci vesqui would give a better meaning than se vesqui.

216. It would be interesting to know whether *roys*, in lines 216 and 224, is singular, or plural, as it would show whether the declensions were still in force at the time the MS. was written. The form is singular, but the verb is plural, and the rhyme cannot be depended upon to solve the question, as so many of the final consonants are silent. According to the meaning it might refer either to one king, or to both.

232. The line is short unless the imperfect feroy be counted as three syllables. The final e of the first person, singular, imperfect tense, was retained as late as the fourteenth century.

245. Messe and fistu, 379, are mistakes of the copyist for messi and festu.

247. Avrez, when in atonic position in the sentence, may lose its v and become arez. This is not a dialectical peculiarity.

252. Larrier should read *l'arrier*, the last. 262. L'alerent is incorrect. It should be s'alerent, as in line 265.

271. The word *armeit* in this connection has no meaning. M. Sylvestre has corrected it by writing *ariveit*. This will also give the line the required number of syllables.

283. Tuit is an adjective agreeing with conseit, and should therefore be written tout.

• 297. Godefrey de Bouillon, the celebrated leader of the first Crusade, set out for Palestine in the spring of 1096. Soon after the capture of Jerusalem, he was proclaimed King, but refused to take the title. He died in 1100, and his body was interred near the Holy Sepulchre.

300. Toche, from **ioccare*; se tocher de=to rescue from.

305. The three principal gods of the Infidels were supposed to be Mahon and Apollin, mentioned before in line 138, and Tervagant.

312. King Malaquin's probably Prince Malek, or Melkin, the only son of the Sultan Noureddin. He succeeded to the throne on the death of the Sultan, in 1174, but did not have the strength, or the power to maintain himself long, and was finally overthrown by Saladin, one of the Emirs of his father.

320. Passier is a mistake for passeir, or passer.

320. The subject of *faite* and *faites*, 317, is the same. It is not unusual in Old French for the pronoun of address to be changed from the singular to the plural, or *vice versa*, even in the same sentence.

327. It cannot be ascertained whether King Escofart is an historical personage, or whether the name is simply a creation of the author. The many different ways in which the name is written; namely, *Escorfaus*, 340, *Escarfaus*, 375, etc., prove that it was unknown to the copyist.

331. The MS. has *ce vachies* written as two words, but there is no doubt that *cevachies* is meant,

336. Vont, in the phrase vont el joiant, is repeated in the same line; namely, s'en vont li rois. This is an unnecessary repetition, and the sense seems to require either an adjective, or a participle.

,342. Averont is an unusual form for the future, the extra syllable being used on ac count of the metre.

. 345. By the twelve *lyepart* are meant of course the knights, they being so called because of the leopards painted on their shields.

361. Cos should not be written with a final s, nor is it required by the rhyme.

372. As *lors* is a pronoun, the final s is incorrect. It was not added to the adjective until the close of the thirteenth century, and in the text *lor*, before a plural noun, is always written without s.

465. In line 45, *isnelepas* is written as two words, *isnele pas*, and this is the usual form.

467. The phrase *il clot a la reonde* is a peculiar one. No examples of the verb *clore* used in this connection are found in the dictionaries.

482. In *Phelippons*, the inflectional s, which marks the nominative singular, has been added to the accusative. The proper names are elsewhere correctly declined.

483. All the lines containing *mesire* have an extra syllable. The correction can easily be

made by dropping the first syllable of the word and writing *sire*.

520. In the *Itinerarium* edited by William Stubbs it is stated that Saladin was knighted by the constable Henfrid of Toron.

532. By substituting the verb *oi*, for *os*, a smoother reading would be obtained.

541. Damete is incorrectly written for Damiete. The latter form is also required by the metre, as the lines 541 and 548 have but seven syllables.

553. Tous cannot rhyme with barons, but it does not appear that a line has been omitted.

557. By omitting the article *le* before *roi*, the number of syllables will be correct.

599. The l of *ceulz* is a late addition, and belongs especially to the fourteenth century.

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