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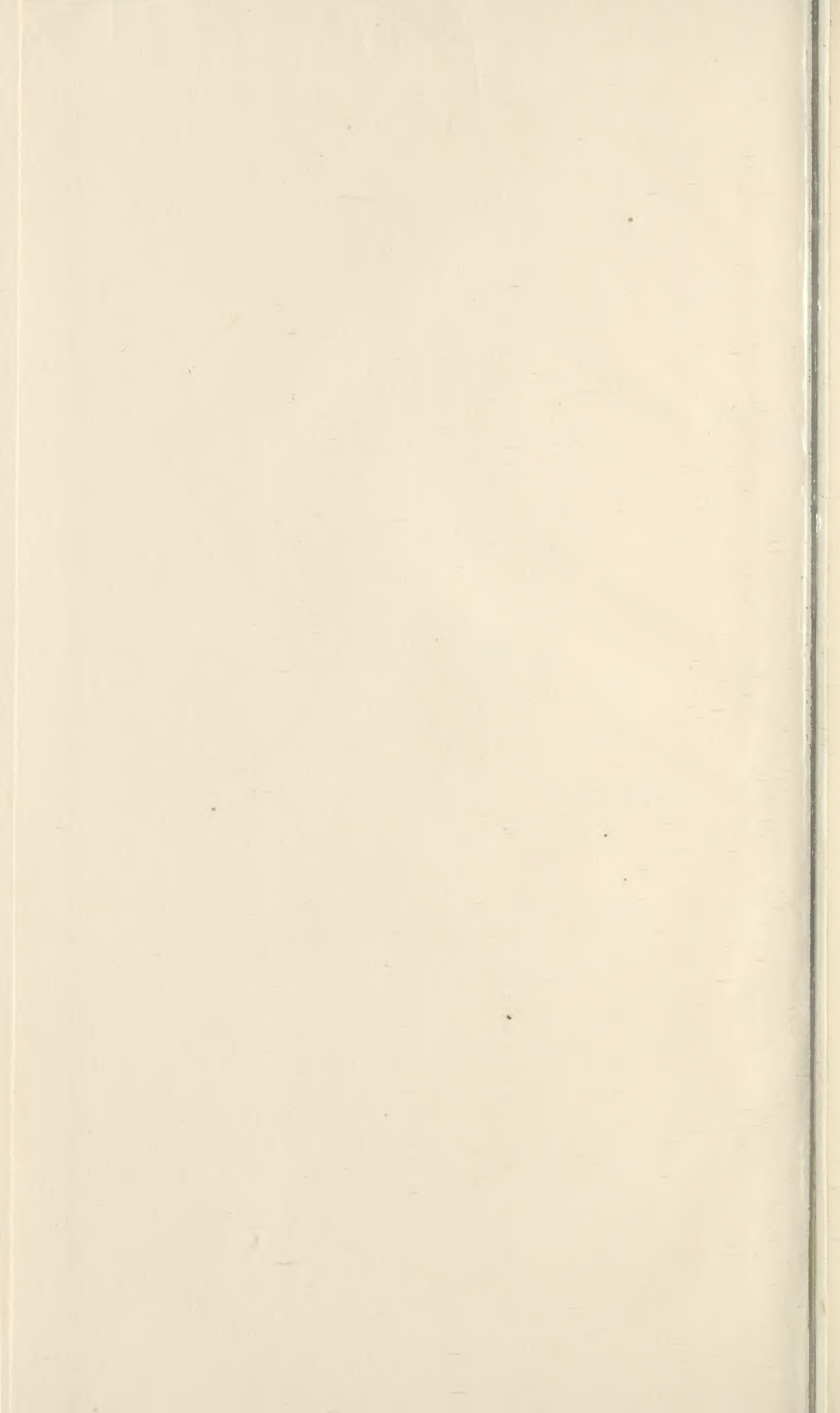
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The Scottish Text Society

The Buik of Alexander





# The Buik of Alexander

OR

THE BUIK OF THE MOST NOBLE AND VALIANT  
CONQUEROUR ALEXANDER THE GRIT

BY

JOHN BARBOUR

ARCHDEACON OF ABERDEEN

EDITED, IN FOUR VOLUMES, FROM THE UNIQUE PRINTED COPY IN THE  
POSSESSION OF THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE, WITH INTRODUCTIONS,  
NOTES AND GLOSSARY, TOGETHER WITH THE FRENCH  
ORIGINALS (LI FUERRES DE GADRES AND LES VŒUX  
DU PAON) COLLATED WITH NUMEROUS MSS.

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## VOLUME I.

CONTAINING PART I. OF THE BUIK OF ALEXANDER  
(NAMELY PP. 1-106) AND LI FUERRES DE GADRES,  
EDITED FROM MS. 264 OF BODLEY'S LIBRARY

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*TO THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS*  
*AND*  
*THE UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN*  
*THESE EDITED WORKS OF OLD-WORLD*  
*FRANCE AND SCOTLAND*  
*ARE GRATEFULLY INSCRIBED.*





# TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
PREFACE . . . . .	xi

## INTRODUCTION—

### CHAPTER I. : ARBUTHNET'S PRINT.

§ 1. Scope of the present Introduction : from the ' Buik ' to Barbour . . . . .	xiii
§ 2. The Unique Copy . . . . .	xvi
§ 3. The Bannatyne Club Reprint . . . . .	xx
§ 4. The Printer Arbuthnet . . . . .	xxii
§ 5. The Origins of Arbuthnet's Print . . . . .	xxv

### CHAPTER II. : THE FRENCH ORIGINALS.

§ 6. The ' Roman d'Alixandre ' : ' Li Fuerres de Gadres ' . . . . .	xxx
§ 7. ' Les Vœux du Paon ' . . . . .	xxxiii
§ 8. Character of ' Les Vœux du Paon ' . . . . .	xxxvi
§ 9. Celebrity of ' Les Vœux du Paon ' . . . . .	xliv
§ 10. MS. <i>W</i> of ' Les Vœux du Paon ' . . . . .	xlvi

### CHAPTER III. : THE SCOTTISH RENDERING.

§ 11. Why the Translator selected ' V. P.' and ' F. G.' . . . . .	xlix
§ 12. The Method of Translation Adopted . . . . .	li
§ 13. The Personal Element in the Rendering . . . . .	lvi

CHAPTER IV. : THE CONTROVERSY ON AUTHORSHIP  
AND DATE OF COMPOSITION.

§ 14. The Translator's Testimony . . . .	lxi
§ 15. Doubts and Misgivings . . . .	lxv
§ 16. Dr Neilson's View . . . .	lxvi
§ 17. Dr J. T. T. Brown <i>versus</i> Dr Neilson . .	lxviii
§ 18. Inconclusive Result of the Controversy .	lxx

CHAPTER V. : SIMILAR LINES IN THE ' BRUCE ' AND  
THE ' BUIK.'

§ 19. An Irreducible Minimum . . . .	lxxiii
§ 20. Uncertain Testimony of the Similarities .	xcvii

CHAPTER VI. : EARLY SCOTTISH LITERATURE AS  
EVIDENCE IN THE CASE.

§ 21. The Paucity of Material for Comparison .	xcix
§ 22. The Suspect Character of the Available Texts	cv
§ 23. Similarities in Subject-matter ; their Value as Evidence . . . . .	cvi
§ 24. Similarity of Expression ; its Value as Evi- dence . . . . .	cx

CHAPTER VII. : THE ' BUIK ' COMPARED WITH TWO  
AUTHENTIC PORTIONS OF THE ' BRUCE.'

§ 25. Comparison with the Prologue . . . .	cxii
§ 26. Comparison with Wyntoun's Excerpt . .	cxiv

CHAPTER VIII. : THE AUTHENTICITY OF OUR ' BRUCE '  
IN THE LIGHT OF WYNTOUN'S EXCERPT.

§ 27. How Wyntoun utilised the ' Bruce ' . . .	cxx
§ 28. The Nature of the Passages in the ' Bruce ' which are Missing in Wyntoun's Excerpt .	cxxiv
§ 29. Some Logical Consequences of the Allegation that these Passages are Spurious . . . .	cxxix



CHAPTER IX.: THE ORIGINS OF THE ALLEGED  
INTERPOLATIONS IN THE 'BRUCE.'

- § 30. The 'Ballet of the Nine Nobles' . . . . . cxxxiii  
 § 31. Composition of the 'Ballet' . . . . . clii  
 § 32. Inter-relation of 'Ballet,' 'Buik,' and 'Bruce' . . . . . cliv  
 § 33. That all Three Works are by the same Author,  
       Barbour . . . . . clvii

## CHAPTER X.: BARBOUR HIS OWN 'INTERPOLATOR.'

- § 34. This Hypothesis Confirmed . . . . . clviii  
 § 35. The other "Examples" in the 'Bruce' . . . . . clx  
 § 36. The Historical Barbour's Knowledge of  
       French . . . . . clxiv  
 § 37. The Trail of French Romance in the 'Bruce' . . . . . clxvii

## CHAPTER XI.: BARBOUR AND HIS 'BUIK.'

- § 38. The Archdeacon's Reticence . . . . . clxxi  
 § 39. His Unrecorded Youth . . . . . clxxiii  
 § 40. 1357: Archdeacon of Aberdeen . . . . . clxxx  
 § 41. 1364: The Germs of the 'Bruce' . . . . . clxxxviii  
 § 42. Barbour at St Denis: 'Les Vœux du Paon' . . . . . cxcii  
 § 43. 'Les Vœux du Paon' and the Court of  
       David II. . . . . cxcv  
 § 44. ? 1366-68: Barbour translates 'Les Vœux'  
       and 'Li Fuerres' . . . . . cc  
 § 45. (? 1369)-1375: Composition of the 'Bruce' . . . . . ccv  
 § 46. 1376-95: His Later Works: the 'Stewarts'  
       Original' . . . . . ccxiii  
 § 47. Unity of Barbour's Work . . . . . ccxxi

CHAPTER XII.: INFLUENCE OF THE 'BUIK' ON  
THE 'BRUCE.'

- § 48. Arrangement of the Subject-matter . . . . . ccxxv  
 § 49. Descriptive Detail . . . . . ccxxxi  
 § 50. Speeches, Portraits, &c. . . . . ccxxxvii

## CHAPTER XIII.: THE LANGUAGE OF THE 'BUIK.'

§ 51. Modernisation of the Original Text	. . .	ccxlv
§ 52. Vocabulary	. . . . .	ccxlv
§ 53. Grammar and Syntax	. . . . .	ccliv
§ 54. Metre and Rime	. . . . .	cclxi

CHAPTER XIV.: THE MSS. OF 'LI FUERRES DE  
GADRÉS.' . . . .

ARGUMENT OF 'LI FUERRES DE GADRÉS'	. . . . .	cclxxxii
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## TEXT OF 'THE BUIK OF ALEXANDER' (PART I.)

*Right-hand pages 1-105*TEXT OF 'LI FUERRES DE GADRÉS' *Left-hand pages 1-105*

## P R E F A C E.

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PRINTING having been delayed by post-war difficulties, the three remaining volumes of the present edition have been ready in manuscript for some time. In these circumstances it has seemed advisable to depart from the order of publication announced when Volume II. appeared in 1921, and to issue at this stage Volume I., as being of more immediate interest to Scottish readers than Volumes III. and IV. While we regret having thus to disappoint those who are awaiting the complete text of '*Les Vœux du Paon*,' we are glad to take the opportunity now offered of expressing an opinion on the vexed question of the Scottish translator's identity, and of thanking those who at one time or another have aided us in a somewhat arduous and complex undertaking.

Unhappily, Dr George Neilson, at whose suggestion it was begun, is no longer with us, but, in default of thanks, we can at least place on record our feelings of affectionate gratitude and our admiration for the learning and enthusiasm he devoted so wholeheartedly to the elucidation of the Scottish past. His unfaltering belief in Barbour as translator of our '*Buik*' required no support from us, but there is a melancholy pleasure in helping to show that it was not misplaced. To Dr David Baird Smith, who was General Editor of the Scottish Text Society when this edition was conceived, we owe a deep debt of

gratitude for looking with favour upon our work despite its ample scale, and for smoothing the long path by all the means in his power. We would also express our thanks to Mr F. C. Nicholson of the Edinburgh University Library ; to Mr C. A. Malcolm of the S.S.C. Library, and the members of their staff, for settling manifold queries ; to Miss I. Maitland Smith, for sober and sobering criticism on the Barbour ascription ; to our distinguished student, Miss Aileen Calderwood, for much light on the Literature of Vows and the Vogue of the Nine Worthies ; to Miss J. J. Milne and Mr Bruce Dickins, for reading the present Introduction in proof and for much valuable criticism—as also to other friends whose names are mentioned at that place in our volumes where their aid was most providential.

To readers who will draw our attention to errors which the two volumes published no doubt contain, and which there will be an opportunity of correcting later on, we shall be equally grateful. The complexity of the problems raised having inevitably drawn us into discussion of subjects belonging to several distinct fields of scholarship, we must crave more than ordinary indulgence for the present edition and say like our translator, though with better cause :—

“ richt wonder weill I wait  
At it hes faltis mony-fald,  
Quhairfor I pray baith young and ald  
That jarnis this romanis for to reid,  
For to amend quhair I mysjeid.”

R. L. G. R.



# INTRODUCTION.

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## CHAPTER I: ARBUTHNET'S PRINT.

### § I. SCOPE OF THE PRESENT INTRODUCTION : FROM THE 'BUIK' TO BARBOUR.

IN the following Introduction the witnesses in the strange case of the 'Buik' will be called, each in his proper order, beginning with the chief, the venerable volume in which our text has been so miraculously preserved. After endeavouring to determine as precisely as possible how that volume came to be printed, and when and why, we describe the two celebrated Old French Romances which the 'Buik' translates—'Li Fuerres de Gadres,' hitherto accessible only in an imperfect version, and 'Les Vœux du Paon,' until now unpublished although it gave rise to a whole literary "genre," created in literature and art the vogue of the Nine Worthies, played a part in the foundation of the Order of the Garter, and was, in legend at least, a contributory cause of the Hundred Years' War.

The translation itself is then discussed. It is shown to possess considerable literary merit and to render the French with a fidelity rare among the Middle English translators, who, whether they were misguided in their

conceptions of translation, or imperfectly acquainted with French, or wrote from memory, or used MS. versions differing from those now extant, often offer renderings so free, unwarrantably condensed or expanded, as to throw little light on a crucial problem: in Middle English literature, which is so largely the product of French, how much of the matter and form is French, and how much is English? In the 'Buik' the line between translation and free adaptation, between imitation of foreign work and native originality, can be sharply drawn, because the reader will find here, printed on opposite pages, the entire text of MSS. evidently identical with the French originals, and a most faithful early Scottish rendering thereof. The 'Buik' thus provides an opportunity, unfortunately rare, of examining the channels through which our forefathers made their acquaintance with Romance.

It might be maintained that there the Editor should make an end and not pry into the anonymous translator's identity, for *sub specie æternitatis* it little matters who or what he was, the work being more important to us than the man. Escape on this convenient plea is unhappily barred. There are not so many early Scottish writers that we can afford to ignore their biographical details. The number of their works on the grand scale is not legion; it is, to be precise, four: the 'Bruce,' the 'Legends of the Saints,' Wyntoun's 'Original,' and the 'Buik.' When in the writings of all who deal with these four works we find one name continually recurring, that of John Barbour, and note that two of them, Barbour's 'Bruce' and the 'Buik,' stand in the closest conceivable inter-relationship, we must seek for at least a plausible answer to a question of much intrinsic interest and fundamental to all study of early Scottish literature:

how comes it that the 'Bruce,' composed in 1375, contains elements from the 'Buik,' the colophon of which is dated 1438?

To identify our translator and determine his relation to the main authority on the events which made Scotland a nation must become our next endeavour, leading us inevitably to examine the arguments adduced by generations of scholars for or against Barbour's authorship of the 'Buik,' to test the authenticity of the 'Bruce' as we now possess it, and to study our translator's other extant work, the 'Ballet of the Nine Nobles.' The result of our inquiry is, we believe, to establish beyond further dispute that Barbour and the author of the 'Buik' and the 'Ballet' were one and the same person. If to arrive at that result we seem to proceed slowly and with undue caution, it must be remembered that we are dealing with texts of inordinate length and very numerous MSS., and that every inch of the difficult ground has been stubbornly contested by scholars.

In the light of new fact, and with our own interpretation of old fact, we have next to rewrite the life of Barbour, a very different person indeed from the aged, infirm, absent-minded and bemuddled cleric whom the critics have imagined, losing valuable books from the Cathedral Library, for ever inditing interminable Lives of Saints, lending a credulous ear in the Chanonry of Old Aberdeen to popular tales of Robert the Bruce, rolling three distinct and separate Robert Bruces into one, and entitled to as little respect or credence as he who, writing in 1975 a biography of George the Fifth, should confuse his present Majesty with the Prince Consort. In reconstructing the story of Barbour's 'Buik' and assigning it its place in his whole work, we find him a more consider-

able literary figure than has been realised, presenting interesting analogies with Chaucer, his contemporary, and Scott, his heir and successor.

Then we cannot shirk the disquieting question which at once arises: since Barbour in his 'Bruce' utilised his own translation of a French Romance with a freedom uncommon in the history of literature, what becomes of the familiar story of the Bruce, Douglas, and Bannockburn, for which he is the main, often the sole, authority?

Finally remains the simpler task of examining the language, vocabulary, syntax, and grammar of this, the earliest extant work of Scottish Literature, with the solitary exception of the pathetic little ballad composed after, perhaps long after, the death of Alexander the Third in 1286.

## § 2. THE UNIQUE COPY.

The 'Buik' belonging to the Earl of Dalhousie is a small quarto volume, severely cropped, now measuring  $6\frac{4}{5}$  by  $4\frac{3}{5}$  inches. The binding is modern; the front of the cover bears, in gilt lettering, the inscription, *This curious book is considered unique*, 1805; and the back, 'Hist. Alex<sup>r</sup>. the Great.'

In its present state the volume contains 221 leaves, with catch-words and signatures, but no paging. The title-page and the eight pages of signature I in the body of the book are missing, having been lost before it was bound in 1805. With that exception, the signatures run quite regularly, from Aj to Ff v. The headlines (which do not always quite tally with the subject-matter, see Vol. II., p. x. § 1) are—from Aj<sup>b</sup> to G vii<sup>a</sup>, THE FORRAY / OF GADDERIS; from G vii<sup>b</sup> to Aa ij<sup>a</sup> (excepting G viii<sup>b</sup>, where THE FORRAY is erroneously repeated), THE AVOÛES OF ALEXANDER; from Aa ij<sup>b</sup> to Ff v<sup>b</sup>, THE GREAT BATTELL / OF EFFESOUN.

The book is closely printed in roman letter; there are, normally, 32 lines to the page, occasionally only 30 or 31, where two spaces or one have been allowed between important sections of the work. On the last leaf, G v, of THE FORRAY OF GADDERIS are two woodcuts, representing the same sub-



ject, but in different sizes, the larger on the verso, the smaller on the recto. The design of the larger woodcut, a very beautiful example of the art, and that of the smaller, which is of less perfect workmanship, are not identical. The subject, a pelican tearing her breast to feed her young with her own blood, is framed in a double legend: *Pro lege, rege et grege; Love kepyth the lawe, obeyeth the Kynge, and is good to the Commen Welthe.* On either side stand the allegorical figures PRVDENCIA and IVSTICIA, and on the panels above them appears the name ALEXANDER ARBVTHNET. On a scroll at the foot are the initials AA, and in front of the scroll the arms of Arbuthnet. Under the word PRVDENCIA is the monogram A. VL. These woodcuts are the well-known device of the printer Alexander Arbuthnet, copied from that of Richard Jugge and John Windet.<sup>1</sup> The monogram A. VL probably stands for Assuerus von Londersel, a native of Amsterdam.<sup>2</sup>

The volume is well preserved, and may be read with ease, but neither in accuracy nor in elegance is it a masterpiece of the printer's art. It abounds in errors which cursory proof-reading would have removed. Words are printed twice over, or else omitted, where the "copy" cannot well have been at fault. The space between words varies; it is often difficult to say whether a space is intended or not, but spacing which is clearly wrong is frequent. Letters are often inverted, and in a word like *cousing* ("cousin") it is almost an exception to find the *u* undisguised as *n*; others are indistinct or faint, or represented by a blank due not to the hand of time, but to incompetence. Neither the type used nor the arrangement of the page is artistic. The letters are clumsy in appearance, and many bear an unhappy resemblance to others, notably *e* and *o*, *f* and long *s*, *in* and *m*, *i* and *l*, *r* and *t*, *ss* and *st*, so that they tend to become interchanged. Though few words are quite illegible, the catch-words are sometimes mere smudges, and a considerable blank appears in F<sup>o</sup> S iiiij, where some defect in Arbuthnet's methods has resulted in the loss of the first half of four consecutive lines.

The untidy appearance of the page is due to the heaviness of the type, to the inferior quality of the paper, which was, or has become, too transparent, and to the unequal length of the lines, which, moreover, at irregular intervals, begin with a small letter instead of a capital. Judged by the canons of sixteenth century Scottish printing, Arbuthnet's volume

<sup>1</sup> R. Dickson and J. P. Edmond, 'Annals of Scottish Printing,' Cambridge (Macmillan & Bowes), 1899. Pp. xv + 530; p. 316.

<sup>2</sup> Laing, 'Adversaria: Notices illustrative of some of the earlier works printed for the Bannatyne Club.' Edinburgh, 1867; p. 10.

is far below the average, and confirms the low opinion which his contemporaries held of his efficiency as a printer.

Several pages bear marginal inscriptions, written vertically in most cases, by late sixteenth or early seventeenth century hands, as follows :—

- (1) F<sup>o</sup>. E. viii<sup>a</sup>, inner margin—

Better it is fortoun to abyd  
Than haistilie to clim and sudenly to slyd

This is repeated in the outer margin ; the lower line is cropped.

- (2) F<sup>o</sup>. E. viii<sup>b</sup>, outer margin—

In my defence god me defend and bring [my]  
saull to ane  
gud end quhen I am seik and Lyke to die/  
The sonne of god haue mynd on me

- (3) F<sup>o</sup>. G. v<sup>b</sup>, above the woodcut—

James RAM

- (4) F<sup>o</sup>. G. vi<sup>a</sup>, outer margin—

The pains depart<sup>s</sup> bot vertue remaine<sup>s</sup>  
Be me Robert peter manũ sũa et non aliena

Traces remain of a line or lines written above these and lost when the book was cropped, but they are undecipherable.

- (5) F<sup>o</sup>. K. viii<sup>a</sup>, outer margin (*bis*)—

James beton  
w<sup>t</sup> my hand

- (6) F<sup>o</sup>. K. viii<sup>b</sup>, inner margin—

Seing nator<sup>s</sup> god creatit the/  
Ane nakit infant for to be/  
Then remember patientlie to suffer ye panis of  
powertie

- (7) F<sup>o</sup>. L. j<sup>a</sup>, outer margin—

manu sua et non aliena  
Infantũ nudũ cũm te natura creatat  
Paupertatis omnes sapienter

Here again there are traces of a preceding line or lines, lost when the volume was cropped.

- (8) Fo. N. i<sup>a</sup>, outer margin, horizontally—

S  
d d  
In m  
In  
g g  
des  
bem  
s s

These letters may be the first of consecutive lines, but they look like mere pen-trials.

- (9) Fo. N. vi<sup>b</sup>, outer margin—

ame ame trie amen fra me quod

The rest is undecipherable.

- (10) Fo. R. vi<sup>b</sup>, outer margin—

RAMSAY

Only the lower part of these six letters has escaped the binder's knife.

- (11) Fo. V. ij<sup>a</sup>, outer margin—

amen Robert RAMSAY

- (12) Fo. X. viii<sup>b</sup>, outer margin—

ONE tre if it be scho godnez scho be driuit in for  
me annon not me

- (13) Fo. Z. iiij<sup>a</sup>, outer margin—

Robert Rm

- (14) Fo. Dd. v<sup>b</sup>, outer margin—

and

- (15) Fo. Dd. vii<sup>a</sup>, inner margin—

this book pertenis to me James  
Ramsay

These marginal inscriptions are unconnected with the subject-matter, unless No. 1 be prompted by the last four lines of the page (78 of our edition: Book I., lines 2477-80), and some are stray specimens of sixteenth-seventeenth century Scottish verse, or the incoherent scribblings of an idle hand. "Robert Peter," who may or may not have composed the line written "manu sua et non aliena," and "James Beton," who wrote his name "wt my hand," we have been unable

to identify. The "James Ramsay," whom Nos. 3 and 15 show to have been at one time the owner of the book, and the "Robert Ramsay" of Nos. 11, 13, and perhaps 10, were no doubt related to the Ramsays of Dalhousie, in whose possession the book still remains. The records present numerous persons so named<sup>3</sup> of whom little is known but their names and on whose connection with the book it is therefore useless to speculate. All that may reasonably be conjectured is that the book was acquired, soon after publication, by a member of the Ramsay family. By 1831 it had descended to William Ramsay (*b.* 1771, *d.* 1852), who assumed the arms and name of Maule, and was created, in 1831, Lord Panmure of Brechin and Navar, and whose son, Fox Maule, second and last Lord Panmure, became in 1860 eleventh Earl of Dalhousie.<sup>4</sup>

### § 3. THE BANNATYNE CLUB REPRINT.

Communicated to the Bannatyne Club by its owner, William, Lord Panmure, the Arbuthnet volume was reprinted for the members (100 copies only) at the expense of William Henry Miller of Craigentenny, as—

*The Buik of the most noble and vailzeand Conquerour Alexander the Great.* Edinburgh, MDCCCXXXI (10½" × 8"), 441 pp.

This title is borrowed from the rubrick on F<sup>o</sup>. A j. The title-page of the unique copy being lost, it is not known what title either the author or the printer gave the work. That Arbuthnet published it as 'The Avowis of Alexander' is not improbable, because we know that Henry Charteris, who from 1577 to his death in 1599 printed books of varied subject-matter, possessed in 1599 "xij Awowis of Alexander, bund, at x s. the pece—summa, iiij li. Item, nyne vnbund Awowis of Alexander, at vij s. vi d. the pece—summa, iij li. vij s. vj d."; also, the inventory of Robert Gurlaw, bookbinder, 6th September 1581, included a copy of the 'Vowis of Alexander,' valued at viij s.<sup>1</sup> These may well have been copies of Arbuthnet's print. But 'The Avowis of Alexander' describes only the latter part of the contents, and the analogy of other early works—*e.g.*, Sir Gilbert Hay's 'Buik of King Alexander ye Conquerour' (*c.* 1460), suggests an original title

<sup>3</sup> Sir James Balfour Paul, 'The Scots Peerage' (D. Douglas, 1906), Vol. iii., pp. 95, 97, 98, 101; Vol. ix., p. 66.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. vii., p. 24.

<sup>1</sup> See Dickson and Edmond, pp. 359-76; 'Bannatyne Miscellany,' ii., p. 200; Laing, 'Adversaria,' p. 1.

somewhat as in the rubrick, and in the Bannatyne Club reprint.<sup>2</sup>

The volume, though dated 1831, was issued only in 1834, without Preface or other explanatory matter. The Editor, whose name does not appear, was David Laing. Long years after, he stated elsewhere<sup>3</sup> that his Preface had been in type, but had not commended itself to the Contributor [Mr W. H. Miller], and "not being inclined to make any great alterations after having met with the approval of Sir Walter Scott and others, I thought best to withdraw it altogether." Eventually printed<sup>4</sup> in 1867 as it originally stood, it contains valuable material, which we gratefully utilise, but nothing to account for this divergence of opinion on matters which Laing leaves unspecified. The 'Buik of Alexander' has always been a fertile source of controversy, and many may have been the subjects on which Contributor and Editor held strong opinions, as becomes men who lived in the heroic age of book-collecting. Miller was the well-known bibliophile (*b.* 1789, *d.* 1848) who formed the famous collection of rare books at Britwell Court, who attended all book sales armed with a foot-rule and thereby won the nickname of "Measure Miller," and whose funeral monument at Craigentenny is a familiar landmark on the road from Edinburgh to Portobello, and a perennial source of speculation to the vulgar.<sup>5</sup> Laing, to whose activities, spread over a long life (1793-1878), the Edinburgh University Library owes more than half of its most valuable manuscripts, was a successful collector, but a much-criticised scholar.<sup>6</sup> Whatever the cause of disagreement, this is assuredly not the only occasion on which allusion may have been made to Miller's eccentricity or to Laing's shortcomings as an editor of early texts.

These shortcomings, we gladly acknowledge, are not conspicuous in the Bannatyne volume, which is not an edition, but a paginary reprint of Arbuthnet's 'Buik,' reproducing not only the paging, but the spacing of lines and words, the punctuation, the signatures and wood-cuts, together with the numerous misprints of the original, those that are certain,

<sup>2</sup> The use of the generic term is the European practice; thus the anonymous geographer of Ravenna, who is the first to mention the tale of Alexander, refers to the *liber Alexandri*, and among the earliest literary works of Spain we find *El libro de Alejandro* (along with *Los votos del Paon*); see Carraroli, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

<sup>3</sup> 'Adversaria,' pp. 1-9.

<sup>4</sup> As 'Adversaria.'

<sup>5</sup> 'D. N. B.' and Wm. Y. Fletcher, 'English Book Collectors.' Kegan Paul, 1902, pp. xvi. + 448; pp. 355-8.

<sup>6</sup> Gilbert Goudie, 'David Laing: A Memoir.' Constable, 1913.



as well as those that are only probable. Laing's aim, quite properly, was to give a replica of Arbuthnet's print. He admits<sup>7</sup> that he occasionally rectified wrong spacing and some inverted letters, substituted "in the first sheets" capitals for small letters in proper names, and took the (very modest) liberty of adding to the original signatures the numbered paging of his own volume and repeating on the last page the wood-cut which Arbuthnet gave only once, on F<sup>o</sup>. G v, *verso*. As a matter of fact, Laing went further than he realised. His intentional alterations are not wholly covered by his statement of them, nor are they consistently carried out, and several errors crept in during transcription or printing. The inconsistencies and errors revealed by our collation of his reprint with its original need not be enumerated here, being plainly shown in the apparatus criticus. In comparison with the extent of the work, they are neither numerous nor important. The members of the Bannatyne Club in 1834 received, in a more bulky format, a faithful reproduction of the unique copy. Whether, with the retention of Arbuthnet's crabbed punctuation, faulty readings and plentiful misprints, and in the absence of any explanatory matter, Preface, Introduction, Notes, or Glossary, they were able to read what was put before them, is another question. The less Spartan, but also more perilous, method followed in the present edition is described in our Volume II., pp. viii-xii.

#### § 4. THE PRINTER ARBUTHNET.

In or about the year 1580, Alexander Arbuthnet, Printer to the King's Majesty, produced the 'Buik' in Edinburgh, under circumstances which can now only be conjectured from facts known to us through his share in a greater undertaking. He not only rescued our ancient text from certain oblivion, he was the first to print in Scotland the Bible in the vulgar tongue. On March 7, 1574-5, the General Assembly granted "Alexander Arbuthnet, Merchant burghess of Edinburgh," and "Thomas Bassanden,

<sup>7</sup> 'Adversaria,' p. 9.

Printer and burghess of the said burgh," permission to print "the English Bible," decreed that the subscription price, five pounds Scots, should be collected in advance by the "Bishops, Superintendents, and Commissioners" and be paid to Arbuthnet before July 1 of that year, and took steps to obtain legal powers making it obligatory for every parish church in Scotland to possess a copy. In return for these resolutions, which soon afterwards, and in a yet more drastic form, became the law of the land, the printers undertook to deliver copies in March of the following year.<sup>1</sup>

But the optimism of printers is often belied by events. The records of later Assemblies show Arbuthnet "humbly desiring your Wisdoms to request my Lord Abbot of Dunfermline to licentiate Mr George Young, his servant, to attend upon the work of correctorie, to concur and assist me during the time of my travell," and repeatedly craving extension of the time-limit.<sup>2</sup> Trouble with workmen occurred. "Salamon Kerknet of Madeburgh," a compositor "furth of Flanderis," sued Bassandyne for breach of contract. The partners quarrelled. Bassandyne, having refused to deliver to his partner, as agreed, the printing-house and the Bible, so far as printed, was sued by Arbuthnet, who won his case, on January 11, 1576-7, and thenceforth carried on the business alone. In October of that year Bassandyne died, leaving, it may be noted, a much larger estate than Arbuthnet was fated

<sup>1</sup> "Minute of the General Assembly" of March 1575, quoted in full in 'The Booke of the Universal Kirke of Scotland' (Blackwood, 1839), pp. xii+619; pp. 327-9. Lee, 'Memorial for the Bible Societies in Scotland,' Edinburgh, 1824, pp. xxxii+256+Appendix, 96; pp. 28-45, who cites 'Calderwood's MS. History.' R. Chambers, 'Domestic Annals of Scotland,' i., 101. Dickson and Edmond, pp. 278-80.

<sup>2</sup> Dickson and Edmond, pp. 281-6.

to leave. After much delay, and much objurgation from the Assembly, the whole work was completed by the end of 1579.<sup>3</sup> But in July 1580 the Fathers and Brethren were still expressing their deep dissatisfaction with Arbuthnet for his bad printing.<sup>4</sup>

His next known effort culminated in his publication of Buchanan's '*Rerum Scoticarum Historia*' in 1582, which has attained a sad celebrity as "one of the most inaccurate works which ever issued from any press."<sup>5</sup> His other extant productions are a scientific treatise in Latin by William Wellwood, Professor of Mathematics at St Andrews (1582), a "Declaration of the King's Majestie's Will and Intentioun anent the Religioun" (also 1582), and the Acts of Parliament of 1584.<sup>6</sup> The inventory of his estate<sup>7</sup> (two printing-presses, with fittings and household goods valued at £106, 13s. 4d.) shows that he died intestate on September 1, 1585, at Penicuik, leaving a widow, Agnes Pennycuik, and five children. He had not found printing a lucrative trade.

<sup>3</sup> Between 24th. August, when he was made King's Printer, and December 1579, as proved by the title-page: 'Printed in Edinburgh / Be Alexander Arbuthnot, Printer to the Kingis Maiestie, dwelling / at ye Kirk of feild. 1579 / Cvm Gratia Et Privilegio Regiæ / Maiestatis./' Arbuthnet's Bible is a reprint in roman letter of the 2nd folio edition of the Geneva version of 1561, to which is prefixed an Epistle Dedicatory dated 10th July 1579, in which James VI. is exhorted to remember diligently how the setting forth and authorising of this book pertain to his charge—a broad hint at the pains and penalties attaching to its forced sale. Lee, 'Memorial,' pp. 39-40; Dickson and Edmond, pp. 312 and 320.

The Epistle, indited probably by Arbuthnet himself, begins: "Now quhē as being cōuenit in our generall assemble, this holy boke of God callit the Bible, newly imprintit, was brocht before us be the prenter thereof Alexander Arbuthnot (a man quha hes taken great paines and trauailes worthie to be remembred in this behalfe)." M'Crie, 'Life of Andrew Melvill' (Blackwood, 1819), i., pp. 466-7.

<sup>4</sup> Lee, 'Memorial,' p. 43; Dickson and Edmond, p. 314.

<sup>5</sup> Dickson and Edmond, p. 24.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., pp. 320-6. A (unique) copy of the 'Wellwood' is in the Edinburgh Univ. Library.

<sup>7</sup> Printed in the 'Bannatyne Miscellany,' ii. (1836), p. 207, and reproduced by Dickson and Edmond, pp. 318-9.

As our 'Buik' was printed by Arbuthnet "with the same types and almost as inaccurately"<sup>8</sup> as his 'Buchanan,' it probably belongs to the same period. In the interval between the completion of his 'Bible' towards the end of 1579 and the appearance of his 'Buchanan' in 1582, melancholy reflections on the recent past may well have turned Arbuthnet's hopes from sacred literature to profane. After finishing, in tribulation, one of his two major works and before beginning the other, he may not improbably have been minded to woo the public with lighter reading. Even if we assume the 'Vowis of Alexander,' mentioned September 6, 1581,<sup>9</sup> to have no connection with the 'Buik,' the date of printing, which in any event is limited to 1579-85, may be safely described as "about 1580."

### § 5. THE ORIGINS OF ARBUTHNET'S PRINT.

As to why Arbuthnet should have printed the 'Buik of Alexander,' reasons are not far to seek. Business reasons primarily, no doubt. Old Romances were popular with the reading public, and printers knew it. The large stock of books which Bassandyne, whether as a bookbinder or as printer, possessed at the Nether Bow when he died, included copies of several Romances—*e.g.*, "iii<sup>c</sup> Graysteillis, the pece vi<sup>d</sup>—summa vii li. x s."; "tua Euing of Burdeaux, the pece xiiii.—xxviii s."<sup>1</sup> There was also a certain fitness in Arbuthnet's selection of a Romance. Had he followed in the choice of suitable

<sup>8</sup> Laing, 'Adversaria,' p. 9.

<sup>9</sup> See *supra*, § 3.

<sup>1</sup> 'Inventory,' Dickson and Edmond, pp. 292-304.



material for his press the threefold and comprehensive precepts of his own trade device, his output would not have boasted a fairer unity. *Pro lege*—the category is complete; *pro rege*—less complete than he might have wished, for James the Sixth had made him “Printer to the Kingis Majestie,” but was careful not to entrust him with the printing of his own writings; *pro grege*—there was room here for a Romance.

But why the Romance of Alexander? A partial answer will be found in our note 2 to § II on Alexander as a popular hero in Scotland,<sup>2</sup> and in certain facts of Arbuthnet’s own life. From his first recorded appearance in March 1574-5, he had precedence over his partner, who yet had been printing since at least 1568, and in all their dealings with the Assembly he took the lead. He had friends among the landed gentry, influential members of the Assembly.<sup>3</sup> He had armorial bearings; Bassandyne had none.<sup>4</sup> His rôle in the partnership was to bring capital perhaps, social and ecclesiastical influence almost certainly. Bassandyne brought practical knowledge of the printing trade, and it was an evil day for the firm when he left it. Arbuthnet, so far as he may be judged by his friends, was a man of some standing, a member of the social class which loved the old tales of chivalry.

Arbuthnet was a gentleman first and a printer last, if ever. If of these honourable appellations the second

<sup>2</sup> The Inventory made in 1578 of the books in Edinburgh Castle includes ‘Thre Lyves of Alexander the Greit and utheris nobles.’ J. Sharman, ‘The Library of Mary Queen of Scots’ (Elliot Stock), 1889, 180 pp.; p. 47.

<sup>3</sup> Four members acted as sureties for him when he applied to the Privy Council, on 18th July 1576, for nine months’ grace to fulfil his contract: David Guthre of Kincaldrum, William Guthre of Halkertoun, William Rynd of Carse, and James Arbuthnot of Lentusche.

<sup>4</sup> Chambers, ‘Dom. Ann.,’ i., p. 101.



unhappily requires some qualification in his case, the first may be amplified without outrunning the scanty evidence at our command. He was a Kincardineshire gentleman, related to Arbuthnot of that ilk. His arms leave little doubt on this score.<sup>5</sup> In the Mearns (Kincardineshire), some three miles east of Bervie, the parish of Arbuthnot (from the seventeenth century commonly written Arbuthnott) is still the seat of the ancient family of Arbuthnott, ennobled by Charles the First in 1644. The printer's name—Arbuthnet in the 'Buik,' Arbuthnot on the title-page of the 'Bible' and in the contemporary documents<sup>6</sup>—is a local name. All the Arbuthnots who have reached fame have been eventually traced to Kincardineshire. Thus, his distinguished namesake (1538-83),<sup>7</sup> who was commissioned on July 7, 1568, by the General Assembly<sup>8</sup> (of which he was twice Moderator) to report on the dubious theology of the first book printed by Bannatyne, 'The Fall of the Romane Kirk,' combined, from July

<sup>5</sup> The Lord Lyon (Sir James Balfour Paul) very kindly examined them for us in April 1921. We had hoped that they might shed light on the antecedents not only of Alexander Arbuthnet, but also of Agnes Pennycuicke his wife; but Lyon expressed his opinion thus: "The pelican in her piety and the surrounding mottoes are merely of the nature of a trade device: the arms themselves have as the dexter impalement those of Arbuthnott differenced by the insertion of a fusil-shaped object in the chief. The sinister impalement presents greater difficulty: or, on a chevron sable three lozenges of the first, is the blazon of a family of Learmonth; but in this case also the shield is differenced, this time by the insertion of a star in base. But the name of the only recorded wife of Alexander Arbuthnott was Agnes Pennicook, and the Pennicook arms are quite different."

<sup>6</sup> Collected by Dickson and Edmond, pp. 273-319.

<sup>7</sup> Frequently confused with the printer—*e.g.* in the 'New Statistical Account' (1845), Vol. xi. ("Kincardine"), p. 157, and Ward, 'Catalogue of Romances in the Department of MSS. in the British Museum' (London), 1883, i., p. 149.

<sup>8</sup> He, too, is called Arbuthnet in the Minute of the 'Proceedings': see Calderwood, 'History of the Kirk,' ii., p. 423. In the 'Edinburgh Marriage Register' (ed. H. Paton), 1905, there are several seventeenth century entries of various spellings, "Arbuthnot," "Arbuthnett," &c. In the 'Commissariot Record of Edinburgh, Register of Testaments' (ed. Francis J. Grant) (British Record Society), 1897, pp. 304, the Arbuthnets mentioned *c.* 1596 are all clearly connected with Angus or the Mearns.

1569, the offices of Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, and minister of Arbuthnot, his native parish.<sup>9</sup> And the famous wit of a later age, John Arbuthnot (1667-1735), who seemed to Dr Johnson, notwithstanding his nationality, "the most universal genius of Queen Anne's reign, being an excellent physician, a man of deep learning, and a man of much humour,"—after his father's death at the family residence, Kinghornie,<sup>10</sup> took the high road to London at a point some three miles south-east of Arbuthnot.

The printer's four sureties were Lairds of Angus and the Mearns. Whatever the precise relationship, he was favourably known to some of them as a native of the Mearns, and to others as a kinsman.<sup>11</sup> Further than that we are not disposed to go. From much poring over Sir

<sup>9</sup> He wrote, about 1567, an account of the family, entitled 'Originis et incrementi Arbuthnoticæ familiæ descriptio historica,' and preserved in MS. at Arbuthnott.

George A. Aitken, 'The Life and Works of John Arbuthnot, M.D.' (Oxford: Clarendon Press), 1892, pp. x + 516; p. 19. D. Irving, 'Hist. Scot. Poetry,' pp. 427-36.

<sup>10</sup> Ernst Regel, 'Englische Studien,' xvi., pp. 423-5, a review of G. Aitken, *op. cit.*

<sup>11</sup> "David Guthrie of Kincaldrum" was presumably the eldest son of the Laird of Guthrie (see Paul, 'Scots Peerage,' ii., p. 322), who had married Katherine, eldest daughter of John Arbuthnot of Arbuthnot (*d.* 1531). "William Guthrie of Halkertoun," whose testament is dated 6th June 1583 (Grant, 'Commissariat Record'), was no doubt a relative, possibly a son, of the Alexander Guthrie of Halkartoune who figures among the Ministers and Commissioners at the first meeting of the General Assembly (20th December 1560) as representing Forfar ('Book of the Universall Kirk,' 1839, p. 1). Halkerton borders on the parish of Arbuthnot. The Guthries were not only neighbours, but also probably relatives, of the Lairds of Arbuthnot (Paul, 'Scots Peerage,' pp. 184 and 279). "William Rynd of Carse," who acted on behalf of Angus and the Mearns among the "brethen appoyntit [by the General Assembly on 14th April 1576] to make ane overture of the policie and jurisdiction of the Kirk" ('Privy Council Reg.' ii., p. 545, and 'Bk. Univ. Kirk,' p. 100), was related to the Arbuthnots of Arbuthnot, because we know that David, brother of the John Arbuthnot just mentioned, married at the beginning of the sixteenth century "Christian Rhind of Carse" (Paul, *op. cit.*, i., 279). There was in 1540 a "James Arbuthnot of Lentusche" (Kincardine), whose three sons migrated in 1560 to Inverugie, Aberdeenshire, and who was the ancestor of Arbuthnot the Wit; *cp.* also 1592, "Jac Arbuthnocht de Lentuiche," No. 2221 'Reg. Magn. Sig.'

James Balfour Paul's long and patiently constructed genealogies, we had concluded that our Alexander Arbuthnet *may* have been the fourth son of John Arbuthnot (*d.* before February 4, 1576)<sup>12</sup> and therefore the grandson of David Arbuthnot and Christian Rhind of Carse (see note 3), and we have since been cheered to find that Mrs P. S.-M. Arbuthnot<sup>13</sup> has arrived at the same conclusion. But the family of Arbuthnot of that ilk was a large one—"the good laird" Robert (*d.* 1579) had eighteen children.<sup>14</sup> On the one hand, there is little in the genealogies to guide us save names, perhaps mere coincidences, and such approximate dates of birth and death as may be deduced from the chance mention of these names in legal documents; and on the other hand we can only guess at Arbuthnet's age. He cannot therefore be said to have been identified except as *an* Arbuthnot of Arbuthnot. When a scion of that house (whose crest is the peacock) took to printing, there was a certain appropriateness in selecting a little-known old Scots translation of 'Les Vœux du Paon,' relating the deeds of Alexander, whose name he bore. How he had come by his "copy,"<sup>15</sup> not mentioned in any document extant to-day, may or may not be connected with the fact that, like other members of the family,<sup>16</sup> the printer had associations with the city which lies some thirty miles north

<sup>12</sup> 'Scots Peerage,' i., p. 280.

<sup>13</sup> 'Memories of the Arbuthnotts of Kincardineshire and Aberdeenshire' (London, 1918 or 1919), pp. 530; p. 89, "John Arbuthnot . . . of Legasland, eldest son of David Arbuthnot and Christian Rhind . . . married Christian Fraser of Durris, and died in January 1573-4, having had by her five sons, as follows . . . IV. Alexander, probably identical with the printer," &c.

<sup>14</sup> Aitken, p. 174.

<sup>15</sup> The Edinburgh MS. [E] of the 'Bruce' belonged in the sixteenth century to the Burnets of Leys (Aberdeenshire).

<sup>16</sup> Philip de Arbuthnott, *dominus ejusdem*, granted (25th April 1355) to the Carmelite Friars of Aberdeen, for the well-being of his own soul and the souls of his parents and friends, an annual rent of 13s. 4d. out

of Arbuthnot, and which is the home of Barbour's 'Bruce' and, as we shall show, of the 'Buik.' He possessed property in Aberdeen.<sup>17</sup>

## CHAPTER II.: THE FRENCH ORIGINALS.

### § 6. THE 'ROMAN D'ALIXANDRE: LI FUERRES DE GADRES.'

THE two French poems of which the 'Buik' is a translation are component parts of the 'Roman d'Alixandre,' which comprises at least four "Branches." These "Branches" were originally distinct poems by separate authors and were subsequently welded by various hands into a certain unity. The subject-matter was provided almost wholly by the fabulous history of Alexander composed by the Pseudo-Callisthenes, as transmitted in two Latin versions—that made by Julius Valerius before A.D. 340, and the epitome thereof, which was more generally used.<sup>1</sup> To this "matter" the successive authors

of his lands of Aberdeen, for repairing the fabric of their church. The donation was confirmed on 17th August 1365 by charter of David II.—J. Balfour Paul, 'Scots Peerage,' i., p. 276.

<sup>17</sup> "In 1569 Alexander Arbuthnot, burgess of Edinburgh, gave sasine of some land in Aberdeen to Robert Arbuthnot of that ilk and Helen Clephane. In 1575 he acquired land in the Gallowgate there, resigned by Gilbert Anderson. In the same year he and his wife, Agnes Pennycuik, got sasine of land in the Thieffraw, Aberdeen."—Mrs P. S.-M. Arbuthnot, *op. cit.*, p. 89. For "Archibald Senjour," the name of Arbuthnot's surety when he first came before the Assembly in 1575, cp. 'Reg. Magn. Sig.,' No. 843, A.D. 1553: "Senjeour, Archibald burgess de Abirdene."

<sup>1</sup> Fragments of the biography of Alexander by the real Callisthenes, his contemporary, are preserved by Polybius, Strabo, and Plutarch. The Pseudo-Callisthenes, so-called by the scholars of the Renaissance, composed his romance, probably c. A.D. 200, at Alexandria. The epitome of Julius Valerius' version, made in the ninth century, was widely read, and, being used by Vincent de Beauvais in his 'Speculum Historiale' (1264), became the chief source of the early conceptions of



of the French Romance added little, but they made Alexander a mediæval knight, surrounded by twelve Peers, such as Aristotle, and they extolled him as the "father of chivalry," all-conquering, large-hearted, sublimely generous in rewarding faithful service with *largesse* and in conciliating the vanquished foe.

With the First <sup>2</sup> Branch, the Youth of Alexander, and the Fourth,<sup>3</sup> the Death of Alexander, the Scottish translation is not concerned. The Second Branch,<sup>4</sup> apparently the most recent of the four, is entitled 'Li Fuerres de Gadres.' Composed by an "Eustache," but rehandled and incorporated in the whole Romance by Alexandre de Paris, a native of Bernay, it is a poem complete in itself; it was often copied by scribes, and referred to by early writers, as a unity. It describes, firstly,<sup>5</sup> an unhistorical episode in the Siege of Tyre to which alone the title strictly applies, the foraging expedition led by Emenidus to the Vale of Josaphas; and, secondly,<sup>6</sup> a subsequent and very similar incident (in which the Greeks are attacked by the Duke of Naman and, once again, rescued by Alexander), the Siege of Gaza, the capture of Tyre (which Alexander, leaping from a wooden siege-tower, was the first to enter), his welcome to Jerusalem and his departure therefrom in pursuit of Darius.

Alexander; see J. Zacher, 'Pseudocallisthenes: Forschungen zur Kritik und Geschichte der ältesten Aufzeichnung der Alexandersage,' Halle, 1867, pp. viii + 193; p. 102. Carraroli, 'La Leggenda di Alessandro Magno,' Mondovi, 1892, pp. 375; pp. 34, 67, 73, 84-8.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Michelant, pp. 1-92. The First Branch is not the oldest, being prefixed as an afterthought, to describe the early days of Alexander, his exploits in the first war against Darius, the capture of Tarsus, and the beginning of the siege of Tyre.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Mich., pp. 506-50. The Fourth Branch, largely by Alexandre de Paris, incorporating the work of Lambert le Tort and of Pierre de Saint-Cloud, both of whom wrote before 1190, describes Alexander's untimely end, his burial, and the lamentations of his Twelve Peers.

<sup>4</sup> Mich., pp. 93-231.

<sup>5</sup> Mich., pp. 93-190.

<sup>6</sup> Mich., pp. 190-231.



The first episode, the 'Foray' proper, formed in the Second Branch an independent<sup>7</sup> section, one of the most famous in the vast Romance. Eustache de Kent, probably in the middle of the thirteenth century, inserted it, with the rest of the Second Branch, in his 'Roman de toute Chevalerie,' the source of the earliest English poems on Alexander;<sup>8</sup> it is mentioned in 'Guillaume le Maréchal,'<sup>9</sup> (1221-25) and 'Girart de Roussillon,'<sup>10</sup> (1330-34); a fourteenth century Latin translation of it still exists, apparently in Boccaccio's handwriting;<sup>11</sup> and it was selected by the Scottish translator for Part I. of his 'Buik.'

The erstwhile fame of 'Li Fuerres' need not surprise us to-day. The iron souls of the Middle Age found a stern delight in these individual encounters, in which the technical detail satisfied the knightly connoisseur, and the action followed a well-worn recipe, true to life and of unfailing interest. One knight, "A," tilts at another, "B." Such was the fury of that charge that A.'s spear (or battle-axe, sword, mace) was bent (broken, splintered, torn from his grasp), and B.'s helmet (breastplate, arm, leg, shoulder,

<sup>7</sup> In subject-matter, and in the fact that it is copied separately—e.g. in MS. V.

<sup>8</sup> P. Meyer, 'Alex. le Grand,' ii., p. 285. Carraroli, pp. 231-2.

<sup>9</sup> P. Meyer, *ibid.*, p. 240:

"Li Mareschals i fiert e maille  
Si cum le feufres [=fevres] sor le fer.  
Unkes ne quit ke Gadefer  
Des Larriz, qui tant out enor,  
Feist tant d'armes en un jor." (1002).

When the troops of Henri II. were hard pressed by Philip-Augustus and a knight offered to ride to the King for help, he was taunted thus:

"Ahi! Ahi!  
Com fu grant dels e grant damage  
Qu' Eumenidus n'out tel message  
Com vos estes a son bosoing." (8444).

<sup>10</sup> P. Meyer, *ibid.*, p. 239: "Puis le feivres de gordres ne fut si fiers veü."

<sup>11</sup> Edited by P. Meyer, 'Rom.,' xi., pp. 325-32.

steed) was grazed (gashed, pierced, crushed, cloven, broken), and B or (and) A. was (were) flung to the ground. And hard would it have gone with B. or (and) A., had it not been that C., a friend, came galloping up, or that D., a foe, fighting near by, was unable (unwilling) to intervene, whereupon C. engaged D. . . . and so *ad infinitum*, together with epic descriptions of the confused fighting, the surge and din of battle, the mighty blows resounding on helm or breastplate, the leaders' brave speeches, the cries or cheers of their men, some dismayed, others as joyful as Lord Macaulay's Tuscans, to see the red blood flow. The actual havoc wrought is very small. Heroes must not prematurely quit the animated scene, for their presence is manifestly required at a later stage in the Romance, and when at length they die, they are lamented by their adversaries as the bravest of the brave. Such is the "matter" of the 'Foray'—as of many another epic.

But what appealed so forcibly to the mediæval imagination was the plight of Emenidus and his small band of forayers suddenly faced by an entire army, the successive refusal of each knight to ride away for help and leave his fellows in mortal peril, Aristé's final acceptance of the distasteful mission and his arrival before Alexander with hideous wounds, the steadfast bravery of Emenidus and Gadifer's heroic death.

#### § 7. 'LES VŒUX DU PAON.'

The Third Branch,<sup>1</sup> by Lambert le Tort, is the oldest and also the fullest. It tells of the defeat and death of Darius, how Alexander descended to the bottom of the

<sup>1</sup> Mich., pp. 249-446.

sea, what marvels he saw there and what in the desert, how he vanquished Porus in India and how he captured Babylon. At this point a long episode<sup>2</sup> was added, in the thirteenth century, by another hand.<sup>3</sup> When Alexander was returning from the Conquest of Babylon, he met a solitary knight, and thus addressed him—

“ Amis, dites moi voir, par vostre creatour,  
Dont venés, que querés, ki sont vostre ancissour ? ”

The knight replied that he was Gratien, driven from Chaldæa by Melcis the wicked duke, and seeking for Alexander the Good ; and when he learnt that the speaker was Alexander, flung himself at his feet and implored his aid. Alexander consented to march against Melcis. On the fifth day he appeared before the city of Dedefur and crossed the river by a secret ford, which Gratien had pointed out. The lord of that city had lately died, and left two sons, Dauris and Floridas, to reign in his stead. They, to win renown, resolved to issue forth on the morrow at dawn and assail Alexander's host, and, having been joined in the night by Duke Melcis, they fought, Dauris with Gratien, and Floridas with Emenidus, till Floridas was taken and delivered to Alexander. Dauris having captured Cliton, an exchange of captives was made. In the “great battle” which ensued, Gratien slew Melcis, Dauris and Floridas were discomfited, and their city was taken. But Alexander the Large entreated them kindly, gave Dauris the hand of Escavie, the dead duke's daughter, who had long loved him in secret, and, having settled

<sup>2</sup> The Melcis episode is printed in Michelant, pp. 459-83, under the erroneous title ‘Fuers de Gadres,’ and pp. 484-90, as part of the ‘Prise de Defur.’

<sup>3</sup> P. Meyer, ‘Al. le Gr.,’ ii., p. 214.

Dauris in Dedefur and taken Floridas into his own service, he proceeded on his way to Tarsus.

Of this episode 'Les Vœux du Paon' is an offshoot, and in part an imitation. To the 'Roman d'Alixandre'—itself formed by various accretions and not finally rounded off till between 1288 and 1308, by Jehan de Nevelois' 'Vengeance d'Alixandre'—the writers of the more sophisticated fourteenth century added imaginative tales of more conscious art, grafting on the old epic stock, which was rooted in "history," stories of their own invention. The first of these later poets was Jacques de Longuyon, who, at the instance of Thiébaud de Bar, Bishop of Liège, composed, about 1310,<sup>4</sup> a tale beginning where the Melcis episode ends.

Jacques de Longuyon was no doubt a "jongleur,"<sup>5</sup> of better education and status than the ordinary wandering minstrel, and, after reading or reciting the 'Roman d'Alixandre' for years, he decided to put his own hand to the pen, and wrote 'Les Vœux du Paon'—not necessarily for inclusion in the whole Romance, although it

<sup>4</sup> Thiébaud, son of Thiébaud II., Comte de Bar, was Bishop of Liège from 1303 till his death [at Rome, 29th May 1312]. In the colophon of 'V. P.', found only in MS. W, mention is made of his death and of that of the Emperor Henry VII. [24th August 1313]. From the fact that a copy of 'V. P.' was bought on 9th September 1313 for Countess Mahaut d'Artois, it has been assumed that, since her copy could not well contain an allusion to so recent an event as Henry's death, 'V. P.' must have existed in two separate redactions, of which she bought the first. See Bonnardot, 'Rom.', xxiv., pp. 580-1, and the work of our former student, Dr Frank T. H. Fletcher, 'Étude sur la Langue des Vœux du Paon' (Presses Universitaires de France), 1924, pp. xxiv + 184, for the bibliography and discussion of the date, &c., and also the Introduction to our Vol. iii.

<sup>5</sup> Dr Fletcher finds, from exhaustive researches in the charters of Nancy, a chronologically possible "Jacques de Longuyon" recorded in the person of a rural dean, "Jacques doyen de la chrétienté de Longuyon," who is mentioned in 1304 and 1309. but he concludes (p. 19) that the author of 'V. P.' was not an ecclesiastic, though he may have merited neither the contemptuous appellation of "léger compagnon" nor the alleged connection with the town of Avesnes (Nord) bestowed on him at a later date by the censorious Philippe de Mézières (see *infra*, § 9, n. 8).

often was included therein by scribes. The poet's indebtedness to the Melcis episode is considerable. It gives him a starting-point, a background, some of his chief characters, and even some of his phraseology.<sup>6</sup> Taking up the tale at the point where Alexander, having slain Melcis and captured Dedefur, was on his way to Tarsus, Jacques supposes him to meet an old knight, Cassamus, who, though his brother had been slain by Alexander's lieutenant Emenidus in the great Foray, now implored help against wicked King Clarus. Alexander turned aside in his march to save Cassamus' niece and two nephews, who lay beleaguered in Epheson. The relief of that city, protected by a mighty river which could be crossed by a ford known only to Cassamus, provides the canvas for a singularly attractive picture of fourteenth century chivalry.

#### § 8. CHARACTER OF 'LES VŒUX DU PAON.'

The framework is as in the Melcis episode, and the material as in the 'Foray': slaughter, wondrous escapes, and joustings. But Jacques de Longuyon, the representative of an age grown debonair, is less in earnest than the martial authors of the old Romance. For him a grievous wound is an unhappy accident. His leeches mend compound fractures of tibia or femur with a gentlemanly and instantaneous skill; and when the accident proves fatal—as it does but rarely, and then only to end a tale that is told—both sides in the fray show genuine

<sup>6</sup> Especially in the opening "laisses"; cp. the proper names "Famuel," "Samuel" (Mich., p. 474, l. 18), and phrases like "Que ja deça le flum n'ert sa targe mostrée" (Mich., p. 462, l. 24).



distress. Over the grimmer features of the older epic he casts a glamour of courtly charm and cheery optimism, while the swing of the rollicking verse, the frank absurdity of a metaphor, or some highly improbable assonance, leaves little doubt that the tongue of Jacques de Longuyon was not infrequently in his cheek. Moreover, he adds to his story of Alexander's further adventures at least three fresh elements, which account for the extraordinary fame of his poem in his own day, and invest it with a charm for the modern reader which is seldom paralleled in early French literature.

Firstly, ladies are present on the battlements, watching with practised eye the knightly skill and, with beating heart, the swaying fortunes of the brave who combat for the fair—three winsome ladies of the olden time, each with a way of her own and an individuality rare among the colourless heroines of the epic past. And to their bower in leaguered Epheson comes, in all honour, a noble captive from the fray below for a friendly game of chess, or great Alexander himself to cheer the disconsolate maidens and discourse of love and peace, for after war, he truly says, comes peace—and sometimes a handsome husband. The siege of Epheson has many a pleasing interlude, as also had no doubt the feudal combats of the nobility in Lorraine; it savours more of tournament than of war, and gives a picturesque setting for scenes of social life as they were enacted in the stately castles visited by Minstrel Jacques, and for the love story of three damsels, who, were the secrets of all hearts revealed, might well prove to be great ladies for whom he sang.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Names somewhat similar occur in the family of Godefroi de Bouillon (Bouillon being near Liège and Godefroi a Lorrainer by his mother; hence perhaps his inclusion among Jacques de Longuyon's Nine Worthies). In the '*Généalogie des Comtes de Boulogne*' (on Fo. 216

Secondly, when Bishop Thiébaud de Bar suggested the story, he no doubt suggested as well the incident which gives it its title and much of its piquancy. The prowess of the heroes in the Great Battle of Epheson is in fulfilment of vows they made to a peacock. We know that the bishop was interested in 'Vows,' because he inspired also the similar 'Vœux de l'Épervier.'<sup>2</sup> Boasting and the taking of high vows by knights was assuredly no new thing, for it has its roots in human nature, and it played

of I), reproduced in toto by Pâulin Paris, 'Les MSS. fr. de la Bibliothèque du Roi,' Paris (Techener), 1836-48, 7 vols., Vol. iii., pp. 201-8, and also in the Genealogy concocted c. 1268 by the monk of Saint-Tron, who devoted his attentions to the glory of the Crusaders of Artois, Picardy, and Flanders (P. Paris, *ibid.*, vi., pp. 172 and 193), the names Idain (and Mahaut) are frequent; Godefroi's mother was *Idain*, alias Ida, daughter of *Elias*, "Chevalier au Cygne." Among the songs of Audefroie le Bastart is one beginning, 'Bele *Ydoine* se siet desous la verde olive.' P. Paris, *ibid.*, vi., p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> Published by G. Wolfram and F. Bonnardot, pp. 177-280 of the 'Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für lothringische Geschichte und Altertums-kunde,' Metz (G. Scriba), Vol. vi., 1894 [also, separately, Metz, 1895, 104 pp.] The title is modern; the poem contains only 562 lines. The author was possibly (according to G. Wolfram, 'La Chronique messine de Jaïque Dex,' Metz, Scriba, 1906, pp. xxxiv.-vii.) Simon de Marville, near Longuyon, who was Treasurer of the Cathedral Chapter at Metz, and died before 1326. The poem is inspired by 'V. P.,' from which it borrows numerous lines. It relates that when the Emperor Henry VII. (of Luxembourg) was at Milan [where he arrived on 23rd December 1310], his brother "Le Walerant" stumbled on entering the Palace and thus allowed his sparrow-hawk to escape. It flew to the table where Henry VII. was seated with his friends, who included Bishop Thiébaud, his relative and counsellor. The Bishop alluded to 'V. P.' and suggested that the company should vow to the sparrow-hawk. The vows refer, as in the future, to events which the poet, writing after 1312, knew to have taken place. The poem describes also a dream in which Henry sees himself killed by one of his favourite black-and-white hounds, the allusion being to the black-and-white habit of the Dominicans (*domini canes*), by whom Henry is (erroneously) said in 'V. P.' to have been poisoned.

Henry VII., although purely German, spent most of his youth at Paris and spoke nothing but French, even the accounts of his household being kept in French. The suspicion of poison referred to in 'V. P.' was long prevalent; the allegation was that the communion chalice had been poisoned and, some added, at the instigation of Philippe le Bel, who was jealous of Henry as Emperor; thirty years later a friar was accused of the crime, and John of Luxembourg felt impelled to intervene in his favour by a written statement. See E. Welvert, 'Philippe Le Bel et la Maison de Luxembourg,' *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes*, Vol. xlv. (1884), pp. 180-8. The alleged poisoning is mentioned by the Canon of Bridlington, 'Chron. Edw. I. and II.,' *Rolls Ser.*, Vol. ii. (1883), p. 44, and in 'Scalacronica,' p. 135.

its part in French literature from 'Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne' onwards. But this vowing to a bird of mystic or heraldic significance to perform some high deed became a knightly custom in the early fourteenth century. It appears to have originated in Lorraine, and we believe that its sudden fame was due to the family of Bar and probably to Bishop Thiébaud's own personal initiative, for this reason. When Edward I., who was not without some of the foibles of French chivalry, was moved to wrath by the murder of Comyn and the Coronation of the Bruce, he held a great assembly at Westminster, May 22, 1306, and, the doors of the hall being opened, a seneschal entered, marshalling two attendants who bore upon a large tray two swans covered with a network of gold. Edward I., then in the last year of his life, vowed to God and the Swans that he would march into Scotland and chastise the Bruce, while Edward, Prince of Wales, who had been knighted by his father that day with nearly three hundred others, took a similar vow.<sup>3</sup> It is not surprising to find this rite thus honoured at Edward's French-speaking Court, where, moreover, three days later, Jean de Warenne married the king's grand-daughter, daughter of Henri de Bar, Bishop Thiébaud's half-brother. Also, Edward I. held his relative the bishop in high esteem. This we know from a truly remarkable event in history, the excommunication of no less a personage than the Archbishop of Canterbury. Though Thiébaud was already well provided for, in his own country with a canonry at Liège and in England

<sup>3</sup> Trivet's 'Annales' (Eng. Hist. Soc., 1845, p. 408). The incident is referred to by Patrick Fraser Tytler, 'Lives of Scottish Worthies' (Murray), 1831, Vol. i., pp. x+416, ii. x+322; Vol. i., p. 333; also, by Lord Hailes (Sir David Dalrymple), 'Annals of Scotland,' Edinburgh, 1776, Vol. ii., p. 454.

with the treasurership of York and a prebend at Lincoln, Edward presented him to the rectory of Pagham in Sussex, which had fallen vacant when the see of Canterbury itself was vacant—*i.e.*, between the death of Archbishop Peckham in 1292 and the consecration of his successor, Winchelsey, in 1294. Winchelsey refused to accept the king's nominee. Thiébaud appealed to the Pope, with the result that in 1301 the Archbishop of Canterbury found himself under sentence of excommunication.<sup>4</sup> It was no doubt Thiébaud who suggested the strange ceremony to Edward as a local custom of Bar.<sup>5</sup> It was certainly he who suggested it as a literary device to Jacques de Longuyon. In so doing he provided the poem with a setting which appealed to the imagination of all, and brought the knights of Alexander into line with the most recent practice of chivalry.

Thirdly, Jacques de Longuyon, by a stroke of genius, interpolated in his work an Excursus on the Nine Worthies, which secured both their immortality and that of his own poem. The idea of "listing" the noblest men and women who ever lived was not a novel one. It inspired a Latin poem in the eleventh century; it was latent in mediæval tradition,<sup>6</sup> and probably existed in popular

<sup>4</sup> 'Chron. Edw. I.' &c. Rolls Series, Vol. i. (1882), Preface, pp. xxxiv.-v. and p. 146 ('Annales Londinii'). The relationship between Edward I. and Bishop Thiébaud was that Edward's third daughter, Eleanor, was the wife of Henri Count of Bar, Thiébaud's half-brother.

<sup>5</sup> It appears also in 'V. P.' as "the custom of the land"; "Il m'est vis" (says Cassamus), "C'on doit faire au paon l'usage du pays" (iii., 3910.) Naturally the "Vows to the Swan" would appeal to the guests from Lorraine assembled for the marriage of the Comte de Bar's daughter ('Langtoft, R. S.,' p. 368) and to various other personages of lower degree, such as "Mahu qui est ove la dammoiselle de Baar," who figures with the minstrels paid for their services at the knighting of the Prince of Wales that day. The list is printed as Appendix C., p. 234, Vol. ii., of Sir E. K. Chambers' 'Mediæval Stage.' Clarendon Press, 1903.

<sup>6</sup> The fullest and best account of the Nine Worthies as a literary theme, before and after 'V. P.,' is that given by Professor Sir Israel



song. But he brought it out from that dim world, gave it a definite form—Nine Men, Three Pagans, Three Jews, Three Christians,—and recounted their deeds in adequate verse, which rapidly spread through France and Europe. The vogue of the Nine Worthies in literature, art, and pageant dates from ‘*Les Vœux du Paon*.’ If there be

“Nine, crownéd, be very exemplair  
Of all honour longing to chivalry,  
And those, certain, be called the nine worthy,”<sup>7</sup>

if courtier poets endeavoured for centuries to add their master’s name to the Noble Nine,<sup>8</sup> and composed, with singular lack of unanimity, a sister list of Nine Noble Women, and if there were pageants of Worthies at Arras in 1336,<sup>9</sup> and in London till modern times (one with Henry VIII. as an unworthy Tenth<sup>10</sup>)—the unseen master of the revels was Jacques de Longuyon.

Gollancz in the Preface and Appendix to his edition of the ‘*Parlement of the Thre Ages*’ (Oxford Press), 1915, first printed for the Roxburghe Club in 1897. He shows very clearly the capital rôle played by ‘V. P.,’ and stresses the fact that the subject possessed a special attraction for the poets of the North of England and Scotland. Professor Gollancz’s work contains the bibliography of the subject, to which may now be added an article by Loomis, ‘*Modern Philology*,’ xv., August 1917, and an important work on the ‘Nine Worthies’ in art and literature, and on the whole Literature of Vows arising out of ‘V. P.,’ to be published shortly by Miss Aileen A. Calderwood, who has kindly allowed us to cull from her extensive collection several of the facts adduced hereafter in this chapter.

<sup>7</sup> “The Flower and the Leaf,” long attributed to Chaucer.

<sup>8</sup> Those who have figured as the Tenth include Pierre de Lusignan, Bayard, Du Guesclin, Francis I., Henry IV. of England, Henry VI. and Henry VII., Guy of Warwick, and, as will be shown later, Robert the Bruce. The Nine Men (*les Preux*) remained largely as in ‘V. P.’; the enumeration of the various Nine Women (*les Preuses*) we leave to Miss Calderwood.

<sup>9</sup> P. Meyer, ‘*Bull. de la Société des Anc. Textes*’ (1883), p. 44. Other instances are: Paris 1431, entry of Henry VI.; Caen 1532, entry of Francis I.

<sup>10</sup> Strutt, ‘*Sports and Pastimes of the People of England*.’ London, 1834, p. xliii.



## § 9. CELEBRITY OF 'LES VŒUX DU PAON.'

Whether for these three reasons, or for others as well, 'Les Vœux du Paon' rapidly obtained a wide popularity.<sup>1</sup> It was copied on an unusual scale, if we may judge from the very large number of MSS. preserved. It was translated into the chief languages of Western Europe,<sup>2</sup> occasioned quaint ceremonies of picturesque chivalry, became the subject of heraldic devices and tapestries innumerable, and inspired generation after generation of artists, sculptors and engravers from the early fourteenth century to the present day.<sup>3</sup> In France it gave rise to a whole literature—'Vows,' notably in the region of Metz,<sup>4</sup> and sequels to the tale<sup>5</sup>—it was imitated,<sup>6</sup> and even parodied,<sup>7</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> 'Peu de poèmes du moyen âge ont obtenu un succès comparable.' P. Meyer, 'Al. le Gr.,' ii., p. 268; 'malgré le peu d'attrait qu'il nous offre (!) . . . l'immense succès qu'il a obtenu et les diverses questions qu'il soulève. . . ' G. Paris, 'Rom.,' xxiii., p. 82, n.

<sup>2</sup> Spanish: Carraroli, *op. cit.*, p. 225, mentions 'Los Votos del Paon.' Dutch: fragment, 'Roman van Cassamus,' ed. Eelco Verwijs, Groningen, 1869, xxviii+94 pp.; see also 'Heidelb. Jahrbuch' (1869), pp. 924-6; Jan te Winkel, 'Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Letterkunde,' Haarlem (Bohn), 1887, i., pp. 115-6; Louis D. Petit, 'Bibliographie der middelnederlandsche Taal-en Letterkunde,' Leiden (Brill), 1888, pp. xvi+298, p. 45; English: Cambridge MS. (see Introd. to our Vol. iii.).

<sup>3</sup> Virgil Solis, Albrecht Dürer, &c., enumerated in Miss Calderwood's work. From about 1480 the Preux and the Preuses appeared on playing cards. In modern times 'V. P.,' known through the account given in La Curne de Ste Palaye's 'Mémoires sur l'ancienne Chevalerie,' has inspired artists. In the Royal Academy Exhibition of 1835 the painter Daniel Maclise (who decorated St Stephen's and the House of Lords) exposed a picture entitled "Vow on the Peacock" (one Knight taking the vow is the Comte d'Orsay!), and the catalogue refers expressly to Ste Palaye. Lempereur engraved, after Stevens, "Les Vœux du Paon."

<sup>4</sup> See Fletcher, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>5</sup> The 'Restor du Paon' and the 'Parfait du Paon' (see Introd. to our Vol. iii.) and 'Perceforest' (see *infra*, § 9, n. 13).

<sup>6</sup> Vows occur in the 'Vengeance d'Alixandre' and 'Gaydon,' which are older than 'V. P.,' and in 'Hugues Capet,' which is perhaps contemporary. The other 'Vows' are clear imitations of 'V. P.' 'Le Dit des Mais,' edited by Jubinal, 'Nouveau Recueil de Contes, Dits et Fabliaux des XIII<sup>e</sup>, XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles,' pp. 181-194, contains (pp. 187 and 188) reflections on unfulfilled vows like those made at the celebrated 'Banquet du Faisan,' given by Philippe le Bon, Duke of Burgundy, to the Burgundian nobility, 17th February 1454. Vows to the Peacock play a great part in the 'Roman de Cleriadus et de Méliadice, fille au roy

d'Angleterre,' British Museum: MS. Roy. 20 C. ii. Art. I. [On Fo. 119 is a small, delicately drawn miniature of the presentation. Three damsels kneel before the well-laden table where the royal pair are seated; a fourth advances bearing the peacock on a charger]. There are two early printed editions of this prose romance: one of 1495, preserved in a unique copy (see Brunet, 'Manuel,' ii. (1861), p. 106, Art. 17028), and one of 1514, in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The ceremony of presentation and the Vows to the Peacock are described in full at the end of chapter xxxviii., in the 1514 edition.

The romance is mentioned by Graesse, *op. cit.*, p. 249, and analysed in Ward's 'Catalogue of Romances,' i. (1883), pp. 383-4.

The sixteenth century Scottish version 'Clariodus' (c. 1550) was published in 1830 by the Maitland Club.

Vows to the Peacock are the *pièce de résistance* in the farrago of historical and literary reminiscences of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, entitled 'Histoire des trois nobles fils de Rois' (alias 'Histoire Royale' and 'Chronique de Naples'), which David Aubert, Librarian to Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, transcribed in 1463: see Doutrepont, 'La Littérature fr. à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne,' Paris (Champion), 1909, lxviii+544 pp., p. 51. The plot, if it may be dignified by that name, we reproduce here (minus some of its absurdities) from the earliest printed edition, 'Le Liure des troys Filz de roys,' Lyon (Jehan de Vingle), 1501, because it bears on the origins of our 'Buik' in connection with David II. (see *infra*, § 43).

The three kings' sons are Philip of France, David of Scotland, and Auffroy [Humphrey in the English translation]. The King of Sicily (whose daughter is Yolente) implores the aid of Christendom against the Turks. Philip sets off alone without the permission or knowledge of his father, King Charles, and incognito as "le despourveu." With the aid of Ferrant, Seneschal to the King of Sicily, he captures Fierabras, brother of the Grand Turk, and receives from Yolente a new name, "le surnommé." A combined force is sent by the Kings of England, Scotland and France under the supreme command of David, "filz du roy descoce," accompanied by the Earls of Douglas and Buchan. The ships, arriving before "Gayette," are wrecked in a tempest, the sole survivors being David and Douglas. David, being captured by the Turks, takes the name of "Athis." After being set at liberty by Orkai, son of the Grand Turk, David joins Philip and Ferrant, distinguishes himself by his bravery, and captures—and releases—Orkai. Auffroy of England is also captured on arrival, assumes the name of "Ector," and ultimately joins Philip. The Turks then besiege the King of Sicily in Naples. In a sortie Philip is captured, but rescued by Ferrant, Auffroy and David. In honour of the three kings' sons, and of Orkai their prisoner, the King of Sicily gives a banquet, at which vows to the Peacock are made by all. [The ceremonial is fully described, Fos. lixv. and lxi of the 1501 edition; pp. 136-37, E.E.T.S.] The Turks, hearing of these brave vows, are seized with panic, at once raise the siege, and are pursued and slain. The King of Sicily is elected Emperor of Germany, and crowned at Milan, and the three kings' sons, having captured "Gayette," return home to prepare for a great tournament at Naples next May, in which the prize will be the emperor's daughter, Yolente. When all three, having by their fathers' death become kings, return to Naples for the tournament, David distinguishes himself, but Philip is the victor and wins the fair Yolente, while David and Orkai marry each a sister of Auffroy, King of England.

This wildly improbable tale, with its constant capture and release of prisoners and its vowing to the Peacock, visibly imitates Jacques de

Longuyon in his least happy moments. Its treatment of history is so fantastic that M. Doutrepont, *op. cit.*, p. 51, refrains from drawing any conclusions. But it seems to us obvious that the personages have historical prototypes, however freely treated and with whatever chronological inexactitude. To specify the only case which concerns us here, "David" can be none other than the friend and protégé of Philip VI. of France and Edward III. of England—David II., who travelled beyond the sea; was captured, with a Douglas (at Neville's Cross), and ultimately released; rode in tournaments (see *infra*, § 43, *n.* 1); was present with the Kings of England and France at the celebrated tournament at Windsor in 1357 (Monk of St Albans, *Rolls Ser.*, 1874, p. 38), and appeared in London in 1364 with the Kings of France and Cyprus "et rex quidam paganorum," as the chroniclers think it important to record, *e.g.*, "Vita Edw. II." in 'Chron. Edw. I.' (*Rolls Ser.*, 1883, p. 150); married the King of England's sister, and, with the Earl of Douglas' approval, selected to succeed him on the Scottish throne the third son of Edward III., Lionel, who married Yolande at Milan in 1368, Froissart being with Lionel at the splendid ceremony (see *infra*, § 41, *n.* 14); and was preparing an expedition against the Infidel when death seized him in 1370. These facts were no doubt perfectly well-known at the Burgundian Court, the library of Philippe le Bon containing, *e.g.*, 'La Vraie Cronique d'Escoce' (Doutrepont, pp. 411-12). The connecting link between the historical characters thus travestied is no doubt that most of them figure in Froissart's animated pages and had traditional associations with the practice of vowing (see, *e.g.*, *supra*, § 8, *n.* 2, and *infra*, § 43).

The romance attained a vogue comparable to that of Clariodus—witness the numerous MSS. and the many editions printed from 1501 to 1579. See Brunet, 'Manuel,' iii. (1862), p. 1126. A literal prose translation in English is contained in MS. Harley 326 (*c.* 1500: see the account in Ward's 'Catalogue,' i., pp. 782-83, to which we may add that the MS. is finely copied and that its twenty-two miniatures are excellent; in particular, the representation of the wreck of David's ship is uncommonly vivid). The English version was published for the E.E.T.S., Vol. i., 1895, ed. Furnivall. The second volume by L. Kellner, which was to contain the French text and a discussion of the sources, was apparently never published.

<sup>7</sup> British Museum, MS. Royal 20 A. xvii: 50 lines, beginning:

'A l'entrée de may, qu'ivers va a declin'

and containing several other lines borrowed or parodied from 'V. P.' and ending

'Thomas de Bailloel fist ce bien pres de Seclin' (near Lille)

It describes a mock "great battle" which was stopped by a pilgrim with a goblet of wine (see Ward, 'Cat. Rom.,' i., 880-3, and *Introd.* to our Vol. iii.).

<sup>8</sup> Philippe de Mézières, 'Songe du vielz Pelerin adréchant au blanc Faulcon,' iii., ch. 52 (quoted by Doutrepont, *op. cit.*, pp. 295-6), speaking by the mouth of Vérité, says:

"Te dois délecter en lire ou oyr les anciennes histoires pour ton enseignement . . . Tu te dois garder de toi trop délecter ès livres qui sont appelez apocrifes, et par espécial des livres et des romans qui sont remplis de bourdes, et qui attraient le lisant souvent à impossibilité, à folie, à vanité et péchié, se comme le livre des bourdes de Lancelot et semblables, comme les bourdes du Vœu du Paon qui naguères furent composés par un legier compaignon, dicteur de chansons et de virelais qui estoit de la ville d'Avaisnes."



as late as 1389 its popularity was held by Philippe de Mézières to be distracting the young from serious reading.<sup>8</sup> Froissart in his poetry, which Chaucer read and whereof the one and only theme is love—perfect love and the perfect lover,—makes few allusions to Old French Romances, but he does not forget the lovers “Cassiel” and “Porrus.”

In England it was well known. Lydgate refers to it by name.<sup>9</sup> Its theme had soon spread from literature to art<sup>10</sup> and ordinary life, for in 1364, at Lynn, when Robert Braunche the Mayor died, a brass representing the “Feast of the Peacock” was placed upon his tomb in St Margaret’s Church.<sup>11</sup> But for ‘*Les Vœux du Paon*,’ there would have been most certainly no ‘*Vœux du Héron*,’ and, if legend speaks true, no Hundred Years’ War<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup> ‘*Poésies*,’ ed. Scheler, Brussels, 1870, -71, -72, 3 vols., Vol. i., lxxv+407 pp. The ‘*Paredys d’Amours*,’ pp. 1-52 (probably composed during Froissart’s stay in England and imitated in Chaucer’s ‘*Duchesse*’), counts among the famous lovers

“Lancelos, Tristans, Lyonnell,  
Porrus, le Baudrain Cassiel,”  
Paris, etc. (ll. 2307-9).

In his ‘*Temple d’Amour*’ (pp. 162-193 of Vol. ii.) the Nine Worthies figure largely, ll. 929-55, as also in the Prologue to his ‘*Chroniques*.’

<sup>10</sup> Lydgate in his poem on “The Prospect of Peace” (*i.e.*, the truce of 1444) says:

King Alisaundre put Darye down  
In Perce and Meede, the crowne whan he chees;  
Vowes of the Pecock the Ffrensh makith mencion  
Pride of the Werrys, most contrary unto pees.

Whether Lydgate knew ‘*V. P.*’ from hearsay, or by a copy in England, or by copies he may have seen in France, is not clear. But in 1426 he was on a mission in Paris with Bedford. In 1423 Bedford had caused an inventory to be made of the Royal Library at the Louvre, where there were numerous copies of ‘*V. P.*,’ and he, with others, had appropriated, between 1422 and 1435, numerous tapestries, including the ‘*Nine Worthies*,’ from Charles VI.’s collection in the Louvre. Some of these tapestries were delivered to Louis de Luxembourg, uncle of Jacquetta, Bedford’s second wife. Jacquetta afterwards married the Richard de Wydeville (see *Introd.* to our Vol. ii.) who owned our MS. P., the celebrated Bodley 264.

<sup>11</sup> Figure 1088 in Gough’s ‘*Sepulchral Monuments of England*.’

<sup>12</sup> “*Les Vœux du Héron*,” published in Wright’s ‘*Political Poems and Songs*, Edward III.—Richard III.,’ *Rolls Ser.*, 1859, pp. 1-25, is modelled

on 'V. P.' and is full of verbal reminiscences and whole lines from Part II. It was written *c.* 1340, probably by a retainer of Count Robert of Artois. The story (which has attained great celebrity and is utilised, *e.g.*, by Dumas in 'La Comtesse de Salisbury,' 1839) is that in September 1338 Robert of Artois, during his stay at the Court of Edward III., went hawking on the Thames and brought back a heron, which he caused to be borne before the King, saying that the heron, being the most faint-hearted of birds, should be bestowed on Edward, who had lost France. Edward, being requested to vow to the Heron, vowed that he would ravage France.

For an account of the Banquet and the vows made by Edward III., Salisbury, Derby, Suffolk, the Bishops of Durham and Lincoln, Jean de Hainaut and the Queen, see also 'Chronographia Regum Francorum' (Soc. de l'Hist. de France), 3 vols., 1891-97, ii., pp. 35-8.

The story of the Vow has been considered a fiction by historians, from Thomas Wright to Professor Tout. The fact that the poem closely imitates 'V. P.' does not, we admit, say much for its historical truth; "September" is an error, and the poet is misinformed as to details concerning some of his characters. But this does not show that the Vowing never took place. Robert of Artois was at Windsor from 11th January 1338, and in 1338-9 Edward did decide to invade France. The account in Murimuth (Rolls Ser., p. 91) of that decision reads like a Vowing. Kings have been known to vow that they would invade other countries; one example, which we owe to Mr Bruce Dickins, is that of King Svein, who "at a great feast swore that before three winters were gone he would bring a host to England and slay King Ethelred" ('Heimskringla,' Vol. i., ch. xxxix., in Morris and Magnússon's 'Saga Library,' Quaritch, 1893). Edward III. did make vows, like his father and grandfather before him—*e.g.*, he vowed at Halidon Hill, 19th July 1333, that, if victorious, he would found a house for thirteen Black Benedictine Monks, and he duly fulfilled his vow, 25th June 1338 (Bain, 'Calendar of Documents,' &c., iii. (1887), No. 1277). That Edward was the sort of King who would vow to the Heron is plain from his addiction to other forms of flamboyant chivalry. He who in 1336 could ride, like young Lochinvar, all the way to Lochindorb to save a beautiful Countess [of Atholl], build a Round Table at Windsor in 1344, and found the Order of the Garter, could no doubt vow to the Heron in 1339 as well as Edward I., "the English Justinian," could vow in 1306 to the Swans. Whether the serious-minded grandfather or the romantic grandson allowed his foreign policy to be influenced by Swans and Herons is of course another matter.

Robert of Artois, to whom we shall have often to refer in another connection, was the grandson of Count Robert II. of Artois. He did not succeed to Artois, which devolved, according to local custom, on his aunt Mahaut (see § 7, *n.* 4), daughter of Robert II., and wife of Otton, 4th Count of Burgundy. He claimed the succession, but failed, and when, after the accession of his brother-in-law Philip VI., he claimed it again, he employed unscrupulous methods and even invoked the aid of magic. Mahaut died suddenly (27th October 1329), and her daughter Jeanne died soon after. The circumstances were suspicious, and when, on 23rd March 1331, the question of the Artois succession came before the Parlement of Amiens, Robert was found to have tampered with the documents, and was banished by Philip VI.

After various adventures he reached England in 1336, disguised as a merchant. According to Froissart (ii., 304), he joined Edward III. at Stirling, and Edward certainly was at Stirling in 1337 (15th June: Bain, 'Cal.,' iii., p. xlvi). Robert was received with much honour, which Philip VI. naturally resented. "A Windsor, comme sur la frontière



—assuredly no ‘Perceforest,’ and consequently perhaps no Order of the Garter.<sup>13</sup> Such historical phenomena have also deeper causes. But let no man say that Jacques de Longuyon left insufficient traces of his stay upon the earth, or that the printing of his work, begun in 1921 and not yet completed in 1925, was unnecessary or premature.

### § 10. MS. W OF ‘LES VŒUX DU PAON.’

MS. W is by common repute the best. MS. P would often have served the purposes of comparison with the Scottish text even better, as many of its readings are closer, and it contains lines, absent from W, reproduced in the Scots. But P breaks down at various points, notably in the Excursus on the Nine

d’Écosse, messire Robert d’Artois ne cessait nuit et jour de remontrer au roi quel droit il avait à la couronne de France.” Robert of Artois died of wounds received at the Battle of Morlaix in 1342, and was buried in London with great pomp at the end of January 1343. See Lavissee et Rambaud, ‘Histoire de France,’ iii., pp. 68-9; T. F. Tout, ‘Hist. of Engl., Henry III.-Edward III.’ (Longmans, 1920), pp. 330-1; E. Déprez, ‘Les Préliminaires de la Guerre de Cent Ans’ (Fontemoing, 1902), xiii + 450 pp.

<sup>13</sup> ‘Perceforest’ is a prose romance, found in several fifteenth century MSS. and in prints of 1528 and 1531. Alexander, borne by a tempest to the shores of Britain, gave England to Betis, henceforward called Perceforest, and Scotland to young Gadifer. The story begins, “Quant le gentil roy Alixandre eut mis tous les plus poissants d’Orient en sa subjection” . . . and arises out of the final “laisses” of ‘V. P.’ But the author alleges that it is a Latin work which William of Hainault found at the Abbey of “Wortimer près la rivière de Hombre” and caused to be translated into French. Gaston Paris (‘Romania,’ xxiii., p. 81) assumed from this that the origins of ‘Perceforest’ were connected with William’s presence at the marriage of Edward II. and Isabel of France at Boulogne, 25th January 1308, and that the work was begun shortly after 1314, but not finished and published till c. 1340. Gaston Paris also pointed out that the sudden efflorescence of orders of chivalry, of which the first was the Garter in 1349, followed in 1350 by l’Ordre de l’Étoile, was directly inspired by the “Ordre du Franc Palais” in ‘Perceforest.’ See Graesse, *op. cit.*, pp. 228-39; Ward, ‘Cat. Rom.,’ i., pp. 377-81; P. Meyer, ‘Al. le Gr.,’ ii., pp. 364-65; Gaston Paris, ‘Rom.,’ xxiii., pp. 81-85; and the Introduction to our Vol. iii.

‘Perceforest’ long remained popular, as shown by the existence of a sixteenth century Italian version, ‘La dilettevole historia del valorosissimo Parsaforesto Re della gran Brettagna. Con i gran fatti del valente Gadiffero Re di Scotia.’ Nuovamente translato di Francese in lingua italiana. Michele Framezins, Vinegia, 1558. 6 vols., in-8o.

Worthies (see Introd. to Vol. III.), and provides in the long run a less satisfactory parallel to the Scots. The Scottish translator probably used a better MS. of the "P" type. But the divergences of the "P" MSS. from W are relatively slight, and there can be no doubt that with the text of W, modified occasionally by the variants (often, but no means always in P) which are printed in heavy type, we possess *verbatim* the French original of our 'Buik.'

As a version of 'V. P.,' W is superior to all others, and has every appearance of being a replica of the author's copy, purged no doubt of some of his local peculiarities and made to conform more closely with standard French by a scribe of North or North-east France between 1340 and 1370 (see Fletcher, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-30). W alone possesses the colophon containing the author's name and that of Tybaut [=Thiébaut] de Bar [*d.* 1312], and these personal details suggest an author's copy sent to his patron's next of kin, possibly his brother, Renaud de Bar, Bishop of Metz [*d.* 1316]. To that copy W stands in unique relationship.

It is a very beautiful MS., plainly intended for some august personage, and was, from at least 1420, in the library of the Dukes of Burgundy, along with two other 'V. P.' MSS. (see Doutrepont, 'Litt. fr. à la Cour des ducs de Bourgogne,' Champion, 1909, p. 134, *n.* 1, and Fletcher, p. 20). It was therefore presumably written for Duke Philippe le Hardi (1363-1404), who, like his brother, King Charles V., had a luxurious taste in MSS. His sister, Marie de France, had married in 1364 Robert, Comte de Bar (1351-1411), and we know that she was interested in literature, because it was for her that Jean d'Arras composed in 1387 the tale of 'Mélusine' (which formed with 'V. P.' the only light reading in the library of the Gournaux family at Metz). Any MSS. which Bishop Thiébaud or Bishop Renaud de Bar may have left when they died without issue, would have reverted to the Bar family, and, as brother-in-law of the Comte de Bar, Duke Philippe may well have taken some interest in the literary activities of that family and in their library, where the original of W very probably reposed.

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## CHAPTER III.: THE SCOTTISH RENDERING.

§ II. WHY THE TRANSLATOR SELECTED 'V. P.'  
AND 'F. G.'

IN the light of the facts set forth in the preceding chapter, it is not surprising that a Scottish translator, whether in the late fourteenth or in the early fifteenth century, should, in quest of an interesting French work, have hit upon 'Les Vœux du Paon.' It was a charming tale deservedly famous, reflecting the courtly manners of the French nobility and their custom of vowing, which appealed to a northern audience<sup>1</sup>; it sang the praise of Alexander, who was ever a popular figure in Scotland,<sup>2</sup> and whose name, borne by three of her mediæval kings, still designates the Scot in the shortened form "Sandy"; it enshrined the Noble Nine, whose cult was nowhere

<sup>1</sup> As witness, in the matter of Vows in general, the 'Avowing of King Arthur,' composed (1350-1400) near Carlisle, and, as regards Vows to the Peacock, the early sixteenth century Scottish 'Clariodus' (see *supra*, § 9, n. 6).

<sup>2</sup> Alexander's place in Scottish literature was early assured, for c. 1420 Wyntoun remarks (W IV 1262) that Alexander's deeds are contained in so many other books that he need not descant on them in his Chronicle. In later times his name sprang readily to the lips of the great Marquis of Montrose (Irving, 'Sc. P.,' p. 564), and Sir Walter Scott tells us ('Notes to Marmion') how as a boy he recited with his school-fellows the traditional rime of—

"Alexander, King of Macedon,  
Who conquer'd all the world, but Scotland alone.  
When he came to Scotland his courage grew cold  
To see a little nation courageous and bold."

On the choice of the names "Alexander" and "David" for sons of Malcolm and Margaret, see Freeman, 'Norm. Conq.,' iv., p. 512, and v., pp. 208 and 557, and his references. The subsequent popularity of "Alexander," "David," and "Hector" as Scottish names may be not unconnected with the vogue of the 'Nine Worthies'; cp. (among many) "Hector medicus David de Bruys," who was allowed to see his master in the Tower of London on 28th October 1348 ('Rot. Scot.,' p. 797).

more honoured than in the hero-loving north; and it told the high deeds of young Gadifer, to whom Alexander gave Scotland in fee.<sup>3</sup> Our translator set his hand first to 'Les Vœux,' and duly provided his rendering with Prologue and Epilogue. Then he prefixed, without either, another translation, which he made, subsequently no doubt—that of 'Li Fuerres.' In combining these two romances, he was guided by the obvious unity of the subject-matter, and by use and wont. They were copied by scribes for inclusion in one volume,<sup>4</sup> and they were associated with each other in the minds of his own contemporaries—the shadowy 'Huchoun' and the almost as shadowy author or authors of the poems which lead from 'Les Vœux du Paon' to the Court and person of Edward III. and the Order of the Garter, by most mysterious paths.<sup>5</sup> The 'Foray' supplied the beginning of the

<sup>3</sup> See *supra*, § 9, n. 13, and cp. Machaut, 'Prise d'Alixandrie' (c. 1372): "Alixandres, Qui conquist Angleterre." Gadifer appears in 'Golagros' (line 545) and 'Roswall and Lillian' (line 16).

<sup>4</sup> *E.g.*, MS. U.

<sup>5</sup> The author of the alliterative 'Morte Arthure' (Thornton MS., c. 1430), who probably composed his poem c. 1380 in the north of England or the south of Scotland, laid *both* romances under contribution. The 'Foray' is expressly mentioned—

" Was never siche a justynge at journe in erthe,  
In the vale of Josephate, as *gestes us telles*,"—

and 'V. P.' supplies the personage of Floridas (*e.g.*, 2779, 2804); the Nine Nobles figure in Arthur's dream (3409), which was afterwards enshrined in Malory's prose; and Arthur, after conquering Lucius, proceeds, somewhat significantly perhaps, to the siege of Metz and the conquest of Lorraine (2386-481).

The 'Parlement of the Thre Ages' narrates the 'Foray' (332-95), "Ther was the mody Meneduse, a man of Artage" [alias Emenidus d'Arcage], and epitomises 'V. P.' (365), "And there sir Porus and his prynces to the poo avowed."

This poem is connected, notably by the very similar descriptions of deer-stalking, hawking, &c., with 'Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knight,' which is generally considered the best of the M.E. romances, is sometimes ascribed to the author of "Pearl," "Purity" and "Patience," and has often been thought to be a "Garter poem" composed as a compliment to Edward III. and his sons, and to contain a reference to Lionel of Antwerp as Duke of Clarence: see J. E. Wells, *op. cit.*, p. 54, and the edition by Tolkien and Gordon (Clarendon Press), 1925, p. xx. n. The 'Parlement' has, because of similarity of form and



story: it told how young Gadifer's father had been slain, so that he himself was left to the tender mercies of such as the tyrant Clarus, and it explained the numerous allusions in Jacques de Longuyon's delightful, but not quite self-contained, romance.

## § 12. THE METHOD OF TRANSLATION ADOPTED.

The author's prime purpose was to "translate in Inglis leid Ane romanis quilk that he hard reid"—*i.e.*, not 'Li Fuerres,' but 'Les Vœux.' That purpose he accomplished conscientiously, without any of those conspicuous blanks, unexplainable from the known MSS., or those useless expansions, moralisings, and observations on the world at large, which are so frequent in the M.E. translations. When he turned to the 'Foray,' he allowed himself a little more freedom. It is possible that he used a MS. offering a somewhat curtailed version of 'Li Fuerres,' but the appearances are that, while employing the same methods as in the major work and often the same set phrases and complete lines, he tended to cut short his task by condensing the French. Since this tendency is nowhere more marked than at the very beginning of the 'Foray,' he appears to have started with the intention of epitomising it, and to have been led into translation proper by interest in the subject-matter and force of habit.

Whatever be the causes of these omissions, ignorance of French is not one. Nowhere in the translation of either text have we found it possible to explain a dis-

because it is preserved in the same MS., been ascribed to the author of 'Wynnere and Wastoure' (c. 1350), and appears to have been utilised in 'Piers Plowman,' of which the opening lines show some remarkable similarities with those of the 'Parlement': see Wells, p. 241.



crepancy between the rendering and the original as due to misconception of the French meaning. It is true that the translation is often free enough to leave a convenient escape, but marked divergences are rare, and they can be naturally accounted for by the exigencies of metre, rime and, perhaps chiefly, alliteration,<sup>1</sup> and by the deficiencies of the old Scottish vocabulary. Like all early translations (and most modern ones, alas!), the 'Buik' falls far short of the minute accuracy and careful choice of appropriate English terms demanded nowadays in the rigorous Academic exercise. Strictly speaking, the method followed is not translation at all, but transfusion, the aim being primarily to cap each epic phrase of the French with a similar set phrase in Scots—not to retain the precise literary qualities, word order, and style of the original, but to select from a limited stock of stereotyped expressions, hallowed by usage and complete with alliteration and convenient rime-word, those most nearly conveying the sense.

That such is the procedure is shown by the fact that whole lines are repeated, sometimes at short intervals, sometimes at quite different parts of either romance. This repetition (which would prove, if proof were needed, that the 'Foray' and the 'Avowis' are by the same hand) is occasionally due to the similar tendency of the

<sup>1</sup> Alliteration, which obviously cannot always be combined with literal translation, is very marked throughout, *e.g.* :—

Thus think thay throuch thair cheualrie (I 65)

That thay of thairis sall haue na thing

Rot thay it win throw hard fechtng (I 67-8)

His Haubrik helpit him nocht ane hair (I 120)

Thay tuik na tent to tak presounis (I 126)

Thair swordis swyftly out thai swyng (I 1027)

His staluart speir he stithly straucht (I 2321)

The staluart steid that by him stude [not in F.] (I 2372)

Or ellis that luffar leuand lestis (II 5500)

He bradit out his brand sa bricht = rentoise (IV 9513); cp. IV 8865  
= Metent mains as espées.

French (e.g., II., 1709 and 4471), but more often to a habit of relying rather on the promptings of a retentive memory than on innate power of individual expression.<sup>2</sup> For similar reasons, the translation bears all the paraphernalia of M.E. poetry—circumlocutions ("great and small," "baith ald and young," "knaif and knicht");

- 2 And hardle came thame agane I 99 and II 112)  
All in ane sop assemblit ar (I 110 and IV 9115)  
War wickit (sa the Lord me saue!) (I 357 and II 3912)  
That geuis sa mony ryall thing (I 634 and 1914)  
His beird of new begouth to spring (I 677 and 1305)  
His sistir sone he was but weir (I 686 and II 1620)  
(I 837 and 2116)  
That hes vs all in gouerning (I 858 and 2862)  
His hart within his body grew = li cuers li est el pis bien demi pié  
levés (I 1230 and II 4465)  
Agane his dynt had nocht (*also* nane) warrand (I 1356, 1558 and  
1996)  
And na perrell nor pane forsake (I 1642 and II 4156)  
euill hewit and paill (I 1647, IV 9252 and 10375)  
Bot gif the story gabbing ma (se l'histoire ne ment) (I 2508 and IV  
9992)  
Turnit thair brydillis and to-ga (I 2753 and II 4040)  
That mony ane straik he sadly set (I 2072 and 2903)  
fra deid and fra menzeing (I 2950 and III 6003)  
Hir had weill leuer be grauin in grein = Mais ele se lairoit miex les  
membres trenchier [toute vive escorchier] (II 197 and III 6935)  
That men bird speke of him greatly (II 1456 and 2698)  
The standart and the gumfoun (II 1498 and III 5787)  
Of the riche Empriour (II 1499 and 2125)  
Ane renk about him hes he made = Entour lui fait .j. renc (II 1709  
and 4471)  
Throw battell mon this were tak fyne (II 1954, 2728, and III 6601)  
Now will I our Pharone fare (II 2139, 2896, and 2900)  
Wele saourand, of sere coloures (II 2172 and III 5022)  
That gart him on his arsoun ly (II 2609 and 4538)  
Richt to the Kingis pauillioun (II 2987 and 3261)  
Gif I leif lang in liege pouste (II 3120 and 3153)  
The heit withall sa hard thame led (II 3288 and IV 10204)  
Venus chalmer in presoun (II 4456 and 4842)  
And said amang thame preuall = a conseil (III 5393 and 6152)  
With breistis, bodeis and sheildis bare  
Thay hurred (III 6280 and IV 8375)  
Straik with spurris the sterand steidis = les bons destriers courans  
(III 8348 and IV 8647)  
The battell hard and greuand was (IV 8453 and 9310)  
Armit at all pointes fetasly (IV 8505 and 9648)  
be the Goddis that I in trow (IV 9799 and 10979)  
Trumpettis and hornis blew atanes = de tel aïr sonner (IV 10078 and  
10224)  
Sa bludie, sa euill dicht and sa met = Si très mal atornés, si mat et  
si navrés (IV 10366 and 10371)

doublets ("assalt and melle")<sup>3</sup>; meaningless clichés ("as I hard tell"); and a profusion of synonyms, handy stop-gaps and rime-words.

Such parrotry being the custom of the times, it is idle to expect careful writing. The method was more the oral than the written, "I said furth as me come to mouth" (IV., col. 14). When a Scots word or phrase is not forthcoming, the French is carried over without more ado. A Gallicism is considered to be no blemish, but rather to lend tone to the Scots. No more than Chaucer or Caxton does our translator hesitate to interlard his text with French words and phrases which must have conveyed little meaning to "thame that na Romanes can." Internal rimes<sup>4</sup> and awkward repetitions of a word in the same line<sup>5</sup> or in two consecutive lines<sup>6</sup> are as rife as in Barbour's 'Bruce.'<sup>7</sup> Inversion is very

<sup>3</sup> amouris and droury (II 3787, &c.) [cp. Br. VII 498];  
dule and cair (I 618, &c.) [cp. Br. XX 587];  
to cry and rare=plaint et sospire (IV 9597) [cp. Br. V 97  
and Wynt. VIII 3275]

<sup>4</sup> *E.g.*—

The King he *rais* and furth he *gais* (II 29)  
"Schir," said ane *swane*, "Porrus is *tane*" (II 4857)  
He is *tane*; bot we haue ane (II 4969)  
[cp. Na thai war *slane*, ilkane or *tane* (Br. V 372)  
Qwhen thai the *land* wes rycht ner *hand* (Br. III 716)]

<sup>5</sup> *Gif* God will *gif* me grace thairtill (I 863)  
That *fele* of Gaderis may *feil* (I 1368)  
Besyde the *syd* the suerd down *zude* (II 4272)  
Of *fynit* gould, fare and *fyne* (IV 9074).

<sup>6</sup> And fellit him stane deid richt *thair*;  
*Thair* endit all his cheualrie (I 136-7)  
Armour gude and *fyne*  
All couerit in *fyne* sandale (I 1706-7)  
"pure men" (I 564-5)  
"strakis gaif" (I 982-4), "smot" (I 1159-60 and 1238-9)  
"in shunder" (I 2080-1)  
"formest" (I 2294-5)  
"sturdy" (I 2874-5).

<sup>7</sup> Professor Craigie, 'Hist. Rev.,' 1893, p. 182, quotes as typical of Barbour's diffuse and circumlocutory style these two passages [the text of the first, however, seems corrupt], where several lines merely repeat

frequent,<sup>8</sup> which is not surprising since in early Scots it was common even in prose,<sup>9</sup> but it gives many a rude shock to the modern reader without always producing a very satisfactory line. In course of transit from the more refined French to the cruder Scots, the expression often

the sense or the wording of others, and the whole idea could be better expressed in one-third of the space—

“Fortoun has trauallit vs this day,  
That *scalit* vs so suddandly.  
Our fayis *this nycht sall trustly ly*;  
For thai trow we so *scalit* ar,  
And fled to-vauerand her and thar,  
That we sall nocht thir dayis thre  
All to-giddir assemblit be.  
Tharfor *this nycht thai sall trustly*  
But vachis tak thair eis and ly.”  
(Br. VII 298-306.)

“And with suerdis that scharply schar  
Thai *seruit* thame full egyrly.  
Thai war slayn doune so halely  
That thar weill neir eschapid nane.  
Thai *seruit* thame in sa gret wayne  
With *scherand swerdis* and with knyvis,  
That weill neir all lesyt thar livis.”  
(Br. XVI 450-56.)

The extraordinary extent to which the ‘Bruce’ carries repetition of whole lines (*e.g.*, Br. III. 34 and IV. 426) is shown, incidentally, in our list, *infra*, § 19.

<sup>8</sup> The preposition is frequently placed after its substantive, especially as a rime-word—*e.g.*, fra, agane (also aganes, II. 2595), amang, and more notably “thame after” (II. 407), “thame behynd”=derrière eus (I. 1598), as in M.E. generally; and *metri causa* the preposition is sometimes displaced, as in “I knawe the steid that 3e on ryde” (I. 381) [cp. ‘Guy of Warwick,’ 5266, “the stede that he on rode”], “quhom on” (IV. 9321), “Quhat hecht thy brother that thow of menis?” (II. 64, 1983), &c. Phrases with “of” are, as in the ‘Bruce,’ very frequently separated from the nouns to which they refer, at the risk of ambiguity—*e.g.*, “Quhare mony men war of valour”=maint vaillant poingneor (IV. 10022), “The ax in his hand of steill” (II. 4486)—or of obscurity, “of Inde the auld Clarus” (II. 273), “Clarus King” (II. 2009). Inversion does not tend to give force: “This message do for 3ow I will” (I. 861), “Abone all knichtis to loif thow is,” “He said, ‘ane presoner heir is’” (II. 4949), “Hir fare-hede and her fassoun all” (2400), &c.; or clearness of expression, “To the pacock that slew Porrus” [the subject] (IV. 8960). Similar peculiarities are conspicuous also in the ‘Bruce’—*e.g.*, “mastis,” “fast is” (XVII. 715), “The tothir part went in the toun is” (III. 240), where a rime must be provided for “pail3ownys.”

With *nane* inversion is almost the rule, “Is nane on lyfe” (I. 2584). Cp. 2520, “Held nane on hors that euer he met” (I. 2904).

<sup>9</sup> *E.g.*, O.Sc. laws (end of fourteenth century), “he aw throu the toun to be dungyn” (‘D. S. Sc.’ p. 32).



loses its delicacy; thus "grailles par les flancs" is not very happily rendered as "small in vame" (I. 667). But the translation has all the homelier merits: clearness, force, directness, fidelity. The lines have the satisfying ring of the ballad. Some find a curious echo in Thomas Campbell, "Sic leuch before that now sall greit," and Sir Walter Scott, "The straik was great, the sword was gude." Others have even a certain melody and a glint of poetry—*e.g.*, the couplet which tells how they found old Cassamus' dead body on the stricken field at Ephesoun:—

"Thay socht him all day to the nicht  
And fand him with the euin licht" (IV. 10673).

The battle-scenes especially are well rendered, with a rugged power worthy of the spirited French epic. If in the social scenes described the tone is not always that of the sprightly Jacques de Longuyon, the phrases are such as he would have used had he been born north of Tweed to ply the easy-going alliterative couplet of the times. Jacques is not so much translated as transplanted into a rougher soil, transfused into a duller medium; but if he is not, in the present-day Academic sense, translated, neither is he betrayed.

### § 13. THE PERSONAL ELEMENT IN THE RENDERING.

Because of this fidelity, the mass of the work permits no conclusions as to the translator's personality, except that he was no garrulous moraliser, ever ready to desert his text in the interests of his own *obiter dicta*, but a man of conscience, bent only on a workmanlike rendering of the admired romance. The few lines or phrases which



he does contribute—*i.e.*, those which are not accounted for by any of the numerous MSS. of 'Les Vœux,' are of all the greater interest as being in a sense the only specimens we possess of his own composition, and therefore likely to betray something of his personality. They are not, of course, specimens of completely independent writing, being suggested indirectly by the subject-matter of the original, and the character of many is determined by those exigencies of rime and metre which affect any verse translation. A line must be filled out by a new phrase, or a new line added to complete a couplet. Thus, to provide a difficult rime, he gives, though rarely, a detail not justified by the French text: The 'Salamandar' is "ane foull that bredis in Alexander" [Alexandria]; Alexander, "That lord of Lyue was and Caldeis" (II. 1516), owes his fuller title to the fact that the preceding line ended in 'Grece'; the conquest of 'Damas' leads in the same way to that of 'Daurus, Pollus, and Nicholas' (II. 1251); the rime-word "harnes" calls forth "Speiris, swordis and all the sikkerness" (II. 346), and, strangely, "That is oylit without affrays" (II. 1399).

For such *metri causa* purposes he generally expands a word already used, expresses an idea implicit in the context, marks time with a harmless asseveration or the like,<sup>1</sup> or else supplies from his knowledge of the story a

<sup>1</sup> And Dedifeir *the fair citie*  
 Had wonnen, quhair Floridas *the fre*  
*Beleuit with him as of house* (II 3)  
 And maid him manrent with his hand (II 18)  
 His oist all haill thare gart he byde (II 1520)  
 Bot in seir steids haue I bene (II 1986)  
 In cumpany that war lang and braid (II 408)  
 [a mantle] Of Inde semit fare and fyne (II 1925)  
 That was sa mekill, great and squair (II 3184)  
 Illuminit with the low of lufe (II 5496)  
 [cp. Br. VIII 228: Thair speris . . . Of licht  
*Illumynit* all the feildis]  
 Forsuith, as now it stands thus: (II 236)

detail not figuring in the original at that particular stage,<sup>2</sup> or an infrequent exclamatory line.<sup>3</sup> Much of this added matter consists of conventional Middle English phrases and stop-gaps.<sup>4</sup> Sufficient, however, remains to give the glimmer of a personality, as of a man revelling in the pomp and circumstance of war, at least to the extent of interpolating a couplet now and then where none is absolutely indispensable: armour,<sup>5</sup> the joy of battle,<sup>6</sup> the charge of a single rider or the onrush of cavalry,<sup>7</sup> the racing and chasing of a raiders' fight,<sup>8</sup> the

And to our mater turn will we (III 6737)

Quharefore I requyre 3ow and pray (II 561)

As man suld de, this wait I wele (II 2404)

Or I sall sell baith craft and art ! (II 4552)

<sup>2</sup> Into thy solace eftir wine (II 1358)

the nobill pray

That mony ane brocht to decay (II 62)

Betys,

Thy eme, that was of mekill prys (II 1572)

<sup>3</sup> Bot vther wayis it micht not be ! (II 42)

Thare dyit ma men na anew ! (II 3340)

<sup>4</sup> Baith King and Casare, knicht and knaif (II 162, 418)

For wyse men hes said (II 391)

Thair sall nane that is borne of wyfe (II 1486)

[Cp. Wynt. VI (W) 1966 :

And na man suld be borne of wif]

And nocht ane leif, les nor mare (II 340)

Or de, or than cum recryand (II 214)

<sup>5</sup> Armit weill baith fute and hand (III 6631 and 7080)

Or sport him-self, assayis his weid (II 1538)

That naked war and of weir vnsle (II 1670)

<sup>6</sup> Quhen Betys saw his men sa stad,

To succour thame great will he had (II 1173)

The Effesonis war rushit thare,

Makand great noyes, dule and care (II 1807)

That ay aganes ane war ten (II 1546)

And mony ane cowart hes gart quake (II 1776)

Geuand and takand woundis wyde (II 4172)

War laid at eard but recovering (IV 8622)

He rushit down of blude all rede (IV 10239)

<sup>7</sup> And he to him come, as of were. (II 1226)

[Cp. Wynt. V (C) 2057 : Withe a gret ost as of weire.]

And thay come prekand at deray (II 1326, 1830, 3072, 4412)

All sarraly ridand in battale (II 1199)

Gyrdand with sheilde and spere in hand (II 1322)

For-outten affray, aduysedly (II 584)

That men be countenance micht ken (II 1682)

<sup>8</sup> For to defend all the flearis,

And for to stony the chaissaris (I 2777)

Toward thame we raid sa fast

That we ouertuke thame at the last (IV 10555)

beating of a retreat (with a particular fondness for the word "away"),<sup>9</sup>—the personality of one interested in knightly qualities, moral or physical,<sup>10</sup> and indulging on occasion a pretty vein of picturesque abuse<sup>11</sup> and grim humour.<sup>12</sup>

But throughout there is a clearer impression of the writer than of the man, a marked tendency to introduce an astonishing variety of pious exclamations—*e.g.* :

And swore be God and all his nicht (II. 311).  
deir God that I anour! (IV. 8944): cp. I. 557, 570,  
&c.; IV. 8397, &c.

Sometimes a particular phrase or word occurs so often, independently of the French, as to be clearly a mannerism—*e.g.*, "honour" and "tour"; "honour" is once

<sup>9</sup> Maugre thairis, away thay went. (II 1351)  
And syne went to the wod away. (II 3972)  
Sa lychtly passis thow nocht away! (II 4090)

<sup>10</sup> He hopit ane better bachlere,  
Na better taucht in all manere,  
Was nocht in warld (II 1995)  
And sen God hes sik ane to vs send  
Quhair nathing may be to amend (II 1977)  
With corpis courtes & debonare (II 1942)  
<sup>11</sup> to hate as the dede [=death] (II 1549, 1616, &c.)  
And hait him all that seis with E (II 1260)  
We aucht hait him in mane and mude. (II 2780)  
3on couetous, 3on skarce lymmar (II 206)  
Crabbit, contrarious, lene and cald. (II 2094)

<sup>12</sup> I trow that thair was sum of tha,  
To sell thare spurris that tyme na wald (I 2734)  
Ane lute droury he hes thame hecht  
= Qui promet a Clarus une male journée (II 336)  
Clarus sall by his barganyng (II 2287)  
Anone on nede he sall bargane by (III 6633)  
3e sall be sone  
Seruit with Caneus on his steid,  
= Ja venra Can. (III 6134)  
[Cp. Br. XVI 451, 454: with swerdis . . . Thai *seruit tham*]  
But, or thay all be cummin thare,  
The sydis of sum may sow full sair  
= Mais ançois qu'il i soient serontil plus hurté (I 2758) [cp. Br. XVI  
391 E]

Of handis and heidis, baith braune and blude,  
He maid ane *larnare* quhare he stude,  
= De piez, de poings, de testes faisoit sa venoison (II 4519)  
[Cp. Br. V 410, Tharfor the men of that cuntre,  
For sic thingis that mellit were,  
Callit it "the Douglas *lardenere*"]

prompted by the French (II. 3449), but elsewhere is due to the translator himself, and may even inspire whole lines—*e.g.* :

Fynely walled with mony tour,  
Famiask aucht all that honour (II. 13).  
Bot Babilon the maister tour (II. 38).

Similarly II. 186, 234, 628, 1500, 2126.

“ Apartly ” is a favourite word :

And sho apartly aschamyt is (II. 3904),  
Sall ishe to thame apartly ;  
In middes the visage hardely  
=Adont leur courons sus (II. 2841).  
Ferrand is win richt apertly  
=Ferrans est gaaigniés (IV. 8393).

And so are the phrases :

craggis

That had *ane archearis schot* on hicht (II. 473).  
Sik *marterdome* sall we mak, I hecht (II. 1544).  
*Se his point* [= opportunity] (I. 1409, 1499).  
for all is *at rebours* (II. 534).  
*vailze quod vailze* (II. 1565).

A taste for legal and administrative words is somewhat pronounced : avowie (I. 606) ; cenatour [possibly suggested by Geoffrey of Monmouth’s “ senators,” as in ‘ Morte Arthure ’] ; He [Ingramound] was ane mychty cenatour (I. 1019) ; constabill (I. 29, 421, 2303, 2315) ; liege pouste (II. 3153) ; sasing, I am first luffit and in sasing [= possession] (II. 650 and 1403) ; parcenel (I. 2960).

Some of the obscurer proper names of the French are occasionally altered. They are not always very convincing in the French, and metre probably dictated some of the changes. Of those which are apparently the translator’s own inventions, three bear a suspicious likeness to historical names familiar to the author of the ‘ Bruce ’ :

“ Amer,” “ Arundel,” and “ Ingramound ” (riming with “ ground ”).<sup>13</sup>

In short, having shut out from view the great mass of the ‘ Buik,’ as being the work of French poets, and concentrated our gaze upon those isolated phrases which are the translator’s, we have seen as in a glass darkly lineaments which, as this inquiry proceeds, will reveal themselves more and more clearly as at least very similar to those of John Barbour.

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## CHAPTER IV.: THE CONTROVERSY ON AUTHORSHIP AND DATE OF COMPOSITION.

### § 14. THE TRANSLATOR’S TESTIMONY.

THE ‘ Buik ’ contains no mention of the author’s name. In the Prologue of Part II. he tells us how “ in mery May,” mourning for one whom he had loved in vain, he resolved to “ translait in inglis leid Ane romains . . . Of amourus, armis and of droury,” for wise men say that intellectual pursuits turn the mind from all folly. In the Colophon he states his purpose to have been somewhat different :—

“ To short thame that na Romanes can,  
This buke to translait I began,”

and ends his task with an exhortation to his readers to profit by the noble example of Alexander the Great.

<sup>13</sup> ‘ Schyr Amer ’ [de Valence], Br. II 308 and *passim*; the ‘ Erle of Arundel ’ (Leland, quoting ‘ Scalacronica ’: see Skeat’s note to Br. XVI 342); ‘ schir Yngerame de Vmphrewell,’ Br. VI 3, &c.; ‘ schir Ynggram,’ Br. II 252 [The ‘ Guy Marmaduke ’ of ‘ B.A. ’ is apparently suggested by the French text].



But such revelations reveal little. To be crossed in hopeless love is a well-known device of mediæval prologue writers, whether they be gay worldlings or grave ecclesiastics,<sup>1</sup> and often bears as little relation to humdrum fact as does our translator's description of "mery May" to the grim realities of the Scottish spring. Such confessions may even be true, but they convey little information when names are withheld. And why should translations from French ever be made unless for the pleasure, or for the edification, of those who know no French?

If the translator's identity remains undisclosed, the date of his translation is given explicitly and with all due precision in the Colophon:—

And ȝe may alsweill, gif ȝe will,  
Do the gude and haue louing  
As quhylum did this nobill King,  
That ȝit is prysed for his bounte,  
The quhether thre hundreth ȝeir was he  
Before the tyme that God was borne  
To saue our saullis, that was forlorne.  
*Sensyne is past ane thousand ȝeir,  
Four hundreth and threttie thair-to neir,  
And aucht and sumdele mare, I wis.*  
God bring vs to his mekill blis,  
That ringis ane in trinitie.  
Amen, amen for cheritie!

In this date, 1438, there is nothing inherently improbable, because early French works usually did take at least a

<sup>1</sup> The translator of the 'Legends of the Saints' begins his Prologue with the remark, by Dionysius Cato, that "Idilnes giffis novrissingis To viciis," and the merits of translation as a cure for love-sickness are set forth in the Prologue of 'Lancelot of the Laik' (S.T.S., 1912). The 'Roman de Troie' in prose begins in the same way:

"Les anciens sages qui de philosophie parlerent nous defendent a mener nostre vie ocieusement et sanz labour, par ce qui ociousetez esmuet le cuer et encline le cors a touz vices" . . . Therefore we ought to . . . "entendre les euvres des anciens et des vieilles estoires."

century to appear in an English dress, and we know that in 1460 the 'Roman d'Alixandre' actually was being turned into Scots.<sup>2</sup> But critics have found it so incon-

<sup>2</sup> The other Scottish verse rendering of the 'Roman d'Alixandre' was made about 1460 by Sir Gilbert Hay, a native of Fife and kinsman to the Earls of Erroll, who, having spent twenty-four years in France and been Chamberlain to Charles VII., returned home, soon after the death of the Dauphiness Margaret of Scotland in 1445, and devoted his declining years to the translation of various French works into Scots.

Although modern commentators have not unnaturally confused his 'Buik' with ours, there is no connexion between them. Sir Gilbert Hay uses the five-stressed riming couplet; his rendering is much freer; it abridges the French text, condensing 'Li Fuertes de Gadres' and 'Les Vœux du Paon' into one-fifth of the number of Scots lines required by our translator, and it includes not only these two episodes but the whole 'Roman d'Alixandre.'

The extracts which we print (Vol. IV, notes to lines I, 1 and 33; IV, 11138) show that his method of translation is quite different and that, however drastic may have been the rehandling of the text in 1499, he owes nothing to his predecessor, of whose very existence he seems to have been unaware. Sir Gilbert Hay believed that the 'Roman d'Alixandre' had never before been translated in Scotland.

His prose translations are in print: 'Gilbert of the Haye's Prose MS. (1456)': Vol. I, 'The Buik of the Law of Armys, or Buik of Bataillis'; Vol. II, 'The Buik of the Ordre of Knychthede' and 'The Buik of the Governance of Princis,' ed. J. H. Stevenson, S.T.S., Old Series, Nos. 44 and 62. But the 'Alexander,' which contains upwards of 20,000 lines, has never been published. It is preserved only in the Taymouth Castle MS., discovered about 1834 and first mentioned in Laing's edition of Dunbar published in that year. The MS. (middle of the 16th century) descends from one written in 1499, which must have been imperfect, since in the Taymouth MS. the Prologue and the opening lines are absent, and the text begins in the middle of a period, 36 leaves, at the beginning, being left blank. The MS. was communicated in 1896 by the owner, the Marquis of Breadalbane, to Dr A. Herrmann, who published a description of it, together with a summary of the contents and a few extracts. 'The Taymouth Castle MS. of Sir Gilbert Hay's Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour,' Berlin (R. Gaertner), 1898, 23 pp.

The following are the lines in Dr Herrmann's transcription which throw light on the origins of the work, as known to the scribe or *remanieur* in 1499:—

Fo. 227 . . . Now is our buik brocht fastlee till ane end.

Fo. 228 Louit be the Lord the drop of grace me send,  
 The quhilk I askit at ye beginning  
 To grant me grace to mak ane fair ending,  
 Quhen I the making undertakin hade,  
 For to fulfill the hecht that I haif maid,  
 And at ye instance of ye vorthee lorde,  
 As in the prologe ve haif maid recorde . . .  
 All this that follouis is bot the excusatioune  
 Of him that maid the first translatioun;  
 Bot in this buik sone efter 3e sall se  
 Quha causit this buik againe to vrettin be;  
 Quhair and be quhome, quhat tyme it vrettin vas,

venient that they have indulged in computations unwarranted by the text. Thus Sir Walter Scott<sup>3</sup> suggested that 'Sensyne' might be interpreted as "since the death of Alexander," to give the date 1138. Dr Neilson<sup>4</sup> showed, though unconvincingly, how the figures may have been transposed, or misread, or brought up to his own date by a later scribe; others have hinted that "thair-to neir" might justify subtraction of 38 from 1400, or that the Colophon was added by another hand. But that it is demonstrably in the same style and language as the rest of the 'Buik' will be clear to any one who checks its

In termes schort to 3ow I sall rehers.  
 I vill vret furthe befor me as I find,  
 His excusatioune I vill not leaf behind.  
 Translatit it vas forsuithe as I hard say  
 At the instance of Lord erskeine be sir gilbert hay,  
 Quhilk into France treulie vas duelland  
 Veill tuentye four 3eir out of Scotland  
 And in the king of Francis seruice vas,  
 Quhair of our avin leid he had mair distres  
 Of conversatioune, cumpannie and collatioune.\*  
 Treulie it is full gret mereit  
 Guid thingis for to be put in vret.  
 Of this to spak now vill I lait alaine,  
 And to the translatour now vill I pas againe,  
 Efter his vreting schortlie to conclude  
 That this gret storie, vicht† as he onderstuid,  
 Richt sua he vret vithe his avin proper hand,  
 Vas neuer befor translatit in this land,  
 That is to say, out of ye frenche leid . . .  
 Thankit be god! now heir hand‡ haif I endit  
 This nobill buik and pairt of faltis mendit  
 Vithe help of him yat maid ye first indyt.  
 Thair is na man vithe out sum falt may vret . . .  
 Thus I begane in the lustie tyme of may  
 And endit in august the ane and tuentye day.  
 The same time that I this buik could end,  
 Fra cryst the cours of 3eiris could descend  
 A thousand four hunderithe nyntie 3eiris and nyne  
 Fra crystis birthe ar passit by sensyne.  
 The saming 3eir, the treuthe gif I sall tell,  
 Into this realme thair rang a pestilence fell . . .  
 heir endis the buik of King Alexander ye Conquerour.

\* A line is evidently wanting.

† richt?

‡ ? neirhand.

<sup>3</sup> Letter, Ashiestiel, 29th July 1805, to Alexander Gibson Hunter of Blackness, printed by Laing, 'Adversaria,' p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> 'J. B.,' pp. 45-8.

words and phrases on our Glossary in Vol. IV., and its only legitimate interpretation is that the translation was completed in the early months of 1438. The statement may not be true, but it is unambiguous.

### § 15. DOUBTS AND MISGIVINGS.

Few have read the 'Buik of Alexander' and remained quite satisfied with its anonymity and professed date. When the unique copy was discovered in 1805, it was sent to Sir Walter Scott as the competent authority. He had edited 'Sir Tristrem' in 1804, and he was familiar with Barbour's 'Bruce,' from which he borrowed freely in at least three of his later works.<sup>1</sup> He read the 'Buik' with the greatest interest, and made an analysis of it for his own use.<sup>2</sup> He was struck by the likeness to Barbour's style, and considered the language older than that of 1438. He hesitated, as well he might, to call in question a date stated with such damning precision, but was tempted to speculate half-heartedly on the possibilities of arriving at an earlier one. Dr Jamieson, in 1820, expressed similar doubts.<sup>3</sup> David Laing, after reprinting the 'Buik' in 1831 without comment, maintained on the whole problem a silence at first discreet, because of the disagreement with Miller (see § 3), then prudent, because of the disquieting discovery of another early Scottish 'Alexander' at Taymouth Castle in 1834 (see § 14 *n.* 2), and at last broken in 1867, when his words

<sup>1</sup> 'The Lord of the Isles,' 'Castle Dangerous,' 'Tales of a Grandfather'; see Skeat, ed. 'Bruce,' iii., p. lxxv.

<sup>2</sup> Subsequently printed in Weber's 'Metrical Romances,' Edinburgh, 1810, Vol. i., pp. lxxii-iii.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. 'Bruce' (1820), p. 434.



betrayed ominous misgivings on the question of authorship and date.<sup>4</sup>

Silence reigned once more until the early 'nineties, when a student of Berlin, Albert Herrmann, in quest of a doctorate subject, came upon the Bannatyne Club reprint, and, in the course of his inquiry into the language of the 'Buik,' turned, for purposes of comparison, to analogous Scottish texts and selected—there is, alas! little choice—Barbour's 'Bruce.' There he was startled to find, not similarity, but identity, and soon collected so formidable a list of phrases and whole lines common to both texts as to leave no doubt in his mind that they stood in some very intimate relationship with each other. The 'Buik' of 1438 being suspiciously similar to the 'Bruce' of 1375, Dr Herrmann's conclusion in 1893<sup>5</sup>—and none other was possible from such premises—was that an admiring and anonymous disciple, who knew large portions of the 'Bruce' by heart and was saturated with Barbour's phraseology, had translated the French romance in the dead master's style.

#### § 16. DR NEILSON'S VIEW.

Dr George Neilson, adding considerably to Herrmann's long list of similarities and parallel passages, found, on reference to some of the French MSS., that some of the phrases and lines common to the 'Bruce' and the 'Buik' were exact renderings of the French. He thus

<sup>4</sup> "That he [Barbour] could not possibly have been acquainted with the Buik is undeniable if it was translated . . . in the year indicated at the end. . . . The language might be referred to the latter part of the fourteenth century." 'Adversaria,' p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> 'Untersuchungen über das schottische Alexanderbuch,' Dissertation, Halle, 1893, p. 87.

came to the conclusion that Herrmann's theory did not fit the facts. For how, indeed, could a disciple serve two masters, remain scrupulously faithful to the French text and yet reproduce the "ipsissima verba" of the biography of a Scottish king? No amount of "admiration" could draw from Barbour's 'Bruce' an exact rendering of the French. There must, therefore, be some error in the dates. Now few facts in early literary history are more certain than that the 'Bruce' was composed in 1375. The date of the 'Bruce' being unassailable, that of the 'Buik' must be erroneous. Dr Neilson became convinced, moreover, that the style and metre of both works betrayed a single hand. He concluded that Barbour had translated the French romance, and then used his translation as a model when composing the 'Bruce,' and that "1438" was an error for some date prior to 1375.

Dr Neilson did not content himself with claiming for Barbour the honour of translating 'Li Fuerres' and 'Les Vœux.' He claimed for him also authorship of the 'Troy-book,' part authorship of the Legends of the Saints, and friendship, if not collaboration, with the mysterious 'Huchown,' who is generally believed to have composed the 'Pistil of Sute Susane,' and, less generally, the version of the 'Morte Arthure' given by the Thornton MS.<sup>1</sup> This 'Huchown'—no doubt the "gude Syr Hew of Eglintoun" lamented by Dunbar, and possibly a cleric who lived at Cunningham—Dr Neilson endeavoured to identify with the historical Sir Hugh of Eglinton [(c. 1312-76), who also lived at Cunningham and who was a brother-in-law of Robert II. and Auditor of Exchequer at the same time as Barbour, from 1372 to 1376<sup>2</sup>], and

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, § 11, n. 5.

<sup>2</sup> 'Huchown of the Awle Ryale,' p. 8.

with "the Gawain poet," and ascribed to Sir Hugh some fifteen other works, including (*excusez du peu!*) the masterpieces 'Pearl' and 'Patience.'

§ 17. DR J. T. T. BROWN *versus* DR NEILSON.

Dr Neilson stated the case for Barbour's authorship of the 'Buik' with all the weight of his well-known learning and exact scholarship, but so confidently and with such exuberance as to invite criticism, which soon came, searching, merciless, extremely clever, from Dr J. T. T. Brown, by then famous for his slashing onslaught on the authenticity of the 'Kingis Quair.' Dr Brown conceded that the parallel passages adduced were too numerous and too close to be explained away as coincidences. Phrases and lines originally used to translate the French romance had, in fact, afterwards been utilised for the 'Bruce.' But of this admitted fact he proposed a very different explanation. The date of 1438 was perfectly sound, but the 'Bruce' as we know it—*i.e.*, from copies written nearly a hundred years after Barbour's death—was not the 'Bruce' as it left the author's hands. It was a late fifteenth-century redaction thereof, containing interpolations, such as the account of the campaign of 1327, and a detail in the incident of the Bruce's heart (Douglas casting it before him in the field), and "decorated" with extracts from the 'Morte Arthure,' Froissart, Chaucer, Lydgate, Wyntoun and Holland, but chiefly from the 'Buik of Alexander.' Dr Brown even proceeded to identify both the translator of the 'Buik' and the redactor of the 'Bruce.' David Rate made the translation, and some thirty-five years later John Ramsay,

when he wrote his MS. of the 'Bruce,' used that translation to improve on Barbour.<sup>1</sup>

Thus were the issues obscured by extraneous matter: the "other works"<sup>2</sup> of the industrious Barbour and his friend the prolific Huchown, the occult operations of the irrelevant David Rate and the secret improving tendencies of John Ramsay. Such were the elements of the great controversy which, from taut little books bristling with "parallel passages" and replete with chapter and verse, was soon overflowing into the columns of the weekly and even the daily press,<sup>3</sup> and was waged with a zest and vigour unsurpassed since the *Flyting* of Dunbar and Kennedy. The ease with which both scholars moved in the obscurer recesses of northern learning which they ransacked for projectiles was as admirable as the skill with which each obtained on the rival theory what are now called direct hits. Before long each had demolished the other's more startling contentions, and, inadver-

<sup>1</sup> 'Bruce and Wallace,' p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> "Master Barbour, quhilk was a worthi clerk,  
He said the Bruce amang his othir werk." 'Wall.' XI 1213.

<sup>3</sup> George Neilson:

'Rimes in Barbour,' in the 'Athenæum,' 27th February 1897, pp. 279-80. 'John Barbour, John Trumpour, and a Legend of the Saints,' in the 'Scottish Antiquary,' Vol. xi. (1897), pp. 103-7; 'The Real Scots Wha Hae,' *Ibid.*, xiv. (1899), pp. 29-39; 'John Barbour, Poet and Translator' (Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Co.), 1900, pp. viii + 57 [reprinted from 'Trans. Philol. Soc.,' 1899-1902]. 'Barbour and the alleged John Ramsay': 'Letter' in the 'Daily News,' 30th October 1900; in the 'Scotsman,' 12th November 1900; 'John Barbour *versus* John Ramsay,' 'Athenæum,' 17th November and 1st December 1900. 'Huchown of the Awle Ryale and his Poems: Examined in the light of recent Criticism,' Royal Philosophical Society, Glasgow, 27 pp. 'Huchown of the Awle Ryale, the Alliterative Poet,' Glasgow (Maclehose), 1902, pp. xiii + 148. 'Barbour,' art. in Chambers's 'Cyclopædia of English Literature,' Vol. i.

J. T. T. Brown:

'The Author of Ratis Raving': Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik, Bonn (P. Hanstein), Heft V (1900), pp. 145-61. 'The Wallace and The Bruce restudied': Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik, Heft VI (1900), viii + 174 pp. 'Letter' in the 'Scotsman,' 14th November 1900 [reply to Dr Neilson's letter of 12th November].



tently, some of his own. Dr Neilson made short work of David Rate and the alleged fifteenth-century redactor's name and address, together with his excerpts from Froissart, Chaucer, and Holland, although he failed to authenticate the interpolation concerning the Bruce's heart.<sup>4</sup> Dr Brown's artillery made lamentable gaps in the elaborately constructed world figure of John Barbour, Admirable Crichton of the fourteenth century, poet, translator from French as from Latin of 'Ferumbras,' as of Guido delle Colonne and the 'Legenda Aurea,' friend and literary counsellor to the shadowy author of the 'Morte Arthure,' author himself of practically everything else in early Scottish literature and rightful heir to all unclaimed texts.

#### § 18. INCONCLUSIVE RESULT OF THE CONTROVERSY.

To a cause thus shorn of its bolder claims each protagonist won adherents of repute. Herrmann, left with-

<sup>4</sup> 'Athenæum,' 17th November 1900: Wyntoun (VIII 3125), referring to Douglas' mission with the heart, says:

And gud Schir Iames of Dowglasse  
His hart tuk, as fyrst ordande was,  
For to bere in to the Halilande.  
How at that was tane on hande  
Weil proportis Broyssis Buk,  
Qwha thar of the mater wil luk.

Wynt. VIII (C) 3121.

And Holland, *c.* 1449, in his 'Howlat,' i., 395, clearly indicates the 'Bruce.' But Dr Neilson's reply misses the point. What is suspect is not the Episode of the Bruce's Heart, but one incident in it—Douglas casting the Heart before him on the battlefield—which is absent from MSS. C and E and found only in Hart's print. Dr Brown maintained, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-2, that this incident is taken from Holland's 'Howlat.' The (16) lines, which contain no less than three sets of rimes found nowhere else in the 'Bruce,' are considered by Skeat to be interpolations. Mr W. M. Mackenzie discards *all* Hart's additions.

out a case, recanted and ranged himself under Dr Brown's banner.<sup>1</sup> Henry Bradley,<sup>2</sup> Andrew Lang,<sup>3</sup> and Mr W. M. Mackenzie<sup>4</sup> lent Dr Neilson their qualified support. But the mass of critical opinion remained neutral, unconvinced by the arguments of either side. In the controversy an atmosphere of forensic skill and special pleading had been felt, due possibly to the fact that the protagonists were not only eminent scholars, but distinguished Glasgow lawyers. A faint suspicion prevailed that both were speaking to a self-imposed brief, and that neither might be so wholly and entirely right as he believed. Dr Neilson was thought to have made out in Barbour's favour a strong but not a conclusive case, so strong that no account of Barbour would thenceforth be complete which did not mention his authorship of the 'Buik' as having been mooted, but inconclusive because he was held to suffer the fate of those who would prove too much. Dr Brown had on his side the clear evidence of the printed date, the respect for the dead hand and the fact that the 'Bruce' is just such a work as succeeding generations love to enrich with further episodes, of which one (in Hart's print) had been detected and others seemed suspicious, and that some of the "parallels" he adduced were, at the least, extremely

<sup>1</sup> In his review of Dr Brown's 'Wall. and Br.' in 'Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen,' cvii., pp. 419-23. Mr W. Hand Brown, 'Mod. Lang. Notes,' xvi. (1901), p. 54, wrote: "The impression produced on my mind by previous reading of the 'Bruce' was . . . that the 'Bruce' has been extensively tampered with by some one between 1420 and 1487. These impressions are confirmed by Mr Brown's researches."

<sup>2</sup> In the letter written to Dr Furnivall to open the discussion after Dr Neilson had read his paper to the Philological Society on 22nd June 1900: see 'Glasgow Herald,' 25th June 1900.

<sup>3</sup> In the 'Daily News,' 18th October 1900.

<sup>4</sup> In his admirable edition of the 'Bruce,' London (A. & C. Black), 1900, pp. xxiii + 547.

disquieting.<sup>5</sup> It was felt that, while his particular theory of redaction had failed, another might not, that the 'Bruce' might well have been rehandled and expanded, as the contemporary Latin Chronicle of Fordun was, and might yet be proved to contain other elements added since Barbour's day, and that meantime the 'Buik' must remain anonymous, with the date 1438.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> "And the gud lord of Douglass syne  
Gert mak ane cass of siluir fyne  
Annamylyt throu subtilte.  
Thar-in the Kyngis hert did he,  
And ay about his halss it bare,  
And fast bownyt for his fare."—(Br. XX. 303.)

Cp. third redaction of Froissart (Lettenhove, 1863, pp. 119-21): "*Si fu ouvers et embasmé et son coer pris et enbaupsmiés et couchiés en petit vasselet d'or si ricement ouvré que on ne pooit mieuls, et mis une chainne d'or. Messire Guillaume Douglas en encarga la chaîne et le vasselet d'or ou li coers dou roi Robert.*"

"Thar wes ilk day lustyng of wer,  
And scrymmyng maid full apertly,  
And men tane on ather party."—(Br. XIX. 520.)

"Toute-fois y avoit-il tous les jours gens escarmouchants d'une part et d'autre, et souvent des morts et des pris."—(Froissart, xli.)

The earliest sixteenth century Scottish historians use Froissart, not the 'Bruce,' as their source. Cp. Major's account of the 1327 invasion, VI. iii.: "And in this part of my history more credence will be given to Froissart," and Stewart, 'Bk. Cron. Sc.' (Record Publ., III. 432)—

"Maister Johne Frosard . . .  
Quhais sentence is nocht for to impugn."

Froissart appropriated the Chronicle written, as a 'History of Edward III., 1326-61,' by Jean le Bel (*b. c.* 1290, *d.* 1370), who had served among the Hainault auxiliaries under Jean de Hainaut with the army of Edward III. in the campaign of 1327 against the Scots. From 1373 onwards Froissart arranged the historical gleanings of his travels—*e.g.*, in Scotland (1363). It is impossible that Barbour can have seen "advance sheets of Froissart's work." Conclusion: The 'Bruce' was edited in the fifteenth century by somebody borrowing from a very late text of Froissart (not from le Bel). J. T. T. Brown in the 'Athenæum,' 24th November 1900, and *op. cit.*, pp. 137 and 150.

<sup>6</sup> *E.g.*, Professor W. A. Craigie, 'Eng. Hist. Rev.,' xvi. (1901), pp. 405-6. "Mr Neilson's results are to be received with some caution. . . . However probable his contention may be, his methods in proving it lack something in clearness and completeness."

T. F. Henderson, 'Engl. Studien,' xxx. (1902), p. 289: "The arguments of Mr Neilson, at present, seem to me unconvincing. . . . The large majority of his passages are the merest commonplaces."

J. H. Millar, 'A Literary History of Scotland' (Fisher Unwin, 1903), p. 15: "The resemblances in phrase and tone may be adequately

CHAPTER V.: SIMILAR LINES IN THE  
'BRUCE' AND THE 'BUIK.'

## § 19. AN IRREDUCIBLE MINIMUM.

THE similarities of language in the 'Bruce' and the 'Buik' which fanned such flames of controversy are so numerous as to be embarrassing, and it is impossible to handle all the material without tedious repetition, because almost any given line may be compared with several. To reduce the examples, for the moment, to manageable proportions we usually cite only once those which recur *passim* in both texts, and we exclude those which (a) can be readily matched elsewhere than in Barbour; or (b) seem mainly verbal, and therefore admit of classification under the general heading of 'Language' in Chapter

accounted for by the hypothesis that the 'Buik' was the work of an enthusiastic disciple of the Archdeacon."

Dr J. Maitland Thomson in 'Sc. Hist. Rev.,' October 1909: "When we find Neilson compelled to ascribe the 'Buik' to Barbour and to assign it a conjectural date sixty years earlier . . . we cannot regard the position as secure. Some day a 'vigorous and rigorous' criticism may draw a clear line between the original poem and the later accretions."

Wm. Geddie, 'Bibliography of Middle Scots,' S.T.S., 1908, p. 66, places the 'Buik' under the heading "Barbour: Disputed or Spurious Works."

Dr P. Giles, in 'Cambridge Hist. Eng. Lit.,' i., p. 448: "Either the book is the work of Barbour preserved in a somewhat later form, or the author was saturated with Barbour's diction, so that he continually repeats his phrases." [The Master of Emmanuel takes no risks!]

Professor Gregory Smith, 'Encycl. Brit.,' 1910, art. Barbour: "The 'argument' as it stands is nothing more than an exaggerated inference from parallel passages. . . . Should the assumption be proved to be correct, it will be by 'evidence' other than that which has been produced to this date."

J. E. Wells, 'Manual of the Writings in M.E.' (Yale Univ. Press, 1916), xv+941 pp.; p. 106: "The efforts to ascribe 'B. A.' to Barbour are not acceptable."

The Oxford English Dictionary maintains 1438 to this day in its (rare) quotations from the 'Buik.'

XIII. ; or (c) occur in the two portions of the 'Bruce' which, whatever the rest may be, are demonstrably authentic, and thus merit separate treatment—viz., the Prologue and Wyntoun's Excerpt. Opinions will differ as to what constitutes notable similarity, and as to the precise point at which agreement becomes more than verbal. Any list must be to some extent arbitrary.<sup>1</sup> Omitting as far-fetched many of the "parallels" hitherto adduced, and including others which have passed unobserved, we believe the following, arranged according to their order in the 'Bruce,' to be an irreducible minimum :—

N.B.—*Examples quoted later, in §§ 25 and 26, are not entered here. The French text is added, when of interest. Lines not paralleled in any of the French MSS. examined are indicated "not in F." In the right-hand column, in square brackets, we add (as a safeguard against rash assumptions) a few "parallels" occurring in other writers than Barbour.*

## THE 'BRUCE.'

## THE 'BUIK OF ALEXANDER.'

## YOUTH OF JAMES OF DOUGLAS.

Douglas . . .	Quhan I was ane lytill page (I 1253)
That wes than bot a litill page ;	Thow had bene of great vassalage
Bot syne he wes off gret waslage . . .	= molt estiés preus (I 2835)
(I 289)	
. . . he thoct ay encrely	And dois his dedes auysedly
To do his deid awysily (I 301)	= en ses fais avisés
	(II 674 and IV 10990)
And tak the vre that God wald	Now cum quhat euer God will send
send . . . (I 312)	(III 7307)
Cp. : Syne fall quhat evir that God	To leif or die quhiddir God will send
vill send (IX 32, IX 68, XI 405)	(I 637, III 5291)
	= De vivre ou de morir a hounor
	entendon (I 637, III 5291)

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<sup>1</sup> Dr Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 112, estimates the number of lines common to both texts as "between 150 and 200."



Br.

He wyst nocht quhat to do na say  
(I 318)

Bot he wes nocht sa fayr that we  
Suld spek gretly off his beaute :  
In wysage wes he sumdeill gray,  
And had blak har, as ic hard say ;  
Bot off lymmys lie wes weill maid,  
With banys gret and schuldris braid.  
His body wes weyll [maid and lenye]  
As thai that saw hym said to me  
(I 381)

And meyk and sweyt in cumpany  
(I 390)

Till Ector dar I nane comper  
(I 403)

B. A.

That I na wait quhat to do na say  
=je ne sai que pensser  
(III 5974)

Bot he was nocht sa fare, suthly,  
That men bird spek of him greatly  
For he wes brown, rede in visage  
= Mais n'estoit pas si biaux  
c'on en deüst parler  
Bruns estoit et vermaus . . .  
(II 2697)

With fare visage and sume dele rede  
= Visage lyonas, vermel comme  
charbon (III 3189)

With lymmys square and manly maid,  
And armys lang and schouleris braid  
[Not in F.] (I 671)

Courtes and meik in cumpany  
(II 3439)

To him [Alexander] I mak na man  
compair  
= A celui ne se prent roys ne dus  
ne marcis (II 75)

And his gude eme, quhome to that I  
Dar compare nane in na degre  
= Et son oncle, vers qui je ne  
l'os aätir. (I 1526)

DOUGLAS, WITH THE HELP OF THE BISHOP OF ST ANDREWS, JOINS  
THE BRUCE.

Schyr Edmund Cumyn als wes slayn  
And othir als of mekill mayn  
(II 37)

How he Erll Sabalour hes slane  
And uthir als of mekill mane  
(I 1449)

"Thow sall take Ferrand my palfray ;  
For thar na horss is in this land  
Sa swycht, na 3eit sa weill at hand"  
(II 118)

. . . my steid . . .  
Staluart and swyft and weill at hand  
= mes chevaus courans et d'aler  
volentieux (II 3435)  
[Cp. *Guy Warw.*, 6120: Ich haue  
the brought here a stede,  
In this world is better non at nede.  
*I.e.*, the steed which Guy gives to  
the Duke of Pavia]

And lap on hym delyuerly (II 142)

And on him lap delyverly  
= et ressaut en la sele  
(IV 9749)  
[Cp. *G. W.*, 4148: And lepe vp on  
his stede an hey]

## BR.

Der god, that is off hevyn king !  
(II 144)

All him alane the way he tais  
(II 146)

He thoct weile he suld be worthy ;  
For all his eldris war douchty  
(II 165)

Thair frendschip (lordschip IX 306)  
woux ay mar and mar  
(II 170, IX 306)

## B. A.

"Deir God," said he, "be heuennis  
king !" (IV 8399)

For be him that is heuennis king  
(I 570)

[Neither in F.]  
[Cp. *G. W.*, 6429 : And swore bi God,  
heuen king]

All him allane, the air he tais  
= Seuls (II 30)

That him worthy bird to be ;  
His eldars war of sik bounte  
=(MSS.) Que bien doit estre  
preus, ses ancestres fu tés  
(II 1760)

The mischeif vox ay mare and mare  
= La fu grant le meschief  
(IV 10148)

## THE BRUCE DEFIES AYMER DE VALENCE.

Bot thar fayis war may then thai,  
Be fiftin hunder, as ik herd say.  
(II 229)

And barownys that war bauld as bar  
(II 233)

Saw thaim cum swa inforcely  
(II 314)

Threttie thousand and ma, perfay,  
Be seuen hundreth, as I hard say.  
= il furent bien, .xxx. mil et .vij.  
cent (I 187)

The duke, that was bauld as bair  
= qui molt fu irascus (I 2350)

Than Gaudefeir enforsitly  
Cum, = moult effraïement  
(II 4633)

## THE BATTLE OF METHVEN.

"And a thing will I to yow say,  
That he that deis [*v.r.* dois] for his  
cuntre  
Sall herbryit in-till hewyn be."  
Quhen this was said, thai saw cumand  
Thar fayis ridand, ner at the hand  
Arayit rycht awisely,  
Willful to do chewalry  
(II 339)

That speris all to-fruschyt war  
(II 350)

And rowtis ruyd about thaim dang  
(II 356)

Quha for his Lord dois, he sall be  
Harbreid with Angellis gle  
= Qui muert por son seignor, o  
Dieu a mansion (I 651)

Emynedus saw neir approchand  
His fais, richt felloun neir cumand  
(I 815)

For with richt great cheualry  
Thair fais before thaim sall thay sie  
[Not in F.] (I 180)

That speiris all to-frushit are  
(IV 8654)

And routis royd about him dang  
(IV 10062)

## BR.

Men mycht haiff seyn in-to that  
 thrang  
 Knychtis that wucht and hardy war,  
 Undyr horss feyt defoulyt thar,  
 Sum woundyt, and sum all ded :  
 The gress woux off the blud all rede,  
 And thai, that held on horss, in hy  
 Swappyt owt swerdis sturdly  
 And swa fell strakys gave and tuk,  
 That all the renk about them quouk.  
 (II 357-65; cp. XII 582)

[Bruce] . . .

Sa hard and hewy dyntis gave  
 (II 369)]

His folk thaim put in hard assay,  
 To stynt thair fais mekill mycht  
 (II 371-2)

[Cp. : The king . . .  
 Wes set in-till full hard assay  
 (II 412, III 246, 270)

Thow art set in-till hard assay  
 (III 652)

And put him [= Edward I] in sa hard  
 assay (IV 192)]

Hys assen3he gan he cry  
 (II 378, III 27)

He all till-hewyt that he our-tuk  
 (II 381)

To conquyr thaim endles honour  
 (II 397)

And to Philip sic rout he raucht,  
 That thocht he wes off mekill  
 maucht (II 420)

[Cp. : And swa gret rowtis till him  
 raucht

That had nochte beyn his mekill  
 maucht. . . . (XIX 587)]

## B. A.

Vnder hors feit defouloit ware  
 = Honnies mors et navrés contre  
 terre gesir  
 (IV 9872 : cp. also I 2440-1)

The grene gras vox of blude all rede  
 And couered with wondit men and  
 dede

= Et l'erbe verde fu des mors  
 ensanglantée (IV 9254)

The sword he swappit out in hy  
 = et tret l'espée nue (I 155)

That the assemble all to-schoke  
 And the renkis all to-quoque  
 = Que li renc en fremissent en-  
 viron et en lé (IV 9709)

The hauy dintis to gif and taik  
 (I 2443)

He hes put to our hard assay  
 (I 3158)

War oft set on hard assay (I 2470)

He hes him set in hard assay  
 (I 2848)

To stynt thair fais (I 2294, 2498)  
 [Cp. Wynt. : To stynt with strenth  
 thar fais mycht  
 (W, V 3252 : quoting the 'Brute')]

His ensigne than can he cry  
 [Not in F.] (I 108)

He all to-hewit that he our-tuke  
 = Cui il ataint a cop . . . Tout  
 le trenche (IV 8735)

For to conquer honour lestand,  
 = pour honneur conquerer  
 (II 4920)

And Lyonell with all his maucht  
 Wpon the hede ane rout him raucht,  
 That to the schoulderis he him claue  
 And dede doun to the erd him draif.  
 = Et Lyones le fiert en la teste  
 chenué  
 Que l'espée li a jusqu'as dens  
 embatue (I 161)

Pirrus him smot with all his maucht,  
 And sa rude ane rout hes him raucht  
 (I 1457)

[Gij of him failed nau3t  
 With the ax he hath him rau3t,  
 That his heued he him to-clef :  
 All to ded to ground he draf  
 (G. W. (Caius) 6903)]

## BR.

Rycht to the tounе thai held thar  
way,  
Rycht glaid and ioyfull off thar pray.  
(II 444)

Bot he that may thar warand be  
(II 503)

## B. A.

The furreouris hes tane the way  
Toward the oist, mery and gay  
= Li Grieu se retornoient a l'ost  
molt liement (I 175)

For he his warrand weill may be  
= qui bien le puet guier  
(III 6331)

## JOHN OF LORNE ATTACKS THE BRUCE.

The quhethir he bauldly thaim abaid.  
(II 14)

. . . at thar fryst metyng  
War layd at erd but recoveryng  
(III 16)

His men till him he gan rely.  
(III 34 and IV 426)

To withdraw ws . . .  
Till we cum owt off thar daunger  
(III 43)

And the king him abandonyt ay  
To defend behind his menȝe.  
That he reskewyt all the flearis  
And stynyt swagat the chassaris  
(II 48, 51)  
[Cp. : Bot gud Gaudifer the worthi  
Abandonyt him so worthyly,  
For [10] reskew all the fleieris,  
And for to stonay the chasseris  
(III 79)]

And Marciane baldly him abaid  
= Et Marciens l'atent (II 1632)

. . . into thair first cumming  
War laid at eard but recovering  
[Not in F.] (IV 8622)

For ane . . .  
Among thame, at thare first meting  
Was slane, but ony recouering.  
= D'un de lor meillor homes le  
jor se deseuerent. (I 904)

His men to him he can rely  
= toute sa gent ralie (I 98)

With-draw vs hyne of thare danger,  
= Or retraions arriere (II 1282)

Ay behind can him abandoun  
(I 1992)

For to defend all the flearis  
And for to stony the chaissaris  
[Not in F.] (I 2777)

## THE THREE MACINDROSSERS ATTACK THE BRUCE.

That arme and schuldyr flaw him fra  
(III 115)

And strak with spuris the stede in hy,  
And he lansyt furth delyuerly.  
(III 121)

Quhill shulder and arme flew him fra  
= Si grant cop li donna Sus la  
senestre espaule que toute li  
copa (IV 10167)

With spurris he straik him sturdely,  
And he lansit deliuerly (I 1433)  
With spurris he brocht him in hy,  
And he lansit deliverly  
= Des esperons le hurte, cil tres-  
saut durement (I 2505)

## SIMILAR LINES IN 'BRUCE' AND 'BUIK.' lxxix

## Br.

He rouschit doun off blud all rede  
(III 139; V 645)

And fra the hart be discumfyt,  
The body is nocht worth a myt  
(III 197 and XII 187)

Ane rycht stalwart castell  
(III 732)

## B. A.

He rushit (duschit I 1047) doun of  
blude all rede  
(I 1047 and IV 10239)  
[Not in F.]

quhair hartis failzeis  
The laif of lymmes lytle vailzeis  
=Qu'en couart cuer failli vont  
li membre faillant  
(II 1421-22)

Sic thing as this hes discumfit  
Thare hartis all hale (II 2781-2)  
Nocht worth ane myte  
(I 1776)

His haubrek helpit him nocht ane  
myte (I 2266)  
[Neither in F.]

Ane stalwart Castel gart he mak  
=fist .i. chastel fermer (I 6)

## THE SIEGE OF KILDRUMMY.

And to the castell [=Kildrummy] (See opposite 'Br.' XVII 292)  
went in hy,  
And assegit it rygorusly;  
And mony tyme full hard assalit,  
Bot for to tak it 3eit thame falit.  
For thai within war richt vorthy,  
And thame defendit douchtely,  
And ruschit thair fais oft [E ost],  
agane,  
Sum best voundit, and sum ves slane.  
(IV 87-94)

Till on the morn that day was lycht  
(IV 158, 165; V 114, IX 207, X  
467, XIII 514, XIV 172, XIX  
715)

Quhil on the morne that day was  
licht  
=L'endemain au matin quant  
solaus dut lever (II 336)  
(cp. III 7916, &c.)

[Qwhil on the morn that day was licht  
Wynt., W, VII 872 (so V 1012,  
2874, VI 1203)]

And sone wes ryssyn schynand brycht  
(IV 166)  
[Cp. : The sone wes rysyn schynand  
bricht  
(VIII 216)]

The sone was rysing and schynit  
bricht  
=Li solaus fu levés, qui clere-  
ment luisi (II 4072)

And slew all that thai mycht ourtak  
(ourta XIII 93)  
(IV 415; so V 95, XIII 93, X 78,  
XVI 197, 638, XVII 100, XVIII  
325, &c.)

He slew all that he nicht ouerta,  
=(MSS.) Qui il ataint a cop  
(IV 9161)



BR.

B. A.

## DOUGLAS AND BRUCE IN ARRAN.

For thai that dredand war to de  
(IV 417)

And thay that doutand war to de  
=[MSS.] ciex qu'est mehaigné  
(IV 9358)

[For in the pres thai war sa stad  
That thai were doutand all to de  
(Wynt., W, III 871)]

Than went thai to the kyng in hy,  
And hym salusit full curtasly  
(IV 508)

The king to him is went in hy  
And salust him full courtesly  
=Cele part va li rois . . . Bele-  
ment l'araisonne (II 50)

That salust me sa courtesly  
=si courtoisement . . . salué  
(II 3078)

## THE BRUCE IN CARRICK.

Sic hansell to the folk gaf he  
(V 120)

With me . . . justit he  
And thare sik hansell gauë he me  
That I am takin,  
=et me fist tele estraine  
(II 4668)

Bot and I lif in lege pouste  
Thair ded sall rycht weill vengit be  
(V 165)

For gif I leif in liege pouste,  
Thow sall of him weill vengit be,  
=se je vif  
(II 3153; cp. II 3120, IV 8575)

Lap on, and went vith thaim in hy  
(V 214)

He lap on and went furth in hy  
=monte en palefroi (III 6566)

## EXPLOITS OF DOUGLAS.

Quhar in a chalmer preualy  
He held him and his cumpany  
(V 287)

Into my chalmer all preualy  
=tous seulz en chambre  
(II 2410)

Douglass . . . That than enforsit on  
thame the cry  
(V 355)

Than thay enforcit on him the cry  
=Adonques enforcierent et la  
noise et li cris (II 4501)

## A MAN AND HIS TWO SONS WAYLAY THE BRUCE.

Till he vmbethocht him at the last  
And in his hert can vmbecast  
(V 551)

Quhill he him umbethocht at the last  
And in his hart cleirly can cast,  
That, &c.  
=Puis si s'est apensés (II 3265)

And syne vend to the wod away  
(V 561)

And syne went to the wod away  
[Not in F.] (II 3972)

## Br.

Bot he, that had his suerd on hicht,  
Raucht him sic rout in randoun richt,  
Richt he the hede to harniss clafe,  
And him doun ded to the erd  
drafe . . .

He ruschit doune of blude all rede ;  
And quhen the king saw thai war ded  
(V 631-45)

## B. A.

Porrus, that had his suord on hicht,  
Him raucht a rout in randoun richt  
That, &c.  
=Porrus qui r'ot la seue contre-  
mont estendue  
Li donne sour son elme tel cop  
en sa venue  
Que, &c. (IV 9833)

He rushit doun of blude all rede ;  
Quhen Porrus sawe that he was dede  
[Not in F.] (IV 10239)

## THE BRUCE MAKES A STAND AT A FORD.

And raid till him in full gret hy.  
He smat the first sa rygorusly . . .  
Till he doun to the erd hym bare  
(VI 135, VII 449)  
[Cp. : Till him he raid in full gret hy  
(XII 45)]

And he that stalward wes and stout  
(VI 146)

And sa gud payment can thaim ma  
(VI 148)

That, had he nocht the bettir beyn,  
He had beyn ded forouten veyn  
(VI 162, VII 219)

. . . how he sa hardely  
Adressit hym agane thaim all  
(VI 173)

And towart him raid in full gret hy  
And smot the first sa sturdely  
= Si fiert l'un (I 1237)

Ferrand he straik with spurris in hy,  
And straik the first sa rigorusly  
That throw the bodie he him bair  
= Et fiert le premerain qu'en  
vuide les archons  
. . . Par mi le cors li passe fer  
et fust et pignons (I 117)

. . . he smot ane Araby  
That he met first, sa sturdely  
That deid doun to the erd him bare  
= j. Arrabi felon encontra pre-  
merain (I 1177)

Bot he that staluart was and stout  
= que molt ot grant fierté  
(I 1818)

And sa great payment to thame mais  
(I 1540) [Cp. Wynt., C 3778 :  
mad sic paye]

Had he nocht all the better bene,  
He had bene deid forouttin wene  
= Se ne fust trop puissant ja n'en  
fust escapés (IV 9174)

Had 3e nocht all the better bene,  
Thay had 3ow slane, that men had  
sene  
= Se trop ne fussiés preux nul  
vous fust encontré  
(II 4753)

And he allane full sturdely  
Addressit him agane thame all,  
= Et il, seuls contre eulz tous,  
les a bien requellis  
(II 4503)

BR.

B. A.

## VALOUR OF THE BRUCE.

Gyffand and takand voundis vyde (VI 288)	Thame worthis assale and thame defend = Assaillir et deffendre (II 1877 ; so II 3044, 4890, &c.)
Oft till defende and oft assaill (VI 330)	
[For to defend or till assale (VIII 283. Repeated XVII 242 ; cp. XII 556, XVII 242, 260, &c.)]	
[Valour] Has so gret varnasyng of vit That it all peralis weill can se (VI 350)	How he of wit had warnessing = de son sens le retour (II 2520)

## PROWESS OF BRUCE AND DOUGLAS.

Bot the chassaris sped thame so fast, That thai ourtuk sum at the last (VI 439)	Toward thame we raid sa fast That we ouertuke thame at the last [Not in F.] (IV 10555)
That vith his swerd, that scharply schare, The arm he fra the body bare (VI 643)	And with his sword that scharply share = de l'espée esmolue (I 146)
in the dawyng, Richt as the day begouth to spryng (VII 318)	Quhill on the morn in the morning Richt as the day begouth to spring = Au matin par son l'aube, que jor dut esclairier, (I 77)
For quhen that he his poynt mycht se (VII 388)	And quhan that he his point culd sie (I 1409, 2367)
[Cp. : In all that tyme schir Amery In Carleill lay, his point to se (VII 500)]	Emynedus . . . May se his point (I 1499)
Till top our tail he gert him ly (VII 455)	That top our tail he gart him ly [Not in F.] (I 2264)
In his risyng sic rowt hym gaf, That stane-ded till the erd he draf (VII 469)	That stane-deid to the eard he gais = Mort le trebusche a terre (IV 9642)
Syne in a sop assemblit ar (VII 567)	All in ane sop assemblit ar = mellées en .j. tas (I 110, IV 9115)
And he doune to the erd can ga (VII 585)	And he down to the erd can ga = Et cil chiet del cheval (IV 10168)

## SIMILAR LINES IN ' BRUCE ' AND ' BUIK. ' lxxxiii

BR.

B. A.

## DOUGLAS AMBUSHES PHILIP DE MOWBRAY'S FORCE.

and that land  
He maid till him all obeysand  
(VIII 9)

it [the land] all is at his will  
And als obeisand him till  
(III 6719)

[Cp. Wynt., W (II 683)  
And thai that duellis thar in that land  
He gert till him be obeyand  
(C obeyssande)]

That in his hert gret angyr has  
(VIII 16)

And in his hart great anger hes  
= enbrons et pensis (I 746)  
= En ot au cuer dolour  
(IV 10816)

And vith vapnys that scharply schare  
Sum in the furde thai bakward bare,  
And sum vith arrowes barblit braid  
(VIII 55)

With arrowis barblit bare=traie  
(I 1623)  
With arrowis braid=traient (I 1649)

With spurys he strak the steid of  
priss (VIII 79)

With spurris he straik the steid of  
pryde  
= Il broche le destrier (I 2617)

## THE BATTLE OF LOUDON HILL.

as man of gret nobillay (VIII 211)

ane ald of great nobillay  
= viel homme vaillant (II 4820)

Thair speris, thair pennownys & thar  
scheldis

(See opposite ' Br. ' XI 464-72)

Of licht illumynit all the feldis.  
Thair best [&] browdyn'bricht baneris,  
And hors hewit on seir maneris,  
And cot-armouris off seir colour,  
And hawbrekis, that war quhit as  
flour [EH colowris : flouris]  
Maid thame glitterand, as thai war  
lik  
Till angellis he, of hewinis rik.  
(VIII 227)

With thair baneris  
And ensigneis on seir maneris  
= Mainte ensaigne de soie  
(I 309)  
Iiis armis [= " weapons " ] quhitar  
war than flour  
(I 1214 ; cp. I 881)

For gif the formast egirly  
Be met, 3he sall se suddanly  
The henmast sall abasit be,  
And thouch that thai be ma than  
we . . . (VIII 243)

Thocht thay be ma nor we, for-thy  
Seik we the first sa sturdely,  
That the hindmaist abasit be !  
= Se il sont plus de nous, tant  
bien les requerron  
Que par les premerains, ceux  
derriers esmaion ! (I 629)

Bot thai war all to few, I hicht,  
Agane so feill to stand in stour  
(VIII 268)

Bot thay war all to few to ficht  
Agane sa fele bot nocht-for-thy . . .  
[Not in F.] (I 1702)

Now gais the nobill kyng his way,  
Richt stoutly and in gude aray  
(VIII 272)

Now rydis the furreouris thair way,  
Richt stoutly and in gude aray.  
= Li Grieu issent del ost por  
querre la vitaille (I 55)

## Br.

Enbrasit vith that thar scheldis braid  
(VIII 295)

Till red blude ran of voundis rath  
(VIII 322)

Wit 3e weill, he wes full way  
(VIII 347)

[Cp. Than, vit 3e weill, his men wes  
wa (IX 42)]

He turnit his bridill and to-ga  
(VIII 351)

That sum war ded and sum war tane  
(VIII 353, IX 263)

The remanand thar gat ar gane  
(VIII 354)

## B. A.

embraissit thair scheldis  
= Lor escus a lor cols (I 890)

Rede blude ran out of woundis raith  
= Et faire au devaler l'erbe verde  
rougir (IV 9873)

He turned his brydill and he to-ga  
= Atant tire son frain, s'est arrier  
retourné (II 4040)

Turnit thair brydillis and to-ga  
= S'en vont fuiant (I 2753)

And sum war deid and sum war tane  
[Not in F.] (IV 9318)

The remanent thair gait ar gane  
= Li remanant s'enfuit  
(IV 8624)

## THE BRUCE IN BUCHAN AND AT PERTH.

Syne fall quhat euir that god vill send  
(IX 32)

Now cum quhat euer God will send  
[Not in F.] (III 7307)

To leif or die quhidder God will send  
= La morrai ou vivrai si mors  
m'i est jugie  
(I 637)

Thai lugit thame all thair that nycht,  
And on the morn, quhen day ves licht  
(IX 206)

(See opposite 'Br.' XII 333)

The discourouris saw thame cumande  
With baneris to the vynd vafand  
[E wawand] (IX 245)

With baneris to the wynd waiffand  
[Not in F.] (I 236)

The banare waiffand to the wynd.  
= Et la baniere au vent contre-  
mont desploie (III 7022)

Thai tursit thair harness halely  
(IX 360)

Tursit thair harnes halely  
= Mener les destriers (I 73)

## EDWARD BRUCE.

And lap on hors deliuerly (IX 566)

Thay lap on hors delyuerly  
= A ce mot sont monté  
(II 4686)

I trow that worthyar than he  
Micht nocht in his tyme fundyn be,  
Outakyn his brother anyrly,  
To quhom, in-to gude cheuelry,  
I dare peir nane. . . . [H I dare  
compare nane] (IX 662)

For ane worthiar knicht na he,  
I trow thair may nane fundin be.  
= Car nul meillor de lui ne puet  
dame besier (I 3063)

Outtane the king allanerly,  
And his gude eme, quhome to that I  
Dar compare nane (I 1525)



## SIMILAR LINES IN 'BRUCE' AND 'BUIK.' lxxxv

Br.

B. A.

THOMAS RANDOLPH.

[Thomas Randolph] wes certis richt worthy And of so souerane gret bounte (X 273)	Ane souerane bounte hes him distanit here = Li ont li dieu donné souvraïne destinée. (II 294)
[Cp. He . . . Suld weill be prisit soueranely (X 299)]	I lof my goddis soueranely, = souverainement (II 2336)
He wes fulfillit of all bwnte (X 294; XII 423)	That is fulfillit of all bounte = qui hardis est assés (II 2396, III 8094, &c.)
Thai durst nocht byde na mak debait (X 602)	Durst nane abyde to mak debait = Tourné s'en vont fuiant (IV 9156)
The erll wes handlyt thair sa hat (X 693)	And auld Clarus was handlit hit = se combat (IV 8761)

PREPARATIONS FOR BANNOCKBURN.

He prysit hym in his hert gretly (XI 58)	He praisit him in his hart greatly = En son cuer l'aime et prise (I 2947)
That we of purposse ger thame fail (XI 68)	That we of purpose gar him fail [Not in F.] (I 2237)
Armyt on hors, bath hede (fut XIX 412) and hand (XI 105, XIX 412)	Armit, on hors, baith fute and hand. = N'i a nul qui ne port rade quane forbie (I 1670)
	With ma than ane hundreth thowsand Armit weill baith fute and hand [Not in F.] (III 6630; 7079, &c.)
	[Constantyne, with twa thousand Off armyt men, baith fut and hand Wynt., W, V 3314]]
Men mycht se than, that had beyn by, Mony ane vorthy man and vyclit (XI 126)	Thare mycht men se that had bene by = La peüst l'en vëoir (I 3100)
	Than nicht thay se that had bene by = La veüssiez (I 1759)
	Thare nicht men se into that place Mony ane worthy man and wicht = La peüssiés vëoir (IV 9484)
Quhy suld I mak to lang my tale? (XI 135)	Quhy suld I mak to lang my tale? (III 5937)
	Quhair-to sould I mak lang my taill = Que vous iroie je toute jour aconiant (IV 10358)
	Quhy suld I tell to lang my taill = Que vous diroie je? (IV 11097)

## Br.

And sum lugit without the townys  
In tentis and in palzeownys  
(XI 138)

And the kyng, quhen his menȝe wer  
Deuisit in-to battalis ser,  
His awne battale ordanit he,  
And quha suld at his bridill be.  
(XI 170)

[Cp. And quhen the kyng apon this  
viss  
Had ordanit as I heir deuiss  
His battalis and his stering  
(XI 180)]

For in thair souerane gret bownte  
Atour the layff affyt he (XI 178)

The sonne wes brycht and schynand  
cler,  
And armys, that new burnyst wer,  
So blenknyt with the sonnys beyme  
That all the felde ves in ane leyne  
Vith baneris richt freschly flawmand,  
And pensalis to the vynd vaffand  
(XI 188)

. . . and thought at thai  
Micht weill put thame in-till assay  
Of hard fechtung in stalwart stour  
For till maynteym weill his honour  
(XI 260)

And sawe thame wilfull to fulfill  
His liking, with gude hert and will  
(XI 266)

And callit all his consell preue  
And said thame, "lordingis now ȝe  
se . . ."  
(XI 270)

[Cp. And said, "lordingis now may  
ȝe se . . ."  
(II 322)]

## B. A.

Of tentis and of pauilliounis,  
All ludged thame the barrounis  
= De tentes et de treis  
(III 6180)

Thair was mony pauillioun  
Stentit thair without the toun  
= on ot tendu maint pavillon  
(IV 10929)

Now hes the King his battellis all  
Devysit, and ordainit all that sall  
Be at the brydill of the melle  
= Or a li rois des Griex sa bataille  
ordenée (III 8263)

Devyse at laser quha sall be  
With me into my awin battale  
(III 8184-5)

At my brydill with-hald the  
= Si serés a mon frain droit  
(III 8191)

(See opposite 'Br.' X 273.)

The sone-shyne cleir on armouris  
bricht  
Quhill all the land lemit on licht  
= Li soleus s'esbrandist qui en lor  
armes raie (I 1636)

The pensale to the wynd waiffand  
= Les langues de l'enseigne lait  
au vent baloier (I 1036)

(See opposite 'Br.' XI 400.)

. . . wilfull to fulfill  
His avow with gude hert and will  
= entalentés De son veu accomplir  
(XIV 8370, 8926)

The gude duke callit his men preue  
And said, "Lordingis, now may ȝe  
sic . . ."  
= Il en a ses barons doucement  
apelés, Si lor a dit: Seignors,  
&c. (I 2397)

"Lordingis," he said, "now may ȝe  
se . . ."  
= Il a dit a ses homes: "Es-  
gardés, chevalier" (I 2231)

## SIMILAR LINES IN 'BRUCE' AND 'BUIK.' lxxxvii

BR.

He gaf the vaward in leding  
(XI 306)

The tothir battale wes gevin to lede  
(XI 314)

On Sondag than in the mornyng  
Weill soyn eftir the sonne-rising  
(XI 374)

Throu-out the host syne gert he cry  
That all suld arme thame hastely  
(XI 392)

To wyn all or de with honour,  
For to manteyme that stalwart stour  
(XI 400)

That nane for dout of dede suld fale  
Quhill discumfit war the battale  
(XI 408, XII 204, 489)

Quhilk of thame had of help mister  
(XI 452)

And basnetis weil burnyst bricht,  
That gaf agane the sonne gret licht  
Thai saw so fele browdyn baneris,  
Standartis, pennownys apon speris . . .  
That the mast host and the stoutest  
Of Crystyndome, and ek the best,  
Suld be abasit for till se . . .  
(XI 462-72)

Bot bad [v. r. lat] thame in-to com-  
mounne say (XI 484)

B. A.

And the first [*i.e.*, the vanguard] gif I  
in leding  
= je doing (III 7050)

The tothir battelle in leding I gif  
= Or vous weil je donner La  
seconde bataille (III 8036)

To-morne airly in the morning  
Ane lytle forow the sone rysing  
= Demain au matinet, quant  
l'aube ert esclairie  
(II 2827)

[Cp. Wynt., W, V 2782: And gert  
oure all thare hostis cry  
That nane, &c.]

For to mentene ane stalwart stour  
= en. i. estour aidier (I 1402)  
For to manteme ane stalwart stour  
= por grant fais embracier  
(I 1446)

For dout of deid will nane the fale!  
[Not in F.] (III 7159)  
So I 963, III 8041, IV 8548  
[Cp. G. W. (Caius). For doubte of  
deth y woll not flee]

To disconfit the great battale  
= De vaincre la bataille  
(IV 10385)

Hes thou of help great mister 3it?  
= avés mestier d'ayue?  
(II 3626)

[Cp. Gif ony man in dout were stad  
And neid of help or mister had  
(Wynt., W, IV 1737)]

He sawe sa feill broudin baneris,  
And pennomis vpon seir nianeris,  
And helmis als and vther armin,  
That cleirly agane the Sone shein . . .  
The greatest hoist and the stoutest,  
Of ony cuntre, and the best,  
Suld of that sicht abasit be  
= Tant riche confanon contre le  
vent bruïr,  
Tant elme vert et cler au soleil  
resplendir . . .  
La plus fiere ost du mont s'en  
peüst effraïr (I 821-31)

And said all into common than  
= Tuit dient en commun  
(II 3236)

Br.  
the nobill king  
Gaf all his men reconforting  
(XI 498)

Com with thair battalis approachand,  
The banerys to the vynd vaffand  
(XI 512 ; so IX 246)

Cum on forouten dreid or aw  
(XI 555)

B. A.  
thy skirring  
Geuis to vs all recomforting  
= nous font tout rehetier  
(I 1078)

He saw the battellis approachand  
Wtth baneris to the wynd waiffand  
[Not in F.] (I 235)

Sa come thay on but dreid or aw  
[Not in F.] (I 312)

## SIR HENRY DE BOHUN CHARGES THE BRUCE.

Armyt in armys gude and fyne  
(XII 32)

And toward him he went in hy  
(XII 39)

ane dynt  
That nouthir hat no helme mycht  
stynt  
The hevy dusche that he him gaf,  
That he the hed till harnyss claf.  
The hand ax-schaft ruschit in twa.  
(XII 55)

A gret schot till thame can thai mak  
(XII 77)

Bot menyt his hand-ax-schaft  
(XII 97)

Armit in armouris gude and fyne  
= Molt richement armés (I 1456);  
= armés (I 1706)  
[Wel araid wyth sper & scheld and in  
armure god and fyn  
(‘Sir Fer.’ 2666)]

And towart him he come in hy  
= Vers lui est trestornés  
(I 3225)

. . . sic ane dynt  
Bot the helme the straik can stynt  
= Qu’il ne puist le bon helme  
entamer (IV 10257)  
And, with the grete dynt that he gaif,  
The sword brak in the hiltis in tua,  
= Quant l’espée li faut, qui en  
trois est volée (I 1564)

He socht him sa that it him gaif,  
The heid vnto the schoulderis claf,  
= jusqu’en la chainture l’a fendu  
et copé (I 1821)

Ane schot on Pirrus can he mak  
= vait ferir Pirrus (I 1486)  
Emynedus ane great shot can make,  
= .j. grant poindre (I 1790)

Quhill that the hand-ax schaft held  
hale

. . .  
Bot sone it brak ; than was he wa.  
= Tant con hache li dure, en va  
sour aus le pis,  
Mais le fust est rompu et le fer  
est crois (II 4497-9)

Br.

B. A.

## BRUCE ADDRESSES HIS ARMY.

Thai war all helit in-to swat (XII 146)	Be haillit in blude and sueat alsa =d'aigre suör couvrir (I 869; so also IV 10517)
And fra the hert be discumfite, The body is nocht vorth a myt (XII 187)	(See opposite 'Br.' III 197)
For dout of dede we sall nocht fale (XII 204)	(See opposite 'Br.' XI 408)
And, certis, I warne 3ow of a thing (XII 254)	and thus I warne 3ow all, Be thay assailzeit hardely And encountered egerly . . . (III 7249)
To set stoutness agane felony, And mak swagat ane iuperdy (XII 261)	And gif we foly agane foly And sagait mak ane iepardy [Not in F.] (III 6072)
Quharfor I 3ow requair and pray (XII 263) (125, 14)	Quharefore I requyre 3ow and pray [Not in F.] (II 561)
To meit thame that first sall as- semmyll So stoutly that the henmast trymmyll (XII 267)	(See opposite 'Br.' VIII 243 and cp.) Thair first battell thusgait can semble Quhair hardy can gar the couartis trimble = Les batailles s'assemblent (IV 8455)
Hap to vencuss the gret bataille In-till 3our handis for-outen fail (XII 273)	foroutten fail That suld vincus the gret battail (III 5401)
Gif 3e conteyn 3ow manfully (XII 277)	Bot we contene vs manly (I 2481)
Now [makis] 3ow reddy till the ficht, God help vs, that is mast of mycht! I red armyt all nycht 3he be . . . (XII 323)	To-morne, gif God will, we sall fecht. Now help God for his mekill mycht! = Demain ert la bataille, or nous en ayt Dés! (III 7986)

## THE MORNING OF THE BATTLE.

Aud swa gat all the nycht baid thai Till on the morn that it wes day (XII 333; so also, XIX 404, 503, 752)	Thus armit all the nicht thay lay Quhill on the morne that it was day = Ainsi jurent en armes . . . L'endemain par matin, devant solail levé (III 8324)
	Apone the morne quhen it was day = L'endemain au matin quant jour fu apparu (III 7231; IV 10787)
	[Quhill on the morne that it wes day (Wynt., W, IV 358)]
	Til on the morne at it wes day (Wynt., W, V 3519)]



## BR.

For in punzeis is oft hapnyne  
 Quhill for to vyne and quhill to tyne  
 (XII 373)

Of gret vorschip and of bounte  
 (XII 380; XVI 530)

Thai dang on othir with vapnys ser  
 (XII 511)

That mony worthy man and wicht,  
 Throw fors, wes fellit in that ficht,  
 That had no mycht to ryss agane  
 (XII 523)

And mony gud man fellit vnder feit  
 That had no power to riss 3eit  
 (XII 554)

Quhill throu the byrneiss brist the  
 blud,  
 That till the erd doune stremand 3ud  
 (XII 559)

In-myd the visage met thame thar  
 (XII 576, &c.)

Thar men mycht se ane stalwart  
 stour  
 (XII 577)

## B. A.

It fallis in weir quhillis to tyne,  
 And for to wyn ane uthir syne  
 = Une foys gaaingne l'en et autre  
 fois pert on (II 4877)

For the great worship and bountie  
 = Pour le grant bien de lui  
 (II 4741; so I 610 = des bones  
 proëscs)

His worship and his great bounte.  
 = la tresgrant proësce (I 3225)

[Cp. Wynt., W, VI 1565  
 For his hie worschip and bountie]

## THE BATTLE BEGINS.

Sic a frusching of speris wair  
 That fer away men mycht it her  
 (XII 504)

Sic strakes they gaue that men nicht  
 here  
 Full far away the noyes and bere,  
 The speiris all to-frushit thare.  
 = Si donnent si grans cos que  
 d'une arbalestrée  
 En oÿssiés l'escrois, le son et  
 la huée (III 6236)

Dang on vthir with wapnis seir  
 (IV 10299)

Mony helm hewin and mony knight  
 Throw fors was fellit in the fecht  
 = Des mors et des navrés fu jon-  
 chiez li erbois (II 4396)

And mony knychtis fell vnderfeit,  
 That had na power to ryse 3it  
 = La ot trenchié maint hiaume  
 ains qu'il peüst monter  
 (I 1765)

. . . bathit all in blude,  
 That stremand fra his woundis 3ude  
 [Not in F.] (I 2101)

[Cp. 'Troy-Bk.' II 823:  
 hys bloode  
 That streymande out hys body  
 yhoode]

Iu middes the visage met thame  
 thare  
 [Not in F.] (IV 10147, &c.)

Thair men nicht sie ane staluart  
 stour  
 = MSS.: La poissez ueer un  
 estor si plener. (I 1053)

Br.	B. A.
That thai suld do thair devoure wele (XII 587)	And sicker to do his devore weill = Hardis et viguerous pour faire son devoir (III 7373)
For with wapnys stalwart of steill Thai dang on thame with all thar mycht (XIII 14)	Bot with wapons staluart of steill, Thay dang on vther with all thair micht = Entreferir se vont . . . Molt se painent li .i. des autres damagier (I 2531)
Thar mycht men her richt mony dynt And wapnys apon armour stynt (XIII 28; so XIII 153)	that herd the dintis Of wapnis that on helmis styntis = la frapaille De haches et d'espées dont li bruns acier taille (IV 8728)
Defoulit roydly vnder feit (XIII 31)	Wndir feit defoulit in the battale (IV 8725) and knichtis thare Vnder hors feit defoulit ware (IV 9871)
Men herd nocht ellis bot granys and dyntis That slew fire as men dois on flyntis (XIII 35)	And hard the dinging of thare dyntis That kest fyre as man dois flyntis = Qui oient les grans cops et le martèlement (II 4635)
. . . I wndirta, Thai left eftir thame taknyng That sall neid, as I trow, lechyng. (XIII 44)	. . . I tak on hand Thay haue of him sic ane menzeing, Thai sall neid, I wis, of leching. = Car puis n'aura loisir de re- querre pardon (I 1311)
Quhen that he saw the battalis swa Assemmyll and to-gidder ga (XIII 63)	Quhan he the rinkis saw shudder swa And the battellis togidder ga. = Quant vit les osts fremir et l'estor commencer (I 1426)
And agane armyt men to ficht May nakit men haff litill mycht (XIII 97)	Under thair scheildis thay war naked . . . Thay sall nouthar hardement have nor micht Aganis armit men to ficht = gent trop mal vestue Par desouz les escus est des- armée et nue . . . Mais entre gent armée ert maintenant vaincue (IV 8616)
And cryit ensenzeis on euerill syd, Gifand and takand woundis wyd (XIII 159)	And blude brist out of woundis [printed winds] wyde. Thay cryit thair ensenzeis on ilk syde = Ensengnes . . . hautement crier (IV 10222)
	Geuand and takand woundis wyde [Not in F.] (II 4172)
And, magre thairis, left the plass (XIII 170)	That maugre thairis thai left the place = les a fait retorner (I 1124)

Br.

B. A.

## THE PURSUIT.

That thai scalit in tropellis ser,  
And till discumfitur war ner  
(XIII 275)

That he and horss war chargit swa  
That bath doune to the erd can ga  
(XIII 317)

. . . that schir Eduard . . .  
Luft and held in sic dante  
(XIII 475)

Than till a kirk he [the Bruce] gert  
hym [Gilbert de Clare] be  
Brocht, and walkit all that nycht  
(XIII 511)

[Cp. XIII 662 : And the gret lordis  
that he fand

Ded in the felde, he gert berye  
In haly placis honorabilly.  
And the laif syne that ded war thar  
In-to gret pittes erdit war.]

And syne lap on and furth thai fair  
(XIII 600)

The folk of Ind affrayit ar  
And scalit in tropellis heir and thair  
= Et en plusieurs tourbiaus ça et  
la departie (II 4338)

Chargit with strakis,  
= cargié del cop (I 975)

His hors sa chargit was with the  
straik,  
= li cevaus s'ajenelle (I 2089)

Lufe him and hald him [in] dante  
= Cestui amerés vous ?  
(II 2111)

[Cp. Wynt. (W II 325) : That held  
him into gret daynte]

S.L.S. XXVII (*Machor*), 1405. The  
quhilk all his lyf tyme held he  
As a Relik in gret daynte]

Than to the tempill gart thay bring  
His corpis, and auld Clarus the King,  
Caleos . . . and vthir syne,  
That slane into the battell ware,  
That nicht thay gart walk thame  
thare ;

The laif in pittis eardit thay  
= Font en terre enfouir  
(IV 10683)

Forsuith great lordis that we fand  
deid,

We gart thame bring to ane steid,  
Tempill Diane, for to wake  
(IV 10713) [Cp. *walkit*, pa. pple.  
IV 10796]

Lap on thare hors and furth thay fare  
= Sont es chevaux sailli  
(II 4077)

## SIR EDWARD BRUCE IN IRELAND.

And sesit in sic fusioune thar pray,  
That all the folk of thar host war  
Refreschit weill ane owk or mair.  
(XIV 130)

Bot thai are nocht, withouten wer,  
Half-deill ane dyner till vs here  
(XIV 188)

The furriouris the pray hes tane.  
Micht thay thairwith thair gait haue  
gane,

The Oist micht weill refreshit bene  
= Et acueillent de proie une si  
grant partie  
Dont l'ost peüst bien estre par  
lone tens replenie (I 92)

And thay are ane lytill dynare  
To our great hoste that we haue here  
= Car il sont poi de gent pour sa  
gent desjunner (III 6962)

With sa quhene that may nocht be  
Ane denner to my great menze  
(III 7847)

BR.	B. A.
Ane felloun fechtig wes than [ <i>v. r.</i> thar] thair (XIV 294; XVII 460)	Thair was ane felloun fechtig thair [Not in F.] (I 2447)
thair cummyng and thair gang- ing (E XIV 400)	Hir fare cuming and hir ganging [Not in F.] (II 2421)
And of the sicht had gret ferly, That sa quheyn durst on ony wiss Wndertak sa hye empriss. (XIV 504)	Than ferleid all that euer thare was, How ony man on ony wyse Durst vndertak sa hie ane pryse = Yndiens se commencement for- ment a mervellier Comment nus hons osa si grant fais enchargier (III 6149)
With a sper that richt sharply schair (XV 82)	For with the spere that sharply share = Rade lance en son poing dont li fers n'ert ploies (I 2905)
Thai war [to] few all out, perfoy, With sic a gret rout for to ficht, Bot nocht for thi . . . (XV 146)	Bot thay war all to few to ficht Agane sa fele, bot nocht-for-thy . . . [Not in F.] (I 1702)

## DOUGLAS SLAYS SIR EUMOND DE CALION AND SIR ROBERT NEVILLE.

And till his menzhe can he say (XV 471)	Than to his menze can he say = Puis a dit a ses homes (I 198)
Thair fayis tak on thame the flicht (XV 501)	Thare fais the flicht vpon thame tais Not in F.] (IV 9363)
Of him no mair now spek will we (XV 546)	Bot thairof na mare speik will we Mais n'en dirai or plus (III 6807)

## THE WAR IN IRELAND.

He maid thame mekill fest and far (XVI 46)	Thay maid thame mekill feste and fare = Grant joie et grant deduit ont ensamble mené (IV 10881)
This wes in the moneth of May (XVI 63)	This was in middes the moneth of May = Ce fu el moys de may (III 5015)
And feldis florist ar with flowris, Weill savourit, of seir colowris (XVI 69)	That strout war with sindry floures Wele savorand of sere colouris [Not in F.] (II 2171)
To schir Colyne sic dusche he gave, That he dynnyt on his arsoun (XVI 130)	Quhill on his arsoun dintit he = si l'en ont enbrunchié sor l'archon daärrain (I 3130)
And rudely rushed thame abak [H only] (XVI 197)	Had rushit and put abak halely [Not in F.] (I 1663)

Br.

B. A.

## PROWESS OF BISHOP SINCLAIR OF DUNKELD.

. . . the king aucht weill to ma  
Of 3ow (XVI 592)

Now dois weill, for men sall se  
Quha lufis the kyngis mensk to-day!  
(XVI 620)

the King  
Dois na foly of the to ma  
= Et li roys n'est pas fox qui  
vous tient en cherté  
(III 5679)

And with grete strenth and harde-  
ment  
Manteme the kingis meise that day  
= et l'ounor Alixandre . . .  
alever (I 547)

## BRUCE CAPTURES BERWICK: EDWARD II. BESIEGES IT.

On this viss thame contenit thai,  
Quhill it wes neir noyne of the day  
(XVII 129, and 659)

Till hald castell or toune of wer  
(XVII 216)  
Castell of wer or than cite  
(XVII 243)

He . . . To the toune ane assege set  
(XVII 270)

And gert the schippes by the se  
Bring shot and othir apparale  
With gret varnysing [E warnysone:  
II Garnisoun] of vittale  
To Berwik with all this menȝe  
(XVII 292)

The schippis, com in sic plente,  
Vith vittale, armyng and vith men,  
That all the havyn wes stoppit then  
(XVII 304)

And quhar men pressit mast, he maid  
Succoure till his that myster had  
(XVII 387)

Than mycht men se on seir maner  
Sum men defend, and sum assale  
Full besaly with gret trawale  
(XVII 412)

And thai within with mekill mycht  
Defendit manfully thar stede  
(XVII 708)

It was neirhand none of the day  
= Ert pres heure de nonne  
(IV 10057)

Castell, citie na land of weir  
[Not in F.] (I 3268)

Vnto thair cittie ane assege hes set  
[Not in F.] (II 201)

Ane stalwart Castel gart he mak,  
& garnison & vittel tak,  
& hes gud fuson thidder sēd  
& staluart men it to defend.  
Thairwith he thocht to stop the way  
That nouthir ship nor ȝit Gallay  
Sould be sey cum to the toun  
With vittell nor with garnisoun . . .  
The King gart oft his men assaill  
With bissines and grit trauell  
To tak the nobill toun of Tyre;  
Bot Balas, that thairof was Syre,  
Defendit it sa manfully . . .  
Throw helping of his cheualry,  
That oft the Kingis menȝe ware  
Rebutit, beft and woundit sair.  
The King thair grit defence hes  
sene . . .

= De la porte vers terre lor volt  
le port veër  
Qu'en la cité ne puissent venir  
ne retourner,  
Ne barges ne galies n'i puis-  
sent ariver.  
Li rois i commanda de sa  
gent a entrer,  
Armes et garison i fait assés  
porter,  
Souent de jor a autre lor fait  
assaut doner;  
Et cil se desfendirent a trere  
et a geter (I 1-21)



## BR.

## B. A.

At Mary-3et to-hewyn had  
The barras (XVII 755)

At the 3et quhare the barreris  
hewin is

For the richt gret defens he maid  
At the 3et, quhar, &c. (XVII 921)

=Droit a ycele porte dont la  
barre est trenchie (II 2845)

## HOW SIR EDWARD BRUCE WAS SLAIN IN IRELAND.

That thar kyng, with sa quheyn,  
vald ficht  
Agane folk of sa mekill mycht  
(XVIII 61)

And saw few with him, for to fecht  
Aganis men sa mekill of nicht  
= Pau a gent a combatre  
(I 237)

## THE BRUCE PURSUES THE ENGLISH INTO ENGLAND.

That thai that fle mycht, fled away  
(XVIII 468)

And they that nicht fle, fled away  
= Cil qu'en pot eschaper  
(I 1658)

=Des leurs fuirent cil qui porent  
eschaper (II 10560)

Quhar velcum heir all tym 3e be  
(XVIII 536)

Quhare weilcum heir mot euer 3e be  
[Not in F.] (III 6816)

Till Scotland tuk thai hame thar way  
Blith and glad, ioyfull and gay  
(H Blith and ioyfull of their Pray)  
(XVIII 562)

Before thame brocht thay hame the  
pray  
Ioyfull and glaid, Ioly and gay  
= Les vaches en ramainnent,  
lié et joiant et baut  
(II 4569)

## EDWARD III. INVADES SCOTLAND.

For scho tald haly to the king  
Thair purpos and thair ordanyng  
(XIX 25)

. . . now haue I tald,  
Of thare counsell and of thare  
ordaning  
= or vous ai ge conté  
Des .iiij. filz Clarvus tout le  
consel privé (II 3066)

. . . the king,  
That he held of all his halding  
(XIX 66)

. . . the king,  
That we hald of all our halding,  
= le roi de qui nos fiés tenon  
(I 589)

The king, was ded and laid in stane  
(H Lame) (XIX 257)

For quhen 3e lawe ar laid in lame  
(IV Col. 27)

Br.

B. A.

And swa gret rowtis till him raucht  
That, had nocht beyn his mekill  
maucht . . . (XIX 587)

(See opposite 'Br.' II 420.)

And thai, that worthy war and wicht  
(XIX 786)

And thay that wourthy ar and wicht  
[Not in F.] (I 282)

## CORONATION OF DAVID II.

Thus maid wes pess quhar wer wes  
air (XX 63)

Thus mak thay peax quhair weir was  
air

= Ainssi fu l'acordance et la  
guerre apaisie (IV 10754)

## THE BRUCE'S HEART.

And thair nevis oft sammyn driff  
(XX 257)

His neiffis for dule togidder he drang  
= Ses. ij. poins fiert ensemble  
(IV 9599)

That na thing mycht amendit be  
(XX 316)

Quhair nathing may be to amend  
(II 1978)

And to the lord Dowglass gaf he  
The waward, for to leid and steir  
(XX 400)

(See opposite 'Br.' XI 306.)

Quhen he to thame of his ledyng  
Had maid ane fair amonestyng  
Till do weill and na dede to dreid;  
For hewynnys blis suld be thair meid  
(XX 411)

Quhen he that had thame in ledyng  
Had maid thame fair admonising  
That at the ending thay suld weill do.  
= Et il li ont trestuit bonement  
otroie  
Que, por perdre les vies, ne  
feront mauvestie (I 3083)

Thar mycht men felloun fechtynge se  
(XX 418)

Thare men nicht felloun fechtynge se  
(IV 10219)

He had nocht with him atour ten  
Of all men that war with him thar  
(XX 434)

Quhill he, with him of alkin men,  
Nicht be ay ane aganes ten  
= Ja tant con il eüst o soi de  
remanant  
Un homme contre .X.  
(IV 9966)

## § 20. UNCERTAIN TESTIMONY OF THE SIMILARITIES.

The conclusions reasonably to be drawn from the above list appear to be these :—

1. While this or that single line may be contested, the similarities in the mass cannot be fortuitous. The long arm of coincidence is not long enough to reach them all. When consecutive lines occur, there can be no doubt whatever of some collusion between the writers of both texts. All due allowance being made for the length of the 'Bruce' (13,550 lines) and the 'Buik' (14,000), the large number of the similarities shows that that collusion was considerable.

2. The lines and phrases in question deal more with decorative detail than with essential subject-matter. If they were all expunged from the 'Bruce,' the story would lose in picturesqueness, but in substance remain unchanged. In the 'Bruce' they are additional, parenthetical, in their character. But they are not "interpolations"—in the sense of long irrelevant passages, copied stupidly or inserted awkwardly, showing some disparity in style, vocabulary and the like, nor are they confined to any definite portions of the 'Bruce,' though particularly frequent at the beginning ('Books' <sup>1</sup> II., III., and V.), in the story of Bannockburn ('Books' XI.-XIII.), and towards the end ('Book' XX.)

3. In the 'Buik' many of them are accounted for by the French originals. But almost as many are not, and these are far more numerous than Dr Neilson, from his necessarily hurried consultation of a few French MSS., could suppose. They are, in a sense, interpolated in the

<sup>1</sup> A modern division, due to Pinkerton (1790).

'Buik.' But their origin is not clear. Some are no doubt common ME. phrases, which might occur to any translator in distress, as they did occur to the translator of 'Guy of Warwick'—and to the author of the 'Bruce.' Of the others it would be difficult to say whether they were imported from the 'Buik' into the 'Bruce,' or from the 'Bruce' into the 'Buik.' To specify only one case among many, the unnecessary couplet B. A. I 2777 is not in the French, but it is in the 'Bruce' (III. 48), where the next few lines refer to Gaudifer. The couplet may therefore be an "interpolation" in the 'Buik,' or in the 'Bruce'—or in both!

4. Thus, after sifting the material and confronting it with the text of the French originals, we are left with this curious situation that these similarities, numerous as they are, admit of two interpretations, of which one commended itself to Dr Neilson, the other to Dr Brown. The passages *are* in some sense "interpolations," but in what sense? And who interpolated them, when, and why? Our own impression is that the text of the 'Bruce' and the text of the 'Buik' are so inextricably mingled as to warrant no other conclusion than that of common authorship. But it is difficult to point to any given instance as conclusive proof. To arrive at any decision it is necessary to examine each example on its own merits, and then the decision is arbitrary, affording little hope of escape from a vicious circle of assertion, denial, and counter-denial. The argument from parallels proved, in Dr Neilson's hands, a broken reed. For a general guiding principle we must turn elsewhere, to survey a broader scene.

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CHAPTER VI.: EARLY SCOTTISH LITERATURE  
AS EVIDENCE IN THE CASE.

THOUGH we have over our predecessors the double advantage of enjoying the fruits of their labours and possessing the complete text of the French originals, we yet have a less sanguine belief in the possibility of solving by the study of parallel passages a problem which the absence of essential factors may make insoluble, and a sadder sense of the paucity and insecurity of the other material available for its solution. That meagre and shifty material compels us to discuss in many pages a question to which it might seem at first that the ordinary canons of literary and linguistic criticism would provide a quick and decisive answer.

## § 21. THE PAUCITY OF MATERIAL FOR COMPARISON.

The inadequacy of the available texts must be painfully evident to scholars accustomed to work in other fields. Except for the stanza in Wyntoun,<sup>1</sup> there is no

- 3621 "Qwhen Alexander our kynge was dede,  
*Sen]* W. <sup>1</sup> *was]* E<sup>2</sup> *om.*  
 3622 That Scotlande lede in lauche and le,  
*lede]* W left. *lauche]* RW luf. L That led our land in law  
 and leid.  
 3623 Away was sons of alle and brede,  
*sons of]* Au E<sup>2</sup> *seyne than.* *alle]* L wyne.  
 3624 Off wyne and wax, of gamyn and gle.  
*and (1) A of; L om. of (2) E<sup>1</sup> L om.*  
 Au E<sup>2</sup> Wyne and wax, gamyne and gle.  
 3625 Our golde was changit in to lede.  
*was changit]* L turnit wes.  
 W The gold wes changeit all in leid.



extant Scottish literature older than the 'Bruce,' "compiled" in 1375.<sup>2</sup> That is, comparatively, a very late date, one with which, in French literature,<sup>3</sup> the mediævalist's dealings are few and, as it were, apologetic, and which, in English literature, would make Barbour sixth or

- 3626 Crist, borne in virgynyte,  
       in] Au E<sup>2</sup> R in to  
       W The frute falzeit on euerilk tre  
 3627 Succoure Scotlande, and ramede,  
       AU E<sup>2</sup> Succour ay Scotland  
       W Ihesu, succour and send remeid  
 3628 That is stade in perplexite."  
       A prolexite.  
       AU E<sup>2</sup> That it stand in  
       EW That stad is in  
       L That staid is in greit  
       R That stad in his

Quoted by Wyntoun at the end of Book VII. (lines 3621-8) and prefaced by him with the line, "This sange was made of hym for thi." Wyntoun does not say or imply—nor can we find any evidence for the view—that these lines were composed "shortly after" the death of Alexander III. (1286), as is so commonly assumed—*e.g.*, Irving, 'Hist. Sc. P.,' p. 79; Wells, *op. cit.*, p. 209. To us their tone indicates a "laudator temporis acti," and surely the economic consequences of that national disaster, which, however poetically they are expressed, form none the less the subject-matter of the poem, were not so immediately felt, even if we allow for instant uprising of turbulent spirits hitherto held in check by a strong King. The arrangement of the lines and the use of the learned "remede" and "perplexity," unrecorded elsewhere till Barbour's 'Bruce' by OED., suggest neither popular origin nor such high antiquity. With the first line cp. those quoted in List I. of § 26 *infra*, and with the last :

- B. A. I 940 : Be stad in grit perplexite ;  
 Br. XI 619 : Thai war in gret perplexite ;  
       XII 530 : Set in-till herd proplexite ;  
 Wynt., W, IV 2101 : The stait of Rome begouth to be  
       Stad in hard perplexite.

<sup>2</sup> Even in prose. The vernacular translations of the early Scottish Laws are later transcripts, of which the oldest does not go further back than 1398. The next earliest specimen of Scottish prose is the 15th century "Craft of Deyng." J. A. H. Murray, 'The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland,' London, 1873, vii + 251 pp., p. 30. In the 'Aberdeen Register' (Spalding Club, 1844) the early records are in Latin, Scots being used from 1441, though occasionally earlier—*e.g.*, 1399, i., p. 377. The Catalogue of "registers and baillie court buikis of Abirdene . . . be Mr Th. Mollisoune, clerk of Abirdene, primo septembris, 1591," mentions "four auld imperfyt . . . buikis," and says that there were none before 1380.

<sup>3</sup> The long chronological list of Old French writings in Gaston Paris' manual begins at 842 and is with difficulty stretched to 1358.

seventh <sup>4</sup> in a chronological list comprising literary historians only. Finding ample material for comparison, analogous texts of the same "genre" or region or date, the investigator in French literature may with some sense of security appraise the relative merit of a disputed text, determine its sources, detect interpolations, assign authorship and date. Earlier or contemporary works are landmarks on the ways of truth.

But Scottish vernacular literature before Barbour is as the void before the creation, nether darkness against which the scholar's lamp, fed only with the oil of recorded fact, cannot prevail. Yet when at last Barbour comes into our ken, he has not the manner of a pioneer. He stands in the line of M.E. tradition, and his diction differs little from that of his predecessors in general M.E. The easy flow of his copious verse betokens no inventor of harmonies fashioning a new medium. He is never at a loss for a rime. His epic formulæ, his alliterative, too convenient, phrases, have a familiar air, as of well-worn clichés. As they will do service long after his day, so had they a literary past behind them; before Barbour was, they are. He may not have "that central view of life which received expression in Dante and Petrarch and Chaucer," <sup>5</sup> but he is not unsophisticated or uncouth, and he most assuredly was not among the first to blacken parchment with Scottish verse. He himself tells us that he will not relate a certain incident because it can be

<sup>4</sup> Coming after the O.E. Chronicle, Layamon, Robert of Gloucester, the Short Metrical Chronicle, Thomas Bek of Castelford, R. Mannyng of Brunne.

<sup>5</sup> P. Hume Brown, 'Hist. Scotl.' (Cambridge Univ. Press), 1909, Vol. i., p. 183.

heard any day in a ballad,<sup>6</sup> and there is historical evidence to prove, if proof be necessary, that neither ballad-singing<sup>7</sup> nor chronicle-writing<sup>8</sup> in the vernacular were new things in Barbour's Scotland. The organisation of society and church in the Middle Age, the history of other literatures, the presence of Scottish "matter" in early French Romance, the impression that Barbour himself gives—all suggest that long before 1375, however rudimentary the sense of nationality may have been, Scotland produced vernacular translations from Latin and French, and other versified elucubrations in the vulgar tongue. The great abbeys had, of course, historiographers in Scotland as elsewhere, and we may be sure that vernacular chronicles existed.

Where are these works to-day? An answer, not perhaps sufficient in itself, but explaining much, may be found in circumstances common no doubt to other countries, but less persistent and less disastrous—in the tragic *leit-motif* running through all the 'Histories of Scotland': "Baffled in his purpose, he took a terrible revenge. Every town, village, and hamlet he burnt to the ground. . . ."

<sup>6</sup> How Sir John de Soulis vanquished Andrew Harela :

"I will nocht reherse all the maner ;  
For quha sa likis, thai may heir  
3oung women, quhen thai will play,  
Syng it emang thame ilke day." 'Br.' XVI 519.

<sup>7</sup> A household book of Edward I., 1304, shows that he was welcomed by minstrels and harpers at various places in Fife, and that he duly rewarded seven women who met him near Gask on the Earn and sang before him, "as had been the custom in the time of Alexander III." Bain, 'Edw. in Scotland,' p. 17, and Cal. IV., p. 475.

<sup>8</sup> In 1355 Sir Thomas Gray of Heton, then a prisoner in Edinburgh Castle, began to "translate" from verse to prose rimed chronicles in "Englés"—i.e., the language which Barbour calls "Inglis": "Ey sy ne voet pas au plain nomer soun noune, qe cest cronicle translata de ryme en prose . . . surveist il liuers de cronicles enrymaiez et en prose, en Latin, en Fraunceis, et en Englés des gestez dez auncestres." 'Scalacronica' (Maitland Club, 1836), pp. 1-2. Wyntoun tells us, VIII (C) 2300, that in his day (c. 1420) there existed "gret gestis" about Wallace.

. . . "He gave the town and cathedral of Elgin to the flames."<sup>9</sup> It little matters who "he" was, still less his floruit, nationality, politics, or religion. What records,<sup>10</sup> documents, histories, chronicles escaped the First Edward may not have escaped the Third, or Henry VIII., or Cromwell, or the Wolf of Badenoch, or later local "Wolves" and warring sects. The works of Barbour's predecessors must needs have perished with the only receptacles in which they could have been stored—the churches, the religious houses, the castles of the nobility, the town houses of the wealthy burgesses. When Edward III. in 1336 rode to the help of a beleaguered countess at Lochindorb, he stopped not for brake and stayed not for stone, but on the return journey he found time for a week-end at Aberdeen, burning the Old town and the New, and the country for miles around, "without the omission of a single house, though in all Scotland there were none more handsome."<sup>11</sup> Few of the events which Barbour's colleagues in the Cathedral Chapter thought interesting enough to set down in their little chronicle of important anniversaries were of a nature to help in the preservation of early literature.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Hume Brown, *ibid.*, p. 177, but another page, or another historian, would serve as well.

<sup>10</sup> The allegation that Edward I. purposely burned (or carried off with the Stone of Destiny) all the national records extant at the death of Alexander III. is unfounded. For the lack of early Scottish records Joseph Bain, the chief authority on these matters, blames chiefly Henry VIII., pre- and post-Reformation Scottish fanatics, who mistook documents for "Popish" service-books, and Cromwell, who removed the records of the Scottish Parliaments and Courts of Justice to the Tower of London in 1651. They were returned, but only partially, 85 of the hogsheads in which they had been stored being lost at sea. See Joseph Bain, 'The Edwards in Scotland, 1266-1377,' *Edinburgh (D. Douglas)*, 1901, x + 105 pp., pp. 5-12.

<sup>11</sup> 'Nova de Scotia apud Ferrerii historia de Kynlos,' quoted in *Reg. Episc. Aberd.*, I., xxix., n.

<sup>12</sup> "1378 combusta est ecclesia sancti Andree in Scotia  
 1379       "       "       "       de Abirbrothick  
 1390       "       "       "       de Elgin  
 1395 destructa fuit pro maiore parte tota patria inter Dee et Spe  
 propter discordiam inter Jacobum de Lyndesay et Robertum de Kethe."



Some, but only some, of Barbour's known works remain. The rest have gone the way of the venerable Register of St Andrews, "last seen in the hands of the minister of Holyrood in 1660,"<sup>13</sup> or of the old "tome almost inleageable in manie places, vantage leaves, yet hade it the beginning, and hade bein sett doune by a monk in the abey of Melros, called Peter Fenton, in the year of God one thousand thrie hundreth sixtie nyne . . . it was in old ryme like to Chaucer, but vantage in manie parts,—and in special from the field of Bannochburne fourth . . . so that it could not be gotten to the press, yet such as I could reid thereof hade many remarkable taillis worthie to be noted."<sup>14</sup> The 'Legends of the Saints' and Blind Harry's 'Wallace'<sup>15</sup> exist in only one copy. The works of Huchown, which Wyntoun mentions, are lost. Of the numerous "Makars" lamented by Dunbar little subsists but the names. Barbour *has* no predecessors; we cannot say he *had* none, or treat him as an isolated figure, first of his kind, an originator subject only to rules of his own making, and assume that phrases which seem to us characteristic of Barbour are *peculiar* to him. They may, for all we can show to the contrary, sometimes be commonplaces which could be paralleled in a whole literature, had fate dealt with it less unkindly.

This pathetic litany is culled from the entries in a fourteenth century Sarum Breviary, described, No. 27, by Miss Borland, *op. cit.* Many of the obits are connected with Aberdeen; the dates of the feast of St Machar, 12th November (Duplex Festum), and the dedication of the Cathedral, 3rd November, are added. The list was apparently kept by the Canons of Aberdeen when Barbour was Archdeacon.

<sup>13</sup> Amours, ed. Wyntoun, i., p. lxxix.

<sup>14</sup> Patrick Gordon, Preface to his poem "The Bruce," Dort (G. Waters), 1615, 4to. Gordon would have done greater service to literature if instead of writing his feeble poem he had transcribed Fenton's work.

<sup>15</sup> MS. of 1488, in the National Library of Scotland, bound with the 1489 MS. of the 'Bruce' (E) and written by the same hand, that of John Ramsay.



## § 22. THE SUSPECT CHARACTER OF THE AVAILABLE TEXTS.

The few works of the period 1375-1450 with which the 'Buik of Alexander' may usefully be compared have come down to us in copies made long after their authors' death, exposed in the interval to the chemistry of time and the attentions of "improvers," and, in our day, to the objections of the sceptical.

That the 'Bruce' was "compiled" in 1375<sup>1</sup> by John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, is proved by internal and external evidence, records and charters, and is disputed by no one. But when he began and finished it, or whether copies were handed about before 1375, is matter of conjecture. The texts preserved, apart from an excerpt of 280 lines copied by Wyntoun into his 'Chronicle,' c. 1420, are very much younger—viz., two MSS.—one (C: Cambridge) of 1487, written by "J. de R."; the other (E: Edinburgh) of 1489, written by John Ramsay, who was probably not<sup>2</sup> the same person as "J. de R."—and printed editions of 1571, 1616 (H. = Hart's), &c. C being incomplete at the beginning, Skeat follows E, mainly, as far as IV. 56, with corrections from H, thereafter C, with corrections from E and H. The variants both in the MSS. and in the printed copies are relatively few and slight,<sup>3</sup> but *a priori*, it is not impossible that the

<sup>1</sup> To be quite precise, between 22nd February and 24th March 1375-6: "Barbour's note (Br. XIII 694) is distinct in assigning a time after 22nd February 1375-6, when five years of Robert II.'s reign had passed, and before 24th March 1375-6, when the year 1375 as then counted came to a close." Neilson, J. B., p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See the very full study, pp. 1-21, in F. W. Muehleisen's 'Textkritische . . . Untersuchungen von Barbour's Bruce,' Diss. Bonn, 1913.

<sup>3</sup> Although much ink has been shed on this topic, the existing versions

'Bruce' of 1375 was afterwards emended by the author, who before he died had twenty years to alter, add to, or take from, his original work, or was "edited" by other hands, once or several times, in the period prior to 1487.

Of Wyntoun's 'Original' there is no "authentic text." The MSS. are all much later than the date of composition. Several of them represent independent versions by the author himself, and none has yet been shown, or perhaps ever can be shown, to be the "definitive edition." The 'Ballad of the Nine Nobles' exists only in two sixteenth-century MSS. Our own text, the 'Buik' [1580], is one which, in ordinary cases where several MSS. exist, an editor might dismiss as "a late sixteenth-century print" with such scant courtesy as Skeat accorded Hart's edition of the 'Bruce' [1616].

### § 23. SIMILARITIES IN SUBJECT-MATTER: THEIR VALUE AS EVIDENCE.

Those who have hitherto approached the problem of the 'Buik' have placed in "parallels" a confidence we cannot share. Their work is indeed overburdened with similarities (some very far-fetched), which are mere commonplaces. They assume that an idea, or the expression of an idea, occurring in two authors is a sign of unconscious assimilation or conscious plagiarism. This is no doubt often so in modern times, although, as Sainte-Beuve found it necessary to remind us, it is still possible for two authors, quite independently of each

of the 'Bruce' are in quite unusual harmony, as will be seen from Muehleisen's study—*e.g.*, p. 118,—and indeed from a cursory glance at Skeat's slender apparatus criticus.

other, to exclaim, "J'aime bien Marie!" Many of the ideas expressed in the disputed texts are of this elemental simplicity. In an age when individual feelings merged in the general mass and all authors wrote on the same subjects in the same strain, the stock of ideas was limited, and Barbour, or Wyntoun, or their French predecessors and contemporaries, must in the nature of things show a marked similarity in their themes and in their reflections: the mutability of human affairs, the pleasantness of spring as compared with winter's bitter blast, the sudden reversal of Fortune's wheel in the well-known "example" of Alexander or Julius Cæsar, the advantages of "lawte" over "tresoun," of wisdom over folly, and like topics dear to the mediæval moralist. As with ideas, so with facts. Men acted in History as they acted in Romance. The art of war still reduced itself to what Anatole France contemptuously termed "*quelques ruses de paysans*," and these might occur to separate commanders without collusion.<sup>1</sup> It is only in the heat of controversy that "parallels" of such calibre can seem to carry conviction.

In the conditions prevailing in the Scottish fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the filiation of texts must often be dubious. On this subject Andrew of Wyntoun, a dull man but an honest, is a good witness. He borrowed, with all due acknowledgment, 280 lines from the 'Bruce,' and no fewer than 6000 lines <sup>2</sup> (*i.e.*, nearly one-third of his 'Chronicle') from an author who apparently wrote c. 1390, and of whose name and qualifications he was quite unaware. Wyntoun tells us most frankly where

<sup>1</sup> The fact that Oudenarde was captured in 1384 by the same stratagem (soldiers disguised as carters, and a hay-cart to block the gateway) as Linlithgow by Farmer Bunnock ('Br.' X 150-255) does not prove that Barbour's tale is untrue—still less does it prove that a later redactor of the 'Bruce' borrowed the story from Froissart.

<sup>2</sup> VIII 2695-IX 1120.

he himself stops and the other begins, which we might not otherwise have known; and he would have given his contributor's name if he could. But all that Wyntoun could say of nearly one-third of the 'Chronicle' which bears his name is that whoever wrote it, he did not.<sup>3</sup>

Works, important at least in bulk, were often unknown outside a limited circle. When Sir Gilbert Haye sat down in 1460 to the formidable task of translating the vast 'Roman d'Alixandre,' neither he nor the entourage of his host, the Earl of Caithness, was aware that another 'Buik of Alexander' existed in Scotland (see § 14, *n.* 2). On the other hand, a work may have been read, but not alluded to, by later writers. Even so frank a soul as Wyntoun has strange silences. While the section contributed by his mysterious collaborator contains several passages taken direct from Fordun, whose 'Chronica' and 'Annales' were completed *c.* 1385, Wyntoun never cites Fordun, possibly because of un-

<sup>3</sup> " And for he walde vsurpe na fayme  
 Langer, na walde ber na blayme,  
 Than he deserwit, this poyntment  
 Her he made . . .  
 Til his purposse accordande  
 Befor hym he reddy fande,  
 That in the Kynge Dawiys days war done  
 The Broyis, and Robertis his [sistyr] son.  
*Qwha that did [v. r., Qubat thai], he wist richt noucht;*  
*Bot that til hym on casse was wroucht" [v. r., browcht].*  
 (VIII, C, 2945-60)

[*I.e.*, 'who wrote it he did not know at all'; cp. W, VI 1321—

" Bot of this deid *wist he rycht noch!*];

*Qwha that it dytyd . . . schawyt hym off mare cunnandness  
 Than me."* (IX, R, 1161.)

The readings of the various MSS. (see facsimiles, &c., in S.T.S. ed.) do not help us very much. It is impossible that Wyntoun would have us believe that he was unfamiliar with the events of the reigns of David II. and Robert II., since he was a contemporary and has already related some of them himself; nor can we find any justification for Mr Amours' view that Wyntoun withheld the name of his collaborator because of the latter's modesty. Wyntoun's two allusions to the subject seem to have their face value.

palatable views on the origin of the Scots, and yet had apparently read his work.<sup>4</sup> Walter Bower (1385-1449), who continued (1418-49) Fordun's 'Chronicle,' on occasion translates Barbour<sup>5</sup> and Wyntoun into Latin. "Blind Harry"—he was not blind, neither was his name Harry<sup>6</sup>—was familiar with the 'Bruce,' and it would be hard to say when unblushing robbery, and when coincidence, accounts for the similarities between the 'Wallace' and the 'Bruce.'<sup>7</sup> The 'Book of Pluscarden' (c. 1461), Hector Boece, and his versifier William Stewart,

<sup>4</sup> See Amours, ed. Wyntoun, I., p. xxxix, and *infra*, § 28, *s. fin.* (on the incident of the Earl of Gloucester's spurs).

<sup>5</sup> Cp. the beginning of his account of Bannockburn, 1759 ed., p. 247.

<sup>6</sup> If we believe Professor W. H. Schofield, 'Mythical Bards and the Life of William Wallace,' Harvard Univ. Press, 1920, pp. xii + 381. In any case, the free use of French and the very conscious art of his metrical effects show that the author of the 'Wallace' was not the untutored minstrel or gleeman he is generally imagined to have been.

<sup>7</sup> For the many similarities see Herrmann, *op. cit.*, p. 15; Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-33 and 158, &c.; Neilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-100; Mackenzie, ed. 'Br.,' n. to VIII. 177. Phrases like "Upone the morn quhen that the day was lycht" ('Wall.,' III. 423, IV. 326, IX. 60, 65), "The sone was rysyne our landis schinand brycht" ('Wall.,' III. 100), look like verbal imitations. The portrait of Douglas ('Br.' I 385-96), and the remark that his face was unscarred ('Br.' XX 370), occur in very similar form, applied to Wallace—

"His face he kepyt, for it was euir bar,  
With his twa handis, the quhilk full worthi war" (III 91).

"Woundis he had in mony divers place,  
Bot fair and weill kepyt was his face.  
Off ryches he kepyt no propyr thing:  
Gaiff as he wan, lik Alexander the king.  
In tym off pes mek as a maid was he;  
Quhar wer approchynt, the rycht Ector was he." (IX 1933).

It is curious that this reference to Alexander is not implicit in the passage of the 'Bruce' which "Blind Harry" had in mind (XV. 515-25).

The story of Gadifer ('Br.' III 73-76) is alluded to thus—

"Sic a flear befor was neur seyn;  
Nocht at Gadderis, off Gawdyfer the keyn,  
Quhen Alexander reskewed the foryouris,  
Mycht till him be comperd in tha houris." (X 341).

"Through cowatice" . . . died . . . "gud Ector . . . Alexander  
And Julius als . . . Arthour" . . .  
[Charlemagne by] "the traytour Ganzelon . . . Godfra"  
(XI 837-48).



are all visibly inspired by Barbour.<sup>8</sup> When such conditions prevail, it is tempting Providence to draw many inferences from similarities of subject-matter in the 'Bruce' and the 'Buik.'

#### § 24. SIMILARITY OF EXPRESSION : ITS VALUE AS EVIDENCE.

Nor are we on safer ground with language and style. If originality was rare in subject-matter, it was rarer in form. Men wrote not in separate words but in set phrases, whole lines or whole couplets, handed down intact from father to son. They were loth to make up a phrase when a ready-made one was available either in the works of a particular predecessor or in the common inheritance of stock expressions, ringing in the memory of all. We must be prepared to find disconcerting parallels. The 'Parlement of the Thre Ages' turns out to be an epitome of lines and passages from poems written in the second half of the fourteenth century, and the opening line of 'Titus'—"In Tiberius' time the trewe Emperour"—is *verbatim* the opening line of the 'Gyre-Carling.'<sup>1</sup>

And as a final complication comes the fact that of the few extant works of early Scottish literature several have with varying degrees of probability been ascribed to

<sup>8</sup> 'Liber Pluscardensis' (ed. Skene, Edinburgh, 1877) quotes Barbour (*e.g.*, I., p. 240): "Cujus [Edward Bruce] actus magis clare patent in libro De Gestis Regis Roberti." Boece adds supernatural episodes to the 'Bruce.'

'The Buik of the Chroniclis of Scotland, or a Metrical Version of the History of Hector Boece,' by William Stewart (ed. W. B. Turnbull, Rolls Ser., Vol. III., 1858), does little more, in its account of Bruce's reign, than repeat the 'Bruce,' often verbally, which it quotes (l. 49, 194) as "The Bruces buke Of king Robert."

<sup>1</sup> Neilson, 'H. A. R.' p. 40, *n.*

Barbour, and that Wyntoun and others, who read and admired him, may well have assimilated much of his diction and style. But when we find familiar phrases of the 'Bruce' recurring in parts of the Chronicle which have nothing to do with King Robert, and again in other parts for which Wyntoun disclaims all responsibility, and moreover in 'Cursor Mundi,'<sup>2</sup> the 'Morte Arthure,'<sup>3</sup> 'Havelok the Dane,'<sup>4</sup> 'Guy of Warwick,'<sup>5</sup> and other M.E. texts innumerable, many of the alleged "parallels" must be dismissed from our inquiry as general M.E., part of the stock-in-trade of any fourteenth-century or early fifteenth-century writer.<sup>6</sup>

## CHAPTER VII.: THE 'BUIK' COMPARED WITH TWO AUTHENTIC PORTIONS OF THE 'BRUCE.'

THESE reservations made, we enter on the dark and treacherous domain in pursuit of the will-o'-the-wisp author of our 'BuiK,' and amid the bogs of unauthentic texts, disputed dates, dubious authorship and "parallels"

<sup>2</sup> North. Eng., c. 1320.

<sup>3</sup> See § 11, n. 5.

<sup>4</sup> ? N.E. Midland? before 1275.

<sup>5</sup> ? South Warwickshire, c. 1300. The Auchinleck MS., which we quote, in reference to the Caius MS., is c. 1330-40.

<sup>6</sup> A passage like the following ('Guy of Warwick,' Caius MS. 8212) is full of "parallels" to the 'BuiK'—

" He smote to Gye with all his myȝt,  
And he hym, as a noble knyȝt  
Tho they fowghten ryȝht faſte there :  
Nother of hem wold other ſpare.  
Thay fowȝt with ſo grete Ire :  
Oute of ther helmis ſprange the fyre.  
They breke hawberkis & ſhyldys :  
The pecis flew in-to the fyldys."

only too easily paralleled, we espy with relief two small patches of apparently firm ground which the mists of controversy had concealed. One of them is the Prologue of the 'Bruce,' composed very evidently by the author, and not by a redactor writing more than forty years after his death. The other is the passage of the 'Bruce' which Wyntoun copied into his Chronicle, *c.* 1420, and which therefore, whatever errors of transcription, intentional alterations, omissions or additions Wyntoun may have made, contains at least no ingredients from a 'Buik of Alexander' dating from 1438. Let us first, then, compare the 'Buik' with these two passages of demonstrably authentic text, beginning with the Prologue as a temporary foothold.

#### § 25. COMPARISON WITH THE PROLOGUE.

The authenticity of the Prologue no one has called in question. It has the ring of sincerity. It states the author's purpose with a sureness of touch, and describes the contents with a simple modesty, to which no "remanieur," however sympathetic, could well attain. In tone and manner it is in complete harmony with the spirit and form of the whole work, throughout which the ideas it expresses,<sup>1</sup> and the very words<sup>2</sup> in which it expresses them, reappear continually. It bears the authentic impress of Barbour its writer, and we need not trouble to invoke the fact that the opening couplet—

" Storyss to rede are delitabill,  
Suppos that thai be nocht bot fabill "—

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<sup>1</sup> *E.g.*, 'Br.' XVI 526-31.

<sup>2</sup> *E.g.*, 'Br.' XVI 234.

recurs in Wyntoun,<sup>3</sup> in circumstances which leave little doubt that he found it in the 'Bruce,' and borrowed it for insertion in his own Prologue.

The Prologue contains not a word which is not in the 'Buik of Alexander.' The style and tone, the metre and rimes, are the same, and the phraseology is very similar, and, once, almost identical :—

<p>. . . staluart folk that . . .          Wan gret price off cheualry,          And war woydyt off cowardy,          As wes king Robert off Scotland,          That hardy wes off hart and hand.          (Br. I 25)</p>	<p>of this <i>cheualry</i> I gif 30w all the <i>prys</i>          (B. A. III 3227)          Baith <i>hardy</i> and worthy, I wis,  <i>And voydit of all cowardys</i> <sup>4</sup>          = Plains de grant hardement,          widiés de couardis          (B. A. III 5512)  <i>And hardy was of hart and hand.</i>          (B. A. II 2688)</p>
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The similarities are striking, and when (as in III. 5513 above) the phrasing of the 'Buik' is determined by the French, they become significant. But as evidence of common authorship their force is sadly weakened by the discovery of others elsewhere than in the 'Buik'—*e.g.*, 'Sc. Leg. Saints,' xl. ('Ninian'), 819 :—

"And hardy vas of hart and hand,"

and Wyntoun (W, I 1542) :—

"Bot it is nocht all suthfast thing,"

which is a closer parallel than the 'Buik' can offer to the last line (36) of the Prologue :—

"That I say nocht bot suthfast thing !"

It is true that of the Legends of the Saints ascribed to Barbour, 'Ninian' is that to which his claim is strongest.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *For storyis to reid (W heire) ar dilectable,  
 Suppose that sum be nocht bot fable.* (C W, I, Prol., 30).

<sup>4</sup> The form *cowardy* is frequent in the 'Buik.'

<sup>5</sup> See G. Neilson, 'Scot. Antiq.,' XI, p. 102.

It is also true that Wyntoun, his avowed admirer, may have caught some of his mannerisms. But in the absence of sufficient contemporary works to show whether such similarities are fortuitous or not, the evidence under this head proves merely that the ' Buik of Alexander ' belongs to the same "genre" as the ' Bruce ' and to the same school—that which used the four-stressed riming line, with marked alliteration, amply trimmed out with "tags," and not above employing one word for sense and one for rime—and represents the same standard in conception and execution. The evidence suggests common authorship, but does not, taken by itself, prove it.

#### § 26. COMPARISON WITH WYNTOUN'S EXCERPT.

A comparison of the language of Barbour, as quoted by Wyntoun, with the language of the ' Buik ' as printed by Arbuthnet, reveals some discrepancies in the vocabulary, and marked similarities in the phrasing.

Of the words used in the 280 lines quoted by Wyntoun a considerable number are not found at all in the 14,000 lines of the ' Buik.' Some of them could not be reasonably expected there—*e.g.*, "arbitry," "assythe," "bailzeis," "borch," "collaterale," "composytoure," "desolate" [= "without a King"], "discencion," to "hald in cheyf," "indenture," "luftennendis," "ofspryng," "ordynance," "respyte," "schirrayis," "succeed," "thrillage," &c. These are administrative, legal or semi-legal terms, necessary in discussing the rival claims to the Scottish throne, but not in translating French romances which treat of quite different subjects. But the absence of other words is noteworthy; such are the forms "freyndful,"



"freyndsome" and "kynrik" (which in the 'Buik' is represented by "kingdom"), the phrase "thay bare on hand" [= "controverted"], and the terms "chasty," "declare," "determine," "eftirwart," "inkirly," "nyt" [= "denied"], "occupy" (mil.), "reserwit," "rebaldail," "stuffit," "tide" [= "happen"].<sup>1</sup> These are not uncommon words (except "rebaldail"). Most of them are freely used by Wyntoun in other parts of his 'Original,'<sup>2</sup> and by M.E. writers generally, and might well have suggested themselves as possible translations.

That the turn of phrase, the expressions used, the ring of the lines, their metre and rime, are much alike will be seen from the following lists.<sup>3</sup> The first includes resemblances natural enough in works of the same "genre"; the second contains lines practically identical and suggestive of common authorship.

## I. SIMILARITY IN PHRASEOLOGY.

WYNTOUN, VIII ii. (MS. C.)	'BUIK OF ALEXANDER.'
QWHEN Alexander our kinge was dede, That Scotlande hade to stere and leide (l. 123)	<i>Vhē Alexāder</i> in his impire (I I) <i>QVHEN Alexander</i> the <i>King</i> of prys . . . (II I) Persianis . . . That Marciane <i>had to leid and steir</i> = <i>Marciens les conduist qui lor drois sires fu</i> (II 1614)
Off thir twa that I taulde of are (162)	Efter <i>thir tua I tell of heir</i> (IV 10211)
To thar kynge, that was worthi (172)	The <i>Kingis ensigne that was worthy</i> (I 1752)

<sup>1</sup> "Forly" and "tane kepe" do not appear in the 'Buik,' which uses "with ly," "tane tent," but there is fluctuation in the Wyntoun MSS. between "forly" and "with ly"—e.g., l. 2746, and between "kepe" and "tent"—e.g., l. 183.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., inkirly, W, IV 130.

<sup>3</sup> We omit phrases like l. 2788, "nowthir man na page," and l. 126 (MSS. AELR), "eftir his day," as general Middle English; so also ll. 209-12, 2842, 2918, &c.

## WYNT.

Bot othir wayis al ȝheide the gle (176)

[Edward I.] gryppit ay, but gayne  
giffynge (203)

He buskyt hym but mar habaide  
(230)

And til Inglande agayne is gane  
(232)

Tharfor eftyr fel gret ille (256)

## WYNTOUN, VIII xvii.

That Scottis men mycht do nathyng  
That euir mycht pleyse to thar  
lykyng (2739)

And gif ony thar at was wratthe  
(2743)

Thai walde swa do that thai sulde tyne  
Outhir lande, or lyf, or lywe in pyne  
(2751)

And knychtis slew that war worthi  
(2754)

Gret pete of the folk he hade (2769)

Thai sla our folk but encheson (2775)

And, I sal be in ȝoure helpynge  
Withe thi ȝhe gif me al the lande  
(2780)

Al hail my landis sal ȝowris be  
(2785)

The lard the Brwis herd this carpyng  
(2791)

## B. A.

*Bot vther wayis* it micht not be  
(II 42)

*All vther wayes* my lufe man *ga*  
(II 2394)

I sall wit how *the gle* is *gane* (I 2171)

Bot reiffis *forout agane-geuing*  
= Ains tolés sans rendage  
(III 6729)

And armit thame *but mair abaide*  
(I 87)

The maidinnis *ar agane* him *gane*  
(IV 10606)

*Great ill fallis* of villanes speik  
(II 2639)

## 'BUICK OF ALEXANDER.'

That na man forsakes *na kynde of*  
*thing*  
Fra thay se it be his *lyking*  
= Ne nus ne li sait riens refuser  
ne laissier (II 2947)

Quha-euer *thairat wraith* or blyth *be*  
(I 809)

Baith *lyfe* and *land* he lost attanes  
[Not in F.] (IV 9566)  
*Tine* he *sall*, outhir leif the *land*  
(II 213)

And the *knychtis war* sa *wourthy*  
(I 2003)

*Haue* of thir *folke reuth* and *pitie*  
(I 837 and 2116)  
Alexander *had great pitie* (II 3114)

[to] *disheris but enchesoun*  
= desheriter par mauvaise ochoi-  
son (II 4871)

ȝour liege man becum *I sall*  
And hold of ȝow *my landis all*  
*With-thy*, &c. (IV 10495)

The pryse *all haill* of this iorne,  
And our weilfair, *sall ȝowris be*  
(I 325)

Quhan Caulus *hard his carping*  
(I 761)

## WYNT.

## B. A.

Than Cwmyne his leif tuk, and haym  
went (2813)

And *tuk his leif and furth is went*  
(III 6329)

And let hym with the lettyr passe,  
Til entyr it, as forspokyn was.  
(2851)

quhill the presonis  
Be changed, *as forespokin is*  
= puis qu'ensi leur agréé  
(III 6614)

The Broys lape on, and thiddyr rade  
(2916)

*Lap on and to his fallowis raid*  
(II 4219)

## II. SIMILAR LINES.

## WYNTOUN, VIII ii.

## 'BUIK OF ALEXANDER.'

For in this warlde, that is sa wide  
(218)

I wate that *in this world sa wyde*  
(I 382)

And fra he wist qwhat charge thai  
hade (229)

But thay *wist nocht quhat help thay*  
*hade* (II 4052)

"Schir," he said, "sa Cryst [MSS.  
Au E E<sup>2</sup> L R God] me saif,  
The kynrik ȝarn I noucht til haf"  
(245)

Than *said* Lyoun "*sa God me saif,*  
*Sik pryse think I nocht to haif*"  
(I 327)

And gif God wil that it swa be  
(248)

Bot *God will nocht that it swa be*  
(I 227)

## WYNTOUN, VIII xvii.

## 'BUIK OF ALEXANDER.'

And of gret lordis sum thai slew,  
And sum thai hangit, and sum thai  
drew<sup>4</sup> [MSS. Au E<sup>2</sup> R omit And  
. . . and in l. 2758] (2757)

*Sum* he woundit and *sum* he *slew*  
And *sum* down to the erd he *drew*  
(IV 10091)

Bot, wit ȝhe weil, he was richt blithe  
(2854)

*Wit ȝe weil he was vnblith*  
= grant ire en a etie (IV 9139)  
He wes neuer in all his lyfe,  
*Wit ȝe weil, halfe sa blyth* (IV 8940)

The similarities enumerated in the above lists at first seem close enough to suggest that the translator of the 'Buik' and the author of the 'Bruce' were one and the same person. It is perhaps remarkable that the exordium proper of the 'Bruce' should also be the exordium of both the works translated from the French, for if Scottish

<sup>4</sup> Cp. 'Br.' II 466:

Sum thai ransownyt, sum thai slew,  
And sum thai hangyt and sum thai drew.

poems were, like Papal Bulls, designated by their first two words, as some are in the well-known list of the 'Complaynt of Scotlande,' the title of the 'Bruce' and that of both Part I. and Part II. of the 'Buik' would coincide: "Quhen Alexander." But these two words are also the virtual exordium of the 'Wallace' (I. 41). Mr W. M. Mackenzie's discovery of one line (248) common to the 'Buik' and to Wyntoun's excerpt seemed to some critics almost sufficient to settle the authorship question in Barbour's favour.<sup>5</sup> We find three more lines showing similarity just as marked (245-6 and 2854), but are less confident in our conclusions, because with a little industry it is possible to produce such resemblances from works other than Barbour's.<sup>6</sup> Thus not only "Quhen Alexander" but the whole opening couplet is found in the earliest extant poem in Scots, and Mr Mackenzie's line may be paralleled almost as well from Wyntoun as from the 'Buik': "For he *wald* nocht *it sa* suld *be*" (W, VII. 702). Reference to Wyntoun has not only allowed us to omit from the above lists rare uses apparently peculiar to the excerpt and the 'Buik,'<sup>7</sup> as well as large numbers of apparent

<sup>5</sup> Ed. 'Bruce,' Appendix E, p. 506. Reviewers thought Mr Mackenzie's discovery significant ('Athenæum,' 31st July 1909) or conclusive ('Times Lit. Suppl.,' 22nd July 1909).

<sup>6</sup> Cp. with l. 218, the Towneley Play of Noah, l. 541:

"Thise floodis not afright all *this world so wide*,"

and Chaucer 'Knight's Tale,' l. 2441:

"God that al *this wyde world* hath wrought."

<sup>7</sup> In this matter the O.E.D., most of which was published before the S.T.S. edition of Wyntoun, is less helpful than usual.

The earliest example in O.E.D. of one use of *than*, in:

Durst nane of Walis in batale ride . . .

*Than* he sulde lif and lymmys tyne (193-6)

is 'Br.' I 501 [=l. 2789 in Wyntoun]; the next is dated 1585. But the use occurs in 'B. A.' (IV 9723) and in Wyntoun (W, IV 608).

*Mawite*=MAVITE (l. 216), frequent in 'Br.' and in 'B. A.,' is not recorded elsewhere by O.E.D., but it occurs in Wyntoun.

parallels,<sup>8</sup> but also casts doubt on some which we do enter, and it might even provide the perverse with "proof" that the translator of the 'Buik' was Wyntoun or Wyntoun's anonymous contributor.<sup>9</sup> And here let us record

<sup>8</sup> *E.g.* :

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. 127. at the last . . . <i>rime</i> fast | 'B. A.,' II 4901, but also in Wynt.<br>(W, II 391, VIII 885,<br>&c.) |
| 160. but fen <sup>3</sup> heyng            | II 2363, but also in Wynt.<br>(W, V 4960, &c.)                       |
| 2780. in <sup>3</sup> our helpyng          | I 168, 2210, II 2955, but<br>also in Wynt. (W, VIII<br>1807).        |
| 2920. with hewy chere                      | IV 9601, but also in Wynt.<br>(W, VII 855).                          |
| than withe a knyf                          | Prevaly he gat <i>a knyf</i> ,                                       |
| He reft hym in that stede the lif          | <i>With</i> that fra hire [= her] <i>he reft</i><br><i>the lif</i>   |
| (2923)                                     | Wynt. (W, II 119).   |

<sup>9</sup> Parallels to the following lines of the excerpt are not to be found in the 'Buik of Alexander,' but do occur—and sometimes they are very close—in Wyntoun, and, moreover, in parts of the Chronicle remote from the excerpt:—

## EXCERPT.

For sum walde haf the Ballyol  
kyng,  
For he was cummyn of that of-  
spryng (135)  
And said that he thar kyng sulde  
be  
That . . . was cummyn of the  
nerrast malle (139-41)  
  ony malle  
That be lyne war descendande  
  (146-7)  
  pesse and rest (166)  
And al the lande [he] drew til his  
pesse (2729)  
And sum thai put in harde preson  
  (2759)  
  ta the state (2784, &c.)  
  tauld al the casse (2805)  
And thiddy he sommonde richt  
straitly  
The barownys (2816)

## ELSEWHERE IN WYNTOUN.

To byd him cum and be thar *king*;  
*For he wes cummyn of the ofspring*  
Off Brutus  
(W, V 3307; cp. also W, V 3199)  
*He suld be king . . .*  
*That cumyn were be lyne femall*  
(W, IV 1803)  
  
And syne *be lyne evin descendand*  
(I 1413, II 639, &c.)  
  
  (W, V 4865, VII 315)  
  
*And the lande off Italy*  
*He drew hail til his senzhory*  
(C, V 4959)  
  
Than wes he *put in harde presoun*  
(C, II 345)  
(W, V 1276; C, V 4235)  
(W, VIII 107)  
  
  . . . the clergy  
Gert him be summond rycht  
straitly (W, V 3394)



our surprise that no one should have yet followed up the suggestion made, but at once withdrawn, by Pinkerton in 1790, and have set out to show that the contributor (c. 1390) was the modest Archdeacon of Aberdeen. Whoever did so would certainly reap a rich harvest of very remarkable parallels. The similarities collected in note 9 might, of course, be explained away as due to imitation of Barbour on Wyntoun's part. But they give us pause, and while noting that the language of Barbour as contained in Wyntoun's excerpt<sup>10</sup> is markedly similar to that of our 'Buik,' we stress meantime the differences in vocabulary, and regard the evidence as corroborating, but not proving, the theory of common authorship.

## CHAPTER VIII.: THE AUTHENTICITY OF OUR 'BRUCE' IN THE LIGHT OF WYNTOUN'S EXCERPT.

### § 27. HOW WYNTOUN UTILISED THE 'BRUCE.'

LEAVING these two portions of authenticated text of the 'Bruce,' we must, before we can safely proceed, inquire into the soundness of the rest, which is an essential factor in the problem. Verbally, the text in Wyntoun tallies exactly with that of our 'Bruce,' except for a few trifling

<sup>10</sup> Among the many resemblances, elsewhere than in the excerpt, between Wyntoun's phrases and those of the 'Buik' may be noted—

Bot at ane lytill burne passing  
His horss him failzeit of leping  
= Au travers d'un roion qu'il  
devoit trespasser (I 1113)

Thar, at a litil burne passynge,  
Schir Thomas hurt was in the kne  
(C, VIII 4588).

variants;<sup>1</sup> and the Wyntoun MSS., so divergent elsewhere, here agree closely with each other,<sup>2</sup> as also with both the E and the H versions of the 'Bruce.'<sup>3</sup> But there are grievous discrepancies in the subject-matter. Many passages of the text which we possess are missing in Wyntoun's excerpt. From this fact, which obviously warrants the gravest doubts on the authenticity of our 'Bruce,' Mr Brown inferred that these passages were not in the 'Bruce' in Wyntoun's day, but are late interpolations, whereupon Dr Neilson retorted that Wyntoun may just as well be supposed to have had a text containing these portions before him when he made his excerpt, and have omitted them for good and sufficient reason. To determine which view is the more reasonable, let us

<sup>1</sup> In spelling, e.g., 131 *ryolte*, E *reawte*; in easily interchangeable words, 123 *our*, the, 251 (and frequently) *befor*, *forouch*, or in phrases where the same idea may be variously worded—ll. 225-8, 2811-12, 2833-4. MS. E often finds some support in one or other of the Wyntoun MSS., but 213 *peralouse*, E *wnfayr*, 2820 *wyttynge*, E *persawying*, are unsupported; 184 *Off Walis* Always, peculiar to E, is clearly wrong.

<sup>2</sup> The variants from all the Wyntoun MSS. are given (from Amours' edition) because there is no "textus receptus":

A = St Andrews [first half of the sixteenth century].

Au = Auchinleck [early sixteenth century].

C = Cottonian [1475-1500].

E<sup>1</sup> = First Edinburgh (denoted E by Mr Amours; our designation is merely to differentiate MS. E of Wyntoun from MS. E of the 'Bruce') [early sixteenth century].

E<sup>2</sup> = Second Edinburgh [early sixteenth century; probably a copy of Au].

H. See below.

L = Lansdowne [early sixteenth century].

R = Royal [1440-50; the oldest and the only complete *text*].

W = Wemyss [c. 1500; the earliest *version*].

The text we quote is that of C. Br = the text of the 'Bruce' as in MS. E = Edinburgh, 1488, supported by H = Hart's printed edition, 1616. MS. H of Wyntoun we do *not* quote; it is the late seventeenth century Harleian MS., an abridged copy of W, largely valueless, and it would cause confusion here with "H" of the 'Bruce.'

<sup>3</sup> In MS. C of the 'Bruce,' imperfect at the beginning, the first three "Books" and ll. 1-56 of "Book" IV. (and therefore this passage) are missing; but C agrees throughout so consistently with E (see W. M. Mackenzie, ed. 'Br.,' p. vii.) that the readings of E (confirmed by H) are certainly sound. MS. W of Wyntoun is particularly close to E (e.g., ll. 2768 and 2772), and when readings of W are supported by E they no doubt give Barbour's own words.

consider, firstly, the circumstances in which Wyntoun utilised the 'Bruce'; secondly, the nature of the passages in question.

When the Original Chronicle, in its somewhat weary pilgrimage from the Garden of Eden to the Scotland of Robert II., was in the fulness of time approaching the reign of Robert I., Wyntoun reflected that the events of those stirring times had already been more fully told—and, as he adds with modesty and probably with truth, better told—by Barbour than he himself could hope to tell them. He was therefore minded to pass over the period rapidly, and gratefully borrowed Barbour's account of the years immediately prior to Robert's reign: the disputed succession to Alexander III. (*d.* 19th March 1286), the rival claims of the Balliol and Bruce families, the consequent intervention of Edward I., the assembly at Norham (May 10, 1291), and how Bruce refused, and John Balliol accepted, submission to the English king. After describing (from other sources) how the dispute was submitted to the Parliament of Paris, how Balliol was declared king by Edward, crowned (Nov. 30, 1292) and soon after deposed (July 7, 1296), and how Wallace withstood King Edward (1296-1305), Wyntoun returned to Barbour<sup>4</sup> for the murder of Comyn (Feb. 10, 1306). He then referred his readers to Barbour's 'Bruce'<sup>5</sup> for

<sup>4</sup> With the remark that, except for the opposition of Wallace, Edward was in possession of all Scotland—

The Archedeyne in Brwsis buk,  
Qwha wil in til it the first end luk,  
Sayis: Fra Wyk . . . til Galway . . . (2733-6).

<sup>5</sup> Qwhat eftir this Broys Robert  
Qwhat] A, Au, E<sup>2</sup>, R=Quhat that; E<sup>1</sup>=Quhen that.  
In al his tyme did eftyrwart,  
tyme] E<sup>1</sup>=lif.  
The Archedeyne of Abyrdeyne,  
L=archidiacre.

the rest of the story—*i.e.*, the reign of King Robert from his coronation at Scone (March 27, 1306) to his death (June 7, 1329).

Wyntoun's own words show clearly enough the spirit in which he made these borrowings. He quotes Barbour with evident respect, as the proper authority on King Robert's reign, and is careful not to encroach on his period, but to borrow only from his Introduction, which deals with the preliminary events, from 1286 to 1306. In that strictly limited utilisation of the 'Bruce,' Wyntoun does not say that he will quote *in extenso*, and in his other allusions to Barbour <sup>6</sup>—in connection with Balliol's rights, the marriage of David II. and Joanna, and the incident of Douglas and the Bruce's Heart—restricts himself to brief reference, without quotation. For the style of the 'Bruce' he expresses the frankest admiration; what he did copy, he copied faithfully, without venturing on improvement of the diction.<sup>7</sup> His words convey the impression that the 'Bruce' was a monumental work, on the ample scale, say, of the 'Original Chronicle.' In the eyes of Wyntoun, who in his own writings and borrow-

In Broysis buk he gert be seyne,

R=In Brwys hys buk. *he gert*] Au, E<sup>2</sup>, R=has gert; L=hes maid.  
Mar wisly in to wryt

A=And maire; E<sup>1</sup>=Thar mair. *in*] Au, E<sup>2</sup>, L, R=tretyde in.

Than I can thynk in al my wit;

*in*] Au, E<sup>2</sup>, R, wyth. *al*] Au, E<sup>2</sup> *om.* L=Than I can say or put in  
dyte.

Tharfor I wil now thus lichtly

*now*] E<sup>2</sup>, nocht. *thus*] Au, E<sup>2</sup>, rycht; L *om.*

Our at this tyme passe the story.

*passe*] R *om.* Au, E<sup>2</sup>=Oure pass this tyme his story; L=Heir pas  
with this story. (2923-30).

<sup>6</sup> Wyntoun's references to Barbour or the 'Bruce,' fourteen in number, are conveniently collected by Mr Amours in his edition of the Chronicle, Vol. i., pp. lxxvii-viii.

<sup>7</sup> Since in the later versions (*e.g.*, C) the extract proceeds further than in the earliest version (W), which stops at l. 2776, Wyntoun would appear to have observed varying degrees of discretion in the extent of his borrowing.

ings shows no craving for undue brevity, Barbour had "mekyl tretyt" of his subject.<sup>8</sup> A reference to the 'Bruce' had to be given with some precision, to "the first end,"<sup>9</sup> or to "the latter end,"<sup>10</sup> of the work. It thus seems that to reach the generous proportions which the 'Bruce' can boast to-day, it required no amplification by a later hand than Barbour's, and that the verbal identity noted above in no way precludes omission by Wyntoun of matter which he considered irrelevant to his own purpose.

§ 28. THE NATURE OF THE PASSAGES IN THE 'BRUCE'  
WHICH ARE MISSING IN WYNTOUN'S EXCERPT.

As to the character of the passages found in our 'Bruce,' but absent from Wyntoun's excerpt, some are couplets<sup>1</sup> expanding a preceding line in the manner familiar to mediæval scribes or authors. These may be due to Barbour or to one of his copyists; they may, however, have been dropped by Wyntoun inadvertently, or omitted as unnecessary, or unsuitable for his purposes. Two of them have every appearance of having been deliberately omitted by Wyntoun. His own editor, Mr Amours—who, though a friend and fellow-citizen of Dr Brown and Dr Neilson, remained curiously aloof from their controversies (and

<sup>8</sup> L. 177. For thi said Mastyr Johun Barbere,  
That mekyl tretyt of that mater:  
"A! blynde folk," &c.

In round numbers the 'Bruce' has 13,550 lines, the 'Chronicle' has 22,000 lines, of which 6000, however, are by Wyntoun's collaborator; the 'Destruction of Troy' 14,000, 'Wallace' 12,000, but in longer verse, the 'Buik of Alexander' 14,000.

<sup>9</sup> See note 4, *supra*.

<sup>10</sup> (W) VIII 2874, for Barbour's account of the marriage of David II.

<sup>1</sup> After lines 222, 252, 2738, 2744, 2752, 2807, 2916.



whose opinion <sup>2</sup> of Wyntoun as a master of words was higher than ours),—roundly suggests <sup>3</sup> that the reason why the good Prior of Lochleven omitted the couplet after l. 222 <sup>4</sup> was that he did not know the meaning of the rare term "mowence." <sup>5</sup> The couplet after l. 252 <sup>6</sup> is obscure; Wyntoun's one-line version of the three lines in E is at least clear.

The other passages are more important and much longer. They are all in the nature of parentheses, and therefore might on *a priori* grounds be explained with equal probability either as interpolations made in the 'Bruce' after Barbour's day or else as digressions existing in the 'Bruce' as it stood in 1420, and omitted by Wyntoun as being outside his subject. Let us consider the special circumstances of each case:—

After line 256 ("Tharfor [because of Balliol's submission to Edward's will] eftyr fel gret ille") the 'Bruce' has 8 lines (I. 171-8) [to the effect that Balliol became King, but was soon deposed, whether rightly or wrongly; on the justice or injustice of his deposition no opinion is expressed]. This is not an "interpolation"; at l. 256 Wyntoun ceases quoting the 'Bruce' until Chap. xvii., and his intervening chapters include a much fuller account of Balliol's brief reign than that given in the 8 lines which they supersede.

Line 2754 ("And knychtis slew that war worthi"—one of the misdeeds imputed to Edward's army of occupation) is followed in the 'Bruce' by 58 lines (I. 217-74): [Thus were the Scots ill-treated . . . Freedom is a noble thing . . . He who has been a thrall prizes freedom more than gold . . .

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Wyntoun, I. p. lix.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., *ad loc.*

<sup>4</sup> "For to knaw in his prescience  
Off alkyn tyme the mowence."

<sup>5</sup> = muance, recorded by O.E.D. in Barbour and Caxton only.

<sup>6</sup> E has: "The tothir wrethyt him, and swar  
That he suld have it neur-mar:  
And turnyt him in wrath away" ('Br.' I 165).

Wyntoun has for the three lines:

"Withe this Robert past his way."

A comparison between thraldom and wedlock]. To treat the purple patch on Freedom<sup>7</sup> as an interpolation made after 1420 is a strong step, and it may be doubted whether Dr Brown in propounding his theory foresaw this, its logical consequence, and counted the cost. The utter irrelevance of the excursus on the topic of Matrimony as an intermediary stage between Freedom and Thraldom has diverted generations of Barbour's more modern readers, and it is not unreasonable to assume that Wyntoun, though not himself conspicuous by his regard for strict relevance, omitted the whole passage because the bearing of the latter part of it on Scottish history was no clearer to him than it is to us.

After lines 2759-60 (" And sum [= great lords] thai [= the English] put in harde preson, But ony causs or enchesone ") the 'Bruce' continues with 196 lines not in Wyntoun (I. 281-476): [And among others William of Douglas was imprisoned. He was slain, but his son James well avenged his death. . . . James of Douglas returns to Scotland (283-360) . . . his character . . . his likeness to Hector of Troy (361-406). . . . Edward at Stirling refused to reinstate him in his lands (407-44). . . . Here begins the Romance of men who from distress came to victory and renown, and who were like the Maccabees in their patriotism (445-76)]. This long passage appears genuine. It flows naturally from the Prologue, in which two heroes are announced, Bruce and Douglas. It is no argument to say that an author who passes over in silence the youth of the Bruce, together with the doings of his father and grandfather, would not have expatiated thus on the youth of Douglas and his father's imprisonment and death. Proportionate treatment of his two heroes is not a strong point with Barbour. And surely there are historical circumstances which account only too well for his silence on the ancestors and early career of the Bruce. What good could he say of the two elder Bruces, either the father or the grandfather? Their patriotism was dubious. About the Bruce's father, who had marched into Scotland under Edward's banner, and about the Bruce himself till after much tergiversation he broke with England, the less said was the better. William of Douglas, though his record is not quite clear, died in an English prison for the Scottish cause, and the story of his son James, a boy who grew up to avenge his death, was a safer, a more congenial, theme. In the long "Introduction" to the Romance, Bruce is essentially the claimant, Douglas the youthful hero. The passage is out of focus and clumsily introduced, apparently

<sup>7</sup> There is a quite analogous panegyric of "vorschip" [valour]. 'Br.' VI 325-58.

somewhat as an afterthought. It delays the beginning of the Romance proper ('Br.' I. 446), and is, by the unhappy loose reference "Thys lord the Brwyss I spak of ayr" ('Br.' I. 477), a contributory cause of the apparent confusion of the Bruce with his grandfather, of which so much has been made.<sup>8</sup> But the more parenthetical its appearance, the more likely was it to be omitted by Wyntoun, whose theme was Bruce, not Douglas, and whose aim was history, not biography.

After describing how a pact was made between Bruce and Comyn, and how they had sworn "Til halde al that thai spokyn hade" (l. 2802), the 'Bruce' has 46 extra lines (I. 515-560) [beginning—

"Bot off all thing wa worth tresoun! . . .  
Wes nocht all Troy with tresoune tane?  
Quhen ten 3eris of the wer wes gane?"<sup>9</sup>

And by treachery were not Alexander, Julius Cæsar, and King Arthur slain? These historical allusions are such as any later moralist could have added, but they are also such as Wyntoun might well read, admire, but refrain from reproducing. That he did read them seems probable from the fact (which Dr Brown, *o. c.*, p. 120, points out, somewhat inadvisedly for his own theories) that 'Br.' I. 545, "Slayne with punsoun rycht to the ded," is repeated by Wyntoun, IV. 2312.

After l. 2812, where Edward, apprised of the pact by Comyn's treachery, determines to punish Bruce, 'Br.' has 16 extra lines (I. 573-88): [Comyn expected thus to rule in Scotland. . . . "Bot off fail3eis the fulis thocht" (l. 582)], nor are wise men's hopes always fulfilled. The remark is not essential. That it is genuine and that Wyntoun had read it seems not unlikely, because l. 582 (repeated in the 'Bruce,' XI. 21) reappears in Wyntoun (C., VII. 241).

<sup>8</sup> Wyntoun rectified this error (VIII. 2767), but not that by which, in 'Br.' I 67, Bruce's father and grandfather are confused (Wynt., VIII 153). Mr Mackenzie has some excellent remarks on this much-debated subject in his note to 'Br.' I 477, *n.* Professor Schofield, in 'Publications of the Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America,' xxxi. (1916), wishes to take "ayr" as = "heir." It is possible that Barbour became muddled, because "there are four Robert Bruces in the case, to the terror of the historian," as Mr Jenks remarks in his 'Edward I.' without reference to Barbour. But if so, it was only a temporary aberration, a mere slip. That Barbour really thought the grandfather to be the same person as the king we ourselves decline to believe.

<sup>9</sup> The same phrase recurs in the 'Bruce,' IX 359:

"Quhen sex owkis of the sege ves gane."

The Bruce, confronted by Edward with the indenture betrayed by Comyn, was in mortal peril "bot gif he mycht Helpe hym-self thar withe sum slycht" (ll. 2831-2). Here MS. E, supported by H, reads: "Bot god of mycht Preserwyt him till hyer hycht," and adds, "That wald nocht that he swa war dede," with some consequent minor modifications of the next two lines. Whether the original text bore "gif he mycht" or "god of mycht," or whether the theology of the alleged divine intervention in Bruce's favour did or did not commend itself to Wyntoun, it is impossible, from the present evidence, to show. But it is noteworthy that in a preceding passage (which we hold for suspect meantime as it is not in Wyntoun), the 'Bruce' employs the same expression—

"Bot syne our lord sic grace thaim sent,  
That thai syne . . .  
Come till gret hycht . . .  
Bot god, that maist is of all mycht,  
Preserwyt thaim in his forsycht" ('Br.' I 450-60).

*Per contra*, Wyntoun's excerpt contains one passage (ll. 2863-904) which is absent from our text, relating how [Randolf de Monthermer] Earl of Gloucester ("Glowerne," Wyntoun says, which indicates a Latin source) sent Bruce a pair of spurs, as a broad hint to leave London, and telling a somewhat unconvincing story of "a man" who, having aroused the suspicions of Bruce and his faithful clerk as they were nearing the Border, was found to be carrying letters:—

"Be the tennore ful weil thai kende  
That Iohun the Cwyme thir letteris sende" (2899).

The language throughout the passage has the ring of Wyntoun's style, notably in the above couplet, with which compare—

"Qwhene be the *letterys til hyme sende*  
He saw and *be the tenor kende*" (Wynt. C, V 809),

and in l. 2876, "*Consayt had of the erllis intent*," which is one of his pet phrases. The whole incident is exactly as described by Fordun, cxiv., ed. Skene, II. p. 339, and Wyntoun is merely translating Fordun's Latin:—

"Quod cum comes Gloverniæ, ipsius Roberti verus amicus et in suprema necessitate probatus, audisset, fidem cum suo garderopario eadem nocte xii denarios, et unum par calcarium, prædicto Roberto misit festinanter, &c."



§ 29. SOME LOGICAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE  
ALLEGATION THAT THESE PASSAGES ARE SPURIOUS.

In the above survey we have found nothing to support the view that the passages absent from the Excerpt were absent also from the text of the 'Bruce' when Wyntoun transcribed it, but much to support the opposite view. Moreover, the attitude of Wyntoun, and of all the early writers, towards Barbour, was one of profound respect, and it is quite unlikely that any one should have ventured to improve much upon what Barbour had written or to add many explanatory passages; the ideas and the phrasing of the alleged interpolations recur constantly in parts of the 'Bruce' which are not suspect; some of the omitted matter duly appears in Bower, who, since he died in 1449, presumably used an unimproved text; and in passages which occur in parts of the 'Bruce' far removed from the Excerpt, we find that details which might to us seem spurious are copied by Wyntoun and Bower.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bower, quoting the 'Bruce,' as in the Excerpt, almost literally, continues with an allusion to Judas Maccabeus ('Scotichron,' 1759, XII. iv):

"Eodem anno, receptis ad pacem tam majoribus quam minoribus regni Scotiæ, excepto Willelmo Wallace solo, redditis sibi castris et villis firmatis universis, a Weyk in Cathenesia usque Mullersnowk in Galweya . . . *Deus . . . suscitavit eis salvatorem . . . nomine Robertum de Bruce, qui . . . tanquam alter Machabæus, manum mittens ad fortia, pro fratribus liberandis, innumeros et inportabiles diei æstus, frigoris et famis in terra et in mari subiit labores.*"

The italicised part, which Bower found in Fordun, corresponds to 'Br.' I. 465-71, which Wyntoun omitted. There is every reason to suppose that Wyntoun's text of the 'Bruce' contained the allusion, which would come as naturally to Barbour as to Fordun.

The burial of Gloucester and other great lords after Bannockburn is closely paralleled in the 'Buik'; see 'Br.' XIII, 511 and 622, and *supra*, § 19. Wyntoun read the *whole* description, including what seems to come from the 'Buik,' because he specially mentions the Bruce's regret for Gilbert de Clare's death at Bannockburn, and cites Barbour as the authority:

"King Robert for him wes perfay  
Sumdeill dolorus and pensif,  
For thai luffit other in thar lif,  
As writtin is in King Robertis buke" (W, VIII 912).



The natural interpretation of the facts is that Wyntoun, whose theme was the history not of King Robert but of the planet, and who acknowledges fatigue when nearing the end of his long task, condensed what he copied. While respectfully quoting Barbour, he felt no call to copy out passages manifestly parenthetical and remote from the historical theme under discussion. The first such passage he does indeed transcribe, but with the remark, "For thi said mastyr Iohun Barbere." This deference he did not continue throughout, for reasons which there was little necessity for him to specify, and less for later critics to ignore.

Since these passages have been considered by Dr Brown to be interpolations in the full sense of the term, let us for the moment treat them as such, and observe what light they throw on the interpolator. If we admit the excursus on Freedom to be an interpolation, let us also admit that it is a singularly fortunate one for Barbour's poetic fame. It is true that the interpolator's zeal carried him too far—naturally enough from Freedom to Thraldom, less naturally from the bond of Thraldom to the bond of Matrimony. He brought, together with the brightest jewel in Barbour's crown, some most unhappy contributions; but on balance he was a good friend to Barbour.

Noting that the author of the 'Ur-Bruce' had in his Prologue promised to speak of Bruce *and* Douglas, and has not yet referred to the latter, the interpolator decides that no more time must be lost in making good the promise, and obligingly adds there and then a long account of the youth of Douglas, his character and his likeness to Hector of Troy. As for the excursus on 'Tresoun,' it is a model of tactful allusion. Bruce has made a solemn

pact with Comyn (l. 510), and now (l. 560) Comyn will betray him to Edward. To Barbour no comment had appeared necessary, or none was forthcoming, but the interpolator is more alert, and exclaims, "Bot of all thing, wa worth Tresoun!" For who, indeed, can guard against treachery? "Wes nocht all Troy with tresoun tane?"—which is alliterative, undeniable, a matter of common knowledge, and a highly appropriate sentiment to put into the mouth of one who, like Barbour, has from the early fifteenth century been credited with a 'Siege of Troy.'<sup>2</sup> Other "examples" crowd in upon the interpolator's well-stored mind: "Alexander the conqueroure" . . . "Iulius Cesar als" . . . "Als Arthur"—i.e., those of the Nine Worthies who scaled the heights of fame but by Treason died. Not all of those available among the Nine, however, for Hector, too, died by treachery. Why omit Hector? Perhaps because he was among the interpolator's unnamed heroes of Troy who "mycht nocht haiff beyn tane throw mycht, Bot tresoun tuk thaim throw hyr slycht" (527-8); perhaps because he had already done service, in ll. 395-406, as an example to whom James of Douglas might (almost) be compared. The interpolator adds here not *all* his possible contributions, just enough to free Barbour from reproach as lacking in the power of apt historical illustration.

So is he quick to moralise suitably on Comyn's folly,

<sup>2</sup> A MS. of Lydgate's 'Siege of Troy' in the Cambridge University Library (Kk. V. 30) begins with the fragmentary 'Troy-Book' often attributed to Barbour [printed by C. Horstmann in his 'Barbour's Legendensammlung,' Heilbronn (Henninger), 1881, pp. x + 307; pp. 215-307]. The fifteenth-century scribe deserts the Scottish version for Lydgate's, with the words, "Her endis Barbour and beginnis the monk," and resumes it, with a long passage at the end, remarking, "Her endis the monk and begynnys Barbour." MS. Douce 148 of the Bodleian contains the second of these fragments (1556 lines), tacked on to Lydgate's version. The ascription to Barbour has been contested on grounds which we believe insecure (see *infra*, § 41, n. 11).

in sixteen added lines, to bring about the intervention of Divine Providence in Bruce's favour by a clever little emendation in one line and the addition of two more, but to *omit* the Earl of Gloucester and his spurs and the unconvincing "man," as falling short of the lofty standard to which he is laboriously raising Barbour's imperfect work.<sup>3</sup> Thus does the pious interpolator deck out the too short and simple annals of the 'Bruce' that Barbour made—and with such cunning artistry that the texture of his additions is indistinguishable from the original material, in no wise differing in tone from the author's unaided general remarks,—not corrections or expostulations or *obiter dicta*, not a couplet or two stupidly inserted here and there as your dull scholiasts do, but now a little sentence made to match the rough fabric of Barbour's style and deftly woven in, now a long historical illustration, or a supplementary monograph on the youth of James of Douglas. To think that this was done after A.D. 1438, anonymously, without hope of credit or reward, that Scotland might never have to blush for her first epic, or all for the love of Archdeacon Barbour, who had then been in the grave for forty years and more! Most noble Interpolator! Would that all writers were as well served as was John Barbour after death!

<sup>3</sup> Or in Dr Brown's phrase, 'Wall. and Br.' 155, "striving to bring it into harmony with his own conceptions of the higher canons of art."

CHAPTER IX.: THE ORIGINS OF THE  
ALLEGED INTERPOLATIONS IN THE 'BRUCE.'

## § 30. THE 'Ballet of the Nine Nobles.'

It is not wholly from the depths of a noble heart, beating with patriotic solicitude for a beloved but slightly incompetent predecessor, that the "Interpolator," if such he be, brings forth the supplementary matter which the 'Bruce' seemed to require: it is from two precise literary sources. One of them is the 'Buik of Alexander,' as is admitted on all hands, with unwonted unanimity. The other is the 'Ballet of the Nine Nobles,' which all parties overlooked,<sup>1</sup> and which was yet an important, perhaps a decisive, factor in a baffling problem. The 'Ballet'<sup>2</sup> was composed by the person who translated our 'Buik.'

A glance at the text which we print here—that of the

<sup>1</sup> Dr Neilson mentioned ('H. A. R.,' p. 127) Barbour as "suspected" of writing the 'Ballet,' but did not apparently put the "suspicions" to the test.

<sup>2</sup> Preserved only because it happens to have been incorporated in two MSS. of Fordun, both in the University Library, Edinburgh; see Miss C. R. Borland's 'Catalogue of MSS. in Edinb. Univ. Libr.' (Constable), 1916, pp. xxxi + 359; pp. 272-4. One is the MS. (written in 1510) of Fordun's 'Chronicle'; the 'Ballet' is found at the end (F<sup>o</sup>. 343), in the same hand as the rest. The other is the MS. (written in 1521) of Law's abbreviation of the 'Scotichronicon.' The variants of the Law MS. are relatively few and unimportant, except in ll. 18 and 21, where the reading is better, and show that the MSS. stand very close to a common ancestor. It is hastily written; several words are erased or corrected, and in l. 62 "hard," left unerased, suggests that the scribe had begun to write "hardiest" when he noticed that his original bore "doughtiest." The 'Ballet' was printed by David Laing in his 'Select Remains of Ancient Popular Poetry of Scotland,' 1822, p. 186, and again by Professor W. A. Craigie in 'Anglia,' XXI. (Neue Folge, Band IX.), 1899, pp. 359-65, who collated Laing's text with the MS. in Fordun, noted the variants of Law's MS., added the French text [of MS. S as published by Paul Meyer in the 'Bulletin de la Société des Anciens Textes,' 1883, pp. 45-54], pointed out the common authorship of the 'Ballet' and the 'Buik,' and proposed as the date of the 'Ballet' c. 1440.

Fordun MS., carefully checked, collated with the other MS. (and purged of several minor errors and inadvertences found in the two published editions)—will show that ‘Bruce,’ ‘Buik,’ and ‘Ballet’ are closely inter-related. A flood of light will be shed on the operations of the alleged Interpolator by a detailed comparison of the ‘Ballet’ with passages selected from the ‘Bruce’ and the ‘Buik’ [and occasionally from ‘Sir Ferumbras,’ the ‘Morte Arthure,’ and Wyntoun, quoted (as in § 19) by way of illustration, and enclosed in square brackets] :—

## DE NOUEM NOBILIBUS.

Fo. 313  
col. a

## I.

Hectour of troy throu hard feichthyngē  
[Hector of troye throw harde fethingē

In half thrid ȝeris slew xix kyngē  
*half thrid*] xiiij

And āmiralle a hund<sup>2</sup> and mare  
admirallis *hund<sup>2</sup>*] hundreth

Wy<sup>t</sup> small folk at vnrackyñit war  
smal ; y<sup>t</sup> not reknit ware

5 He slew sa fell at wes ferly  
feil y<sup>t</sup> was

Qwha<sup>m</sup> achilez slew tresnabili  
achilles ; tresnabilly



I. HECTOR.

1-6

Suith it is *gude Hector* was wicht . . .  
 Into the half thrid 3eir all anerly  
 That he loued throw cheualry,  
 Of crowned *Kingis he slew nynetene*  
 But dukes and erlis, as I wene,  
 That was *sa fell it is ferly* ;  
 Syne *Achilles slew him tressonabilly*  
 =Voirs est qu'Ector fu preus desmesuréement . . .  
 Es issues c'on fist par son enortement  
 Ocist .xix. roys, sus son cors deffendant,  
 Et amiraus et contes, ce croi je, plus de .C.,  
 Puis l'ocist Achilles moult traÿteusement  
 (B. A. IV. 9897-912).

Till gud *Ector of Troy* mycht he [Douglas]  
 In mony thingis liknyt be  
 (Br. I. 395).

That thay of thairis sall haue na thing  
 Bot thay it win *throw hard fechtung*  
 (B. A. I. 67 and *passim*).

And him reskewit with *hard fichting*  
 (Br. X. 732, &c.)

## II.

Alex<sup>2</sup> als nobil a kyng  
 Alexander of macedo ye nobil kyng

In xij 3ere wañ throu hard feithyng  
 throw harde feching  
 fething

Al landis vnd<sup>2</sup> ye formament.  
 All ye landis ond<sup>2</sup> ye firmament

10 Eqwhethir a dai in till plement  
 Quhil a day (he said : *erased*) in plain pliament

He said he had but variance  
 He said for outtyn variance

Our litill in till his gou<sup>2</sup>nance.  
 He had our litill to his gouernance

[Wes takin thare *throu hard fechting*  
(W. IV. 2282)].

[And vther mony marteris sere  
That may nocht all be *reknyt* heire  
(W. V. 2559)].

He had *so fele it wes ferly*  
(Br. XI. 113).

Sa mony men, *it wes ferly*  
(Br. XIV. 245).

## II. ALEXANDER.

### ALEXANDER.

10 . . . Rang seuin *zeir as nobill King,*  
*Wan all this world vnder the firmament.*  
Than on *ane day, in plane parliament,*  
*He said he had in all-kin thing*  
*Our lytill land till his leding*  
=Alixandres aussi [*v. r. li larges*] dont je vous voi  
parlant . . .

En .xij. ans reconquist tres viguerousement  
Quanke l'en pot trouver [*v. r. conquerre*], desous le  
firmament ;  
Encor ne li plot mie, ains dist apertement  
A ses barons, un jour qu'il tenoit parlement,  
Qu'il avoit poi de terre a son gouvrenement.  
(B. A. IV. 9918-22).

And Alexander the conqueroure  
That conqueryt Babilonys tour,  
And *all this world* off lenth and breid  
*In twelf yher, throw* his douchty deid  
(Br. I. 529).

*Alexander, the nobill King*  
(B. A. I. 241, 2943, 3278).

*into plane parliament*  
(Br. XIX. 49).

[And on *a day in playn Parlyament*  
(W. VIII. 1605)].

## III.

Iulius cesar wan hailily  
*hailily*] (halely : *erased*) all halely

Ye ilis of grece and all surry  
The lande of grece & of surry

15 Affrik arab bretañ wañ he  
bretan

III. JULIUS CÆSAR.

13-18

*Cesar alsua, that Ingland wan,  
All that was callit Bertane<sup>1</sup> than . . .  
In Grece alsua discumfit he  
Pompeyus, his mauch . . .  
Syne Alexander, the great Citte,  
Affrik and Asia als, wan he,  
Egypt alsua and Syrie  
And mony vther fare countre,  
And the yles of the sey all hale . . .  
= Cesar prist Engleterre qui tout comunement  
Ert nonmée Bretaingne, il y a longuement, . . .  
Ponpée son serorge, qu'il aloit guerroitant,  
Desconfist il en Gresce . . .  
Puis prist Alixandrie, la riche et la manant,  
Aufrique, Arrabe, Egypte et Surie ensement,  
Et les isles de mer jusques en occident  
(B. A. IV. 9923-35).*

*Iulius Cesar als, that wan,  
Bretane and Fraunce, as dowchty man,  
Affryk, Arrabe, Egipt, Surry  
And all Evrope halyly ;*

*And for his worschip & valour  
Off Rome wes fryst maid emperour*  
(Br. I. 537).

*[Wan all thare landis halely*  
(W. IV. 2481)].

*[And al the Ilis in the se  
Subiect were till his pouste [Arthur's]  
(W. V. 4287)].*

---

<sup>1</sup> "When the Bruyte in his booke Bretayne it callede."  
'Parl. 3 Ages,' 407.



And discūfit his mawche pompe  
discomfyst; maicht pompey

Throw hard batell and stalward stour  
harde; stalwart stowr

He was the first was empour  
In roune ye first he was e'pour

## IV.

Ye gentill Jew sch Josue  
The gentil Jow schr Joswe

20

Ane & xxx kyng thro weir wan he  
*thro*] In

And conquirit ye landis also  
conquest yar; alswa

Ye flū iordan ptit in two.  
The flūm Jordan he

Throw goddis grace and strang power  
strang

Men suld hym loff on gret maner  
We; loif In

16

Walter Steward with hym tuk he,  
*His mawch* (H. *Maich*) (Br. XV. 274)

17

And oft in *hard stour* of *bataill*  
 (Br. I. 23).

Of hard fechting in (H. and) stalwart stour  
 (Br. XI. 262).

cruell bargane. . . . And hard battall  
 (Br. XVI. 177).

[assail  
 With felloun weir and hard batall  
 (Wynt., W. II. 1362)].

18

And Lucius Yber wencusyt he,  
 That then of Rome wes emperour  
 (Br. I. 554).

#### IV. JOSHUA.

19-24

*The flum Iordane partit he euin in tua*  
 Throw his wisdom and prayers alsua. . . .  
 Towart the south he taryed lang,  
 Quhare tuelfe *Kingis wan he*, styth and *strang*, . . .  
 And reft thame *thare landis* halely

=Par sa sainte priere et par son hardement [*v.r.* sou-  
 haidement]

Partit le flun Jourdan, au travers droitement . . .  
 Vers midi guerroia cil preudons longuement,  
 Ou xlj. (*v.r.* .xij.) roy [*v.r.* roys] conquist parfaite-  
 ment,

Les quiex il destruisi tous moult vilainnement,  
 Et ne leur laissa terre, cité, ne cassement  
 Qu'il ne feïst tourner a son comandement  
 (B. A. IV. 9949-56).

All men thame [Hector, Alexander and Julius Cæsar]  
 lufis generally,

And, as I trow, sall lufe thame ay,  
 Euermare quhill domisday

=Firent tant c'on les loe partout comunement  
 Et loera, je croi, jusqu'au definement  
 (B. A. IV. 9944).

## v.

- 25        Dauld slew my<sup>t</sup>thy golias  
              golyas
- And philistens at felon was  
              philistianis yt fellow
- He wes so wycht et weill feichand  
              Was ; & wel fecthand
- Y<sup>t</sup> he wes neu<sup>?</sup> sene recriand.  
              was ; sein refnand [*? returnand*]
- Yair for men call him loud and still  
              callis hym ; lowd
- 30        A trew prophet of hardy Will  
              profeit ; harde

18

[And Judas and Josue these gentille knyghtes]  
(M. A. 2606).

23

*Throw Goddis grace.* (Br. III. 535, &c.)

24

The quhethyr in his tyme sa wrocht he [Hector]  
That he *suld gretly louyt be*  
(Br. I. 405).

Attour all sould he louit be  
(B. A. I. 3255)

V. DAVID.

25-30

*David slew Golyath* with strenth  
And mony ane fell pagan he brocht,  
Maugre thairis, all to nocht,  
And was ouer all *sa wele* doand  
*That he was neuer recryand*  
*Men* may say of him tantingly . . .

[Two lines are omitted here (? by the translator  
or by the printer), presumably as being irreverent.]  
=David remist a mort Goulias le jaiant . . .

Et maint felon payen fist venir a noiant.  
Et en maint dur estour fu il si bien cheant  
C'onques nel pot on rendre vaincu ne recreant.  
De cestui pot chascuns dire certainemant  
Qu'il fu j. sains pechieres [*v.r.* profetes] en hardi  
couvenant.

(B. A. IV. 9959-66).

## VI.

Michty Judas machabeus

In bathell slew antiochus  
batell

Appolonius and nichanore  
Appolinus and nichanor

At in his dais wald neu<sup>er</sup> schor  
neuer

35 No multitud be adred of meñ  
dred

Yoff he war añe eganis teñ  
yot ; was ; aganis



VI. JUDAS MACHABÆUS.

31-36

Iudas Machabeus, I hecht,  
Was of sik vertew and sik *nicht*  
That, thoch thay all that lyfe nicht lede  
Come *shorand* him as for the dede,  
Armit all for cruell battale,  
He wald not fle, forouttin fail,  
Quhill he, with him of alkin men,  
*Nicht be ay ane aganes ten.*  
That Iudas that I heir of tell  
*Slew Antiochus* the fell,  
And *Appollonius* alsua,  
*Nicanor* als and mony ma

= Iudas Macabeus r'estoit de tel talant  
Que, se tuit cil du monde li fussent au devant,  
Armé con pour bataille felonnesse et nuisant,  
Ja tant con il eüst o soi de remanant  
Un honme contre .x., nel veïst on fuiant ;  
Icil Iudas dont je vous vois ci sermonant,  
Mist Apolinus [*v.r.* Appollonius] a mort en combatant,  
S'ocist Anthiocus, qui l'aloit guerroiant,  
Et Nichanor aussi et maint autre tyrant.  
(B. A. IV. 9967-79).

Thai [Bruce and Douglas] was lik to the Machabeys.  
That, as men in the bibill seys,  
Fawcht in-to mony stalwart stour (Br. I. 465).

This gud knycht [= Edward Bruce], that so vorthy was,  
Till *Iudas, Machabeus* that hicht,  
Nicht liknyt weill be in that ficht  
*Na multitud he forsuk of men,*  
*Quhill he hade ane aganis ten* (Br. XIV. 312).

he [Edward Bruce] neuir had none abasing  
Of multitude of men ; for-thi  
He discumfit commonly  
Mony vith quheyn . . . (Br. IX. 485).

36

That ay aganes ane war ten (B. A. II. 1546).

## VII.

Arthur wañ dace spanʒe and france  
*dace]* denmʷk spañ

And hand for hand slew tua giantis <sup>1</sup>  
 tua gyantē

Lucius ye publik pcuratoʷ  
 procutour

40 Of rome wyt millionis in stalwar stoʷ  
 In rome slew in stalwart stour

And in till pariss schʳ frolo  
*till]* to

In lyste slew wytoutin mo  
 listis ; wyt odʷmo

---

<sup>1</sup> tua, omitted, is added at the end of the line by the same hand

VII. ARTHUR.

37-42

Arthur, that held Britane the grant,  
Slew Rostrik, that stark gyant . . .  
And ma gyantis in vther places sua  
=D'Artus qui de Bretaingne va le bruit [*v.r.* brut]  
tesmoingnant  
Que il mata Ruiston .i. jaiant en plain champ . . .  
(B. A. IV. 9981-91).

Als Arthur, that throw chevalry  
Maid Bretane maistres & lady  
Off twelf kin [rykis] that he wan ;  
And alsua, as a noble man,  
He wan throw bataill Fraunce all fre ;<sup>1</sup>  
And Lucius Yber wencusyt he,  
That then of Rome wes emperour :  
Bot 3eit, for all his gret valour,  
Modreyt his systir son him slew,  
And gud men als, ma then inew,<sup>2</sup>  
Throw tresoune and throw wikkitnes.  
The Broite beris tharoff wytnes.  
(Br. I. 549-60).

[. . . Arthoure  
That wan al Frawnsse and Lumbardy . . .  
Denmark, Irland and Orknaye  
Wynt. (C. VIII. 4258-64)].

Off Arthouris gret douchtynes . . .  
How . . . that he tuk syne his wayage,  
Fra Lucyus had sende hym the message  
Till Italy . . .  
And [W. And *thare*] discomfit the emperoure,  
And wan gret worschepe and honoure  
Off Frawnsse nere the bordowris set,  
In were as thai to gedyr met,  
And of tresson til hym don  
Be Modrede, his systyr son . . .  
Hucheon has tretyt curiously  
In Gest of Brutis aulde story  
Wynt. (C., V. 4331-52).

<sup>1</sup> ["For he [Maximiane] wald ga wyne France all fre" (Wynt. W, V 3220).]

<sup>2</sup> [After Lucius was slain Arthur forbade quarter to be given, that the death of Sir Cayous should be well avenged :

They hewede doune haythene mene with hiltede swerdez  
*Be hole hundrethex* (M. A. (Perry) 2274-5)].

## VIII.

Charlez of france slew aygoland  
Carles

And wañ spanze fra hetho<sup>u</sup>n land.  
hethyn hand

45 He slew ye sowdeñ of pavi  
sodan of pawe

And wañ ye saxonis halily  
halile

And quhar god <sup>1</sup> deid for our safte  
crist deit ; sawite

Col. b. He put haly the cristante.  
hail It in cristinte

---

<sup>1</sup> god : *added after the end of the line.*

## IX.

Godefrey bolzoñe slew solimant  
Godfra bollone

50 Befor antioche and corborant  
corrobrant

Quhañ he throu ful strak has ourtane  
wy<sup>t</sup> strak hais o<sup>2</sup> tain

Throu cops & harmez his glave is gane  
Throw cors & harnes his glawe is gain

Sere hethownis he slew throu hard feyttyng  
*hard] om.*

And of ierl<sup>m</sup> a 3eir was kyng.  
twa 3ere

VIII. CHARLEMAGNE.

- 43-48 *Charles of France slew Agoment,  
And wan Spaw to his commandement,  
And slew the duke of Paui,  
And wan the Saxones halely,  
Throw great battell and hard fechtig  
That thay war all at his bidding ;  
And quhair God deit for our sauetie,  
He put the haill christintie*  
=Charlemainne, qui France [*v.r.* de France] ot toute  
en son conmant,  
Suspedita Espaingne, dont morut Agoulant,  
Desyer de Pavie toli son tenement,  
Et sourmonta les Saisnes si tres parfaitement  
Par maint cruel assaut, par maint tournoiemant,  
Qu'il furent malgré euls a son commandement ;  
El lieu ou Dieu morut pour nostre sauvement  
Remist il le baptesme et le saint sacrement.  
(B. A. IV. 9993-10,000).
- 45 *The Sowdane of Surrye assemblez his knyghtes*  
(M. A. (Perry) 590).  
*Arthur's knights, being sent to the Emperor [Lucius],  
"Saw hymne and the Sowdane, and senatours many"*  
(*Ibid.* 1295).

IX. GODEFROI DE BOUILLON.

- 50-56 *Godefray the Bullony throw cheualry  
Into the plane of Romany  
Wincust the mighty Salamant,  
And, before Antioche, Corborant,  
Quhen the King Sardanus was slane ;  
Than was he King, him-self allane,  
Of Ierusalem syne ane zeir and mare*  
=Godefroi de Buillon, qui par son hardement  
Es plains de Ronmenie desconfist Solimant  
Et, devant Anthioce, l'amiral Corbarant [*v.r.* Cor-  
borant]  
Le jour que on occist le filz au roy Soudant ;  
De Jherusalem ot puis le coronnement  
Et en fu roys clamés .j. an tant seulement.  
(B. A. IV. 10,003-9).
- 51 . . . the king sic strak (MS. E swak] him gaiff  
That he the hede till harnys claif (Br. V. 643).  
For quhar thai with *full strak* mycht hit,  
Thair mycht no armyng stynt thar *strak*  
(Br. XIII. 144)  
[Throw helm and coyphe and bacynet  
The swerd goth forth (Ferumbr. 5577)].



## x.

- 55      Robert ye brois throu hard feichyng  
              throw harde fechyng
- Wyt few venkust ye mytchy kyng  
              wincoust
- Off Ingland edward twyse in fy<sup>t</sup>  
              ye secund in (feill : *erased*) fy<sup>t</sup>
- At occupit his realme but ry<sup>t</sup>  
              Y<sup>t</sup> occupyt his rome
- At sumtyme wes set so hard.  
              And sum tym was
- 60      At hat not sax till hym toward.  
              That he had ; *uill* to.
- 3e gude meñ yat yir ballete redis  
              *The last two lines are inset in Law*  
              Gud men at yir ballatte Redde
- Deme quha docht yast was in dedis.  
              Deim quha hard dowchtyest was in deide

## X. ROBERT THE BRUCE.

56

[The Machabeys] *with few* folk thai had wictory  
 Off *mychty kingis*, as sayis the story  
 (Br. I. 473).

How the gud Douglass . . .  
*Wencust* sa feyll *with few* menȝe  
 (Br. VIII. 116).

Quhen schir Edward, the mychty king, &c.  
 (Br. I. 179).

58

How that he [Edward I.] all the senyhowry,  
 Throw his gret mycht, suld *occupy*  
 (Br. I. 151).

59

Defendit him with all his mycht,  
 That than *wes set so hard*, I hicht,  
 That, &c.  
 (Br. X. 720).

61

For aulde storys *that men redys*  
 Representis to thaim *the dedys*  
 Of stalwart folk that lywynt ar  
 (Br. I. 17).  
 Full feill that *war douchty off deid*  
 (Br. II. 231).

62

Now demys quhethir mair lovyng  
 Suld Tedeus haf or the king !  
 (Br. VI. 282).  
*Zhe that [this] redis iugis ȝhe*  
 Quhethir that mair suld presit be . . .  
 (Br. VI. 270).

## § 31. COMPOSITION OF THE 'BALLET.'

The evidence collected above shows conclusively<sup>1</sup> that some one, after making of 'Les Vœux' the translation which we call the 'Buik of Alexander,' reduced the most famous and striking passage in the French poem to ballad form, introducing only such changes as are inevitable when 113 lines (B. A. IV. 9897-10,009) are condensed into nine six-line stanzas. To these nine he added a tenth. Two stanzas are of his own composition.

Closely as he followed his own literal translation of the French, he yet forsook it in the stanza on Arthur, whose exploits had been restricted in 'Les Vœux' to combats with giants, and he introduced new matter—the Conquests of Arthur and how he slew Lucius and Frolo. Of this new matter the ultimate source is Geoffrey of Monmouth, who in his 'Historia regum Britanniae' (before 1139) had created the figure of Arthur, to which the 'Historia' largely owed its universal popularity. Geoffrey's tale of the giant Ritho, who had made a gar-

<sup>1</sup> Both 'Ballet' and 'Buik' contain two lines unaccounted for in the many MSS. of 'Les Vœux du Paon'—viz., l. 3 (with the phrase, unrecorded elsewhere, "in half-thrid 3eris") and l. 5; they have in common ll. 7, 9, and 43-8; they employ the same vocabulary except "variance" and "gouvernance," riming in ll. 11-12, which are forms unknown to the 'Buik.' They both mistranslate *Desyer* (as if it were not a proper name, but *Du sire*), the 'Ballet' by "sowden," the 'Buik' by "duke." They differ as to the number of the kings slain by Joshua—twelve in the 'Buik' (and in the 'Bruce'), thirty-one in the 'Ballet' (and the Bible),—but in the French MSS. also the number is twelve or thirty-one, according to the extent of the scribe's biblical lore: 'Joshua,' xii. 24, "Omnes reges *triginta unus*." The 'Ballet' is, in short, separated from the 'Buik' only by the fact of condensation—i.e., some of the corresponding lines of the 'Buik' are omitted, others transposed, others altered; whenever possible, they are carried over intact. That the 'Buik's' literal rendering can scarcely have been adapted to ballad form by any one else than the translator is shown by the fact that of the lines in the 'Ballet' which differ from those in the 'Buik' several agree with the French text—e.g., "arab" (l. 15) and "Eqwethir" (l. 10) = Encore.

ment from the beards of kings he had slain, was well known in France, where Arthur was always much more the beau ideal of chivalry than the conqueror of many lands, and it had descended from the 'Historia' to 'Les Vœux du Paon.' But Geoffrey deals also with other aspects of Arthur's career more interesting to British minds. Before all the chroniclers, Geoffrey tells how Arthur subdued England, Scotland, Norway, Dacia, and Gaul, where he won Paris as the prize of a duel with Frolo, the Roman Governor of that city,<sup>2</sup> and how he slew Lucius Iberius, the Roman procurator, "Reipublicæ procurator" (IX. 15).<sup>3</sup> The phrase in l. 39, "Lucius ye publik procurator," shows that Geoffrey's Latin history is not merely the ultimate, but the direct source of this stanza.

Then the author of the 'Ballet' added a final stanza of his own: Robert the Bruce also was a mighty warrior, so mighty indeed in vanquishing Edward II. and fighting

<sup>2</sup> Geoffrey relates Arthur's conquest of some twelve countries; the 'Morte Arthure' (Thornton MS., ll. 26-47) enumerates thirty, including Geoffrey's twelve; Wyntoun's seventeen were probably selected from the list in the 'Morte Arthure' (see 'Wyntoun,' ed. Amours, note to VIII. 5259-66), to which we should therefore naturally turn as a possible source for Stanza VII. The 'Morte Arthure' would account for "Denmark" and "France," but not for "Spain" or "Dacia"; and though Lucius Iberius plays a leading part in it, it does not include Frolo.

<sup>3</sup> Wyntoun (V. 4271) corrected Huchown, who in his 'Gest Historyall'—i.e., possibly the Thornton version of the 'Morte Arthure' [ed. by Hallewell (1846), Perry (1865), Brock (1871)]—had called Lucius "empeurour," whereas he was only "procuratour," the Roman emperor in Arthur's day having been Leo. Dr Brown (*op. cit.*, p. 99) noting that, though the same error occurs in the 'Bruce,' Wyntoun did not correct Barbour, concluded that the passage in the 'Bruce' is an interpolation. If by "the Brwte," which Wyntoun cited in support of his correction, he meant Geoffrey's work, he was quite in error, for Geoffrey refers to Lucius more often as "*imperator*" (where he means "emperor," not "commander") than as "*procurator*" (see F. J. Amours, 'Wynt.' Vol. I., p. 43, note to V 4283; W. M. Mackenzie, 'Br.,' note to I 554). Wace also makes the same error continually—e.g., l. 11360, "Licus Yber . . . empereur"; so also Layamon (see Branscheid, 'Ueber die Quellen des Morte Arthure,' Halle, 1885, pp. 47; p. 8) and the O.F. prose 'Mort Artu' (ed. J. D. Bruce; see F. Lot, 'Étude sur le Lancelot en prose,' 1918, 452 pp.), all copying Geoffrey, no doubt.

such fearful odds that he may fitly be classed with the Noble Nine. That stanza reveals the purpose for which the 'Ballet' was written—as a eulogy of Robert the Bruce. It follows that our translator was much obsessed by the subject of King Robert. He has not only taken it upon himself to improve Barbour's work on that topic with copious extracts from his complete translation; he now publishes independently a 'Ballet' of his own, extolling to a wider public, in yet more popular form, not Barbour's 'Bruce,' be it noted, but King Robert, and not for literary purposes, but for some loyal, patriotic or political end.

### § 32. INTER-RELATION OF 'BALLET,' 'BUIK,' and 'BRUCE.'

Then—strangest of all in this strange story—for the yet further decoration of Barbour's 'Bruce' he utilises extracts from his 'Ballet.' Lines 34-36 figure also in the 'Bruce'; line 17 is neither in the French nor in the 'Buik,' but it is in the 'Bruce'; lines 37-42 are not in the French nor yet in the 'Buik'; they have been imported from Geoffrey of Monmouth into the 'Ballet,' and, in fuller form, into the 'Bruce.'<sup>1</sup>

For the composition of his own final stanza he uses phrases suspiciously like others found in the most unimpeachable, unadulterated parts of the pre-1420 'Bruce'—viz., the Prologue and the Wyntoun excerpt, and ekes them out with the prowess of Judas Maccabeus, as related in Stanza VI. of the 'Ballet.' And when in the

<sup>1</sup> The fuller version in the 'Bruce' can only come from Geoffrey of Monmouth. Of the early chroniclers only Geoffrey and Wace give the second element of the name Lucius "Iberius" (Branscheid, p. 8), and the account of Julius Cæsar is different from that given by Wace.





For Arthur, both 'Buik' and 'Ballet' are deemed inadequate, and resource is had direct to Geoffrey, cited as the 'Broite' ('Br.' I. 560), which is precisely the title quoted in the French ("le brut") as that of the authoritative work on Arthur. The point of interest here is not that Hector, Judas Maccabeus, Alexander, Julius Cæsar, Arthur were known to the alleged Interpolator. The story of Alexander was known in 1375 to "every wight that had discretion,"<sup>3</sup> and had been described in so many books before 1425 that Wyntoun<sup>4</sup> omitted it from his, while the names of the others had long been popular among readers of romance.<sup>5</sup> It is that in season and out of season he should bring that knowledge to bear upon the 'Bruce,' and always from one particular angle. The method of application is ever the same, whether the "examples" be the Nine Worthies or others. Over and over again Barbour says, after relating some deed of prowess, that the hero's name should be "lovyt."<sup>6</sup> This is the *raison d'être* of the "examples," and it is that of the 'Bruce' itself, as most explicitly stated by the author in his Prologue. Bruce and Douglas were in danger of being forgotten, and yet their names are such as should be praised.

<sup>3</sup> Chaucer, 'Monkes T.'

<sup>4</sup> (W) IV 1262.

<sup>5</sup> 'Cursor Mundi' [c. 1320], 9:

"Men ȝernen iestes for to here  
And romaunce, rede in dyverse manere  
Of Julius Casar the emperoure,  
Of Greke & Troye the longe strif." . . .

Six of the Nine are mentioned in 'Golagros,' c. 1450.

<sup>6</sup> E.g., Barbour's excursus on Tydeus from the story of Thebes:

(VI 269) "ȝhe that this redis iugis ȝhe  
Qubethir that mair suld presit be." . . .

(and 283) "Now demys, quhethir mair lovyng  
Suld Tedeus haf, or the King."

Similarly in comparing the deeds of prowess of Douglas, Edward Bruce, and Sir John de Soulis (XVI 489-534).

§ 33. THAT ALL THREE WORKS ARE BY THE SAME  
AUTHOR, BARBOUR.

In the 'Ballet' the alleged interpolator, unconvincing enough in Chapter VIII., becomes a monomaniac, still harping on King Robert, intent on "decorating" some one or something at all costs—if not the portrait of Robert, then that of Edward, Bruce—with allusions and snippets of verse—if not from the 'Buik,' then from the 'Ballet,' improving now the 'Bruce' with his own lines, now his own lines with the 'Bruce.' Before such an "interpolator" imagination at length recoils. Why should a disciple first translate a French romance into an admired master's admirable style, and then proceed with the resulting material to improve upon that which *ex hypothesi* was so admirable? And why for this strange purpose should he both borrow and lend the decorative material of his own 'Ballet'? We henceforth dismiss such a one from the realm of reality to that of wild conjecture, and accept for fact what has been becoming clearer and clearer as such in each succeeding chapter—viz., that the 'Bruce' which we possess to-day stands substantially as Barbour wrote it, without copious interpolations by a later hand.

When we find that "Blind Harry," c. 1470, describes Douglas in the same terms as Barbour does, likening him to Hector and Alexander,<sup>1</sup> quotes the tale of Gadifer, and alludes to Julius Cæsar, Arthur, Charlemagne, Godefroï de Bouillon, the logical inference cannot be that these references were introduced between 1470 and 1487

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, § 23, n. 7.

from the 'Wallace' into the present text of the 'Bruce,' as Dr Brown would have us believe, but surely that they were introduced by Barbour himself, and borrowed by "Blind Harry" from Barbour.

Relieved at last of the nightmare complications raised by assuming the existence of a fifteenth-century redactor, we emerge into a serener air. This continual utilisation of the same subject-matter, these constant reminiscences, repeated allusions and pet phrases, these cross-references from each of the three works, are incredible on the part of a redactor, but they are possible enough on the part of an author. They are his cherished themes and formulas. Barbour not only knew the two Romances in their original French, as several allusions to their subject-matter prove; he translated them, and he translated them, as close verbal agreements show, in his own peculiar style. He also composed the 'Ballet' and the 'Bruce'—in his own style; and when in the composition of the 'Bruce' matter ran short or inspiration failed, his memory supplied him with illustrations from the 'Buik.'

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## CHAPTER X.: BARBOUR HIS OWN INTERPOLATOR.

### § 34. THIS HYPOTHESIS CONFIRMED.

ON that hypothesis, the difficulties vanish as at the wave of a magic wand. Two alone linger obstinately on the scene: the printed statement of date, and a few dis-



crepancies in the vocabulary. How the date of the 'Buik' came to be printed as 1438 we do not profess to explain, the possibilities being unlimited,<sup>1</sup> and merely remark that a statement may be printed, by a more accurate printer than poor Arbuthnet, in fairer type than his—and be untrue.<sup>2</sup> That some words and phrases should be found in the 'Bruce' but not in the 'Buik,' and *vice versa*, is not surprising. In two works by one author on one subject discrepancies in the vocabulary used are not uncommon;<sup>3</sup> they become frequent when the subject differs, and yet more frequent when one of the works is original composition and the other is translation from French. If in the warlike 'Fuerres' and Jacques de Longuyon's pleasing tale there is nothing about "bailzeis," "borch," &c. (see § 26), neither shall there be anything in the faithful Scottish rendering thereof. Expressions appropriate in a life of Scottish worthies may not always be those suitable for describing the combats at "Gadres" or the pastimes of the nobility in Lorraine. How many of the remaining discrepancies are due to the scribes or to the printer we cannot say, since the MS. history of

<sup>1</sup> Scribal error? Scribal improvement (the years that had elapsed since "the tyme that God was borne" being more numerous in 1438, when the original MS. may, or may not, have been copied)? Misreading, by scribe or printer, of "thre scoyr" [*e.g.*, Wynt. (C) VIII 7206] as "threttie"? Wrong decipherment, by scribe or printer, of Roman numerals, iii as iv, lx as xx? Printer's error, careless, excusable, inexcusable, explicable, inexplicable (it would not be the only one since Gutenberg, and there is no "copy" to examine)? It serves no purpose to enumerate the possible explanations, or to estimate their degrees of plausibility.

<sup>2</sup> To take the example nearest home, the reprint of the 'Buik' dated 1831 did not appear in 1831 (see *supra*, § 3).

<sup>3</sup> Even in different parts of the same work. Nothing is more curious in the early writers than the way in which a word or phrase suddenly appears at page *x* (having then come to mind, or been suggested by recent reading), recurs with some persistence till page *y*, and then is seen no more. Wyntoun's practice in this matter (in the original part of his "Original" of course) would make an interesting study.



both texts is unknown; but they are not numerous, and they fade into insignificance before the overwhelming mass of similarities, collected under "Language" in Chapter XIII.

The hypothesis of common authorship is confirmed, firstly, by an examination of the "examples" in the remainder of the 'Bruce'; and secondly, by all that we know of Barbour from external sources:—

### § 35. THE OTHER "EXAMPLES" IN THE 'BRUCE.'

Barbour is fond of illustrating his narrative with "exempla," moral reflections, and exclamations, in which respect the 'Bruce' is exactly like the prose chronicles, notably Geoffrey le Baker's 'Vita Edwardi Secundi' and Bower's version of Fordun. The first idea that occurs to him or to his characters<sup>1</sup> in presence of some great deed of prowess is to quote an analogous case, whether literary or historical. When the Lord of Lorne likens Bruce to Gaul MacMorna, Barbour observes that a fitter, because "mar manerlik," comparison would have been with 'Gaudifer de Laryss'; and so indeed it would, had John of Lorne been as familiar with 'Li Fuerres' as was John Barbour, who there and then supplies an abstract and brief chronicle of that Romance.<sup>2</sup> But he gathers illustrations also from a wider field: from the

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.*, "A baroune Maknauchtan" says:

"Ik hard neur, in sang na ryme,  
Tell off ane man that," &c.

(III 178); cp. also III 203 and VI 177.

<sup>2</sup> III 72-92. Gaul MacMorna's combat with Fingal took place at Dalry, 11th August 1306, according to Fordun. He is a well-known figure in later Scottish Literature; see Skeat's note *ad loc.*

preceding part of the 'Roman d'Alixandre';<sup>3</sup> from the tale of Troy,<sup>4</sup> told first in Benoît de Sainte-More's 'Roman de Troie,' and then in the plagiarised Latin version thereof (1287) by Guido delle Colonne, who, covering up his traces, quoted as his sources 'Dares' and 'Dictys,'<sup>5</sup> and obtained for them the credence denied by the Middle Ages to Homer, who had made gods fight with men, which is impossible; of Thebes, told (probably by Benoît also) in the 'Roman de Thèbes,'<sup>6</sup> and by Lydgate, *c.* 1420; of 'Ferumbras,'<sup>7</sup> which figures in a bequest by the Earl of Warwick in 1361,<sup>8</sup> and was well enough known to merit translation *c.* 1380, and which, presumably in the original French, the Bruce could read in 1306 to his followers on

<sup>3</sup> "I herd neur quhar in ane land,  
Wes castell tane so hardely,  
[i.e., as Edinburgh Castle by Randolph],  
Outakyn Tyre all anerly;  
Quhen Alexander the conquerour,  
That conquerit Babilonys tour,  
Lap fra a berfroiss on the wall,"  
&c. ('Br.' X 703-34)

= "Quar del befrei u est de si haut, com il fu,  
Est salis en la vile, en son col son escu"  
(*'Roman d'Alixandre,'* ed. Michelant, 217, 23).

It was during this Siege of Tyre that the 'Foray' took place. For the expression "Babilonys tour," cp.:

"Ce fu cil ki la tour de Babilone prist"  
(P. Meyer, 'Al.' II, p. 246).

<sup>4</sup> I 521-6.

<sup>5</sup> "As Dares in his buk he wrate  
And Dytis, that knew all thar stat"  
(I 525).

Guido, whether in the Latin text or in a French version, is the original of the 'Troy-Book,' often attributed to Barbour, as of the 'Gest Historiale' of the Destruction of Troy (? originally Scottish, *c.* 1350-1400), and the 'Laud Troy-Book' (? composed N.W. Midland, *c.* 1400).

<sup>6</sup> II 528-47 and VI 179-284.

<sup>7</sup> See *infra*, § 42, *n.* 5.

<sup>8</sup> Guy de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, left to Bordesley Abbey in 1361, "touz les Romaunces desouz només . . . Un Volum del Romaunce de Amase e de Idoine . . . Un Volum de la mort ly Roy Arthur e de Mordret . . . Un Volum del Romaunce d'Alisaundre, ove peintures . . . Un Volum del Romaunce des Mareschaus e de Ferebras e de Alisaundre." Henry J. Todd, 'Illustrations of Gower and Chaucer' (Rivington) 1810, pp. xlvii + 394, p. 161.

Loch Lomond, with as little poetic licence as Wolfe in similar fashion could hearten his on the St Lawrence.<sup>9</sup>

History is the source of further "examples": the Maccabees, who, "as men in the bibill seys," delivered their country from a foreign oppressor, even as did the Bruce and Douglas<sup>10</sup>; Fabricius, who, like Douglas, preferred "lawte" to "tresoune," and who refused to slay Pyrrhus by poison.<sup>11</sup> Scipio, who from defeat raised Rome to victory,<sup>12</sup> and Julius Cæsar, who would never rest, thinking he had done nothing so long as something yet remained to be done,<sup>13</sup> were the bright examples quoted by the Bruce to his despondent followers in the darkest days after Methven. 'History' more recent supplies the rest: Thomas of Ercildoune and his prophecies;<sup>14</sup> a war between the French and the Flemings,

<sup>9</sup> "The King, the quhilis, meryly  
Red to thaim, that war him by,  
Romanys off worthi Ferambrace . . ."

. . . And how Charlemagne . . .

" . . . wan the naylis and the sper,  
And the croune that Iesu couth ber."  
(III 435-66).

<sup>10</sup> I 465-72.

<sup>11</sup> XX 521.

<sup>12</sup> III 207-48. The story is more fully told in Wyntoun, who follows Martinus Polonus and Orosius and expressly names them as his sources. There are some remarkable similarities of expression between Barbour and Wyntoun—e.g., in the inversion in the first lines:

For Rome quhilum sa hard wes	<i>Off golde ryngis, fayr and bricht,</i>
stad,	
Quhen Hanniball thaim wencusyt	<i>Tane of thar fyngeris in that</i>
had,	<i>feycht</i>
That, <i>off ryngis</i> with rich stane,	<i>Was slayne, thre bollis stape met</i>
That war <i>off knychtis fyngerys</i>	<i>This Hannybal withe outtyn let</i>
<i>tane,</i>	
<i>He send thre bollis to Cartage,</i>	<i>To Cartage gert in hy be sende</i>
And syne to Rome tuk his wiage	<i>Qwhen this iournay had tane ende</i>
( 'Br.' III 207-12).	(C IV 1553-8).

These might be coincidences of expression, always possible when two authors are describing the same facts in the same metre, or they might be reminiscences of Barbour in Wyntoun.

<sup>13</sup> III 277-84. "As men may *in his story se*" (284).

<sup>14</sup> 'Br.' II 86.

affecting Earl Ferrand, whose mother was "ane nigra-mansour,"<sup>15</sup> and whose own lurid fate was notorious in Scotland, for he figures among old-world tales too rapidly fading away in 1549 as "Ferrand erl of Flanderis that mareit the deuyll";<sup>16</sup> Count Robert of Artois, who, as Douglas in his youth, would feign profligacy and ensue wisdom.<sup>17</sup> And to these modern instances Barbour adds a rich fund of wise saws, anecdote and fable, such as 'The Fox and the Fisher,'<sup>18</sup> together with the customary mediæval reflections on human affairs.<sup>19</sup>

Of all these decorative passages the only one ever

<sup>15</sup> 'Br.' IV 240-86. This is Ferrand, son of Sancho I. of Portugal, and, by his wife, Count of Flanders. Defeated and captured by Philip Augustus at Bouvines, 27th July 1214, he was sent in chains to the Louvre. He incurred great odium as a treacherous enemy, and his ignominious imprisonment was the occasion of the contemporary scurrilous verse in which the obvious witticisms "enfermé," "enfer," &c., are made on his name, and some of which is preserved in Guillaume Guiart's 'Branche des Royaux Lignages,' composed in 1306—*e.g.*, 7108:

"Lors fu Ferrant tout enfermé,  
En la tour du Louvre enserré."

The pun on "enfer" must be the origin of his legendary dealings with the Devil, on which see *infra*, § 37, *n.* 8.

<sup>16</sup> 'Complaynt of Scotlande,' VI, p. 63. The list of tales, songs, and dances quoted therein, pp. lxxiii-xci, includes, with "Ferrand," "The tayle of the brig of the mantribil," "The prophesye of merlyne," and "The bruce," which, moreover, is quoted textually on p. 95, repeating 'Br.' I 100-105. Ferrand appears in "Morte Arthure" 2760:

"One sir Feraunt before, upon a fayre stede,  
Was fosterde in Famacoste, the fend was his fadyre."

M. A. 2760.

There is a reference in Bower to the diabolical origins of Edward I.; 'Scotichron.' (1759), p. 238:

"Hic rex Eadwardus dicitur decimus tertius ab illo Galfrido comite Andegaviae, qui desponsavit sibi diabolam humanâ carne velatam."

It is also in connection with Edward I. that Barbour makes his allusion to "Ferrand," and there seems little doubt that Barbour helped to spread in Scotland the fame of Ferrand, which appears to have surpassed even that of the legendary Count of Anjou.

<sup>17</sup> 'Br.' I 339-44. The "gud Erle off Artayis Robert" (where "gud" means "late") is clearly not the thirteenth century personage [*d.* 1302] but the notorious Robert (see *supra*, § 9, *n.* 12) [*d.* 1342].

<sup>18</sup> 'Br.' XIX 649.

<sup>19</sup> *E.g.*, Fortune's Wheel reverses, and Edward II. goes down, while Bruce goes up ('Br.' XIII 629-60); the military importance of personal courage in a leader (IX 62-100), &c.

shown to differ from the language of the narrative is that describing the casting of the Heart before Douglas in battle (see *supra*, § 17, n. 4). It is spurious. But it is not in either MS., merely in Hart's printed edition of 1611, and the authenticity of fifteenth-century MSS. cannot be called in question because of what a seventeenth-century printer may think fit to add.

### § 36. THE HISTORICAL BARBOUR'S KNOWLEDGE OF FRENCH.

Surely in all these "examples" there is nothing that was beyond the powers of the simple-minded man of letters who from about 1356 to 1395 was Archdeacon of Aberdeen. The historical Barbour, he of the records and charters, knew Latin, not perhaps quite so well as Professor Skeat believed,<sup>1</sup> but well enough to be an arch-

<sup>1</sup> The author of the 'Bruce' quotes the three lines of the 'Versus Belli de Bosbek' (see *infra*, § 37, n. 8), and expounds them in a long-winded, embarrassed way which does not suggest the accomplished Latinist. He knew, as every prologue-writer did (see *supra*, § 14, n. 1), one of Dionysius Cato's apophthegms:

"And Catone sayis ws, in his wryt,  
To fenyhe foly quhile is wyt" ('Br.' I 343).

But it is time to protest when Skeat (ed. 'Br.' III, p. lix) describes as quotations from Vergil and Lucan commonplaces which imply, at the very most, knowledge of most ancient and threadbare tags. Skeat's four examples (of which the first two seem extremely far-fetched) are:

"For luff is off sa mekill mycht,  
That it all paynys makis lycht" (II 520)  
= Omnia vincit amor ('Ecl.' X 69). [The author of the 'Scalacronica,' a soldier, not a Virgilian scholar, says, in his peroration, p. 203, of David II. and Margaret Logie, "cest matrimoine fust fait soulement per force d'amours, qe toutz veint."]

"For quhen men oucht at liking ar,  
To tell off paynys passyt by  
Plesys to heryng wonderly  
And to reheress thar auld disese  
Dois thaim oft-syss confort and ese" (III 560  
= olim meminisse juvabit ('Æn.' I 203).



deacon, and discharge the duties of that office with some distinction. That he knew French much better is highly probable, and that he knew it well is beyond a doubt. He would have been a sorry archdeacon if he did not. Like his heroes in their mortal life, he spoke French. The records reveal him as a man of the world, associating with diplomats who made treaties with the King of France, secretaries to great lords, scholars who had spent long years at the French Universities—as a man fit presumably to converse not in Latin only, which was useless outside the clerical class,<sup>2</sup> but in what was throughout the fourteenth century the polite tongue of the governing, the administrative and the literary classes in Scotland as in England,<sup>3</sup> the language in which they read the

“For verior na fors suld ma,  
 Quhethir he mycht ourcum his fa  
 Throu strynth, or throu sutelte;  
 Bot at gud faith ay haldin be” (V 85)  
 = *dolus, an uirtus, quis in hoste requirat* (‘Æn.’ II 390)  
 [which is quoted by Bower, xiii, p. 209].  
 “That hym thocht he had doyne rycht nocht,  
 Ay quhill to do him levyt ocht” (III 281)  
 = *Nil actum credens dum quid superesset agendum.*  
 (Lucan, ‘Pharsalia,’ II 657).

<sup>2</sup> Rashdall, *op. cit.*, II, ii, p. 596.

<sup>3</sup> Douglas spent two years of his youth in France, according to Barbour, who also sends Sir John Stewart to Montpellier, which seems a long way to go for the tending of a spear-wound received with Edward Bruce in Ireland (‘Br.’ XV. 83). Bruce wrote in French; one of his letters, to Henry de Sully, is preserved (F. Michel, ‘Les Écossais en France,’ I, p. 53): his interviews with Edward I. were conducted in French (Wyntoun VIII., 1925). Their friends and their adversaries alike were French-speaking. Both Bruces and Comyns appear as authors of letters in Professor Tanqueray’s ‘Recueil de Lettres Anglo-Françaises’ (Champion, 1916). It was in French that the Scottish nobility negotiated at Norham in 1291 and corresponded with Edward I., and that John of Lorn wrote to Edward II. (Bain, ‘Edw.,’ p. 62). Barbour’s own contemporaries, David II., Queen Joanna, Sir Thomas Gray, presumably spoke little else. As late as 1394, Scottish nobles were still writing French, and some of their correspondence is extant, and in 1400 the Earl of Dunbar in a letter to the King of England excused himself for not using French, and yet signed himself ‘Le Count de la Marche Descoce’ (see Cosmo Innes, ed. ‘Bruce,’ p. xviii, and F. Michel, ‘Critical Inquiry into the Scottish Language’ (Blackwood, 1882), p. 15, n. 1).

In so far as it is possible to argue from England to Scotland, the use

Bible,<sup>4</sup> the language of his brother archdeacons in England,<sup>5</sup> and the language of the law—as a man selected, as early as 1357, to deliberate on the terms of a peace treaty couched in French,<sup>6</sup> and in later life travelling readily to France<sup>7</sup>—as a prominent<sup>8</sup> ecclesiastical functionary and one of the great officers of State.<sup>9</sup>

Most writers who have dealt with Barbour have classed

of French must have been prevalent in Barbour's entourage. Freeman, to whom this is a very painful subject, has much difficulty in showing ('Norm. Conq.,' V, p. 535 and pp. 889-93) that the first three Edwards *also* knew some English. In any case, they could not have spoken English to their brides. Edward I.'s furious outburst against Balliol (1296) is quoted in the original French by Wyntoun (VIII, 1661). The 700 extant letters written by Edward II. (1304-5) are all in French, whether the French poem which he wrote in captivity be authentic or not (see Mary Bateson, 'Mediaeval England' (Unwin, 1903), pp. xxvii + 448; p. 299). The supersession of French as the medium of instruction in English schools was ascribed in 1385 by Trevisa (who was at Oxford, 1362-5, at the same time as Barbour) to the reforms instituted after the Black Death of 1349 by 'Iohan Cornwall mayster of gramere' (W. H. Stevenson, in the 'Furnivall Miscellany,' p. 421); others take as the critical date 1362, when English displaced French in the higher law-courts. When Queen's [Philippa's] College, Oxford, was founded in 1340-1—it was one of the six that existed in Barbour's Oxford days—it was provided that scholars might talk French instead of Latin at table (Rashdall, *o.c.*, II, p. ii, pp. 495-6). When Aymer de Pembroke's French widow founded Pembroke College, Cambridge, in 1347, a preference was given to Frenchmen over Englishmen in all appointments to the foundation (Tout, 'France and England,' Manchester Univ. Press, 1922, pp. viii + 168; p. 122). In 1356 a Bishop's visitation in Cornwall was conducted in French, English and Cornish (J. Loth, 'Contribution à l'Étude des Romans de la Table ronde,' 1912, p. 71).

Wills were made in French when they were not made in Latin. The earliest French wills date from 1347, the earliest English wills from 1383 (J. Vising, 'Anglo-Norman Language and Literature,' Cambridge Univ. Press, 1923, p. 24). The use of French in Scotland in later times may not be apposite, being perhaps due to the famous alliance. In 1498 Don Pedro de Ayala reports that French education was prevalent and French was generally spoken. (Edgar, 'Hist. Sc. Education' (1893), p. 301.)

<sup>4</sup> Many copies were written and illuminated in France for the English nobility. This was in fact one of the chief points made by Wycliffe. If the Bible might be read in French, why not in English? See Trevelyan, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

<sup>5</sup> Among the Archdeacons in English dioceses the proportion of aliens, nearly all French, was at this time one to three. *Ibid.*, p. 107.

<sup>6</sup> See *infra*, § 40, n. 1.

<sup>7</sup> See *infra*, §§ 42 and 44.

<sup>8</sup> "Maystere Ihon Barbere, off Abbyrdene

Archeden, as mony has sene" (Wyntoun VIII 978).

<sup>9</sup> As Auditor of Exchequer in 1372 and Clerk of Audit from 1373.

him, rather crudely, with the "Aberdonians" and the "ecclesiastics," and that is partly why his authorship of the 'Buik' has seemed unlikely. But clearly he was neither, in the popular acceptation of these terms. If we must needs have a modern instance, he represents a well-known type of humanity, the travelled Scot. His outlook is not provincial. He had been to Oxford and Paris, and lived no doubt in other homes of learning. His language shows few local peculiarities; spoken or written, it was the fourteenth-century equivalent of what a recent German investigator has termed "polite Scotch," and differed little from that of his fellow-courtiers when in his later years he frequented the capital [Perth], and enjoyed the favour of Robert II. Neither was he "an ecclesiastic": he was an archdeacon—*i.e.*, usually, as we shall show in our next chapter, a French-trained administrator and judge, in minor orders, and, *mutatis mutandis*, not much more of "an ecclesiastic" than the modern Sheriff-Substitute—let us say, Sir Walter Scott.

### § 37. THE TRAIL OF FRENCH ROMANCE IN THE 'BRUCE.'

Stripping the 'Bruce' for the moment of all that has been, and of all that might ever be, suspected of coming from the 'Buik of Alexander,' we are still left with what is in form and technique a French metrical Romance, imbued with the spirit of the Old French Epic,<sup>1</sup> marked by a singularly free use of French terms, many of them

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.*, the "outrageouss succudry" which brings heroes to their ruin as frequently in the French Epic as *ὑβρις* in the Greek.

rare and some not found even in the Frenchified 'Buik,'<sup>2</sup> subtly pervaded by French idiom and French syntax,<sup>3</sup> quoting French,<sup>4</sup> and containing comparisons drawn from French history and works of French literature with which the 'Buik' has nothing whatever to do—in brief, a poem manifestly composed by an archdeacon steeped in French Romance. That the historical personage who wrote (at the very least, as all freely admit) the greater part of our 'Bruce' had been engaged on Romance before he took to Biography is suggested by his Prologue, which betrays an author hitherto interested in stories "delitabill" enough, though only "fabill," and now turning to those that are "suthfast" and would be therefore preferable if only they could be told as pleasantly as in a Romance. He throws out an interesting suggestion on the possibilities of Edward Bruce as a subject, not for one but for many Romances,\* and his own dual capacity—ecclesiastical lawyer, personally concerned with all cases of breach of sanctuary, and inveterate Romance reader—is broadly

<sup>2</sup> *a-pane* = "scarcely," *appurvey* = "to provide a leader with men," *astrolog*, *boy sb*<sup>2</sup> = "fetter," *dour*, *engaigne*, *enherd*, *rebaldaill*; the last is the technical French term, used no doubt by those who actually took part in the fighting—*e.g.*, Jean le Bel, who served in the campaign of 1327, and says (*op. cit.*, I, p. 54), "ilz sont tous a cheval, ungs et aultres, fors mis la ribaudaille qui les sieut a pyé." 'Scalacronica' continually uses the French prototypes of Barbour's military terms—*e.g.*, p. 130, 'la riote' (see "Riot" in our Glossary), p. 145, "les punyes et les faitz de armys." The French legal documents presented in the case, Bruce *versus* Balliol and others, provide Barbour with his phrases in the Wyntoun excerpt—*e.g.*, "en la dreyte lyne descendant" (Palgrave) "in lyne evyn descendand."

<sup>3</sup> See *infra*, § 53, where examples are collected. It should be observed that the M.E. texts from which we have quoted most of our parallels to the 'Bruce' are themselves translations from French; see *e.g.*, on some of them, H. Creek, 'Engl. Studien,' XLVIII (1914-15), p. 195.

<sup>4</sup> The taking of Edinburgh Castle is foretold by a picture of a castle and a ladder, with the legend "Gardez-vous de François!"

\*

"Of his hye vorschipe and manheid  
Man mycht mony romanys mak" (IX 491).

Gray in 'Scalacronica,' p. 143, makes a similar remark about Edward Bruce's "Meruailles d'armys" . . . "qc serroit vne graunt romaunce a rementyuer tout."



hinted at in his twofold remark on the murder of Comyn,<sup>5</sup> where it may be noted that his interest is divided between the archidiaconal question of "Girth" and the examples afforded by Romance, to the exclusion of a third aspect of the case, the morality of the proceeding! The debatable land between Romance and History was Barbour's spiritual, almost his professional, home, and that of many another early genealogist, chronicler, compiler, translator, transcriber: shall we say Walter of Oxford, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Henry of Huntingdon, Walter Wardlaw,<sup>6</sup> Robert Thornton, archdeacons all?

The resources of French Romance being at Barbour's command, he was of all men the least likely to deny himself the pleasures of allusion. The habit of digression is ingrained in him, much more than in, say, Wyntoun or "Blind Harry." He discourses at large when quoting no one but himself; "his extreme diffuseness manifests itself not only in his numberless digressions but also in his roundabout way of describing incidents."<sup>7</sup> Barbour had a discursive mind. Muddled exposition, explanation of the self-evident, far-fetched illustration, loose reference, tautology and circumlocution he could well supply, unaided. To identify all the "exempla" in the 'Bruce' would be a difficult task, which is no part of our present duty. But since we happen to be able to show that the local origin of two of them was St Denis,<sup>8</sup> and note that Barbour applied for a safe-conduct to St Denis in 1365 and returned

<sup>5</sup> "He mysdyd thar gretly, but wer,  
That gave na gyrrh to the awter.  
Tharfor sa hard myscheiff him fell,  
That ik herd neur in romanys tell  
Off man sa hard sted as wes he,  
That eftirwart com to sic bounte" (II 43).

On the legal question of "Girth," highly important in mediæval Scotland, see, *e.g.*, Dowden, 'Bps.,' p. 153.

<sup>6</sup> See *infra*, § 40, *n.* 7.



<sup>7</sup> W. A. Craigie, *op. cit.*, p. 182, who quotes striking examples: see also *supra*, § 12, n. 7. "Barbour's use of the word 'thai' is perfectly reckless." Skeat, *n.* to 'Br.' I, 455.

<sup>8</sup> The source of one "exemplum" we can trace very easily, by the merest chance. In examining the Laing MSS. in the Edinburgh University Library, Miss Borland found two leaves of a MS. which, in collaboration with her, we have shown, in 'Romania' XLII (1913), pp. 1-22, to come probably from the lost work of Jehan de Prunai. The two leaves contain a hitherto unknown French verse translation of the Latin prose chronicle of Guillaume le Breton (*b.* between 1159 and 1169, *d.* 1216), which he wrote between 1216 and 1220, and which he afterwards used as a canvas for his Latin poem on Philip Augustus, composed 1220-26. The poem attained celebrity, but the prose work, utilised by Jehan de Prunai and in the Grandes Chroniques de Saint-Denis, was otherwise little known till the sixteenth century, and it was referred to as "Historia Sancti Dionysi." Beginning with Hector of Troy, the author devotes himself to the reign of Philip Augustus, his contemporary, on which he is a first-hand authority using no known "sources." The story of Ferrand (see *supra*, § 35, n. 15), which Barbour reproduces, 'Br.' IV 237-306, together with Guillaume's reflections, occurs in the prose chronicle, ed. H. F. Delaborde, 'Soc. de l'Hist. de France,' 1882-85, Vol. i., pp. 295-96:

"Sicut etiam fame loquacitate cognovimus, ipsa vetula comitissa Flandriæ, Hispana genere, matertera ipsius Ferrandi, filia regis Portugalensis . . . prestigiis et sortilegiis eventus belli scire desiderans, ab angelis qui hujusmodi modi artibus presunt, secundum morem Hispanorum tale meruerat habuisse responsum: 'Pugnabitur, et in ipsa pugna rex prosternetur in terram, et eorum pedibus conculcabitur, et carebit sepultura. Ferrandus post victoriam cum maxima pompa a Parisianis recipietur.' Hec omnia recte intelligente possunt interpretari in verum. Consuetudo enim demonis est semper talibus qui eum colunt amphibologice loqui, eorum desideria palliata veritate involvens, ut suos semper cultores decipiat, et ut ipsi de se bona semper credant dici que Deus ad eorum confusionem et aliorum honorem fieri disponit. Unde illud:

Cresus perdet Alim transgressus maxima regna,  
Et Juvenalis:

Et semel ambiguo deceptus Apolline Cresus . . . omnes ad vitas catervatim ruentes . . . et casu mirabili duo equi ejus coloris qui hoc nomen equis imponit, ipsum in lectica vehebat."

The three Latin lines which Barbour quotes (IV, 249) are not in Guillaume's prose or verse work, and appear to be a later amplification of his word "catervatim," which prompts "magna comitante caterva," and, for rime, "Minerva." The sole source of the story is Guillaume le Breton, whose work was scarcely known elsewhere than at St Denis. Guiart (see § 35, n. 15), who quotes him, claims to have written

"Selonc les certaines croniques. . . .

Dont j'ai transcrites les memoires

A Sainct Denys, soir et matin,

A l'exemplaire du latin," and he does not relate our incident.

It therefore seems not unlikely that Barbour's knowledge of the tale is connected with his visit to St Denis in 1365.

The other "exemplum" is "Ferumbras," whose story originated at St Denis (see *infra*, § 42, n. 5). If the relics which are mentioned by Barbour as preserved at St Denis differ from those in the other versions of the poem, may it not be that he is an independent authority on the subject, having seen them for himself?

"ad partes Francie causa studendi" in 1368, we are entitled now to suggest—and in our next chapter it will be much more than a suggestion—that many of the apparent irrelevances in the 'Bruce,' which have been considered interpolations, are relevant enough to certain recorded circumstances in Barbour's own life.

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## CHAPTER XI.: BARBOUR AND HIS 'BUIK.'

### § 38. THE ARCHDEACON'S RETICENCE.

IN striving to worm out the truth about Barbour and his 'BuiK' we need expect little help from the Archdeacon himself. He will offer for inspection his (extant) literary works, and even volunteer a date, but will give no personal details, no mention of author's name or habitation, not even an anagram or cryptic reference, no local allusion. He will not put his name to the 'BuiK' or the 'Ballet,' any more than he put it to the 'Bruce,' or than "Blind Harry" put his own—or some one else's—to the 'Wallace.' Autobiography, self-advertisement and literary vanity were not foibles of that impersonal, humble and child-like age when, if an author gave his name, it was that he might be remembered in his readers' orisons. When Barbour has occasion to speak of Aberdeen, which he saw every day of his life, and of neighbouring places well-nigh as familiar, visited and revisited during twenty years' perambulation of his archdeaconry,<sup>1</sup> it will

<sup>1</sup> It was evidently expected that the Archdeacon should spend much of his time in perambulating the Diocese :

"Et quia ad officium archidiaconi spectat provinciam pro corrigendis excessibus circumire statuimus quod ad nullam teneatur residenciam personalem nisi illis diebus quibus ratione officij sui in ecclesia cathedrali vna cum episcopo tenetur personaliter interesse," &c. . . . "Statuta Ecclesie Aberd." in 'Reg. Episc. Aberd.' ii. p. 38.

be without a glimmer of recognition. The siege of Kildrummy in Mar, or the battle of Old Meldrum in the Garioch, or the harrying of Buchan, will take place in the abstract, almost as bare of precise first-hand topographical lore <sup>2</sup> as the siege of Troy or the combats and forays at "Gadres" in Romance. His portraits will be moral, not concrete, and severely limited to the contrast of "lawte" with "tresoune." <sup>3</sup> The outward physical appearance of Bruce and Douglas, whom probably he had never seen, will be left shadowy and unreal—but not more so than that of Davy and Archibald their sons, whom he most certainly had seen,—and be described in terms of Alexander of Macedon and Hector of Troy, whom he saw more clearly, with the mind's eye, because he read of them in Romance. He was essentially a man of letters. What he found in "books" was real to him. The details which would interest us now the Archdeacon saw not, nor noted down. As the external world was in 1375, so had it always been, and so would it ever be. Wherefore he turns to us a visage of stone, and abides not our idle, modern questionings.

But tarry, Archdeacon! Such reticence carries its own penalty. We are not bereft of reason, and when we are given a detail manifestly unessential to the subject in hand, or a reference to some contemporary born after the War of Independence, we cannot but infer

<sup>2</sup> Inverurie, which is almost within the proverbial twelve-mile radius from Aberdeen (as the crow flies), and lay on Barbour's way to Rayne, is twice mentioned, and as in a "plain," which is vague and not strictly accurate:

"For thair all playn wes the cuntre" ('Br.' IX 57).

"Till Enuerrowry straucht agane:

For thai vald ly in-till the plane" ('Br.' IX 193).

Barbour shows some acquaintance with Kildrummy Castle, but his remarks are vague.

<sup>3</sup> *E.g.*, that of Randolph, Earl of Moray ('Br.' X 280-99).

that there is good cause for its inclusion in the 'Bruce,' and that thereby hangs a tale. And neither reticence nor modesty evades record and charter. Piecing together the isolated but surprisingly numerous <sup>4</sup> facts which chance has preserved, and interpreting them in relation to the conditions of life prevailing in fourteenth-century Scotland, we can reconstruct the story of the 'BuiK' and its author with at least that strong degree of probability which must so often stand for legal proof in the uncertain study of mediæval literature. We have ourselves little doubt that the life of Barbour was somewhat in this wise:—

### § 39. HIS UNRECORDED YOUTH.

In the romantic Chanonry of Old Aberdeen, when the leafy Aulton lay yet ungraced by twin grey towers and dreaming crown, John Barbour <sup>1</sup> spent his recorded life and composed the works by which he yet lives. The date and the place of his birth and his doings till 1357 are unrecorded. But the attested facts of his career imply that he was born in the closing years of King Robert's reign, possibly about 1325, while the subtle accent of his verse and the subtler accent of his mind leave little doubt that he was an Aberdonian, presumably by birth, certainly by early adoption and grace.<sup>2</sup> His surname suggests a progenitor, not perhaps remote, who combined the art of trimming beards with the then kindred arts of surgery

<sup>4</sup> "More details of Barbour's life are known than of that of any other writer in English, of the period, except Chaucer." J. E. Wells, *op. cit.*, p. 202. A full list of all the records of Barbour will be found in Skeat's 'Bruce,' Part III., pp. xiv-xxviii.

<sup>1</sup> In the contemporary documents, "Barbier" once, "Barbour" occasionally, "Barbere" most commonly. "Barbere" is also Wyntoun's spelling, confirmed by rime. But we retain the accepted spelling.

<sup>2</sup> Dr Jamieson, ed. 'Br.,' p. iii, pointed out that, in a charter by



David II. to the Carmelite Friars of Aberdeen, 7th May 1360, there is confirmed a charter by Matthew Pinchach, burgess of Aberdeen (dated 31st March 1350), granting to the Carmelite Friars an annuity of 6s. 8d. "de illa terra cum pertinenciis jacente in vico castrī quæ fuit quondam Andreæ Barbitonsori inter terram Jaq. Trampour versus austrum et terram Johannis de Salchoo versus boream." He added, without adopting the supposition, that it has been supposed that Andrew was the Archdeacon's father. Dr Neilson, in endeavouring to establish Barbour's claim to the authorship of the 'Legends of the Saints,' made great play (*e.g.*, 'Sc. Antiq.' XI, p. 105) with the fact that a 'Jak trumpour' is brought (*à propos de bottes*) into the Life of St Ninian, and he concluded that John was not only the son of Andrew Barbour, Jak Trumpour's late neighbour in the Castlegate, but the author of the 'Legends.' But "trumpour" is a trumpeter and Jak duly "trumpit" in 'Ninian' (see *infra*, § 46), and "Barbitonsor" means "barber," not necessarily Barbour. Thus a certain "Milo barbitonsor" is in the list, under the heading "Layci," of those present on 21st May 1345, when the privilege of the University of Paris was confirmed by Philip VI. ('Chartul. Univ. Paris,' II, pp. 563-4), and "barbitonsor" seems to indicate not his surname but his profession, that of surgeon. The same dubiety prevails with regard to the various "barbitonsores" in Robertson's 'Index of Charters,' Edinburgh, 1798. With them there is nothing to connect the Archdeacon, who may, for all that his office would prove to the contrary, have been a "barbitonsor" himself and taken a medical degree, as did his successor in the Archdeaconry, Thomas Trayl, priest, M.A., Bachelor of Medicine ('Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers,' ed. Bliss, R. S., 1896, p. 583).

The name is not uncommon in the fourteenth century: in the first year of the century, a Johannes le Barber "cum ii equis coopertis" appears in the Roll of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Essex, containing the proffers of service made at the muster at Carlisle (Palgrave, 'Documents,' p. 227). In 1309, a Robert Barbour received a charter from Robert the Bruce of the lands of Craigie in the sheriffdom of Forfar (Jamieson, ed. 'Br.,' p. iii). In the Chamberlain's accounts ending August 1329, one Richard Barber was paid £13, 6s. 8d. for services rendered in connection with the monument, made in Paris, which was placed on the Bruce's tomb at Dunfermline ('Exch. R.,' I, p. cxxii). In 1342 payment is made (*Ibid.*, p. 482) "Roberto barbitonsori ad expensas domus regis, in primo aduentu suo de partibus Francie." This must be the personage who appears again ('Rot. Scot.,' p. 734) as "Robertus Barbour, vallettus regine Scotie," and is granted, on 8th June 1350, a safe-conduct by Edward III. to travel to see David II., then in the Tower of London, "pro quibusdam negotiis ipsum David tangentibus . . . cum tribus equis, garconibus," &c. [For the social status of "vallettus" cp. "Hector Leche vallettus David de Bruys" ('Rot. Scot.,' p. 797), who is referred to (*Ibid.*, p. 724) in a safe-conduct of Edward III., dated 28th Oct. 1348, as "Hector medicus David de Bruys"; also in 1359 ('Exch. R.,' II, p. 6). When Chaucer, on 20th June 1367, was granted by Edward III. a pension of 20 marks for life, he was designated "dilectus *vallectus* noster," which probably means "vallettus camere Regis," though he later attained the higher dignity of "vallettus hospicii Regis" ('Engl. Studien,' xlix., 1915-16, p. 147)]. Since "Hector Leche" turns out in 1369 ('Registrum Magni Sigilli,' Vol. i., No. 333) to be a M'Beth, and no doubt one of the hereditary surgeons of that name, "Barbour" was perhaps the profession, not the surname, of the above "Robertus."



and dentistry. The intimate knowledge of French which he was to evince in later life, as well in the 'Bruce' as in the 'BuiK,' implies not necessarily early residence in France or study at the University of Paris, in those days the University for Aberdeen, but early dealings with the Scoto-Norman aristocracy, or with the French-speaking administrative class.

It is unsafe to base any conclusions on the flimsy evidence of a name which may sometimes be a professional designation and sometimes a patronymic, but the appearances are that in his obscurer days he was a scribe, translator, clerk or minor official, possibly in the Government service, or in a noble's household, or at the Court of David II., which for years was resident in Aberdeen, and that he was a relative of one or other of the "Barbours" mentioned above as employed by the Scottish Court. It is perhaps significant that the "fair towme in the queyr" of Dunfermline, which Richard Barber helped to erect in 1329, should not escape attention in the 'Bruce' (XX. 293). Barbour's first appearance in the records in connection with a peace treaty, his markedly "lay" outlook, the whole character of his later official and literary career, the analogous beginnings of other men of letters, including perhaps Chaucer and Lydgate, all suggest the scribe<sup>3</sup> in the immediate entourage of the great.

It is also perhaps significant that the Queen of David II. should, though she made little mark in history, and left Scotland in 1357, and had been dead thirteen years

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.*, a curriculum vitæ somewhat similar to that of a certain "Stephanus de cellario" which we notice in the 'Exch. R.,' II, pp. 52, 114 and 359. In 1360 Stephen receives payment "pro scriptura indenturarum super conuencionem inter dominum nostrum regem et regentem Francie." In 1362 he receives a donation from the King as "transiens versus studia generalia," and in 1370 blossoms forth as "archidiaconus Brechinensis." But, unlike Barbour, he rose higher yet, and was Bishop of Brechin from 1383 till his death, c. 1405. Dowden, 'Bps.,' p. 183.

when Barbour wrote, be accorded fuller honours than any other of his own contemporaries :—

“ dame Iohane of the Tour  
That syne wes of full gret valour ” (Br. XX. 39).

“ The 3oung lady of gret bewte ” (88)

“ . . . wes syne the best lady  
And the farest, that men mycht se ” (106).

This is for the uncommunicative Barbour high praise. When we reflect that Chaucer never mentions Queen Philippa or Edward III., and bear in mind that it is to this account, however meagre it may seem to us, that Wyntoun (VIII. 3084) refers readers who would hear about Queen Joanna, and that William Stewart, though given to expanding the ‘ Bruce,’ can only paraphrase it and say, ‘ Buik of the Chronicles of Scotland,’ line 51,376,

“ In all her dais she did neur offence,”

there would seem to be more in the allusion than meets the eye.

Taken in conjunction with other facts, it might almost justify our own belief that Barbour was one of Queen Joanna’s very numerous protégés. Both David II. and Joanna took a keen interest in ecclesiastical appointments, and were for ever petitioning the Pope in favour of their kinsmen and courtiers, and we may be quite certain that no important post was filled without their knowledge or consent. Barbour’s safe-conduct to Oxford in 1357 was granted by Edward III. at David’s personal request, and we shall have occasion later to indicate many possible points of contact between the King and the Archdeacon. Joanna’s intervention at Avignon was

mainly concerned with the interests of her own chaplains, secretaries and clerks, and shows a marked preference for the diocese of Aberdeen as the scene of their future labours, possibly because she had long lived in it herself. Since the election of Archdeacon Alexander de Kyninmund as Bishop of Aberdeen was almost certainly favoured by Joanna, she may also have influenced the choice of John Barbour as his successor in the archdeaconry. His apparently rapid promotion to Archdeacon, but never higher, coincides with the Queen's final departure from Scotland in 1357.<sup>4</sup>

That he spent part of his youth in France is not improbable.<sup>5</sup> In that most dismal period of Scottish history, which, beginning with the death of Robert I. in 1329, outlasted Barbour's allotted span, France was for Scotsmen scarcely a foreign country. It was the Paradise of the soldier of fortune, the haven for fugitives of all ranks. Paris was the Mecca of the schoolman and the clerk, the centre of polite learning and gracious literature. From Avignon, French Popes ruled the Church in Scotland and dispensed preferment, while an ever-growing

<sup>4</sup> The more interesting, for our purposes, of Joanna's Petitions, which were uniformly granted, are: 1345 ('Pet.,' p. 104) for John de Croindale of the diocese of Dunkeld, kinsman to the King of Scots, for the Church of Torrech in the diocese of Aberdeen; 1350 (Dowden, 'Bps.,' p. 113) with Bishop William de Deyn of Aberdeen, for a dignity in the Church of Aberdeen for the Bishop's nephew, William Boyd, scholar of civil law; 1350 ('Pet.,' p. 201) a canonry of Glasgow for John de Ketenis, the Queen's clerk; 1350 ('Pet.,' p. 199) the deanery of Brechin for Alexander de Kyninmond, notwithstanding that he has the hospital of Aberdeen.

<sup>5</sup> We have found no trace of Barbour's name in the records of the University of Paris, where those of so many of his Scottish contemporaries are entered. But for all we know, one of the numerous mentions like "Johannes, Scotus," "Johannes de Conventre, Scotus" ('Chartularium Univ. Paris.,' ed. Denifle & Chatelain, I, p. 367) might be apposite, could we guess what territorial or other designation, if any, Barbour would have supplied when asked by the Registrar. It is worthy of remark that in his second recorded appearance (see *infra*, § 40, n. 1) he is merely "Johannes Archidiaconus," and that like David de Mar, his colleague and co-delegate, and Thomas Trayl, his own successor, he may have been a student of Orléans.

colony of Scottish students in Paris spent their leisure moments in inditing petitions to the Pope.

An outgoing stream of young Scotsmen bent on learning<sup>6</sup> had begun to stem the incoming tide of French ecclesiastics, which would have swamped Scotland as it swamped England, had Scotland seemed a fairer prize to the place-seekers at Avignon. Any advantage which might have accrued by the importation of French culture in this way was often lost, because the French preferred to remain in France and enjoy Scottish revenues there, but large numbers of Frenchmen did make their way north,<sup>7</sup> finding language no barrier, since French was in current use, and Latin was, in clerical circles, a possible makeshift. In the fitful struggle for independence which occupied the Scottish fourteenth century, France was the land of hope.

During seven years of Barbour's youth all loyal hearts were turned to France, for in 1334 the boy King, David Bruce,<sup>8</sup> had been sent with Joanna, his youthful Queen, under the protection of Philip VI., to the safe refuge of Château-Gaillard in Normandy.<sup>9</sup> In a land enduring

<sup>6</sup> David, Bishop of Moray (consecrated 28th June 1299), had founded towards the end of his life some burses for Scottish students in the University of Paris, and thus prepared the way for the Scots College. A. Bellesheim, 'History of the Catholic Church in Scotland,' tr. D. O. Hunter Blair (Blackwood), 1887, 4 vols.

<sup>7</sup> In a single year, 1350, Frenchmen secured appointments to four Scottish canonries. Indeed there is scarcely a year between 1337 and 1375 when the influence of France over the Curia is not disclosed by such appointments. Many of the clergy thus appointed were Frenchmen—*e.g.*, a Frenchman received canonries at Glasgow, Ross, Aberdeen and Dunbar; a prior of the Sorbonne had a living at St Andrews and was made Canon of Moray. Dowden, 'Bps.,' p. 274; MacEwen, *op. cit.*, I, p. 281.

<sup>8</sup> David II., the son of Robert I. by his second wife Elizabeth, daughter of Richard de Burgh, second Earl of Ulster, was born 5th March 1323-4. Joanna, daughter of Edward II. and Isabella, daughter of Philippe (IV.) le Bel, was born in 1321.

<sup>9</sup> David II. embarked on a ship sent by Philip VI., at Dumbarton (Froissart, ed. Lettenhove, II, p. 329, says at Aberdeen), and landed at Boulogne 14th May 1334. Passing through Arras and Bapaume, he reached Paris, where he was welcomed by Philip (Froissart, II, p. 350), to whom he seems to have had every reason to be grateful. Most of his



the horrors of a disputed succession and falling wholly under English domination, few durst so much as name their rightful King. Only the children, because "thar King wes borne a barne as thai," really believed that he would one day return, and were wont to answer the ironical questionings of the English garrison with the courage of innocence, and sturdily declare "That thai were all King Davyis men."<sup>10</sup> The hopes of that generation of faithful children to which Barbour may have belonged were only partially realised. Davy did return, in 1341, but not for long. He was captured at Neville's Cross in 1346, and held eleven years a prisoner,<sup>11</sup> while Robert the Steward governed a people torn by dissension, steeped in misery which the Black Death only intensified, and tormented by the anxieties of providing a King's ransom which was destined to exhaust the national resources. In 1357 proposals matured for David's release which bring Barbour into the light of history.

seven years' stay in France was spent, not as Froissart says (II, p. 187), at Nemours, but at Château-Gaillard, near Petit-Andely, on the Seine above Rouen, the "saucy castle," "pet daughter" of its builder Richard Cœur-de-Lion, but now a grim, forbidding, colossal ruin. He was present at Buironfosse (Aisne) in 1339, when the assembled chivalry of France, under Philip VI., and of England under Edward III., met, and withdrew without fighting (Le Bel, 'Chron.' I, p. 164). Little else is known of David's doings in France. He was only a young man with a dubious future.

<sup>10</sup> Wyntoun VIII (W) 4073-87, repeated, 'Liber Pluscardensis,' I, p. 275.

<sup>11</sup> Comparatively little is known of David's residence in England. Knighton ('Chronicon,' ed. Lumby, Rolls Series, 1895, II, pp. 44-46) says that he was captured at Merrington and kept in Bamborough Castle pending instructions from Edward III., who was then in France. On 2nd January 1347 he was led a captive through the streets of London and lodged in the Tower (Knighton, *loc. cit.*; Murimuth, Rolls Series, 1889, p. 219), which remained apparently his "official address" (see charters, § 39, n. 2). But (partly for obvious political reasons) he was soon treated with the honour due to the King's brother-in-law, and allowed great liberty, spending his time chiefly in or near London and at Odiham in Hampshire, and even returning on parole to Scotland in 1352 (Knighton, II 69). That he was well treated by Edward III. is shown by minor incidents, such as the sending of a pipe of Gascon wine by Edward's butler on St David's Day 1356-7 (Bain, 'Cal.' III, No. 1627), and by David's frequent return visits after his release (see *infra*, § 43, n. 4).



## § 40. 1357. ARCHDEACON OF ABERDEEN.

On 13th September of that year Barbour was nominated by the Bishop of Aberdeen to attend as one of his three procurators-general the meeting called at Edinburgh for 26th September to discuss the terms of the treaty,<sup>1</sup> of which the preliminaries had been settled in August at Berwick. He must then have been Archdeacon of Aberdeen for nearly two years. When he could not, legally, have been under twenty-five, and was not presumably more than thirty-one, he had been raised to the most responsible office in the diocese, next to that of Bishop. Why? Certainly not for services rendered in a Scottish parish.<sup>2</sup> By favour with the new Bishop or the old Chapter? By Court influence? By Papal interest? By sheer personal merit and marked fitness for the office? None of these possibilities can be brushed aside, not even the last, and it may be permissible here to remark that they are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Indeed the absence of details on Barbour's appointment almost warrants the inference that it was made by general consent.<sup>3</sup> Promotion of young men followed inevitably on the ravages made in the ranks of the clergy by the Black Death of 1350.<sup>4</sup> The new Bishop, with whom the appoint-

<sup>1</sup> 1357, Sept. 13: Alexander, Bishop of Aberdeen, appoints "*Brechinensem episcopum, ac venerabiles & discretos viros, magistrum David de Mar, domini nostri Papæ capellanum, canonicum, & dominum Johannem archidiaconum nostræ ecclesiæ Aberdonensis, nostros procuratores generales & nuncios speciales*" . . . "*apud Fetherin Manerium nostrum nostræ diœcesis.*" (Rymer, '*Foedera*,' VI, p. 39.) The text of the treaty, in French, is given '*Rotuli Scotiæ in Turri Londiniensi et in Domo Capitulari Westmonasteriensi Asservati.*' Rolls Series, 1834.

<sup>2</sup> "The idea of making a man a Bishop or an Archdeacon on account of his zeal, his energy, and his success in the humble round of parochial

duty is one which would hardly have occurred to sensible men in mediæval times": Hastings Rashdall, 'The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages,' Vol. ii., Part II, Oxford (Clarendon Press) 1895, p. 698.

<sup>3</sup> The facts which we have been able to ascertain are these: To succeed Bishop John Rate, who died in 1355, having held the see of Aberdeen since 19th Nov. 1350, Alexander de Kyninmund, the Archdeacon, was elected by the Chapter, "concorditer" and "per viam scrutini," before 4th Dec. 1355, on which day the Pope addresses "Alexander elect of Aberdeen" and "provides" him to the see. Another Alexander de Kyninmund (to whom he was presumably related) had been Bishop of Aberdeen from 1329 to 1344, but that fact can hardly have influenced the election. The name "de Kyninmund" recurs with such frequency in the contemporary registers of the University of Paris that the family must have been a learned and distinguished one, and Hector Boece, who had a keen eye for scandal, makes no suggestion of any. He does, however, relate ('Episcoporum Aberd. Vitæ,' New Spalding Club, pp. 15-16) that "Nicolaus, quidam vir ambitiosus qui ex Gallia cum rege Davide venerat, et ob hoc ei familiarior," having bribed David's courtiers and persuaded David himself to support his candidature for the Bishopric, presented letters to the Chapter, which refused him. A conflict between Crown and Chapter was not uncommon—e.g., Edward III. had petitioned the Pope for the appointment of Robert of Ayleston, Archdeacon of Berks, to the see of St Andrews, and the canons had selected William Bell, Dean of Dunkeld. The see lay vacant for nine years, and was filled in 1343 by the appointment of William de Landel, Parson of Kinkell. Bellesheim, *op. cit.*, ii., § 30. If Boece's story is true, the King's absence as a prisoner in England must have singularly weakened his influence.

To the Archdeaconry, vacated before 4th Dec. 1355, Barbour was appointed, presumably without delay and by the new Bishop. The powers of the Bishop of Aberdeen were unusually extensive, the nomination of all the prebendaries resting with him, except that of the Dean, who was elected by the Chapter. Bellesheim, *op. cit.*, I 372. Court influence was all the more probably a factor, as the Scottish Kings had long claimed the right of presentations to benefices which fell vacant between the death of a Bishop and the taking of the oath of fealty by his successor (*Ibid.*, ii. 19). If David put forward his French favourite Nicolaus for the Bishopric, he or Joanna may also have intervened in the nomination to the Archdeaconry, and with the more chance of success since the second refusal of a Court nominee would be a greater slight, and compensation for the non-election of one protégé by the appointment of another was the custom of the times. Thus, in England it was the recognised practice for the Pope to leave the choice of Bishops to the King, subject to his approval, but reserve for himself the choice of Archdeacons. It was in the distribution of the Archdeaconships that there was the greatest opportunity for the pluralist and the political jobber in England (G. M. Trevelyan, 'England in the Age of Wycliffe,' Longmans, 1906, pp. xiv+380; p. 117); in Scotland, however, capable men, often well versed in civil as well as in canon law, were commonly appointed (John Dowden, 'The Mediæval Church in Scotland,' Glasgow (Maclehose), 1910, pp. xlviii+352; p. 219).

<sup>4</sup> It did not reach Scotland till 1350. Striking figures of the death-roll among the English clergy are given by Cardinal Gasquet, 'The Black Death of 1348 and 1349,' London (G. Bell & Sons), 2nd ed., 1908, pp. xvi+272. On the promotion of young men, *before* the Black Death, Geoffrey le Baker waxes indignant, 'Vita Edw. II.,' p. 252.

As to what might be taken as the normal age for an Archdeacon

ment primarily lay, was, besides being a man of family and distinction, a protégé of the Queen's, and the Chapter included her secretary David de Mar, and others who in the course of her husband's long absence in England had been brought to her notice as candidates for ecclesiastical preferment. It was a far cry from Avignon to Aberdeen, and Joanna's petitions to the Pope were invariably granted. Alexander, like all the Scottish Bishops of the time, had already been "elected" when the Pope ratified the *fait accompli* and formally "provided" him to the See. It is hard to resist the conclusion that this time there was no need for Joanna to take up her pen once again, because the man clearly marked out for the vacant archdeaconry was, in the opinion of all concerned, John Barbour. His appointment certainly was not made against her will. If she exerted any influence in his favour, it was entirely to her credit and to his. The healthier elements in the country gathered round Joanna, who, Princess of England though she was, proved herself a truer Scottish patriot than many of her adopted countrymen, notably her erring husband David II.

Whatever the reasons for his appointment, the new Archdeacon was by September 1357 a *persona grata*, inspiring some confidence and delegated, with a distinguished Canon of Aberdeen, late Secretary to the Queen of Scots,

appointed in Scotland in 1356, it is impossible to advance any opinion, the date of birth being absent in Bishop Dowden's copious biographies. On the one hand, the office was a responsible one, demanding special qualifications; and on the other hand, we find the Queen pressing the claims of Thomas de Duns, "though *under* nineteen," for a benefice ('Pet.,' p. 134), and all the world has heard of the boy-Archbishop of St Andrews. The only apposite case we can find is that of Walter Wardlaw (*d.* 1387), of whom we know that in 1342 he was a student in Paris, when his age was presumably less than twenty-five. He was a candidate for an archdeaconry in 1349—*i.e.*, æt. 32 or probably less (see *infra*, § 40, n. 7).

and the Bishop of a neighbouring diocese, Chancellor of Scotland, to deal with grave public business.<sup>5</sup>

Some months before, he had applied for a safe-conduct (granted by Edward III. at Westminster on 13th August for one year) to proceed to Oxford with three students in his charge.<sup>6</sup> He had evidently felt the need of a further course of study in the civil, or more probably in the canon, law, and in this he merely followed the common practice, for the universities were thronged with beneficed clerks and

<sup>5</sup> David de Mar, procurator in 1344 of the English Nation at the University of Paris ("magister David de Mair": 'Archiv. f. Litt. und Kirchengeschichte' V, p. 286), and mentioned before then, 21st January 1331, in 'Auctarium Chartularium Univ. Paris,' ed. Denifle & Chatelain, Vol. ii., pp. 367-78: "presentibus ad hec [Johannes Pipe, acting for the Dean of the Faculty of Medicine, appeals against the 'Rector' of the University to the Apostolic See] discretis viris domino David de Mar et domino Johanne de Conventre Scotis, scholaribus Parisiensibus." He appears in 1343 in a Petition to the Pope by Queen Joanna, "on behalf of her secretary David de Marre of the diocese of Aberdeen, M.A., who for four years has studied civil law at Orléans and canon law for some time," for the canonry and pensionary prebend of Aberdeen, void by the promotion of John Rate to the archdeaconry. The petition was duly granted. 'Pet.' (R.S.), p. 15. By 1354, David de Mar was papal chaplain, canon of Aberdeen and Dunkeld, prebendary of Deer, and treasurer of Moray. Ibid., p. 257, and Bain, 'Cal.' III, Nos. 1653 and 1654. He was presumably a relative, possibly the brother, of John de Marr, who in 1359 was Queen Joanna's chaplain, canon and prebendary of Aberdeen, canon of Glasgow and papal chaplain, had been dispensed on account of illegitimacy before 1345 ('Pet.,' p. 85), and was a kinsman of Thomas, Earl of Mar ('Pet.,' pp. 116 and 346).

The Bishop of Brechin was Patrick de Locrys [Leuchars], formerly rector of Tynnyngham, "provided" 17th Nov. 1351, resigned 1383. He was Chancellor of Scotland from before 26th Sept. 1357 to between 3rd March 1369-70 and 4th April 1370 (Dowden, 'Bps.,' p. 182), when he was succeeded by John de Carrik.

<sup>6</sup> 1357. Aug. 13: Sciatis quod ad supplicationem David de Bruys suscepimus Johannem Barber, archidiaconum de Abredene, veniendo cum tribus scholaribus in comitiva sua in regnum nostrum Angliæ, causa studendi in universitate Oxoniæ & ibidem actus scolasticos exercendo, morando & exinde in Scotiam ad propria redeundo. 'Rotuli Scotiæ,' pp. 808-9. "Actus scolastici" is a vague term; in a letter by the Pope in 1346 (Rashdall, *op. cit.*, I. 422 n.) the phrase occurs: "lectiones, disputationes et alii actus scolastici." Of the six colleges existing in 1357 those with which Barbour might with most probability be associated are Balliol, Oriel and Queen's. Balliol was founded, 1261-66, by Devorguille, daughter of Alan of Galloway (whom Barbour apparently referred to in his lost "Stewarts' Original"; see *infra*, §. 46, n. 16), and mother of John Balliol; Oriel by Queen Joanna's father in 1326; Queen's was founded in honour of her sister-in-law Philippa, in 1341; see Rashdall, *op. cit.*, II. ii., pp. 497-8.



dignitaries.<sup>7</sup> Events moved rapidly.<sup>8</sup> By 3rd October the treaty had been signed at Berwick, and by 28th October, Edward III. had authorised all and sundry to proceed without special permission from Scotland to Oxford (or Cambridge).<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> See Rashdall, *op. cit.*, passim. The Archdeacon of St Andrews (Guillelmus de Grinlaw) attended the University of Paris in 1353. He had been there before, in 1342, as a Canon of Aberdeen. 'Chartul. Univ. Paris,' p. 527. Walter Wardlaw, master of the English nation and "rector" of the University of Paris, figures (*ibid.*, pp. 527, 592, 594, 647) as a student in Paris at the following dates: 1342, as canon of Glasgow; 1346, as tutor, "Item, dominus Johannes de Kynnemont sub magistro Galtero de Wardela" ('Archiv. litt. Kirchengesch.', V. 306); 23rd Sept. 1349, as candidate for the archdeaconry of Dunkeld; 1357, as still a student. In 1367 he was consecrated Bishop of Glasgow, having before then been a Canon of Aberdeen (Bain, 'Cal.' IV, No. 4), secretary to David II., and (from 1359) Archdeacon of Lothian. In 1369 and 1371 he negotiated peace treaties, and in 1385 was made a Cardinal by Clement VII., antipope.

<sup>8</sup> It is generally assumed, *e.g.*, by Jamieson and Skeat, ed. 'Br.,' and Irving, 'Hist. Sc. P.,' that Barbour did not attend the Edinburgh meeting, but their reasons are unconvincing. Skeat says, quoting Jamieson with approval, that the appointment as procurator was merely complimentary, since "the Bishop could not well omit his own archdeacon" [which would imply that the other bishops selected their archdeacons, whereas the documents preserved (Bain, 'Cal.' III, Nos. 1642-50, &c.) show that they did not]. Skeat points out that the deed provides for the absence of some of the procurators, and he assumes Barbour to have gone to Oxford instead of Edinburgh [which overlooks the fact that a safe-conduct granted at Westminster on 13th August must have been applied for long before that day and received in Aberdeen long after]. Barbour might perfectly well have stopped at Edinburgh on his way to Oxford. If he did not, the reason was—as suggested by Lord Hailes, 'Ann. Scot.,' ii., p. 243, *n.*, and proved by the documents signed by Robert the Steward and letters patent of the Scottish Bishops (both 26th September, Nos. 1649 and 1650 in Bain, 'Cal.' III)—that the form of delegation was laid aside, and it was judged more proper that three of the Bishops themselves should treat with the English envoys at Berwick. Among those to whom Edward III. granted safe-conducts towards the end of the year are "Arcebaldus de Douglas Chivaler et Willielmus de Tours usque Civitates nostras Londoniæ & Cantuariæ, quibusdam certis de causis, cum quatuor equitibus" (Westminster, 16th November [and again 26th January 1358] (Rymer, 'Fœdera,' VI 69), and Queen Joanna, to London "cum Sexaginta Equitibus et tot Garcionibus" (Marlborough, 25th December; *ibid.*, 73). Joanna never returned to Scotland, and died five years later (14th August 1362) near London.

<sup>9</sup> At the request of the Bishops of St Andrews & Brechin: "Concessimus et Licentiam dedimus omnibus & singulis Scolaribus dictæ terræ Scotiæ, qui in Angliam Causa studendi & Actus Scolasticos exercendi in Universitate Oxoniæ sive Cantebrigie moraturi venire voluerint." (Rymer, 'Fœd.,' VI 67). Knighton, ii., p. 101, says that David II., on returning to London in 1358, requested Edward III. to grant permission to Scottish students to attend the English Universities.



Barbour thus was an Archdeacon when the record opens, and Archdeacon he remained until he died. This is at first sight remarkable. To be forty years in that office was, we know, abnormal, the Scottish Bishops being chosen very largely from the ranks of the Archdeacons.<sup>10</sup> But many reasons suggest themselves in addition to that already mentioned—the Queen's absence. He may have married, for there was no lack of precedents. Though his career betokens no distaste for the society of the great, his work is that of a modest man, to whose lips the *nolo episcopari* would spring naturally enough. Moreover, had his ambitions lain in the direction of high preferment in his own diocese, they were doomed to disappointment, because the see of Aberdeen did not fall vacant till 1380, by which time he was too deeply rooted in his own duties. And these duties probably suited Barbour very well indeed.

The somewhat mysterious functions which our irreverent age is content to take as "archidiaconal" were more important when the tribunals of the Church dealt with much of the business of the modern law-courts. It would be unkind to point out the affinity of Barbour's miscellaneous functions<sup>11</sup> to his miscellaneous mind, but we cannot

<sup>10</sup> Among the numerous Archdeacons of Aberdeen who became Bishops, may be noted Alan, who was consecrated Bishop of Caithness, and his successor at Aberdeen in 1342, John de Rate (*d.* 1355), who both succeeded and preceded an "Alexander de Kyninmund, ex-Archdeacon," on becoming Bishop of Aberdeen in 1351. Dowden, 'Bps.,' pp. 113-4. In the other dioceses this was equally common, two of the most interesting cases being the celebrated Walter Wardlaw, who became Bishop of Glasgow (*ibid.*, 31), and Archdeacon Thomas Stewart, a natural son of Robert II., who was elected successor to Bishop Trail (*d.* 1401) of St Andrews, but declined the honour. Belleheim, *op. cit.*, II 40.

<sup>11</sup> The Archdeacon, ranking next to the Dean in the Aberdeen Chapter, stood between the Bishop and the parish priests. He was the *oculus episcopi*, and possessed considerable powers and influence, augmented by the frequent absence of the Bishop in attendance on the King or on political missions abroad. He examined candidates for orders, and clerks presented to benefices, visited the parish churches to

help remarking that by the time he came to write his epic they had left their stamp upon him. Not only is he glib with the technical terms ("girth," "exorcization," and the like), but the whole of the 'Bruce,' with its drum-and-trumpet history, its *con amore* descriptions of hard fighting, its lenient view of human failings and sparing mention of Holy Church, is unmistakably the work of one interested in matters secular, of an administrator in close touch with the laity—not of a priest primarily concerned with dogma or ghostly counsel, nor of a narrow Churchman like Wyntoun, who apparently considered the introduction of a new vestment or some trifling innovation in ritual to be milestones in the history of the human race. Professionally engaged as Barbour

inspect the condition of the fabric, furniture, books and *ornamenta*, and had supervision of all the parochial clergy, remonstrating with them, *e.g.*, if they were "enormiter illiterati" or kept concubines. He and his retinue were entitled to entertainment in the manses. Before his tribunal came cases of marriage and divorce, clerical suits for arrears of tithe and other ecclesiastical dues, probate of wills, prosecution of sins punishable by the Church. Like Chaucer's 'Erchdeken'—

"A man of heigh degree,  
He boldly dide execucioun,  
In punishing of fornicacion,  
Of wicchecraft, and eek of bauderye,  
Of diffamacoun and avoutrye  
Of chirche-reeves and of testaments  
Of contractes" . . .

His subordinates were the official who acted as deputy in his Court when he was absent, and the rural deans or "deans of Christianity," as these were more commonly termed in fourteenth-century Scotland: hence the misnomer (frequent in Wyntoun and later writers) "Archdene" as if "chief of the deans." After the diocesan reorganisation completed in the reign of David I., there were five of these rural deaneries in the diocese of Aberdeen: Mar, Boyne, Buchan, Garioch and Aberdeen. In Scotland an Archdeacon, though rarely popular with the parochial clergy, was apparently less heartily disliked than in England, where more sober historians than Chaucer admit that

"For smale tythes and for smal offringe,  
He made the peple pitously to singe."

Trevelyan, pp. 111-14; Bellesheim, I 305; Dowden, 'Med. Ch.,' 118, 213, 219; 'Bps.,' 217.

was in matters administrative and judicial, not theological or spiritual, his learned ease turned naturally to mundane studies. His office provided doubtless considerable revenues, certainly high social status, and ample leisure for study and travel<sup>12</sup>—and travel in some state, with a retinue. He made full use of his opportunities. His interests were not confined to his native or adopted town or district. He was in constant communication with the learned world outside, ever ready to fare to Oxford beyond the Border or Paris beyond the sea, *causa studendi*—*i.e.*, presumably for the prosecution of studies in the canon law, which was then considered the most important qualification for the higher clergy, since their professional work lay almost entirely in ecclesiastical administration; and for further reading in genealogy, history, chronicle and romance, four delectable subjects, separated by no sharp line of demarcation and not to be lightly neglected by officers of Church or State when a reference to Geoffrey of Monmouth's 'History' and the 'Prophecies,' whether of Merlin or Thomas of Ercildoune, could clinch a legal argument or support English claims to overlordship of Scotland.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> The Cathedral statutes of Aberdeen in 1256 provided that the dean should reside "for the greater part of the year," the other dignitaries for six months. In 1366 it was enacted at Aberdeen that a canon not keeping due residence (presumably as above) should be mulcted in one seventh of the income of his prebend (Dowden, 'Med. Ch.,' pp. 74 and 75). The archdeacon (see *supra*, § 38, n. 1) was not compelled to reside so much as his colleagues. The stipend (of Barbour's immediate successor at least—'Pet.,' p. 583) was 60 marks, a considerable sum if we judge from the august influences invoked in the 'Petitions to the Pope' to secure benefices of only 20 marks, and there were of course substantial perquisites.

<sup>13</sup> Geoffrey's 'Historia,' composed perhaps with reference to the political circumstances of England in 1136, was gravely quoted by the learned in support of Henry II.'s claims to Anjou and Touraine and to Ireland. Edward I., in his letter to the Pope setting forth his claims to overlordship of Scotland, adduced the authority of Geoffrey. In reply to Edward I.'s queries as to the practice in the matter of succession to the Scottish Throne which were circulated among the monasteries, the returns, *e.g.*, from Feversham, consisted largely of extracts from the

## § 41. 1364: THE GERMS OF THE 'BRUCE.'

After 1357 the light of record does not shine again on Barbour till 1364. The intervening years he spent no doubt in his archdeaconry, attending doubtless the Provincial Council held in the Blackfriars' Church at Aberdeen on 26th November 1359;<sup>1</sup> seeing Michael de Monymusk, the great pluralist, promoted over his head to the Deanery on 9th November 1361;<sup>2</sup> dealing probably with the legal formalities when David II., at Aberdeen in 1362, the year of the second visitation of Scotland by the Black Death, granted the Bishop and Chapter the Royal lands at Garchull (Banff) for the augmentation of the stipend of a chaplain to say mass in the cathedral for the King's soul and the souls of his ancestors.<sup>3</sup> In 1363 Barbour might have seen on the Scottish roads an

'Historia' relating to 'Brutus' and the conquests of Arthur. See Sir Francis Palgrave, 'Docts. and Records illustrating the History of Scotland' (Record Series), 1837, p. cx.

John Harding (*d.* 1461) "proved" by reference to Geoffrey that Edward IV. was suzerain of Scotland.

For a full account of Geoffrey of Monmouth as an authority in the matter of English claims to overlordship of Scotland from Edward I. to Elizabeth, see Hans Matter, 'Englische Gründungssagen von Geoffrey of Monmouth bis zur Renaissance,' Heidelberg (Winter), 1922, pp. xxxiii+685, especially pp. 474-98.

Reference to even less trustworthy authorities was the common practice—*e.g.*, Knighton (ch. V.) alludes to the story of 'Havelok the Dane' as a ground for the Danish claim to the English throne, and then proceeds to tell the tale of 'Guy of Warwick,' while Gray in his 'Scalacronica' quotes "La Vie Saint Brandan" on the Scottish Succession. Maitland Club, ed. 1836, p. 112.

<sup>1</sup> Bellesheim, *op. cit.*, ii. 28.

<sup>2</sup> John Dowden, 'The Bishops of Scotland,' Glasgow (Maclehose), 1912, pp. xxix + 472; pp. 67 and 117. Michael had been Dean of Dunkeld. His name is writ large in the "Petitions to the Pope"—*e.g.*, in 1366 he applies for a canonry and prebend of Aberdeen worth 50 marks, although he is now Dean of Glasgow and canon and prebendary of Brechin. He finally became Bishop of Dunkeld in 1370.

<sup>3</sup> The deed was kept in the cathedral archives with the documents signed by the Archdeacon. Inventory by Henricus de Rynde, treasurer, in 'Registrum Episc. Aberd.' ii., p. 152. Dowden, 'Bps.,' 115.



inquiring traveller with a portmanteau strapped to his saddle, and followed by a greyhound<sup>4</sup>—or even have held converse with him, for the ubiquitous Froissart was never in a hurry, and spent three days at Stirling with David II. and fifteen *au château d'Alqueth* [Dalkeith] with the Earl of Douglas,<sup>5</sup> and to both patrons was for ever grateful.<sup>6</sup> Nor need Barbour have gone far from Aberdeen to see Master John Fordun setting forth in the same year on his long quest for the lost memorials of early Scottish history or making perchance the first of those "copious notes in a book carried in his bosom."

On 4th November 1364, Barbour, with four companions, was granted a safe-conduct to England "for purposes of study,"<sup>7</sup> to conduct probably to Oxford or Cambridge one of those small parties of students who,

<sup>4</sup> Maxwell, *op. cit.*, i. p. 87, and *in re* Fordun, 'Early Chronicles relating to Scotland' (Maclehose), 1912. Fordun's travels lasted from 1363 to 1385.

<sup>5</sup> "Ens ou castiel je reposay par III jours avoecq le roy David d'Escoche" (Froissart, ed. Lettenhove, II. p. 213).

<sup>6</sup> In 1373 Froissart enumerates his (many) patrons:

"Haro, que fai ! je me bescoce ;  
J'ai oublié le roy d'Escoce,  
Et le bon conte de Douglas,  
Avec qui j'ai mené grant glas.  
Bel me reçurent en leur marce." . . .

("Le Joli Buisson de Jonece," ll. 363-7, in his 'Poésies,' ed. Scheler, II. p. 11).

<sup>7</sup> 'Rotuli Scotiæ,' I, p. 886.

Many safe-conducts were granted on the same day. Laurentius de Govane was granted permission to go to St John of Amiens "et alia loca sancta," and with him "Walterus de Bygere rector ecclesie de Erole et Archibaldus de Douglas miles de Scotia cum duodecim equitibus." . . . "Magister Walterus de Wardelaw, archidiaconus Loudoniensis . . . versus curiam Romanam (at Avignon)." . . . "Johannes Barber archidiaconus Aberdonensis cum quatuor equitibus." "Thomas Nobill capellanus cum duobus equitibus." "Equites" must mean in these safe-conducts, not "knights" as Skeat says ('Br.' III, p. xxx), but "persons on horseback." In the case of persons going abroad it is expressly stipulated that they must not take out of England different horses than those on which they had reached the port of embarkation.



under the guidance of a cleric, were now leaving frequently for England.<sup>8</sup>

Barbour had already no doubt embarked upon his literary career. If he wrote the 'Troy-Book,'<sup>9</sup> it was presumably before this time, as it appears to represent a considerably less mature art than that of his authenticated work. To discuss its authenticity once again is beyond our present purpose, but it may be pointed out that, while the argument *against* (recapitulated by Skeat, 'Br.' Part III., pp. xlviii.-lv.) remains strong, the argument *for* is strengthened by the recent discovery that the Voyage to Rathlin ('Br.' III. 690-720), which presents a suspicious likeness to the Storm in the 'Troy-Book,'<sup>10</sup> is unhistorical, and by the fact that many of the expressions alleged to be unknown to Barbour are present in our 'Buik.'<sup>11</sup> Since in his authenticated work Barbour

<sup>8</sup> In 1365 alone passports were granted to eighty-one Scottish students going to Oxford. Alex. R. MacEwen, 'A History of the Church in Scotland' (Hodder & Stoughton), Vol. I (397-1546), 1913, pp. xv + 487; p. 296.

<sup>9</sup> See *supra*, § 29, n. 2.

<sup>10</sup> 'Troy-Book,' II, 1717-20. Line 1720, which is not in the Latin of Guido, is repeated in the 'Bruce'; see Neilson, 'J. B.', p. 55.

<sup>11</sup> On the voyage to Rathlin (see *infra*, § 48, n. 4). Skeat's admission that the Troy fragments (see *supra*, § 29, n. 2) were perhaps "written by a man named Barbour," but not the Archdeacon, and his opinion that "if Barbour really wrote a poem on the then favourite theme of the Siege of Troy it has not come down to us," are damaging; several of his linguistic arguments, already weakened by Dr Neilson's disproof of some of his statements of fact, scarcely stand examination in the light of the 'Buik'—e.g., "in a stound," "anerd," "emlese," "gowyt," "hattrent," "nummyn," "ouretyrve," occur in the 'Buik.' Skeat's "searching test" ("he" = HIGH, and "e" = EYE, riming with "be" = BE, "he" = HE, &c.; see *infra*, § 54) breaks down. The odd use of "to *rusch*," which Skeat notes as peculiar to the 'Bruce' and absent from the 'Troy-Book,' is common in the 'Buik.' This would seem to show, not that the 'Troy-Book' was written by some one else, but that it was written *earlier* than the 'Buik' and the 'Bruce'—i.e., at a stage in Barbour's literary career when he had not yet had occasion to translate the French *reüser* in 'F. G.' and 'V. P.'

Buss, 'Anglia,' ix. (1886), after pointing out that both MSS., which stand in close agreement, must come from one already corrupt, applies the above "searching test," and without more ado bundles the 'Troy-Book' and the 'Legends of the Saints' into the fifteenth century (p. 496). In the rest of his article the 'Troy-Book' and the 'Bruce' con-

refers to 'Dares and Dictys,' and since no self-respecting national history or Royal genealogy was written in his time that did not begin with the story of Troy, it is probable that he did write a 'Troy-Book,' as even Professor Skeat admits. The statement of an early fifteenth-century scribe and the very marked similarity of treatment suggest that the extant 'Troy-Book' is his, and we do not find any conclusive proof that it is not, either in the data collected by the German scholars or in the very confident deductions made therefrom. We know that Barbour was familiar with Guido's work either in the original Latin or in a French version, and it seems extremely probable that he translated it into Scots.

It was, we think, towards the year 1364 that the great dominating idea of Barbour's literary life began to form in his mind. A more exalted Scottish visitor had preceded him to England. In October 1363 David II. had betaken himself to Westminster, and there discussed with Edward III. a scheme which, when partially divulged,

tinually appear in one camp, and the 'Legends,' except "Ninian," in the other—*e.g.*, p. 504 (absence of *e : i* rimes) and 510 (assonances); his argument from the rime *wallis : schawis* ('Troy-Book,' 1717) is vitiated by the fact that *wallis* is merely a slip for *wawis* = "waves."

Kœppel, 'Engl. Studien,' x. (1886), independently of Buss, also concludes against Barbour. He makes a great deal (pp. 374-75) of the comparative infrequency of alliteration in the 'Troy-Book' and its marked frequency in the 'Bruce' [and, we may add, in the 'Buik']. Of the words which he enumerates as found in the 'Troy-Book' but not in the 'Bruce,' only *cleped*, *gyrnede* = "illaqueatus," *kyth*, *scantly*, *thiftfully*, and *uggin* = "horrere," are absent from the 'Buik'; *cleped* is clearly due to an English scribe. Such discrepancies are only to be expected in works written at different periods in an author's life, and are not very deadly.

Dr Brown admits Barbour's authorship without difficulty.

Joly's view that the 'Laud Troy-Book' (E. E. T. S.) is translated from a French version of Guido, though combated by Wülfling, 'Engl. Studien,' xxix. (1901), p. 380, seems reasonable enough, though difficult to prove. Everything depends on how close the French version was. The Aberdeen Cathedral Library possessed an 'Hystoria Troiana,' also the 'Legenda Aurea' and a 'Cronica Bruti,' the last "ex dono domini Alexandri Kynnynmunde episcopi" ('Reg. Episc. Aberd.,' ii., pp. 156 and 158). Barbour had therefore easy access to Guido's Latin work, but, unless we misjudge him, he would have preferred a French version.

must have stirred Barbour's patriotism and set him thinking on his country's past, for it moved first the Parliament at Scone on 4th March 1364,<sup>12</sup> and then the whole nation, to emphatic and stubborn refusal. This scheme, to which David had secured the assent of the Earl of Douglas,<sup>13</sup> who was with him at Westminster, was that, in return for financial concessions, the third son of Edward III., Lionel of Antwerp,<sup>14</sup> should be recognised as his successor on the Scottish throne. By a sorry compromise David would escape payment of the exorbitant ransom imposed in 1357, and oust from the succession to the throne his nephew and *bête noire*, Robert the Steward, while Douglas would be restored to the estates in England which his father and his uncle had lost.<sup>15</sup> That the son of the Bruce and the nephew of the Black Douglas should be willing thus to undo the work of their elders and betters and barter away the national independence so dearly won, came as a shock to the country, which grimly addressed itself again to the task of working off the crushing ransom. It was time, high time, that a poet-historian should arise to retrace the past—

“ To put in wryt a suthfast story  
That it lest ay furth in memory.”

(‘Br.’ I. 13.)

And it was natural that he should spring from the Scottish

<sup>12</sup> Wyntoun (C) VIII, 7169-88; Hume Brown, *op. cit.*, i., p. 179. David had been meditating his precious scheme for years. As early as 1350 he had appealed to the Pope for release, offering to do homage to Edward III. and recognise “him or his son” as successor (‘Pet.’ p. 203).

<sup>13</sup> William, the first earl, *d.* 1384.

<sup>14</sup> *b.* 29th November 1338, Earl of Ulster by his first marriage (as a child) with the heiress Elizabeth de Burgh (grand-daughter of Elizabeth de Clare, sister of Gilbert: see *infra*, § 49, *n.* 11), Duke of Clarence from 1362, *d.* 1368, five months after his second marriage with Yolande (see *infra*, § 45, *n.* 8).

<sup>15</sup> Maxwell, ‘Dougl.’ i., pp. 83-4; ‘Exch. R.’ ii., p. li.

Church, which had been the sturdiest defender of national independence and had braved the thunders of the Papal See in the cause of an excommunicated King.<sup>16</sup> If the Archdeacon of Aberdeen in 1364 or 1365 had raised his eyes from his meditations to the high altar of his own cathedral and reflected on the origins of these splendid decorations *ex spolio conflictus de Bannockburne*, he must have felt that the deeds of Bruce and Douglas were in some danger of being forgotten.

§ 42. BARBOUR AT ST DENIS: 'LES VŒUX DU  
PAON.'

For the moment, however, Barbour had other projects. Since the treaty of Brétigny in 1360, foreign travel had become easier, and the renewal, on 20th June 1365, of the truce between David II. and Edward III.<sup>1</sup> was attended by a remarkable increase in the number of Scottish travellers to France. Like other ecclesiastical brethren,<sup>2</sup> Barbour had hardly returned from Oxford when he applied for another passport, this time to St Denis, which was granted at Westminster on 16th October 1365.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Robert I. had been excommunicated for his murder of Comyn, without delay, 5th June 1306, by the Archdeacons of Middlesex and Colchester ('Chron. Edw. I.,' Vol. i., p. 147). It was not till 15th October 1328 (the year before his death) that he was finally absolved from the censures of the Church (Bellesheim, *op. cit.*, ii., 15). Even his last wishes were in defiance of a Papal Bull, that of Boniface VIII., "Detestando feritatis abusum" [1299]. Two years after his death Pope John XXII. granted absolution to all who had part "in the inhuman and cruel treatment" of King Robert's body (Maxwell, *ibid.*).

<sup>1</sup> 'Rotuli Scotiæ,' I, p. 895.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., "Thomas Nobill capellanus" appears again ('Rot. Scot.,' I, 893) with a safe-conduct for a year (1365) "in regnum Anglie et alibi."

<sup>3</sup> Rymer, 'Fœdera,' VI, p. 478, and 'Rot. Scot.,' I, p. 897:

"Sciatis quod suscepimus in protectionem & defensionem nostram necnon in saluum & securum conductum Archebaldū de Douglas militem . . . cum octo sociis suis equitibus . . . versus partes trans-



The journey was ostensibly a pilgrimage.<sup>4</sup> Barbour's older colleague, Canon David de Mar (see § 40, *n.* 5), set forth for Amiens, where he would venerate the Head of John the Baptist; Barbour chose St Denis, where he would view the most sainted relics in Christendom, the Crown of Thorns and the Nail which Charlemagne brought back to St Denis, as related in the romance of 'Fierabras,' written to be sung by minstrels to the pilgrims at the shrine.<sup>5</sup>

mar" usq "Sanctum Dionisium & alia loca sancta . . . per unum annum."

Safe-conducts were granted also in the following names, among others:

"Magr David de Mare usque Stum Johem Ambianensem" . . .

"Johes Barbere archidiaconus Aberdonensis, cum sex sociis suis equitibus, usque Sanctum Dionisium."

<sup>4</sup> The reasons for such a pilgrimage were many; besides the more obvious, curiosity, desire for travel or for a "holiday," a malady beyond the skill of leeches, were often factors; money was left by dying persons in their wills and pilgrimages were often made vicariously; see Trevelyan, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-4. They were very frequent in fourteenth century Scotland. Archibald Douglas went on many (see *supra*, § 40, *n.* 8), elsewhere than to St Denis, and one of the charges brought against Queen Margaret Logie was that she was addicted to costly pilgrimages. Bellesheim, *op. cit.*, II, 27.

<sup>5</sup> 'Fierabras,' a thirteenth century rehandling of a lost original, relates how a Saracen King, Balan, carried off the relics of the Passion from St Peter's in Rome to Spain, and concealed them in his city of Aigremor (reached by passing the town of "Mautrible," on the river "Flagot," which exist only in 'Fierabras' and the 'Destruction de Rome'). When Charlemagne endeavoured to recover the relics, Oliver and others of his Peers were captured and imprisoned in Aigremor. But Balan's daughter Floripas loved Guy of Burgundy, and helped them. Charlemagne vanquished and slew Balan, and having bestowed half of Spain on Balan's son Fierabras, who became a Christian, and half on Guy, who married Floripas, he carried away the relics to France, giving the Crown of Thorns and the Nail of the Cross to the Abbey of St Denis.

The poet alleges that he found the facts in an old "roll" at St Denis, and both the subject of the poem and the poet's pointed references to the Abbey (and his complaint on the exigencies of the Abbey authorities at St Denis) show that it was written for the pilgrims to that shrine. With the *jongleurs* the Abbey was a favourite source of alleged "rolls," but it was also a repository of real chronicles. The Foire du Lendit, "la plus roial foire du monde," first mentioned 1122, was held in June. The wares included parchment.

"A la coste du grant chemin  
Est la foire du parchemin,"

and the University of Paris bought its annual supply there. The other two fairs of St Denis were held on 25th February and 10th October.

See Joseph Bédier, 'Romania,' XVII, 34, p. 51; 'les Légendes



For them in their leisure hours, as for the motley crowd that congregated in June for the Foire du Lendit, one of the greatest market fairs in mediæval Europe, lighter fare was also in readiness—poems less heroic, sometimes mock-heroic. Such was the burlesque 'Pèlerinage de Charlemagne,' which told how the Emperor brought the relics to St Denis after adventures not always edifying, and such also was the entirely mundane 'Vœux du Paon.'

#### § 43. 'LES VŒUX DU PAON' AND THE COURT OF DAVID II.

Now we have a shrewd idea why the Archdeacon who had been to St Denis made the Bruce read 'romanys off worthi Ferambrace' on Loch Lomond. But to hear either that poem or 'Les Vœux' for the first time, he had perhaps no need to travel so far. 'Sir Ferumbras' was well known in England (see *supra*, § 39, *n.* 8), 'Les Vœux' even better known (see *supra*, § 9). Wherever we turn in the domain of 'Vows,' we come sooner or later to the massive figure of Edward III., and then we are seldom far from the satellite David Bruce. We cannot doubt that in David's reign Jacques de Longuyon's work was popular in Scotland at Court and castle. Poor indeed would have been the literary entertainment of

épiques,' Vol. iv. (Champion), 1913, p. 157; and J. Coulet, 'Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne,' Montpellier (1906), p. 214 *n.*

'Fierabras' appears in M.E. The 'Sowdon of Babylon' translates, very loosely, the 'Destruction de Rome' and 'Fierabras' (probably the lost version thereof), which is also the source of 'Sir Ferumbras' (South of England, 1375-1400). The relics mentioned by Barbour differ from those enumerated in all other versions (see the discussion in Mr Mackenzie's 'Br.' pp. 508-11), possibly as the result of his visit to St Denis.

Davy and Joanna in the days of their youth at Château-Gaillard and the chivalric and splendid Court of Philip VI., if never once in seven long years had minstrel sung them a tale so fashionable then, so admirably adapted to Davy's taste for justing, dancing, and the lighter side of life,<sup>1</sup> so interesting for Joanna, if only as sister to Edward III. and sister-in-law to Philippa, who was not only a patroness of literary men, but, being of Hainault, had at least a sentimental interest in 'Vows,' and is said by the author of 'Les Vœux du Héron' to have joined in the famous Vowing and pledged herself and her unborn child [Lionel] to the success of Edward's cause. When David went to Buironfosse in 1339 (and Edward III. spent the night at the neighbouring town of Avesnes, alleged residence of Jacques de Longuyon), he was in the midst of the country of 'Vows'; and at Arras in the following year he had for companions-in-arms the Comte de Bar, the Bishop of Metz and Thiébaud de Bar's successor in the see of Liège.<sup>2</sup> In later life, when David's rash chivalry at Neville's Cross had led him into captivity, he and many of his nobles had eleven years' leisure in which to study at close quarters the literary tastes of the English Court, and no lack of fellow-captives fresh from

<sup>1</sup> David II. returned from France with all the French accomplishments :

"Iustynge, dawnssynge and playnge  
He luffit weil for he was ȝynge;  
And withe sic gamysse solassande  
He rad oft throw al the lande." Wyntoun (C) VIII, 5936.

Payments for jousts in which he took part are entered in the 'Exch. R.' I, p. clxiv. While in captivity he appeared at a tournament at Windsor, 23rd April 1349, wearing as a badge a white rose. Hailes, *op. cit.*, II, p. 275. The accounts of the keeper of the Great Wardrobe (G. F. Beltz, 'Memorials of the Order of the Garter,' London, Pickering, 1841, p. 380) have the entry: Et ad faciendū i hernesium Dñi David regi Scotie de velvetto blu cum i pala de velv. rubeo & infra palā p'dcām una rosa argentea pro hastiludio Regis apud Wyndesores.

<sup>2</sup> Le Bel, 'Chron.' I, p. 195.

France, lettered lords and princes, nay, the chivalric King of France in person,<sup>3</sup> to inspire an interest in 'Vows.' Not even restoration to his northern kingdom could break the spell which Edward III. and his brilliant entourage had cast. Frequent (and costly for the impoverished Scots) were his return visits<sup>4</sup> to Edward, his illustrious brother-in-law, ex-captor turned friend, admired of all, and by none more than Davy, for skill in tournament and for flamboyant chivalry, great romance reader,<sup>5</sup> and one of the chief characters himself in 'Les Vœux du Héron.'<sup>6</sup> When we note that the other chief character therein, Robert of Artois,<sup>7</sup> had seen his own boys relegated

<sup>3</sup> Jean le Bon, son of Philip VI., whom he had succeeded 22nd August 1350. He was lodged in the Tower, 25th May 1357, according to some chroniclers, at Windsor (while David remained in the Tower) according to Knighton, ed. Lumby, II, p. 95. Jean comes within the ambit of the 'Vows' if only by the fact that he set at liberty the sons of Robert of Artois, and was notorious as a votary of the wildest, most Quixotic, forms of chivalry.

<sup>4</sup> "The Kynge Dauid in Inglande rade [in 1358]  
As oft tyme in oysse he hade,  
And at Lundyng hym play walde he;  
For thar was richt gret specialte  
Betweyn hym ande the Kynge Edwart."  
Wyntoun (C) VIII, 7037.

These visits duly figure in the 'Exch. R.,' see Vol. ii., p. xlv.

<sup>5</sup> In 1331 Edward not only bought, from a nun of Amesbury, a book of romance for the then prodigious sum of £66, 13s. 4d., but kept it in his own room for his private delectation. If Edward did not possess a copy of 'V. P.,' his sixth son Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester (b. 1355), apparently did (see our Vol. ii., p. xxvii.).

<sup>6</sup> See § 9, n. 12.

<sup>7</sup> In 1334 Philip VI. caused Jeanne, wife of Robert of Artois, and their children, to be arrested. According to Nangis (II, p. 142) and 'Les Grandes Chroniques' (V, p. 356), the children were confined at Nemours, where Froissart alleges that David was lodged, but 'La Chronique des Quatre Premiers Valois' says that three of the sons were sent to Château-Gaillard. In either case, we make our point. Château-Gaillard has another connection with our 'Vows.' The first wife of King Charles IV., uncle of Edward III., was Blanche, second daughter of the Mahaut d'Artois who purchased 'Les Vœux du Paon.' Blanche was, according to Le Bel ('Chron.' I, p. 90), "une des plus belles dames du monde . . ." but . . . "garda mal son mariage et le forfist, pourquoy elle demoura longtems en prison à Chasteau Gaillard." She was sent there in 1314, and was still there in 1323. The marriage with Blanche being annulled by the Pope (19th May 1322), Charles married, September 1322, Marie de Luxembourg, daughter of the Emperor Henry celebrated in 'V. P.' (colophon) and in 'Les Vœux de l'Épervier' (see § 8, n. 2).

for their father's sins to Château-Gaillard, where they no doubt played with young Davy and Joanna, and find that Davy figures in the later literature of 'Vows' as one of the "Three Kings' Sons" (see *supra*, § 9, *n.* 6), how can we doubt that the Scottish Court of Barbour's day was perfectly familiar with 'Vows,' and included, besides the French minstrels (see *infra*, § 45, *n.* 6), some ardent admirers of Jacques de Longuyon's thrice-famous work?

Nor is it easy to resist the conclusion that Barbour's choice of that work for translation was due to its popularity in Court circles. Contact between the Archdeacon of Aberdeen and the Scoto-French aristocracy is not difficult to establish. The chief among them, Davy himself, was almost an Aberdonian. The little Court at Château-Gaillard had been kept most faithfully and regularly supplied with Aberdeen salmon,<sup>8</sup> and when the young King returned from France he knew where the warmest welcome awaited him. Landing at Inverbervie on 2nd June 1341 with a goodly company of French knights,<sup>9</sup> he proceeded to Aberdeen. There he held his first Parliament (February 1341-2), and there he spent, with frequent excursions to Kildrummy, the first two years of his effective reign. Robert the Bruce had married the daughter of an Earl of Mar. Members of the Royal family were permanent residents in Aberdeenshire. David's venerable aunt, Christian, sister of the Bruce, lived in 1341, and for many a year after,<sup>10</sup> at faithful Kildrummy. His elder sister, Matilda, of whom Fordun says, perhaps darkly, that she did nothing

<sup>8</sup> 'Exch. R.,' I, pp. 456, 465, 479, 506, &c.

<sup>9</sup> Murimuth, p. 121; Froissart, IV, p. 435.

<sup>10</sup> 'Exch. R.,' I, p. clxiii. and II, p. cxxxiv. She made gifts to the Church of St Nicholas, Aberdeen (Wm. Kennedy, 'Annals of Aberdeen,' 1818, Vol. i., p. 27), and died in 1357 (Fordun, clxxviii., ed. Skene, p. 377).



worthy of note, married, apparently after 1342, Thomas Isaac, and lived and died in Aberdeen.<sup>11</sup> His younger sister, Margaret, who married the Earl of Sutherland, brought her husband half of the thanages of Fermartin and Kintore, the other half belonging to Matilda.<sup>12</sup> In 1342, and possibly in other years, the Queen and the two Princesses had their dresses made at Aberdeen.<sup>13</sup> From 1348 the thanage of Aberdeen was in the hands of Queen Joanna.<sup>14</sup> When Davy was released from captivity in England he lost no time in visiting Aberdeen, in 1358.<sup>15</sup> He lived there again in 1361 when busied with his preparations for the capture of Kildrummy, and made gifts to the local religious houses.<sup>16</sup> We have seen that he is said to have intervened from England in the election of the Bishop in 1355 which resulted in Barbour's appointment to the vacated archdeaconry, and was a visitor to the city and a benefactor of the cathedral in 1362.<sup>17</sup> Davy must have met the Archdeacon. In the days when the Royal family were Aberdeen citizens and a hapless claimant to the name of Bruce had to give himself out as the son of an Aberdeen burghess to obtain

<sup>11</sup> "Nihil dignum egit memoria" ('Ann.,' lxxviii.) Matilda had lived for some years in Aberdeen before she died there in 1353. Like Christian and Margaret Bruce she was buried at Dunfermline. Kennedy, *op. cit.*, I, p. 31; 'Exch. R.,' I, p. cxxviii; Fordun, p. 369.

<sup>12</sup> 'Exch. R.,' I, p. cxxvii. Margaret and her husband had the barony of Cluny in Aberdeenshire, with the advocation of the kirk (Robertson, 'Index,' p. 32) and lands at Arbuthnott (*ibid.*, p. 39).

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, xxxii.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 543.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 76, under date 1361: "pro expensis eiusdem domini regis, apud Abirden factis, in festo assumptionis beate Marie Virginis anno . . . LVIII, &c.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 58: "Fratribus Predicatoribus de Abirden, ex elemosina domini regis annua, xxvj li; Et Fratribus Carmelitis eiusdem . . . x li" figure among other expenses of the King's visit.

<sup>17</sup> See *supra*, § 41, n. 3; David gave many charters at Aberdeen in 1362, 'Reg. Mag. Sigill,' I. (1912), Nos. 104, 112, 114, &c., one (No. 112) which must have concerned Barbour as Archdeacon—the grant of the church of Logie in Buchan to the Chapter.



credence,<sup>18</sup> the King could discuss banners and matters heraldic<sup>19</sup> with the cathedral clergy, and French Romance with the Archdeacon. Whatever French literature the King, the Court or the Aberdeenshire lords and gentry read, or heard read, was assuredly not inaccessible to the Archdeacon of Aberdeen.

§ 44. ? 1366-68: BARBOUR TRANSLATES 'LES VŒUX'  
AND 'LI FUERRES.'

Whenever, wherever, and however Barbour first heard 'Les Vœux' read aloud, he fell a victim to its charm. On his rounds through the archdeaconry, on his visits to the bleak lands of Rayne<sup>1</sup> which yielded him fat prebends, or to the battered keep at Kildrummy, after exchanging notes with his 'Deans of Christianity,' or discussing with Deeside or Donside lairds the documents

<sup>18</sup> "Venit quidam de Anglia, qui fingens se filium cujusdam burgensis de Abirden . . . per XIV annos in carcere se fuisse dicebat." Bower, 'Scotichron,' xiii., p. 337. He made himself out to be Alexander de Bruce, and was promptly executed by David. But Bower adds that many people still think that he was what he said.

<sup>19</sup> Payment is made in 1364, "Johanni pictori de Aberden pro factura duorum vexillorum domini nostri regis" ('Exch. R.,' II, p. 168). In banners and tapestries ordered from France by the King of Spain in 1347, 1351 and 1368, the Nine Worthies appear (Prof. W. J. Entwistle, 'The Arthurian Legend in Lit. Span. Peninsula,' 1925, pp. 271; pp. 53 and 89). In Rubio y Lluck, whom he quotes, p. 53, it is clear (Vol. ii., pp. 221-2) that the tapestries bought by Pedro III. in 1380 came from the Bar family. The Nine Worthies appear also in the heraldic ceilings (early seventeenth century) of Craigievar, Aberdeenshire, and of Earlshall, Fifeshire. For this information we are indebted to Miss Calderwood.

<sup>1</sup> Where the records disclose his presence later, 24th June 1380, and where he had a ward, c. 1380-1. (Skeat, ed. 'Br.' III, pp. xix and xxxv). Rayne was of some ecclesiastical and legal importance. The Bishop of Aberdeen and the King's justiciar held a court at the standing stones of Rayne, 2nd May 1349, and, in 1382, the Bishop summoned excommunicated persons to the chapel of his Manor of Rayne ('Reg. Episc. Aberd.,' I, p. xxix). Barbour held the prebend of Rayne *ex officio* as Archdeacon: "Quinta prebenda canonie Archidiaconatus assignatur ecclesia de Rane cum omnibus fructibus obventionibus et ceteris ad eandem spectantibus." ('Statuta Eccl. Aberd.,' *ibid.*, II, p. 38).

he witnessed for them,<sup>2</sup> he would retail with gusto some episode of the Romance, till one spring, whether the gay dance and upleap of the year (possibly 1366) or only the poet's conventional season, he determined to translate the whole into the vernacular, for the benefit of "thame that na Romanes can"—*i.e.*, those who had allowed the language of their Norman ancestors to lapse, or those, a little lower down the social scale though still in bower and hall, who were unfamiliar with courtly French, and the ladies who had not been at French schools.

In that determination relief from the pains of unrequited love is said in the Prologue (under cover of strict anonymity) to have been the compelling cause. Whether she whom in the Prologue he claims to have loved in vain was but a figment of the prevailing literary convention, or was only too real, matrimony was—for reasons which we fain would, but may never know—a sore point with Barbour. In the 'Bruce' he goes very far out of his way indeed to inform us—

" That wedding is the hardest band  
That ony man may tak on hand " (I. 267),

an observation remarkable not for its originality or novelty, but for an utter irrelevance springing from the fulness of an experienced heart.<sup>3</sup> The experience was probably only that acquired by hearing matrimonial

<sup>2</sup> Such as those recorded in his later years "De tenuta Reginaldi de Chyne in terris de Clyntre" (5th July 1382) ('Reg. Episc. Aberd., I, p. 141). "De tenuta Alexandri de Iryne in terris de Dulmayok" [Drumoak] (31st July 1382), and the agreement "super terra de Lurgyndaspok" between Bishop Gilbert and "dominum Johannem de Forbes dominum ejusdem, militem" (5th July 1391, *ibid.*, II, p. 189.

<sup>3</sup> We need not discover here an allusion to the matrimonial troubles of David II. with Queen Margaret Logie. The disadvantages of the married state formed a congenial topic for the chroniclers—*e.g.*, Walter Bower's comments thereon are, according to Lord Hailes, *op. cit.*, II, p. 260, "capable of forcing a smile from the severest readers." Barbour's observations on feminine charms and wiles (*e.g.*, 'Br.' II, 548, and III. 518) are guileless.

causes in the consistory court. His ecclesiastical status <sup>4</sup> and public opinion <sup>5</sup> left him free to marry if he wished, but of his private life nothing is known. The one slur which has ever been cast upon a blameless career is the statement that, having once borrowed a book from the Cathedral Library, he failed to return it. The gravity of that offence we neither palliate nor deny. But, having looked into the documents of the case, we exonerate Barbour of all blame. In the first place, the book was a Decretal of little value, 'Decretum modici valoris'; and, in the second place, it was removed by John Barbour, precentor, "per magistrum Johannem Barber cantorem." Now there were two "John Barbours" at St Machar's Cathedral, and they have been unhappily compressed into one in the index of the 'Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis,' edited by Cosmo Innes. "Johannes Barber, cantor," who was alive in 1413, lost the Decretal; "Johannes Barbar, archidiaconus" did not.<sup>6</sup>

With this warning before our eyes, we need scent no scandal in the Prologue. A much more probable motive

<sup>4</sup> A letter of Pope Alexander IV. to the Bishop of Ross in 1255 confirms his Cathedral ordinances . . . that the Archdeacon should be in deacon's orders, and all the canons in priest's or deacon's or subdeacon's orders. Dowden, 'Med. Ch.,' p. 72, who mentions ('Bps.,' p. 241) "Alan (see *supra*, § 40, n. 10), Archdeacon of Aberdeen, in deacon's orders."

<sup>5</sup> "Neither at this period (1060-1272), nor in the times which follow down to the Reformation, was the celibacy of the clergy very rigorously enforced in the English Church. The married clerk was by no means regarded as a reprobate." Bishop Dowden, 'Med. Ch.,' quoting this sentence from Stephens, says that it exactly describes the state of matters in Scotland till the Reformation.

<sup>6</sup> The error of the indexer has been repeated in the writings of all who have dealt with Barbour. The first entry certainly warrants the worst suspicions:

"Libri Decretalium absentes. Item: Decretum perditum per magistrum Johannem Barbour." 'Registr. Episc. Aberd.,' ii., 133. But subsequent entries show a clear case of mistaken identity and judicial error:

"Decretum modici valoris ablatum per magistrum Johannem Barber cantorem." Ibid., p. 157.

"Et ego Johannes Barborij cantor consentio et me subscribo" [to a document dated 1413]. Ibid., p. 232.

"Presentibus . . . Johanne Barbar archidiacono" [at the signing of an agreement, dated 1391].

than lovesickness is a hint from some great one whose knowledge of French, and of French life and ways, was better than his retainers', and who would fain inculcate a proper regard for the manners and customs of knight-hood, and hold up to emulation the chivalric tradition of Alexander as handed on in 'Li Fuerres' and 'Les Vœux.' Like so many other contemporary and later translations—e.g., 'William of Palerne,' undertaken, c. 1350, at the Earl of Hereford's command, or Sir Gilbert Haye's 'Buik of Alexander,' or 'Lancelot of the Laik,' ascribed by its translator to lovesickness, but by Professor Brandl to the instigation of James IV., who tried to keep alive the chivalrous spirit of the olden days by tournaments and the like—the 'Buik of Alexander' proceeded from high places, possibly from the highest. What the Earl of Hereford could do, his cousin, the King of Scots, could also do.<sup>7</sup> In the fourteenth century no man born to be King in Western Europe could remain indifferent to the call of Chivalry and Romance—certainly not David II., who enjoyed the company of such knights-errant and lovers of beautiful manuscripts as Philip VI., Edward III., and Jean le Bon, and whom we shall see (§ 45, *n.* 5) in close colloquy with the Prelate of the Order of the Garter. The 'Buik' may well have had some connection with the Court of David II.

When Barbour completed the translation, he added

<sup>7</sup> Humphrey de Bohun, sixth Earl of Hereford, was the third son of Humphrey, fourth Earl, and Elizabeth, seventh daughter of Edward I. He was therefore a cousin of Queen Joanna. He succeeded at the age of twenty-four, in January 1335-6, commanded the garrison of Perth in 1337, and died unmarried 15th October 1361. 'William of Palerne' (E.E.T.S., 1882) was translated at his behest,

"For hem that knowe no Frensche, ne never understod."

His successor, Henry de Bohun, was in constant (legal) communication with David II., who was in the humiliating position of sharing with the Earl of Hereford Lochmaben Castle and the Lordship of Annandale, the old inheritance of the Bruces, and entered into various agreements with Henry from 1361 to 1364. Bain, 'Cal.' IV. (1888), Nos. 47, 100, 127, 128.



not his name but a colophon, craving indulgence for the imperfections inevitable in such work, for, he says, even—

“ Thocht that I seuin 3eir had sittin.  
To mak it on sa gude manere,  
Sa oppin sentence and sa clere  
As is the frenche, I micht haue failzeit.” (IV, Col. 10.)

How many years he did sit we cannot tell. But seven is mentioned as an unthinkable maximum (unless, of course, this be unconscious truth). The early scholars possessed immense powers of industry, and, without calculating too nicely or raising impertinent questions (if a bishop took only eighteen months to translate the ‘Æneid,’<sup>8</sup> how long would an archdeacon take to translate ‘Les Vœux du Paon’?), we may safely enough allow Barbour two years after his return from St Denis, or any period not exceeding seven years if he began the translation before his pilgrimage, and, less safely, surmise that the date which he stated in his colophon was the spring of 1368.

‘Les Vœux du Paon,’ when translated, was felt to be incomplete. That well of pure delight lacked a proper approach. The story had a beginning which was missing; young Gadifer had had a father more illustrious than he; Alexander and Emenidus had fought at Gadres before they fought at Ephesoun. Barbour therefore translated the episode to which ‘Les Vœux du Paon’ was but a sequel, and set the translation in its proper place, at the beginning of the ‘Buik,’ without remark, prologue or colophon. Copies of ‘Li Fuerres’ were probably obtainable in Scotland; if not, one could be easily obtained

<sup>8</sup> The “XIII Bukes of Eneados of the Famous Poete Virgill translated into Scottish Metir bi the Reuerend Father in God Mayster Gawin Douglas [Bishop of Dunkeld] . . . compylt in auchtene monethis space.”



when Barbour revisited France at the end of the year, not ostensibly on a pilgrimage this time, but frankly *causa studendi*.<sup>9</sup> Whether before that visit or after, he finished off his translation of 'Li Fuerres,' not without leaving traces of haste, and was free to devote himself in earnest to the biography of Robert the Bruce. That he had already begun it before he completed the 'Foray' appears from the fact that the similarities of expression in the 'Bruce' and the 'Buik' are most frequent in the 'Foray,' which is the most fruitful source of verbal inspiration, and is itself influenced by the 'Bruce,' in the matter of proper names (see *supra*, § 13, n. 13).

#### § 45. (? 1369)-1375: COMPOSITION OF THE 'BRUCE.'

In translating the Romance of a great King, Alexander, and his lieutenant, Emenidus, of their steadfastness in adversity and their final triumph in the 'Great Battle of Ephesoun,' Barbour could not fail to see its bearing on the story of King Robert, the Black Douglas and Bannockburn, now rapidly passing into legend. The feeling of nationality, which in England developed in the course of the Hundred Years' War, was in Scotland awake, as we have seen, in 1364. By 1369 David's unhappy proposal was forgiven, not forgotten; Lionel was dead; David had entered on the paths of repentance, and begun to govern his kingdom like a Bruce. The rising wave of Scottish patriotism carried Barbour from Romance to

<sup>9</sup> 'Rot. Scot.,' I, p. 926. The safe-conduct is dated Westminster, 30th November 1368: "Magr Johes Barber . . . cum duobus valettis & duobus equis versus partes Franc. causa studendi."

History, from translation of French to original composition. The transition is clearly shown by the 'Ballet,' adapted from the 'Buik' when Barbour's mind was full of Robert's greatness, perhaps during the composition of the 'Bruce'—*i.e.*, before 1375, and possibly for the purposes of a pageant of the Nine Worthies to celebrate a King's entry into Aberdeen.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, ballads form a link between the facts and their epic presentation, as Barbour himself bears witness.<sup>2</sup> His new subject was in the air of 1369. In that year a monk sat in the Abbey of Melrose inditing a rimed chronicle of the Bruce and Bannockburn (see *supra*, § 21, n. 13). Perhaps there was also a more direct, a personal, suggestion. It is very generally believed that Barbour was encouraged—some have even said commissioned—to write the 'Bruce' by Robert II., who certainly did reward him after it was finished. Both subject and treatment betoken in fourteenth century conditions a Royal patron and a courtier poet. But is it so certain that he had to wait for the accession of the "humble" and elderly High Steward in March 1370-1 for whatever encouragement he required from King or Court?

Far be it from us to detract from the merits of Robert II. He loaded Barbour with honours, and he left the reputation of a well-meaning, peaceable, if unimpressive, monarch, and a patron of learning and letters.<sup>3</sup> The Arch-

<sup>1</sup> Dunbar, 'Blyth Aberdein,' 33, speaks of Robert the Bruce figuring in a pageant, on the occasion of a Royal visit by Margaret, Queen of James IV.

<sup>2</sup> 'Br.' XVI. 489-534. Barbour's remark is this:

Douglas with 50 men defeated 10,000. There are two other examples of fights waged with 50 men; the second was in Galloway by Edward Bruce; the third, in Eskdale by Sir John de Soulis, he need not repeat, as it is chronicled in a well-known ballad.

<sup>3</sup> Robert II., *b.* 2nd March 1315-6, and therefore eight years older than his uncle, David II., whom he succeeded. William Stewart, his descendant, says that Robert II. was generous to

deacon's recorded rise to Royal favour dates from the accession of Robert II., which was instantly followed by the renewal of the alliance with France and a complete break with David II.'s ill-disguised policy of submission to England. But if, as we believe, the 'Bruce' was begun before the unexpected death of David II., and if, as all precedent indicates, the projected work was commenced with Royal approval, Robert the Steward can have had little to do with its inception, and some credit may be due to his enigmatic uncle. Of Robert II., who after all was not a Bruce but a Fitz-Alan, as of his ancestors and predecessors in the hereditary office of Steward, the 'Bruce' says surprisingly little for a Romance "compiled" in his reign. Barbour's literary interest in the new dynasty does not appear till later. David II., who was probably at least the indirect source of the 'Buik,' and in a sense inspired the 'Bruce,' if only in regrettable fashion, by causing a revulsion of feeling (see *supra*, § 41), may in the days of his repentance which apparently followed have lent his patronage to Barbour's undertaking.

In Fenton's and in Barbour's work David II. appears as a common factor, for in his reign Melrose and Aberdeen basked alike in the Royal favour. 'The kynge at Mewros oft walde ly," says Wyntoun.<sup>4</sup> In his earlier days he was

"All men of lair that cunnyng war in scuillis . . .  
Supportand thame ay on his awin expens"

(*'Bk. Cron. Sc.,'* 57,369),

and refers to him with appreciation, as "ane humbill man" (55,265), "humbill and benyng" (55,491), of "meikness and grace" (55,555), and fortunate in his wars, "Suppois him self remanit still at hame" (57,355)—which is very faint praise.

<sup>4</sup> VIII (C) 6953. It was also near Melrose that Katarine de Mortymer, whom David had brought back with him from London, was murdered, almost in his presence. 'Scalacronica' (Maitland Club), p. 196. He gave charters at Aberdeen in 1365, 1366, and 7th October 1369, four months before his death (*'Reg. Mag. Sig.,'* Nos. 115, 259), but he gave more at Melrose.

also, as we have shown, a constant visitor to Aberdeen, and these visits remained frequent till the very end of his life. Undue weight should not be attached to the objection that David, not being himself a patriot, is unlikely to have encouraged a patriotic poem, or that his pitiable appearance in the eyes of the historians precludes an interest in literature. The work which David may have encouraged was a Biography of his father ; the patriotism Barbour supplied, unasked and unconsciously. As Mr Mackenzie has well shown, the patriotism in the 'Bruce' is merely incidental. About 'Freedom,' which has been so often mistaken for Barbour's theme, there is not a word in his Prologue, which gives out the subject, quite correctly, as 'Bruce and Douglas.'

Moreover, the charges which the historians bring against David II. have nothing whatever to do with his capabilities as a patron of letters. It is true that he failed to govern the Scots, but who, except Cromwell, succeeded? It is also true that he cuts a sorry figure in history with his anti-national schemes and unwise, impolitic actions. He had no lawful children, and any one, his brother-in-law the Earl of Sutherland, or his nephew Prince Lionel of England, seemed to him a more suitable successor than the Steward who had left him in the lurch at Neville's Cross. He had lived too long at foreign courts to sympathise with Scottish patriotism, not too long perhaps to lose the Scottish taste for hero-worship. Misguided, pleasure-loving, choleric, spendthrift as David was, he was in many ways his father's son, full of personal courage, not without sudden flashes of energy and generous feeling, capable of asserting his Royal dignity and of stamping out revolt with a disconcerting promptness, and having the knack of inspiring, despite his faults and excesses, some per-



sonal loyalty,<sup>5</sup> much attracted by war or its pomp and circumstance—and just as likely as any one to wish that the martial deeds of an illustrious father, whom he had lost as a boy of five, should be set down in permanent chronicle form, or, better, in the form of a French Romance. He had had a careful education, and he showed interest both in literature and in learning ;<sup>6</sup> legend

<sup>5</sup> Barbour calls him "worthy" ('Br.' XIII. 683), Wyntoun and his Collaborator display a kindly affection for his memory, and all three have a pleasing habit of referring to him as "Davy." This form, which is not applied to his contemporary namesakes in charters and the like, nor to the Prophet in Barbour, Wyntoun, &c., is in reality what it appears to be, a diminutive of affection. The odium which David II. incurred in England for having invaded the country when Edward III. was abroad, and the natural effects of "war fever," account sufficiently for the ferocious diatribes of his English critics immediately after the Battle of Durham and for the erection of an expiatory (Neville's) Cross. From the verses preserved, in Wright's 'Political Songs,' Vol. i., and the 'Illustrations of Scottish History' (Maitland Club, 1834), pp. 63-71, immorality and cowardice would seem to be the main charges: "uxorem contemnit," Wright, p. 48; minstrels wrote for him, and sang to his mistresses, "*gesta luxuriosa*," p. 141, &c.; he ran away at Neville's Cross, and is dubbed "Cancer," *i.e.*, Crab, for his retrograding habit by "John of Bridlington." The Lanercost Chronicle runs through the gamut of mediæval abuse, likening him to Ahab, Pharaoh, Herod, &c., pp. 344-45, but it appears, on p. 346, that "iste David cacator" did considerable damage at Lanercost.

That David was on bad terms with Joanna, who eventually left him, is quite true. Admirable woman as she appears to have been, she was not of David's choosing. That he had numerous mistresses is well known. He would have been a remarkable fourteenth century monarch if he had not, and the fact does not mark him off from Edward III. or Robert II. That his army was retiring in utter rout when John Coupland captured him is also true, but the hostile chroniclers say that he was severely wounded, and the friendly add that he fought like a madman and broke two of John's teeth, which seems quite consistent with his notoriously violent and choleric temperament. During his long captivity in England he was on excellent terms with his Keeper at Odiham, and remained so after his release (Bain, 'Cal.' III., p. liii), and with the Bishop of Winchester, whom he begs, in a letter of 22nd May 1356 (*ibid.*, No. 1610), to remember "the parlance" which he held with him beside the Bishop's bed. In estimating David's character, we must make allowance for contemporary English, and later Scottish, hostility. He had sallied forth when Edward's broad back was turned, and had been caught. He had found that the English were not so black as they were painted, and he had indulged in dreams which came true in 1603, though in less questionable form. David was a "Merry Monarch," which in no wise excludes the power of inspiring affection or of inspiring poetry.

<sup>6</sup> As early as 1330 an entry appears in the 'Exch. R.,' I., p. 297, "Pro libris emendis ad opus domini regis . . . xx li." His Court at Château-Gaillard included Dalgarnock, his tutor, and the Bishops of



credits him with artistic tastes ;<sup>7</sup> Froissart counts him among his appreciative patrons and admiring hosts ; and history reveals his partiality for Lionel of Antwerp, who was at least singularly discriminating in his friendships with men of letters.<sup>8</sup> David's very misfortunes provided unwonted opportunities for self-culture, and make him a more likely Maecenas than the home-keeping Steward. Had David II. lived, as Robert II. did, to see the completed 'Bruce,' he, too, might have rewarded the author.

It seems also possible that Barbour received encouragement from the House of Douglas, which was becoming wellnigh as powerful as the King. The large, if not excessive, part played in his epic by his second, almost co-equal, hero would have surprised modern<sup>9</sup> critics less, had they noted that the Douglas family held great estates in

Glasgow and Brechin. In 1358 he requested Edward III. to allow Scotsmen to attend the English Universities (*supra*, § 40, *n.* 9) ; we find him in 1362 assisting a young man in his University education (*supra*, § 39, *n.* 3), and in 1364 paying for the maintenance of a poor scholar, his relative ('Exch. R.' II., p. 168). In 1368 his minstrel, Thomas Roter, who no doubt played upon "la rote," is recorded as returning from France with four horses and a letter of exchange for £40 (Bain, 'Cal.' II., No. 141).

<sup>7</sup> The coinage of David II. represents such an immense advance artistically on that of his father that there is reason to suppose Royal intervention, and there is a curious tradition, repeated by Speed in his 'Theatre of the Empire of Britain' in 1611, that a vault under the Castle of Nottingham was carved with "the story of Christ, his passion," by David II. while a prisoner there ('Exch. R.', II., p. xcii).

<sup>8</sup> Chaucer was present at the feast of St George at Windsor in 1357 as one of Lionel's pages, and was in his household in France in 1359. When Lionel wedded Yolande Visconti, daughter of Galeazzo, Lord of Pavia, at Milan, 1368, Froissart was in his suite (Froissart, 'Poésies,' i. (1870), p. 392).

<sup>9</sup> Barbour's words are—

"Off *thaim* [Bruce and Douglas] I thynk this buk to ma"

('Br.' I 33).

Dr Neilson points out ('J. B.,' p. 5) that fifteenth century writers were well aware that the 'Bruce' was the story of King Robert and Douglas —e.g., Wynt., VIII 3121 ; Bower, 'Scotichron.,' II, 301 ; Holland, 'Howlat,' 395, 507. The fame of Douglas was, naturally, less than that of the Bruce, and his more celebrated exploits took place *after* 1314 : "præcipue post prælium de Stryveline . . . Anglici magis eum timebant quam cunctos de terra Scotiæ" (Knighton, i., p. 460).

Barbour's archdeaconry, in Mar and the Garioch,<sup>10</sup> and that the "Archibald de Douglas," who obtained on the same day as he<sup>11</sup> a safe-conduct to St Denis, was the Black Douglas' natural son, himself "dark and ugly, more like a cook-boy than a noble" (Bower), Archibald "the Grim," sometime Constable of Edinburgh Castle, Aberdeenshire landowner, in later years Lord of Galloway,<sup>12</sup> and, from 1388, third Earl of Douglas. Since this great lord, who was not devoid of filial piety and founded a hospital in memory of his father and of Robert, Edward and Davy Bruce,<sup>13</sup> is one of the very few contemporaries of Barbour who appear in the 'Bruce,'<sup>14</sup> he may have shown some interest in his fellow-pilgrim's undertaking.

<sup>10</sup> The wife of William, the first earl (*d.* 1384), was Margaret of Mar [sister of Thomas, thirteenth Earl of Mar], who survived him, and married in 1388 Sir John de Swinton. She bore to Douglas a son (*d.* 1388) and a daughter, Isabel, who inherited the estates of Mar and Garioch. About 1373-4 the Earl of Douglas received the lands of his brother-in-law, and after 1374 he was styled Earl of Douglas and Mar (Maxwell, *op. cit.*, i., pp. 89, 93, 96). Barbour's friend, David de Mar, was no doubt a relative of the first Countess of Douglas (see *supra*, § 40, *n.* 5).

<sup>11</sup> See *supra*, § 42, *n.* 3. It is not proved that Barbour and Archibald "the Grim" went to St Denis at the same time or in the same group of pilgrims. Dr H. W. Meikle, who kindly looked into the matter for us, concluded that no deductions can be made from the proximity of their names in the list of safe-conducts. We may add that, strictly speaking, we have no proof that either went to St Denis, since it is one thing to apply for a passport and another to reach one's destination.

<sup>12</sup> Archibald was appointed, 18th September 1369, to rule Galloway, which in 1372 became united under him, as it had not been since the death of Alan (see *infra*, § 46, *n.* 16) in 1234 (Sir Herbert Maxwell, 'A History of the House of Douglas' (Freemantle), Vol. i. (1902), pp. xxxi + 293; Vol. ii., pp. xiii + 318; Vol. i., pp. 114-18 and 126).

<sup>13</sup> At Holy Wood, near Dumfries, in 1378, when Archibald prayed the Pope ('Pet.', p. 358) to confirm the foundation and endowment of the hospital which Edward Bruce had intended to build and which had been delayed by the wars and by his death.

<sup>14</sup> After relating how the body of the Black Douglas was buried in the "Kirk of Dowglass," Barbour continues:

"Schir Archibald his sone gert syne  
Of abalast bath fair and fyne  
Ordane a towme full richly,  
As it behufit till swa worthy" ('Br.' XX. 587).

Skeat's note explaining this as a mistake of Barbour's is quite erroneous, founded on one of Hume of Godscroft's inaccuracies. Barbour knew perfectly well that Archibald, who was held in high esteem by the clergy (see Wyntoun, IX 2016), was the son of the Black Douglas. The

In short, it seems probable that the favour accorded by David II. and the House of Douglas to Froissart was not denied to Barbour.

The 'Bruce' thus was probably well begun when on 22nd February 1370-1 David II. died unexpectedly in the forty-eighth year of his age and the forty-second of his reign, when he had just begun to reform his ways, curb his more turbulent subjects, rebuild Edinburgh Castle and organise an expedition against the Infidel in expiation of his many sins.<sup>15</sup> He was succeeded by Robert the Steward, not without some opposition from the Douglas family.<sup>16</sup>

tomb is still to be seen in St Bride's Chapel at Douglas; see Maxwell, 'Robert the Bruce,' p. 362, who says that it was probably erected some years after the Black Douglas' death. It does not, however, at first sight seem likely that a magnificent tomb should be set up in the ancestral church by an illegitimate son, so long as there were legitimate Earls of Douglas in control, and it would follow (a) that it was not erected by Archibald until he became third earl in 1388, and (b) that the 'Bruce,' "compiled" though it was in 1375, cannot have been completed till after 1388. But Archibald was busied with his pious monument to Edward Bruce in 1378, and it seems natural that long before then he should have seen to his father's tomb. His great position, even before he became ruler of Galloway in 1369, would have excused the irregularity of the procedure, and Douglas had no legitimate son.

<sup>15</sup> "He was tane al to hastely" (Wyntoun's Collaborator VIII (C) 7201). On David's reforms in his latter and repentant days, Bower, 'Scotichron,' XIV, p. 380, is very eloquent. According to Stewart ('Bk. Cron. Sc.,' 55, 371) David had recanted on the question of an English successor, and (55403) at the close of his life "In policie . . . Wes occupyit, and all thing les and moir Reformit hes distroyit wes befoir."

<sup>16</sup> It might perhaps occur to the cynically-minded that the reason why Barbour distributed his labours so equally between Bruce and Douglas was that there was some dubiety till 1371 as to whose descendant would reign in Scotland after David II. But there was apparently never any doubt as to Robert the Steward's accession. The Historiographer-Royal (Professor R. S. Rait), who most kindly enlightened us on the somewhat occult circumstances, assures us that the Douglas claimant (William, first Earl) probably did not seriously aim at the Crown. The succession had been settled upon the Stewarts in 1318 by the Court of Parliament, which was not legislating, but giving a final interpretation of the law of Scotland. They had a claim which could be upset only by a revolution and a complete breach with the law—and the law upon a feudal question of succession, a region in which mediæval law was more likely to be respected than in any other. Further, in 1363, Douglas acted with Robert the Steward in his rebellion against David, which does not suggest any real rivalry between them, and by assenting to the proposal of an English succession he had repudiated any claim he might possibly put forward.

Amid the miseries of the famine which marked the first five years of Robert II.'s reign,<sup>17</sup> Barbour continued to work at his double biography, interrupted by the duties of a new and exalted office, that of Auditor of Exchequer in 1372 and Clerk of Audit in 1373.<sup>18</sup> These duties required his presence at the capital in the spring of these years, and they must have made heavy calls upon his time. But by the spring of 1375-6 he had completed, or nearly<sup>19</sup> completed, his task.

§ 46. 1376-95: HIS LATER WORKS: THE  
'STEWARTS' ORIGINAL.'

Robert II., first of the unhappy Stuart line, did not "discover" Barbour; he inherited him, and he discharged, besides many others, the debt which his predecessor owed to the historian of the Bruce.<sup>1</sup> But if Robert did not have the honour of encouraging budding merit, he was not slow to reward it when it flowered—and handsomely, for the purchasing power of the pound stood high in 1376. Before 14th March 1377 he bestowed a donation of ten pounds on the Archdeacon of Aberdeen, and on 29th August 1378, happening to be, as often, hunting at Braemar,<sup>2</sup> he awarded *dilecto clerico nostro* a pension of one pound per annum,<sup>3</sup> payable from the

<sup>17</sup> Maxwell, *op. cit.*, I, p. 89.

<sup>18</sup> The documents are printed in Skeat's ed. 'Br.,' Part III., p. xvii.

<sup>19</sup> See *infra*, § 48, n. 6.

<sup>1</sup> "Compotum . . . customariorum burgi de Abirdene . . . Et domino archidiacono Abirdonensi, de mandato regis, per literam ostensam super compotum, x. li. ('Exch. R.,' II., 565).

<sup>2</sup> Robert II. was much given to hunting and hawking, and the 'Exch. R.' (see II, p. lxxxiv) chronicle many other visits to Kindrochit, the Castle of Braemar.

<sup>3</sup> This pension was declared later (officially) to be "pro compilacione libri de gestis quondam Regis Roberti de Brus." ('Exch. R.,' IV, 457, 520; 'Neilson, J. B.,' p. 43). It continued to be paid, no doubt, until the



Burgh Funds of Aberdeen, with powers (doubtless at Barbour's own request) to bequeath it to his heirs and assigns, or to set it aside for the salvation of his soul.<sup>4</sup> This pension Barbour did so bequeath, soon afterwards at Rayne, 24th June 1380, to the Cathedral Church of Aberdeen.<sup>5</sup> He had now reached fame and fortune, and until 1388—Robert II. died in 1390—he continued to receive signal marks of Royal favour: the gift of a ward at Rayne, probably in 1380; a donation of five pounds on 30th March 1386;<sup>6</sup> one of £6, 13s. 6d. on 2nd April, apparently of the same year; and an annuity of ten pounds on 5th December 1388, payable out of the great customs of Aberdeen.<sup>7</sup> These appear to be chiefly rewards for literary services rendered to the Crown. If the favour of Robert II., so generously shown, made "his beloved clerk" [?] of audit] neither Bishop nor Dean of Aberdeen<sup>8</sup> in 1380 or later—there was no lack of opportunities<sup>9</sup>—it was perhaps because King, Chapter—and Archdeacon—felt that a man of letters could do better national service as genealogist and historiographer.

Refreshed by Royal favour, Barbour turned his mind after 1376 to a matter which had not been one of his preoccupations while writing the 'Bruce.' There he had,

Reformation, as Prof. Innes says. The last mention we have ourselves noted is in the 'Aberdeen Register,' I, p. 55, 10th October 1494: "fra the collectouris of Old Aberdene, xx. s. for barbouris obeytis."

<sup>4</sup> 'Reg. Episc. Aberd.,' I, 129.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., I, 130, quoted in full by Skeat, ed. 'Br.,' Part III., pp. xix-xx.

<sup>6</sup> Both "ex dono regis," Skeat, *ibid.*, p. xxii.

<sup>7</sup> "Pro suo fideli servicio nobis impenso." Skeat, *ibid.*, p. xxxiv.

<sup>8</sup> Bishop Alexander died in 1380, the year of the third visitation of the Black Death. His successor, consecrated before 16th November 1380, was Adam de Tynningham, the Dean, "Roberto regi familiaris" (Boece, 'Vitae Episc. Aberd.,' Bannatyne Club, p. 17), who had been secretary to the Earl of Douglas in 1360. Bishop Adam (*d.* 1389) was succeeded by Gilbert de Greenlaw (*d.* 1421).

<sup>9</sup> The new Dean was Simon de Ketenes, "provided" on 16th November 1380 by Clement VII. (antipope). Dowden, 'Bps.,' pp. 116-17. He died 27th April 1387. Breviary, No. 27 in Miss Borland's collection.



of course, mentioned Robert II.'s father, Walter the Steward, given him high honour for his conduct as one of the generals at Bannockburn and for his "richt gret defens" of Berwick, and twice lamented his death, "in the flour of his 3outheid,"<sup>10</sup> but had said nothing of his ancestry. Yet the new dynasty stood in need of some genealogical support. On the spindle side Robert II. was of glorious descent, since his mother was Marjory, daughter of the Bruce; but on the other side his origins were none too illustrious, for he was only ninth in descent of the Fitz-Alans who held the feudatory office of High Steward of Scotland. Barbour being, like his colleagues at St Machar's and elsewhere,<sup>11</sup> a genealogist, resolved to set the matter right, and successfully traced to Fleance and some fabulous Welsh progenitors the Stewarts,<sup>12</sup> who in sober fact were Fitz-Alans from Oswestry.<sup>13</sup> The date of this lost work is perhaps 1386, since the King's gift in that year would seem to be its reward. It is generally quoted as the 'Stewarts' Original,' but it does not follow from Wyntoun's words that this was its title. If it were,

<sup>10</sup> *d.* 9th April 1326 at the age of twenty-four. 'Br.' XVII. 933, and XIX. 214. Once would have sufficed!

<sup>11</sup> Fordun, who was probably a Canon of Aberdeen, affirms, ed. Skene (1872), II, p. 244, that Walter Wardlaw (see *supra*, § 40, *n.* 7) furnished him with David I.'s pedigree, 86th in descent from Pharaoh. See MacEwen, *op. cit.*, I, 299.

<sup>12</sup> Wyntoun, immediately after ceasing to quote the 'Bruce' and referring the reader to it for the events which happened thereafter, opens a chapter entitled "A computacion of lordis generacion," in which he traces (VIII (C) 985-1444) the descent of the Bruce from Malcolm, and for the Stewarts' origins refers his readers to Barbour:

"The Stewartis Oryginalle  
The Archedeyne has tretyt haille  
In mater fayr, mayr wertusly  
Than I can thynk be my study,  
Be gud contynuacion  
In successywe generacion." (VIII (C) 1445-50).

<sup>13</sup> Walter, the first Steward of Scotland, was the younger brother of William Fitz-Alan of Oswestry. Bain, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

the work must have been, like Wyntoun's, a chronicle.<sup>14</sup> There is reason to suppose that the 'Stewarts' Original' and the 'Brute,' with which Barbour has been credited on the sole authority of Wyntoun, are one and the same,<sup>15</sup> and there is little doubt as to the contents: much quotation of Geoffrey of Monmouth and the successive 'Brutes,' with the object of showing that the Stewarts, through Fleance, and possibly the Bruces, for the etymology is very tempting, descended from Brutus of Troy. The claim of the English monarchs to overlordship of Scotland being founded, *inter alia*, on the view that they were successors to Brutus, first King of all Britain, there were obvious advantages in assigning to the King of Scots the same status, or a better, by proving his lineal descent from Brutus.

<sup>14</sup> 'Original' was the title by which Wyntoun wished his own Chronicle to be known.

<sup>15</sup> We follow Amours here (ed. Wynt., I, p. lxxvi.), not Skeat, who thought that the 'Brute' and the 'Stewarts' Original' were separate works, both by Barbour. Wyntoun's words seem clear:

"Off Brutus lynnage quha will heire  
3e luke the tretiss of Barbere  
Made in till a genology." (Wynt. III 621).

The descent of Brutus was from Dardanus, who is usually called the son of Jupiter and Electra, but was, according to Wyntoun, and, presumably, Barbour, the son of Ninus, King of Babylon:

"This Nynus had a sone alsua,  
Schire Dardane, lord of Frigia,  
Fra quham maister Iohne Barbour,  
That mekle couth of this labour,  
Translatit weill and propirly  
Fra this Dardane a genology  
Till Robert Stewart oure secund king."  
(Wynt. (W) II 131).

Wyntoun would appear not to pin much faith on "Dardane," nor did he see eye to eye with Fordun on these matters. He held that Albania remained "waste" (*i.e.*, without a King) till the coming of the Picts and Scots. Later, Hector Boece endeavoured to show otherwise that the Scots had never been subject to the Britons. But if the genealogists differed in the practice, they were at one in the theory--viz., that the Scots had never, never been vassals to England.

In connection with these high matters Barbour had recourse once again to Geoffrey's 'Historia,' from which he had already borrowed the materials for a stanza in the 'Ballet.' The 'Stewarts' Original' is also linked with the 'Ballet' by another circumstance. In the 'Scotichronicon' Bower pointed out that Barbour had, in defiance of all chronology, sent a Sir Alan Stewart on the Crusade with Godefroi de Bouillon.<sup>16</sup> It is noteworthy, and we are surprised that the fact should have escaped attention, that this passage, beginning "Notandum est *barbarius*," immediately follows the 'Ballet' in the Edinburgh MS. Since we do not know the MS. history of either text, we could not attribute the 'Ballet' to Barbour on this evidence alone, but it may have some significance. The 'Stewarts' Original' being lost, it is impossible to say how far Bower's strictures are justified. But as this is not the only occasion on which Barbour has seemed

<sup>16</sup> Bower corrects Barbour, who (in the 'Stewarts' Original,' no doubt) had given a wrong account of the origins of that family. He maintained, says Bower, that the Stewarts came from Wales and took their descent from Fleance, that the first of them, Walter Stewart, lived in the days of William the Lyon (1165-1214) and combated Alan of Galloway, and that Walter's son, Sir Alan Stewart, was "in the Crusade with Godefroi de Bouillon, King of Jerusalem, at the capture of Antioch" (1098). Bower points out the discrepancy in these dates, and the fact that Alan died in 1233. Consequently, he continues, Barbour's Sir Alan Stewart could not have been the son of Walter Stewart, but might have been his father. The historical Walter Stewart was the son of Alan of Galloway, founder of Paisley Abbey (in A.D. 1164), and Barbour's Walter Stewart must have been some one else, whose identity Bower has been unable to ascertain. Lord Hailes, casting doubt on the Stewarts' alleged descent from Fleance de Waran, pointed out ('Ann.,' I, p. 358) that they were powerful in the reign of David I., but said that he could discover nothing of their previous history. But Mr Bain ('Exch. R.,' II, p. cv) shows that Barbour was, as usual, not so far wrong as his critics imagine. Fleance de Waran may be identified as Alan Fitz Flaald (of Shropshire, on the Welsh March), whose uncle, Alan FitzAlan, did go on the First Crusade.

Alan of Galloway (d. 1233) appears in French Romance as a descendant of Fergus. Guillaume le Clerc, a native of Picardy, who had come to England to seek his fortunes and proceeded to Scotland, wrote in Alan's honour the Arthurian romance of 'Fergus' (edited by F.-Michel, Abbotsford Club, 1841, and by Ernst Martin, Halle, 1872, xxiv+240 pp.; see 'Hist. litt. de la France,' XIX., pp. 654-55, and XXX., p. 160).

to make free with chronology and confuse men with their grandfathers, we may fairly conclude that his idea was at least badly expressed, and that the Stewart connection with Godefroi, King of Jerusalem, victor of Antioch and one of the Noble Nine, was his own discovery, intended to bring the Stewarts close to the magic circle of the Nine Worthies, as the Bruce himself had already been successfully brought. Barbour thus exhibits in the 'Stewarts' Original' the same preoccupations as the 'Ballet,' in stanza ix. of which Godefroi de Bouillon did deeds of prowess "before Antioche . . . and of Jerusalem a 3eir was kyng"; and was held up as a model to whom one might fairly liken the greatest occupant of the Scottish throne.

That Barbour collaborated in the translation of the 'Legends of the Saints,' which was probably begun at St Machar's before his death in 1395, is not in itself improbable. He who in 1380 had bequeathed his pension to the new, slowly rising Cathedral<sup>17</sup> may well in the evening of his days<sup>18</sup> have turned his powers as a translator of French to the lore of Christ and his Apostles Twelve. We do not share the orthodox view that Barbour died

<sup>17</sup> Begun in 1366, when the Dean and Chapter taxed themselves for the fabric to the extent of £60 per annum for ten years and the Bishop surrendered revenues worth £120. In 1380 the Pope made a grant of indulgences to all who would help, but only a few feet of wall had been raised before Barbour's death. It was left to Bishop Leighton (1422-40) to complete the wall of the nave, found the northern transept, and erect the two western towers (Jos. Robertson, 'Sc. Abbeys,' reprint, Aberdeen, 1892, p. 74).

<sup>18</sup> Barbour died on 13th March 1395, as proved by the documents: see Skeat, 'Br.' III, p. xxv. His age would then have been approximately seventy-nine on the assumption, made by Lord Hailes and usually accepted since his time, that he was born in 1316; seventy-five in Skeat's view; seventy in ours. The 'Encyclopædia Britannica' (1910) adopts 1316, but perhaps because by an unfortunate slip it mistakes the allusion to Robert II.'s age as "sixty" when the 'Bruce' was compiled ('Br.' XIII 705) for an allusion to the age of the author.



in extreme old age, when his strength or his industry had forsaken him. We should, of course, as much as any one, like to think that he lived as the patriarchs of old. But the times were not conducive to longevity. Archdeacons are not venerable in age when they are appointed now; still less were they in 1357. The assumption that his portrait of Randolph, Earl of Moray (*d.* 1332) was drawn from life is mere nonsense, as Dr Jamieson pointed out a hundred years ago. The fact that the author of the Prologue to the 'Legends' could no longer "wirik As mynistere of haly kirke Fore gret eld and febilnes" and "...falt of sycht" is quite irrelevant, because there is no proof whatever that he was Barbour. Even were it relevant, "gret eld" is not what we mean to-day by "great age," and "falt of sycht" meant little when spectacles were not in common use. Barbour was still witnessing documents in 1392,<sup>19</sup> and the tone of the later references to him implies that he continued his professional duties to the end.

Nor do we believe that all the 'Legends' were translated from Latin. Many of them seem to us to be translated from French versions, as at least three-quarters of the 'Saints' Lives' extant in English are known to have been.<sup>20</sup> But serious linguistic and other difficulties have

<sup>19</sup> 'Reg. Epis. Aberd.,' I, p. 141.

<sup>20</sup> A common-sense view of the relative importance of Latin and French in this matter will be found in Professor A. T. Baker's "Saints' Lives written in Anglo-French," pp. 119-56 of 'Essays by Divers Hands,' being the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, Vol. iv. (Oxford Univ. Press, 1924). Multitudinous details showing that the originals of the English Saints' Lives were usually French, not Latin, will be found in Vising, *op. cit.*, passim.

Reference to "the romance of the rose" in the fifth line of the Prologue is not a very auspicious beginning for those who believe in a Latin original. The editor, Dr Horstmann (see *supra*, § 29, n. 2), admits in his Preface that the 'Legenda Aurea' is only the ultimate source, and a glance at the Latin texts at the foot of his pages shows



prevented Barbour's warmest supporters from ascribing to him more than a very minor part in that vast and dull compilation. Even Dr Neilson's none too fastidious search for "parallels" between the 'Bruce' and the 'Legends' yielded but a lean and dubious harvest,<sup>21</sup> except in the Lives of the two Saints most closely connected with Aberdeen, Ninian and Machor.<sup>22</sup> There both style and matter are strongly reminiscent of Barbour, notably in the mundane tale of 'Sir Fergus Magdonel' <sup>23</sup>

that they do not adequately account for the Scots. The vocabulary contains so strong a French element, including words not previously recorded in O.E.D.—*e.g.*, "enculze" = to flatter, "menstrally," "merdaille," "pertrick," "ters" = TIERCE, "wantonly," "wesy"—as to suggest French originals.

<sup>21</sup> 'J. B.'—*e.g.*, pp. 22 and 34. If the comparison were extended to the 'Buik,' however, it would be more productive, as witness the subjoined list of similarities which we have noted, *en passant*, in turning over the pages of O.E.D. :—

S. L. S.	B. A.
That na man did him laith ( <i>Alexis</i> )	Gif ony man did him laith (II 131)
As thingis beand at rebourse ( <i>Katherine</i> )	All is at rebours (II 534)
Bot al ves in wast ( <i>Lucy</i> )	It is all in waist=c'est parole gastée (III 6598)
Thane wes the tyrand vondir tene ( <i>Margaret</i> )	Thairof that tyran is full tene (II 198)
Scho menytt ofte rycht sare a sone ( <i>Mathias</i> )	And sum hir husband menit sare (II 4525)
I dred rycht small thine angelis ( <i>Placidus</i> )	And he thame dreidit bot richt small (II 4504)

On the question of versification, Professor Saintsbury, 'English Prosody,' Vol. i. (1906) pp. 267-8, says: "The differences are small . . . I do not think that the run of the verse is so strikingly like Barbour's as to be an argument in favour of his authorship; but it is not sufficiently different to be an argument against it."

<sup>22</sup> Ninian and Machor are local Saints, in whom the author expresses special interest. 'Ninian,' ll. 39-57, and 'Machor,' ll. 333-53, are almost verbally identical; the relationship between these two "Lives" of Saints intimately connected with Aberdeen is extremely close (see ed. Metcalfe, S.T.S., 1886, Introd., pp. xx-xxi), and the style is very similar to Barbour's. Buss, *loc. cit.*, pp. 495 and 514, expressly excludes 'Ninian' when maintaining that the 'Legends' are not by Barbour.

<sup>23</sup> It would be possible to establish connection between Barbour and Sir Fergus if the latter were he on whose behalf David II. in 1364 petitioned the Pope ('Petitions,' p. 476) for dispensation to Fergus Makduell

and his minstrel 'Jak trimpoure,' of which the scene is laid in Galloway "Quhene sir Davi Bruys ves kinge" (Ninian). 'Ninian' and 'Machor' appear to be Barbour's contribution, but even though the whole dreary corpus of 35,000 lines were proved to be his, it would add little to his reputation. Without the 'Legends' his industry is already beyond praise, his piety beyond dispute.

#### § 47. UNITY OF BARBOUR'S WORK.

The authenticated works—the 'Buik,' the 'Ballet,' the 'Bruce,' the 'Stewarts' Original,' *alias* the 'Brut'—assume a perfect unity under one compelling cause, the master-force of Barbour's life, the desire to bring the resources of History, Romance, Chivalry, Legend and picturesque Genealogy to the support of the Scottish throne. All his works deal with the greatness of kings, from Brutus of Troy, first King of Britain, to Robert the Bruce and Robert the Steward. To exalt the victor of Bannockburn till he should rank with the noblest kings in history was the object of the 'Ballet,' as it was the object of the 'Bruce.' To endow the new dynasty with long and glorious descent was the purpose of the 'Stewarts' Original'; the history of the Scottish throne and nation from the fall of Troy was no doubt the high theme of that lost 'Brut.' It was Barbour's destiny—and it was his intention, however dimly felt—to revive the drooping spirits of his fellow-patriots and foster the growing sense of Scottish nationality by depicting a glorious

and Margaret, daughter of William de Coningham, Knight, who had married "in ignorance of the law." This dispensation was granted on the same day as one to John Waleys and Elizabeth de Eglinton. These ladies were apparently relatives of Sir Hugh of Eglinton or Cunningham, who was Barbour's colleague as Clerk of Audit (see *supra*, § 16).

past. The means to that end was provided by his own natural tendency to associate national feeling with kingship (hence his chill silence on Wallace); in a more material sense, it was provided by his experience as a translator.

Of all these works—and we may add to them without much fear of error the ‘Troy-Book’—the immediate or the ultimate source is translation. Like Chaucer and many another contemporary, he began as a translator and ended as an original writer. As he translated, he reflected. He caught the manner of French Romance and assimilated much of the matter, and then he addressed himself to the task of writing a Scottish epic.

The material for that epic he found in record and chronicle and in oral tradition, for the facts were fresh in living memory. That he had written sources is obvious from the close resemblances, often verbal, between his account of the main events and that given by other chroniclers, notably Sir Thomas Gray and Fordun. They must all have utilised the same documents. Even Jean Lebel refers to “une histoire faitte par le dit roy Robert.” Gray, relating the adventures of the Bruce, begins “Qar com tesmoignent lez croniclis de sez gestis,” &c. Fordun, Barbour’s contemporary, tells us (ed. Skene, p. 341) that there were many stories of the Bruce’s deeds in circulation in his day, and that they are “indubitably true,” though he will not relate them because he is not sure of the time and place. When Barbour began the ‘Bruce,’ Bannockburn was not much more remote in time from Scotsmen of his generation than Sedan was from the French in 1914, when “auld and 3ing” were perfectly familiar with the chief episodes of the Franco-Prussian War. Had he begun to collect materials in the year in which he was made Archdeacon (which is

unlikely), he could have interviewed veterans who had fought at Bannockburn; and if he had been (which he was not) avid of personal details, he had only to ride over from Rayne to Kildrummy or Chapel-of-Garioch and consult the Bruce's sister, Christian.<sup>1</sup>

His material he cast in the form of a Romance, because he read—and translated—Romances, and because his appeal was to the courtly public. In particular he knew well, having just been engaged in translating it, a Romance which was told "on sa gud manere" that it reduced its translator to despair, for it sang the renown of Alexander with more than native skill. He used it as a model, to be imitated from afar, and he laid under contribution the phraseology of his own translation, whole lines and couplets. Nor did he limit himself to that treasured store. Nothing that could enliven History came amiss: reminiscences of other Romances; knotty points of law, such as "clerkis questioun Quhen thai fall in disputacioun";<sup>2</sup> pawky observations from the consistory court; pros and cons in the vexed questions of astrology, witchcraft and devilry, which were settled before our day and interest us not—and of matrimony, which is still with us; a fable or apologue, the 'Fox and the Fisher,' possibly from the Cathedral pulpit<sup>3</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, § 43, n. 11.

Between 1338 and 1340, or 1355 and 1357, Christian of Bruyse, "domina de la Garuiach," and wife of the deceased Sir Andrew of Moray, Pantler of Scotland, gave to a chaplain performing religious services for the souls of the founder, her husband, and of King Robert her brother, a toft in Drumdurnach and 100 sh. sterling yearly from her land of Meikle Werthill, "infra predictum dominium nostrum de la Garuyach." ('Reg. Episc. Aberd.' I, p. 66.)

<sup>2</sup> As to what a thrall should do in a hypothetical and highly improbable case ('Br.' I 249) [which is debated in a whole book (ix.) of Thomas Sanchez' 'De Sancto Matrimonii Sacramento,' Venice 1625, as pointed out by Dr Neilson in the 'Furnivall Miscellany,' p. 383].

<sup>3</sup> Fables formed almost exclusively the mediæval preacher's stock-in-trade. Examples, including tales of Reynard of course, will be found in Lecoy de la Marche, 'La Chaire fr. au moyen âge,' Paris 1886,



the sayings of Dionysius Cato, the doings of historical Counts of Flanders and of Artois. Much of this, the flotsam and jetsam of a life-time's reading, had an interest once. Some of it has an interest still. With the long excursus on Treachery, Barbour blackens the memory of Comyn and palliates, so far as a Churchman can, his hero's one wild deed; with the excursus on Freedom he gives lyrical expression to his own patriotic feeling. Wyntoun omitted these and the like when he transcribed part of the 'Bruce,' because he was not a Court poet concerned with the ancestral glories of the Royal house, and because they were no longer burning questions in his day. For us, as for Wyntoun, they are irrelevant. But they were not irrelevant for John Barbour, Archdeacon, nor for John Barbour, Patriot.<sup>4</sup>

To improve the 'Bruce,' to make it worthier of its lofty purpose, was the reason for his continual borrowings from French Romance, and for digressions which the modern reader may dismiss with an indulgent smile. But let us not make too merry over his thrifty use of oddments, his care to expound the self-evident, his praiseworthy efforts to beguile while instructing us. Above all, let us not call him, for that, an Aberdonian; to that title he has other and sounder claims. Many a more gifted writer has practised as cannily *l'économie de ses talents*, and been mindful not to leave collected material unused. The completest antithesis we can find to Barbour, Chateaubriand, had a thinly disguised "portrait of the

pp. xvi+547; pp. 302-5. Very few occur in M.E. literature; Wells, *op. cit.*, p. 181, says "scarcely a dozen," including Barbour's, those that have survived being almost all in French or in Latin.

<sup>4</sup> Once Barbour does excuse himself for irrelevance—for bringing in the story of Fabricius ('Br.' XX 562) after the account of the death of Douglas. "Laute" in Douglas and Fabricius was the cause of digression. The same trait in the character of Douglas also accounts for another digression ('Br.' I 364).



author by himself " and a " storm at sea," which he used over and over again in various works, without offending the critics. Barbour was not a heaven-sent poet, and his guiding-star was patriotism, not art.

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## CHAPTER XII.: INFLUENCE OF THE 'BUICK' ON THE 'BRUCE.'

### § 48. ARRANGEMENT OF THE SUBJECT-MATTER.

TURNING back to the materials collected in Chapter V. and referring the reader to it for the detail, we must now endeavour to determine the extent to which the historical matter in the 'Bruce' is coloured by Barbour's work as a translator. Freely as he borrowed from his own translation of works composed years before Bannockburn by French poets who could not have pointed out Stirling on the map, he yet contrived to remain "soothfast," because in his time the facts of Romance were not markedly different from the facts of history. The single combats, raids, ambushes, pitched battles, &c., of the French romances which he had translated, proceeded in accordance with the art of war as practised in Scotland in the early fourteenth century. Thus the grimmest incident of the 'Foray' was re-enacted in 1332 by a Murray of Tullibardine, who brought back news of battle in as grievous case as Aristé.<sup>1</sup> The ladies on the

<sup>1</sup> " Ane of the Murrawis, [I] herd say,  
Off Tulybardy be the waye,  
His bowalis befor hym berande;  
And son at hym he sperit tythande,  
And he taulde how the feylde was gane."  
Wynt. VIII (C) 3559.

battlements at "Ephesoun" saw nothing worse than the Queen of England and her attendant maidens beheld from their oriel window at the capture of Stirling in 1304.<sup>2</sup> Sir Robert de Nevill, "the Peacock of the North," vowed in real life as boldly as he vowed in the 'Bruce,' or as Porrus in 'Les Vœux du Paon,' from which romantic abode William Marmion, Knight, of Lincolnshire, might have ridden forth, to "show his helmet of gold wherever glory was the hardest to be won"—viz., at Norham, where he was rescued by Sir Thomas Gray's father. To point out Barbour's indebtedness to his French models is not necessarily to diminish his credibility as an historian, which, indeed, is becoming more and more generally recognised.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> On 21st April 1304 Edward I. began the siege of Stirling, which surrendered on 20th July. He had caused an oriel window to be made in his house in Stirling that the queen and her ladies might see the final assault. Bain, 'Edw. in Scotl.,' p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> Scepticism as to Barbour's credibility is due chiefly to his unhappy false start. The apparent confusion by which three distinct Robert Bruce's are rolled into one is certainly inauspicious, but that it does not impair the value of what follows, is recognised by most scholars:—

"Writing as he did at a long interval of time, . . . after King Robert's death, the arrangement of his story is often imperfect, the succession of events transposed, and wrong dates given, capable, however, of being corrected by other authority, and detracting little from the real historical value of the 'Bruce.'"—Bain, 'Cal.' III., *Introd.* "It gratified me in no small degree to find Barbour's story so closely in accordance with the English Records."—Bain, 'Edw. in Scotl.,' p. 57. "An historical document of the highest order."—Evan Macleod Barron, 'The Scottish War of Independence,' London (Nisbet) (1914), xxvi + 499. Professor Tout is less enthusiastic: "His details are minute, but impossible to control by other sources, and he is more valuable as the epic poet of Scottish liberty than as an historical authority," *op. cit.*, p. 459.

Many of Barbour's statements which were at one time disputed have been confirmed by records subsequently discovered, and his details are often supported by contemporary documents. Thus, John of Lorne's attack on the Bruce at Dalry is confirmed by a letter of Edward I. to the Prince of Wales, dated 14th September, acknowledging John of Lorne's services. Bain, 'Cal.' II, 490.

The pursuit by John of Lorne with 800 Highlanders and a bloodhound that had once belonged to Bruce is supported by dry record. Pembroke's warrant providing pay to John of Lorne for 22 men-at-arms and 800 foot is still preserved. Bain, 'Cal.' II, p. 250; Maxwell, 'Dougl.' I, 35. Jean le Bel (I, xxii), says that Bruce was pursued "par chiens et limiers."

Barbour says that the battle of Loudon Hill took place on 10th May

History, which provides the subject-matter of the 'Bruce,' also determines in great part its arrangement. Barbour's work, however, is not history: it is chronicle, in the form of biography. Rightly or wrongly, he conceived it as a biography of Bruce and Douglas, and the method of treatment which he adopted, and with few lapses pursued,<sup>4</sup>

1307, while the English historians say at the end of March, but two letters, both of 15th May, support Barbour. Bain, 'Edw. in Scotl.,' p. 57.

Of Barbour's list of Scottish prisoners taken at Methven one only, Sir Alexander Fraser, does not appear in the official record. Barron, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

Sir Robert de Nevill, the "Peacock of the North," declared that he was tired of hearing about the valour of Douglas, and vowed that he would attack him when he saw his banner displayed. Hearing this, Douglas went to Berwick and slew him. ('Br.' XIV, 416, 422, &c.) The incident is confirmed by a petition of Rauf de Nevill, his brother, to Edward II. in 1316, No. 527 in Bain, 'Cal.' III., and by other documents (Maxwell, *op. cit.*, I, p. 49).

Speaking of Douglas' mission with the Heart, Barbour says that he "left the Grunye of Spaynye." This is not "grund" = "ground," as Skeat emends, but Corunna, still called by seamen "The Groyne." Bain, 'Edw. in Scotl.,' p. 80, n.

<sup>4</sup> Compared with other rimed chronicles, the 'Bruce' is not faulty in arrangement. The errors in Barbour are mainly these:

He states that, while Edward I. was besieging Stirling in the spring of 1304, James of Douglas was brought to Lamberton, Bishop of St Andrews, "as ane litill page." Since his mother died before 1288, Douglas could not then have been less than seventeen. Maxwell, 'Dougl.' I, 30, n. 2.

Bruce's alleged stay in Rathlin Island, 1306-7, is probably unhistorical. Bain ('Edw. in Scotland,' pp. 54 and 55) pointed out that Norway was a much more probable place of refuge, since Eric, King of Norway (*d.* 1299), had married in 1293 Robert's sister, Isabella, as his second wife, and in 1307 his successor, King Haco, was sheltering one of Bruce's adherents, the Bishop of Moray. Bruce himself probably went there, as stated by Fabyan and others. Trivet (p. 410) says that he fled "ad extremas regionis insulas," and Gray and Fordun say that he returned in 1307 from "the Isles." Mr Barron (*op. cit.*, pp. 249-56) shows that Barbour's description of the stormy crossing ill accords with a voyage of only thirteen or fourteen miles, that it would have been difficult to maintain Bruce's alleged 300 soldiers on an island of 6½ by 1½ miles, which was, moreover, exposed to attack. He suggests that Bruce went to Orkney.

[It was during the winter of this alleged stay at Rathlin that the famous episode of the Spider is said to have taken place. The story is told, however, not by Barbour, but by Hume of Godscroft, who made Douglas the hero of it (Maxwell, 'Robert the Bruce,' pp. 14, 16).]

The attack on the Castle of Brodick must have been led by Boyd, who was a Knight, and not by Douglas, who was knighted on the field of Bannockburn with Walter the Steward. Maxwell, 'Dougl.' I, 33, n. 3, and p. 45.

The second assault on Douglas Castle in 1307, for which Barbour is

was naturally the chronological method. It is therefore idle to complain, as many do, if the grouping of the facts is inartistic, and maintain that a true poet would have led up to the day of triumph at Bannockburn and then hastened to ring down the curtain, before the anticlimax. Such treatment might have met the case of King Robert, but not that of Douglas; nor would this have been biography, which to Barbour and all his tribe meant the sooth-fast story of a hero, if not from the cradle, at least to the grave. In the execution of his task he was sore let and hindered by the intractability of the historical matter. About the youthful days of one hero, the less said was manifestly the better, for the Bruce would have had to appear now on the English, now on the Scottish, side. The point in his adventurous career at which the curtain were best lifted was clearly not when he was born, in 1274, but when, becoming by his father's death in 1304 one of the claimants to the throne, and by the murder of Comyn in 1306 the sole claimant, he was ready to step upon the stage as a patriot king, win through from adversity to fame and success and in due course die amid the lamentations of a grateful people. Within that period (1306-29) neither the entrance nor the exit of Barbour's second hero could

the chief authority, must have taken place *after*, not before as he says, the affair at Turnberry in February or early March. Maxwell, 'Dougl.' I, pp. 34-35.

Barbour's statement that John of Lorne was taken prisoner by Bruce and confined in Dumbarton Castle, and then in Lochleven, where he soon afterwards died, is incorrect. The elder Lord of Lorne died in Ireland, December 1310, and the younger lived seven years more as Admiral of the Western Seas under the King of England. Bain, 'Edw.', p. 62.

Barbour says the siege of Berwick lasted only six days, Gray says eleven weeks. The town was captured on 28th March, but the castle did not surrender till 20th July—*i.e.*, after sixteen weeks. Bain, 'Cal.' III., 115; Maxwell, 'Dougl.' I, p. 50.

The alleged contradiction between 'Br.' II 239 and VIII 397 as regards the identity of Simon Fraser is effectually disposed of by Mr Mackenzie.



well be brought about. His youth need not be passed over in embarrassed silence. It contained nothing worse than the sowing of some wild oats; and it would be a sorry biography which would end before his mission with the Heart and his death at the hands of Moors in Spain. Barbour's failure as a dramatist is due partly to the exigences of "soothfastness" and chronological order, partly to the initial choice of two heroes, and the subsequent addition of a third, Edward Bruce, who during much of the latter part of the action excludes all rivals from the stage.

For precisely the same reason, with the best will in the world, he could not follow either of the two French Romances in the arrangement of the subject-matter as closely as in the descriptive detail. But there can be no doubt that Barbour, fast in the bonds of chronicle, cast an envious eye on the Romance which, in the free realm of fiction, moved with such masterly ease towards its self-appointed climax, the 'Great Battle of Ephesoun.' In imitation thereof he went as far as chronicler durst go. He borrowed from it, and applied to Scottish scenes and to portraits and characters of Scottish worthies such decorative material as was historically applicable, expanding the 'Great Battle' of Bannockburn<sup>5</sup> till it dwarfed the whole biography, decorating his account with trappings from the field of Ephesoun and rounding it off (Br. XIII. 699-712) with a colophon, dated 1375. There the poet would fain have made an end, but the chronicler and biographer must continue, were it only because the public would ask for more. What of Edward Bruce, King of Ireland? What of the siege of Berwick,

5

"O when the gret battell on this viss  
Wes discumfit" ('Br.' XIII 395).

"Bannockburn is, pardonably enough, told with too great prolixity, being so spun out as to fill more than 1800 lines." Skeat, 'Br.,' Vol. i., p. lxxv.



the coronation of David Bruce ; and how did Robert, how did Douglas, die ? In Part II., the inevitable sequel, Barbour still found his French models a very present help. By their aid he could develop the theme of Edward Bruce (of whose personality he seems to have known extremely little), liken his prowess to that of famous worthies, as he had likened him, for his courtesy (Br. IX. 612), to Emenidus and Gadifer, lay siege in the approved style to Berwick, produce, as required, suitable phrases for fields of carnage, Border raids, scenes of joy and sorrow, and at length bring the tale to a fitting close :—

“ Bot syne, allas ! poysonyt wes he ;<sup>6</sup>  
 To se his ded wes gret pite.  
 The lordis deit upon this viss.”  
 (Br. XX. 609).

If any man should ask (and many have since his day) why he should end thus abruptly, he could reply, “ So endeth the ‘ Buik of Alexander ’ ” :—

“ He deit thare throw poysoning.  
 It was great harme of sik ane thing.”  
 (B. A., IV. 11, 135).

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<sup>6</sup> The Earl of Moray, of whom in this final conclusion Barbour uses the same formula as he had applied in his provisional conclusion, the first colophon, to the descendants of Bruce :

“ The gude erll gouernit the land,  
 And held the pure weill to warand ” (XX 603).  
 “ God grant that thai that cummyne ar  
 Of his offspring, maynteyme the land,  
 And hald the folk weill to warrand ! ” (XIII 708).

Moray, like Alexander, was commonly said to have been poisoned, and, like the Emperor Henry VII. in the colophon of ‘ V. P., ’ by a friar, “ of black habite ane freir ” (‘ Bk. Cron. Sc., ’ 51, 630).

We see no necessity for supposing that in the spring of 1376 only Part I. (*i.e.*, “ Books ” I.-XIII.) was complete, and perhaps “ published separately.” Nor on the other hand should we quarrel with Mr Mackenzie’s view (‘ Br., ’ note to XIII 705) that the poem was “ finished somewhat later.” If he means by “ somewhat later ” a matter of months, or even a year or two, this harmonises with our main contentions.

## § 49. DESCRIPTIVE DETAIL.

While respect for historical truth saved Barbour from undue influence in the shaping of his Romance, it allowed him to use without offence convenient formulas and general descriptive matter from the 'Buik.' In his first battle, that of Methven, he at once falls back on the 'Buik' for the telling details which eye-witnesses might have noted, and presumably did note, at Methven, as at any other battle, and which lay thick in the 'Buik,' couched in suitable terms, ready for instant use: the red blood on the green grass, the cries and groans, the mighty blows cleaving heads and eke shoulders, "chassaris" in hot pursuit of "flearis," &c. So also for the battle of Loudon Hill (May 1307), of which little is known except what Barbour tells us.

And so for Bannockburn. Many of the pictorial touches which had made the 'Great Battle of Ephesoun' live in Scots, served as well for another canvas: the careful preparations on the eve of battle, the ordering of the opposing forces, the approach of the enemy's cohorts glittering in the morning sun "like angels," their banners waving in the wind, their monstrous numbers, the quiet confidence and determination of the smaller host; the impetuous knight who, without waiting for the main attack, spurs forward between the lines to overthrow the leader of the opposing force and himself falls by that leader's battle-axe; the unhorsing of a great lord and the consequent dismay among his henchmen; the clash of arms, the red blood, &c. (as above), the lament for the slain, their decent burial.

These facts had been described before 1314 by a French

poet exactly as Barbour describes them, but who shall say that they are thereby unhistorical or untrue? The chroniclers and the poets of the fourteenth century differed, and the historians still differ, on the incidents at Bannockburn.<sup>1</sup> Almost the only point on which they agree is the result! But does any one maintain that the Scots did not prepare for battle, that the English cavalry did not approach in great force, that their banners did not wave in the wind, that the red blood, &c. (see above) . . ., that the dead were not decently buried after the battle?

As a matter of sober history, Sir Henry de Bohun's skull actually was cloven by Bruce's battle-axe, though not perhaps quite as described by Barbour. This we know from an independent English source.<sup>2</sup> Incidents very similar to that depicted in the 'Bruce' occur at every moment in the French Romance, and Barbour had so frequently translated the account of them that the familiar phrases slipped out once again. But these phrases tell the broad truth—with possible minor exceptions. That Bruce's battle-axe was broken by the force

<sup>1</sup> Most of the English chroniclers confine themselves to the barest summary. Edward II. set out with a quite exceptionally large and splendid army, and a battle took place at "Stirling," "sed (proh dolor!) Scoti prævaluerunt, et occiderunt Gilbertum de Clare, comitem de Glovernia, Egidium de Argentein," &c.; here follows a long list of the slain and the captured. Few of the chroniclers descend to details, and those who do are sparing in them and may be quoting from each other, so that it is difficult to check Barbour's statements except those on the broad facts—which are not in dispute. Sir Thomas Gray could have been "documented" by his father, who saw the battle from the Scottish side as a prisoner. Barbour is in substantial agreement with Gray. The Scottish accounts are traceable to Barbour, perhaps occasionally to Barbour's unknown written sources. Fordun says very little of Bannockburn.

<sup>2</sup> Geoffrey le Baker, 'Vita Edwardi Secundi,' Rolls Ser., ii, 202, though the incident is somewhat different: when the vanguard were approaching Stirling "Henricus de Boun" followed some retreating Scots into a wood, thinking he might come upon the king there and slay him. But finding the wood held in great strength, he was on the point of withdrawing when the King himself appeared, and . . . "Henricus . . . redire volens ad socios equum retorsit; sed Robertus ei restitit et *securi quam manu gerebat caput ipsius contrivit*." In 'Scalacronica,' p. 141, Bohun becomes Peris de Mountforth: "Où fu tué Peris de Mountforth, cheualer, dez mains Robert de Buis d'un hache, con fust dit."

of the blow and that he lamented its loss may, for all we know to the contrary, be true; but since both these details, unrecorded by any other chronicler, occur in the French poems which Barbour translated, we must assume that he found them there. They are not of much historical importance. We know from the same English source<sup>3</sup> that Gloucester was flung from his steed before the battle, and that this ill omen increased the already considerable depression in the English ranks. The chroniclers, Scots and English alike, agree as to the unusual splendour of Edward's cavalry, and, like Barbour, several say, and we can well believe, that the gilt helmets and breastplates glittered in the sun.<sup>4</sup> "Like angels" is perhaps excessive, though if, as Mr Mackenzie maintains, many of the cavalrymen wore white surcoats, there is some optical justification for the hyperbole. To ourselves the Angels of Bannockburn would not have been suspect, had it not been for the Angels of Loudon Hill.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Geoffrey le Baker, ii, p. 202.

<sup>4</sup> Trokelowe, Rolls Ser. (1866), p. 84, "writes up" the opening of the battle very much on the same lines as Barbour:

"Clangor enim tubarum et lituorum, hinnitus equorum, motio vexillorum, clamor exhortantium, qui in eorum congressu resonabant, corda poterant terruisse magnanimorum.

"Duces autem Scotorum, per turmas suas incedentes, exhortantur, ut pro sua et uxorum suarum, liberorum ac possessionum suarum defensione, certamen ineant justissimum, &c. . . .

"Et collidentibus ad invicem catervis, bellum cruentissimum commiserunt. Frangor lancearum, tinnitus gladiatorum, ictuum strepitus repentinarum, gemitus morientium, vulneratorum lamentatio in ipso conflictu audita, aera perturbare videbantur."

<sup>5</sup> "The Yngliss men, in othir party,  
That richt as angels schane brichtly" ('Br.' XII 426).

The same simile is applied to Aymer de Valence's force at Loudon Hill ('Br.' VIII 234).

The simile is paralleled in the French Romance, but there is no proof that it comes from there. It may spring not so much from the circumstance suggested by Mr Mackenzie (note to 'Br.' XII 426), as from the old pun, "non Angli sed Angeli," which the Carmelite Friar Baston, who was captured at Bannockburn, had in mind when he says: "Anglicolæ, quasi cœlicolæ, splendore nitescent" ('Scotichron.' (1759), II, chap. xxii., p. 252). Bower himself (ibid., p. 309) remarks, in another connection, "Anglicus est Angelus cui nemo credere potest!" The early part of Baker's chronicle (which was widely circulated as 'Vita



A more uncomfortable parallel is the ordering of the battle array on the eve of Ephesoun and of Bannockburn. King Clarus and King Alexander both distributed their forces on a plan which was nothing if not symmetrical. Each divided his army into six "battles"; each "battle" was led by one of the outstanding warriors of the Romance, the first by the stoutest fighter of them all, and the last by the King himself, who brought up the rear with two trusted knights at his bridle-reins.

At Bannockburn the divisions are "battles" and their formation is the same, less symmetrical (it is hard to reconcile the conflicting principles of symmetry and immense superiority in the numbers of the enemy, and both were dear to Barbour's heart <sup>6</sup>), but yet with a certain neatness: four "battles" on the one side, the first led by Sir Edward Bruce, the second by Randolph, the third by Walter the Steward and Douglas, the last by King Robert in person, bringing up the rear with the reserves; ten "battles" <sup>7</sup> on the other side, each exactly ten thousand strong, and Edward II., having assigned nine of them to his best leaders, drew up last his own "battle," and appointed two knights to be at his bridle-reins:—

" His awne battale ordanit he  
And guha suld at his bridill be." <sup>8</sup>

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et Mors Edwardi II.,' and was long assigned to Sir Thomas de la Moor and so published by Stubbs in 'Chron. Edw. II.,' Rolls Ser., Vol. ii., pp. 297-319), mentions and apparently paraphrases Baston's poem:

"Vidisses prima nocte *Anglos haud Angelico more* vino madentes . . . E contra Scotos silentes sanctam vigiliam . . . jejunis celebrantes, amore patriæ et libertatis æstuantes. In crastino sol oriens in scuta aurea et galeas splendentes radios emisit."

<sup>6</sup> Bruce is attacked by 2 Macindrossers + 1 confederate (III 73), by 1 one-eyed man + 2 sons (V 485), by 3 men (+ 2 who attacked his attendant) (VI 622), by 3 traitors (VII 196), by 3 men with bows (VII 409). For the arithmetical proportion between Barbour's armies and their adversaries, see Skeat, Part III., pp. lxiii-iv.

<sup>7</sup> 'Br.' XI 155.

<sup>8</sup> Sir Giles de Argentine and Aymer de Valence.



But Barbour's divergence from historical truth is probably slight. He exaggerates the enemy's numbers.<sup>9</sup> Their cavalry on the march from Berwick to Edinburgh certainly did not cover the hills and valleys ("Bath hyllis and valayes helit thai"—'Br.' XI. 184), whatever the troops of Duke Betis may have done at "Gadres."<sup>10</sup> But the division into "battles," their number and perhaps their strategical position, appear to be historical,<sup>11</sup> the picturesque minor details being Barbour's borrowings from his 'Buik.'

The burial of the dead after Bannockburn and after "Ephesoun" is suspiciously similar. Bruce's regret for

<sup>9</sup> Barbour estimates the English army as 100,000 fighting men, including 3000 heavily armed horsemen, 40,000 men-at-arms, and 50,000 archers, and the Scottish force at 30,000. Abbot Bernard of Arbroath credits the English with 3,100 horse and 40,000 foot. Geoffrey le Baker, p. 203, maintains that the Scots had a total force of 40,000. Modern writers make a much more modest estimate. Sir Herbert Maxwell, 'Dougl.' I, 42, computes 50,000 English and 20,000 Scots; Bain, 'Cal.' III., p. xxi, 50,000 English and 15,000 or 16,000 Scots, with large numbers of camp-followers in addition. Mr W. M. Mackenzie, the latest and best authority, suggests 20,000 English and 7000 Scots ('The Battle of Bannockburn,' Glasgow, MacLehose, 1913, pp. vii+111; pp. 30-32), which will, let us hope, be a final minimum.

<sup>10</sup> "The English horse came up the Tweed valley, whether starting as a whole from Berwick or in part from Wark *viâ* Coldstream, and took the road through Lauderdale. Thus we see why it is that Barbour speaks of them as covering 'hills and valleys,' but says no word of the sea or of special difficulties on the track." Mackenzie, 'Bann.' 41. The real reason is that the host of Duke Betis in 'Li Fuerras' covered "all the hills and valleys."

"The gude Emynedus beheld  
Thame of Gaderis our-tak the feild,  
That thikkar our the hillis did thraw," &c.

=Et vit la gent de Gadres dont tout le val sonde (I 231),

and this suggests to Barbour a pictorial representation of the crude fact stated, *e.g.*, by le Baker, p. 101: "a Berewyk exivit et versus Stryvelyn iter arripuit." Bower also expands the fact, 'Scotichron.', p. 249: "Sic quasi locustæ operuerunt superficiem universæ terræ quousque ad Bannockburn."

<sup>11</sup> "The Scots marched out in four divisions ('Lanercost' says in three, two in echelon, while the third followed under Robert). The English were drawn up in nine 'battles,' the tenth standing out from the rest." Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 72. Geoffrey le Baker, p. 204, states that Sir Giles de Argentine was at King Edward's bridle, and, p. 203, that Gloucester led the van, after disputing the honour with Hereford. According to 'Scalacronica,' p. 143, Sir Giles demanded of Edward II. "que vostre reyne me fust baillez."

Gilbert of Clare, Earl of Gloucester, and his care to have his body watched, find a close parallel in Alexander's concern for Clarus. But is there any reason to doubt that Bruce, like Alexander, could mourn for the brave who died in the opposing ranks? Gilbert was the most distinguished of the fallen, and heads the list in all the chronicles. He was Bruce's relative. An Earl of Gloucester, Gilbert's stepfather, had once saved Bruce's life.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, Wyntoun and Boece confirm the incident,<sup>13</sup> unless they are merely echoing Barbour. In any case, Bruce, whether he mourned exactly as Alexander or not, chivalrously sent Gilbert's body to Edward II.,<sup>14</sup> of whom he was the favourite nephew and the most trusted friend. It was buried in Tewkesbury Abbey ('Chron. Edw. II.,' R.S., Vol. i., p. 230), and the casket containing the heart, which was laid on his mother's coffin at the house of the Grey Friars in Cardiff, has recently been found.<sup>15</sup> The body of Sir Giles de Argentine also was duly cared for ('Scalacronica,' p. 142), and "lyis in Sanct Cuthbertis Kirk," Edinburgh.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>12</sup> See *supra*, § 28.

<sup>13</sup> For Wyntoun, see *supra*, § 29, *n.* 1. Boece, Fo. 303<sup>a</sup>, says that Bruce lamented Sir Giles de Argentine.

<sup>14</sup> Walsingham, 246: "Post bellum de Strivelyn, Robertus le Brus interfectorum spolia suis distribuit larga manu; captivos tractavit civiliter, corpora Comitum Gloverniæ et Baronis de Clifford transmisit Regi Angliæ, apud Berwycum commoranti, sine pretio, pro suæ voluntatis beneplacito sepelienda. Quibus ex causis, corda multorum in sui amorem allexit."

<sup>15</sup> "Interesting historical discoveries have been made as the result of the excavation of the House of the Grey Friars in Cardiff, which has been undertaken by Lord Bute . . . The vault at the east end of the wall contained a male skeleton. Later, traces of a second vault were discovered near the first vault, and near by a stone, which, on being cleared, was found to enclose a leaden casket containing a heart, and lying on a female skeleton. These are probably the skeletons of Gilbert de Clare (1243-95), Lord of Cardiff Castle, and his wife, the Princess Joan (*d.* 1304), daughter of Edward I., and the casket contained the heart of their son Gilbert who was slain at Bannockburn." 'Times,' 31st August 1925.

<sup>16</sup> Bellenden, quoted by Mr Mackenzie, ed. 'Br.,' p. 83, *n.*

## § 50. SPEECHES, PORTRAITS, &amp;C.

The material for the "Addresses to the Troops" which King Robert delivers before his battles in the 'Bruce' comes largely from the 'Buik.' The speech at Loudon Hill (VIII. 235-64) is all in the best manner of the 'Buik,' some of it *verbatim*. The speech at Methven (II. 321-41) and the two speeches at Bannockburn (VIII. 235-70, and XII. 210-327) are compounded of extracts from the 'Buik of Alexander' and the Bible (Book of Maccabees).<sup>1</sup> This double source supplies with a curious monotony both the simple ideas and the soldierly words. The Book of Maccabees is the ultimate but not always the immediate source. Jacques de Longuyon had drawn upon it, directly or indirectly, with results of which Barbour gave in the 'Buik' the Scottish equivalent. That equivalent he utilised for the 'Bruce,' as was his custom, but he also tapped the main source. Hence he who though dead yet speaketh at Barbour's Bannockburn is not King Robert but Judas Maccabeus, sometimes as reported in the Bible, sometimes as interpreted by the combined efforts of a French and a Scottish poet, sometimes as supplemented from Barbour's own Biblical knowledge. The exact contribution made by each to King Robert's oratory we do not presume to determine, contenting ourselves with the remark that, while the greater part of the original 'Scots Wha Hae' (Br. XII. 234-48) comes straight from the Book of Maccabees, the passages enumerated in our list, on p. lxxxix, come straight from the 'Buik of Alexander.'<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The verses concerned are : Macc., I. iii., 17-21, and iv., 17-18.

As to the historicity of the speech, nothing is, of course, more probable than that the Bruce addressed his troops, or their leaders, before the battle, and in his address alluded to the circumstances in which they were fighting. These circumstances, whether he made this point or not, were in fact similar to those in which the Maccabees had fought. The general impression left by the contemporary accounts is that the moral force was felt to have been on the Scottish side of the field, the physical force on the other, and that every man of the smaller army realised he was fighting for home and country. After long years of suffering and slow success the fateful day had come. If freedom could be won, it was now or never. In that atmosphere of religious fervour and desperate resolve which the chroniclers describe or imply, allusion to the similar situation of the Maccabees was at the least extremely natural. Moreover, many of the preoccupations of Judas Maccabeus were also preoccupations of the Bruce. There was much need to guard against panic. The recommendation not to be dismayed by superior numbers but attack boldly was dictated by the peculiar circumstances, and the warning against that premature plundering which would make the

2

And *I pray* 3how als specialy  
Both mor and less all comonly  
That nane of 3ow for gredynes  
Haf e til *tak* of thair *richess*,  
Na presoners 3eit for till ta  
Quhill 3he se thame cumrayit swa  
That *the feld* planly *ouris* be.  
And than at 3our liking may 3e  
*Tak all the richness that thar is.*

('Br.' XII 303.)

For-thy *I pray* ilk man that he  
Nocht couetous na 3arnand be  
To *tak* na *ryches* that thay wald,  
Bot wyn of deidly fais *the fald*.  
Fra thay be winnin, all, wit 3e weill,  
The gudis ar ouris euer ilk deill,  
And I quyteclame 3ow vterly  
Baith gold and syluer halely,  
*And all the riches that thairis is.*

('B. A.' III 7266.)

=Et pour Dieu, biaux seigneurs, ne soit nus entendis  
A nul gäaing qui soit, ne du leur couvoitis,  
Ains conquerons le champ aus morteus anemis !  
Quant il sera vaincus, li avoires iert conquis  
Et je le vous quit tout et en fais et en dis,  
Or et argent et pailles et les mors et les vis !



hoped-for victory incomplete was only too necessary in Scottish warfare.

That these elements in the speech of Judas Maccabeus were appropriate to Bannockburn was proved also in the event. We know that the commander-in-chief, his lieutenants and the priests spared no effort to encourage the men.<sup>3</sup> Bannockburn was essentially the victory of a small but picked force fighting in a sacred cause. The victory was obtained not, as was long supposed, by defensive tactics but by bold attack.<sup>4</sup> After the day was won, Bruce's worst fears were realised, for, as an English contemporary admits, had his men not wasted their time in looting, not an Englishman would have escaped.<sup>5</sup> His triumph was later ascribed to his trust in God rather than in the numbers of a host,<sup>6</sup> and he himself was compared to Judas Maccabeus<sup>7</sup> in the noble letter addressed to Pope John XXII. on 6th April 1320 by the Barons of Scotland.

It is possible that Bruce quoted the Scriptures to the host, as many another Scottish commander has done "eftir that day and 3it beforne." But there is no evidence that he did, other than Barbour's. The comparison with Judas Maccabeus appears to be unconnected in the minds of the Barons with any speech which he may have made to

<sup>3</sup> T. Walsingham, ed. Riley, R.S., 1876, p. 245:

"Crastino vero, circa horam diei tertiam, Robertus . . . præcessit, pedes, Scotorum exercitum, dans illis exemplum, ut nemo de fuga cogitaret"; "Liber Pluscardensis," p. 248, "Omnes suos ante ingressum belli monere per ecclesiasticos viros facit." Similarly Abbot Bernard's poem (in Bower, p. 249), and Trokelowe (*supra*, § 49, n. 4).

<sup>4</sup> That the Scots took the offensive from the first and *attacked* is conclusively shown in Mr Mackenzie's study of Bannockburn.

<sup>5</sup> 'Vita Edwardi Secundi,' p. 206; cp. 'Br.' XIII 456:

"Thai dispendit haly that day  
In spoulzeing and richness taking."

<sup>6</sup> Fordun, in his brief account of Bannockburn, remarks (p. 347): "Rex Robertus, cum paucis occurrens, non in multitudine populi sed in Domino Deo spem ponens," &c.

<sup>7</sup> 'National MSS. of Scotland,' Part II., No. XXIV.



the troops. When Bower identifies the Biblical text of the discourse, he is merely adding to his usual repetition of Barbour a reference supplied from his own Biblical lore.<sup>8</sup> Since the phrasing does service also for Methven and Loudon Hill, where the circumstances cannot have been the same, and since the ideas recur over and over again in the 'Bruce' as in 'Les Vœux du Paon,' the inference must be that Barbour utilised reminiscences of the 'Buik' and then eked them out with reminiscences of the Bible.

The same double inspiration must account for Barbour's marked insistence throughout the 'Bruce' on the fact, noted *ad nauseam* by Jacques de Longuyon, that the battle is not always to the strong :

"For multitud maiss na victory"  
(Br. II. 330).

"For multitude in fecht oft failzeis"  
(B. A. I. 628).

"For the victory of battle standeth not in the multitude of a host." Quoniam non in multitudine exercitus victoria belli.  
(Macc. I. iii. 19);

on the military value of patriotism and a just quarrel, contrasted with the demoralising effects of the lust of conquest and mercenary aims, wherefore Bruce and Douglas may fitly be compared with the Maccabees;<sup>9</sup> on the overwhelming odds with which true heroism

<sup>8</sup> Bower, 'Scotichron.,' mentions in his account of Bannockburn that Bruce quoted Macc. I., "illud primum Machabæorum," and cites the lines iii. 20, "Ipsi veniunt," &c., and 21, "Nos vero pugnabimus"; see 'Athenæum,' 2nd Feb. 1901; and letter from "D.H.M.," *ibid.*, 28th Feb. 1901.

An older and quite different version of Bruce's Address at Bannockburn is given by Abbot Bernard of Arbroath; see G. Neilson, 'Scots Antiquary, July 1890. 'Blind Harry' (VI 515-27) puts into the mouth of Wallace a speech very similar to Barbour's. The oration in Boece, Fo. 302a, is a more ambitious effort, but contains the same thoughts as in the 'Bruce'—*e.g.*, "Nihil vero vbi Deus propitius est, hostium potest multitudo," and Stewart's version thereof ('Bk. Cron. Scot.,' line 50,014, &c.) is highly embellished, the Bruce being seated upon a throne! In both, the "heads of the discourse" and many of the phrases come from Barbour.

<sup>9</sup> 'Br.' I 464-76.

contends and which in the case of Barbour's heroes,<sup>10</sup> and of Judas Maccabeus,<sup>11</sup> are consistently ten to one, a proportion which also commends itself, though perhaps not quite so uniformly, to his French prototypes.<sup>12</sup> That such ideas are suggested to Barbour, not by mother wit but by specific literary works, is sufficiently plain from their context and wording—*e.g.* :

" And nocht-for-thi, thocht thai be fele,  
 God may rycht weill our werdis dele ;  
 For multitud maiss na victory,  
*As men has red in mony story,*  
 That few folk [oft has] wencusyt ma."  
(Br. II. 328).

The ' Buik ' also provides Barbour with the framework into which an anecdote or dialogue may be fitted—*e.g.*, whether the archer's target be a Traitor or a Peacock, the method of dispatch is the same ;<sup>13</sup> with materials to eke

<sup>10</sup> *E.g.*, ' Br. ' XII 565.

<sup>11</sup> ' Br. ' XIV 316.

<sup>12</sup> Examples of the fondness shown for the number ten in ' F. G. , ' ' V. P. , ' and even more conspicuously in ' B. A. ' and ' Br. , ' are collected by Neilson, ' J. B. , ' pp. 30-31.

<sup>13</sup>  
 Thiddirward vent his page & With that, ane chyld besyde him  
     he . . . went  
 " Quhat vappyn has thou ? " " A ! With ane stain-bow in hand all  
     schir ! perfay, bent . . .  
 I haf a bow, bot and a vyre. " " Len me that bow ! " " I grant, "  
 " Give me thame smertly baith. " said he ;  
     " A ! syre, He tuke the bow and taist it sone,  
 How-gat will 3he than that I And thairin hes ane pellok  
     do ? " . . . done . . .  
 He tit the bow out of his hand, The poun he hit richt on the hede  
 For the tratouris ves neir cum- Quhill on the stane the harnis  
     and . . . glede.  
 He tasit the vyre and leit it fle, ( ' B. A. ' III 5083-5103.)  
 And hit the fader in the e,  
 Till it rycht in the harnys ran.  
     ( ' Br. ' V 588-625.)

= Atant es .i. varlet d'encoste lui passant,  
 Qui porte un arc d'aubour . . .  
 " Preste moy cel arçon ! " " Sire, je le creant."  
 Et Porrus si prent l'arc, et le va entesant,  
 Dedens la coche mist .i. cailloucel pesant . . .  
 Le pāoncel ataint en la teste devant,  
 Les iex li fist saillir, le ceruele en espant.

out the conventional descriptions of May, which seem so curiously out of place in the narrative of stark encounters, but are really (as in the French) the recognised prelude to an account of some new enterprise;<sup>14</sup> with phrases for the siege of Berwick, which, however, is described much as in the chronicles;<sup>15</sup> with comparisons, some apologetic, as in the French, for with Hector and Alexander no man, not even Douglas, not even Bruce, can quite truthfully be compared, others free of that saving clause; with epithets or traits of character, transferable from Alexander the Large to Douglas, who retained no booty for himself, or from wicked King Clarus to Edward I., who was as "fell, pautener, cruell." The French prototypes set the example also for expansions which the modern historian leaves to the reader's imagination. The hero has occasion to move rapidly from one place to another. A horse being found, he "leaps on him deliverly." The good steed must have a name. Barbour did not know—who could in 1375?—the name of the palfrey lent by Bishop Lamberton of St Andrews to the youthful Douglas, and he called him "Ferrand," after Emenidus' charger in the 'Buik.'<sup>16</sup> Great events must be predicted. When the King was watching for the fateful beacon at Turnberry, his hostess foretold a happy issue to his arduous enterprise,<sup>17</sup> just as Alexander, at the beginning of 'Les Vœux,' had heard that in the end he would be successful in his war on Clarus.

One step farther takes Barbour over the border-line

<sup>14</sup> When Bruce goes to Carrick (although the vernal scene depicted ill accords with the hour of departure: "A litill forrow the evyn," 'Br.' V 17), and when he goes to Ireland in support of Edward Bruce ('Br.' XVI 63).

<sup>15</sup> "Vita Edwardi Secundi," p. 242.

<sup>16</sup> Thow sall tak Ferrand my palfray ('Br.' II 118).

<sup>17</sup> 'Br.' IV 638-61.

between truth and legitimate fiction<sup>18</sup>—*e.g.*, when to give a portrait of Douglas<sup>19</sup> he combines Porrus with the Poor Knight, as sketched in the 'Buik,' and adds, "As thai that saw him said to me."<sup>20</sup> This vague remark may be conventional or may be disingenuous, but is nevertheless not wholly devoid of truth. The amalgamated portrait from the 'Buik' does little more than expand into several lines the fact that Douglas was the "Black" Douglas. That fact was notorious, and had no doubt been related to Barbour, as to every one else, by Douglas' contemporaries. Since "Ector had blak har as he had"<sup>21</sup>—and, like Douglas, lisped (on the authority of Guido, in the original of the 'Troy-Book')—the way lay open for a lengthy comparison of Douglas with Hector of Troy. It is remarkable that this harmless loan from the 'Buik' should be singled out as "a portrait drawn with that affectionate and minute fidelity which stamps upon it the rare merit of truth,"<sup>22</sup> and that the passages most frequently quoted<sup>23</sup> as the finest in the 'Bruce' should be precisely those which are most closely copied from the 'Buik.' To use to such purpose one's own translations

<sup>18</sup> The "example" of Tydeus ('Br.' VI 179-284) —to give only one case of borrowings from other sources than the 'Buik'—is so "pat," and illustrates so exactly what it purports to illustrate (Bruce's stand against 200 men of Galloway—'Br.' VI 25-173), that the alleged incident must be constructed from the example.

<sup>19</sup> 'Br.' I 381.

<sup>20</sup> 'Br.' I 388.

<sup>21</sup> 'Br.' I 397.

<sup>22</sup> P. Fraser Tytler, 'Sc. Worth.' I, p. 407, and 'Hist. Scotl.' II, (1841), p. 6. It is, moreover, accepted without question by Sir Herbert Maxwell, 'Robert the Bruce,' p. 364. But as a matter of fact it does not quite tally with the other portrait of Douglas (XX 511-15): "of little effer wes he" (XX 515) contradicts "off lymmys he wes weill maid, with banys gret and schuldrys braid" (I 385-86).

<sup>23</sup> *E.g.*, by Skeat, ed. 'Br.,' and Craigie, 'Sc. Rev.' (1893), p. 187. The purple patches which, if those influenced by the 'Buik' were withdrawn, would remain to Barbour's credit, pending further inquiry, are the panegyric on Freedom, the Fire at Kildrummy, the Voyage to Rathlin, Bruce and the Laundress, the Fox and the Fisher.



from French is no small literary achievement. If in the interests of readability the good Archdeacon strays sometimes from the paths of truth, it is seldom very far. In essentials his work is "soothfast," as he wished it to be; in form and tone it is, as he justly terms it, a "Romance."

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## CHAPTER XIII.: THE LANGUAGE OF THE 'BUIK.'

### § 51. MODERNISATION OF THE ORIGINAL TEXT.

IN view of the paucity and insecurity (see Chapter VI) of the early Scottish texts available for comparison, it is impossible to determine the extent to which the 'Buik' as originally composed has been modernised, whether by scribes or printer.<sup>1</sup> The orthography was no doubt partially assimilated to that of 1580, as happened, *e.g.*, in the case of *Rauf Coilzear*, which exists only in a printed copy of 1572, or of the 'Bruce' as it appears in Hart's print of 1616. But this assimilation must have been relatively slight, because the forms subsist which Murray enumerates<sup>2</sup> as distinguishing

<sup>1</sup> The works chiefly consulted for the purposes of this chapter are J. A. H. Murray, 'The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland' (London: Asher), 1873, vii+251 pp., and G. Gregory Smith, 'Specimens of Middle Scots' (Blackwood), 1902, lxxv+374 pp.; also, J. W. Bearder, 'Ueber den Gebrauch der Präpositionen in der altschottischen Poesie,' Diss. Giessen, 1894, 102 pp.; F. J. Curtis, 'Investigation of the rimes of "Clariodus,"' Diss. Halle, 1894, 53 pp.; H. F. Fiby, 'Zur Laut- und Flexionslehre in Barbour's Schottischen Legenden,' Programm, Brünn, 1888-9, 25 pp.; M. Kolkwitz, 'Das Satzgefüge in Barbour's Bruce,' Diss. Halle, 1893, 56 pp.; P. Müller, 'Die Sprache der Aberdeener Urkunden,' Diss. Berlin, 1908, 143 pp.; F. H. Sykes, 'French Elements in M.E.,' Oxford, 1899, 64 pp.; W. Muehleisen, 'Textkritische, metrische und grammatische Untersuchungen von Barbour's Bruce,' Diss. Bonn, 1913, xiv+222 pp.

<sup>2</sup> 'D. S. Sc.,' p. 35; *e.g.*, the *ai*, *ay*, and *ei* of the 'Middle' period have not wholly superseded the older *a* and *e*; dede, wele, kepe, thar, exhibited in Wyntoun's excerpt of the 'Bruce,' are found in the 'Buik' alongside M. Sc. deid, weill, keip, thair, which largely replaced them in the 1489 MS. The past tense in *-a*, *e.g.*, assemblyd (Wynt.) becomes *-t*,



"Early" from "Middle" Scots. There are a few traces, such as an occasional *also*, *quho* for the older *alsa* and *quha*, of the marked assimilation to English spelling produced in the sixteenth century by the use of English books,<sup>3</sup> notably the English Bible. But these are in the nature of unconscious alterations or misprints, and the spelling is in general agreement with that of the MSS. of the 'Bruce,' of which some apparent misspellings are curiously paralleled—*e.g.*, *dois* = "dies" (I. 651) and *amourus*, II. (Prol.) 23 = *amouris*, suggesting closeness to the original MS. of the 'BuiK.' Arbuthnot, however (as indicated in the Notes in Vol. IV.), occasionally substituted more modern forms of a word—*e.g.*, he "corrected," despite *rime*, *Greions* = "Greeks" IV. 8953 to *Gretians*, a sixteenth century form not attested till 1547 in O.E.D.

We find no evidence either of any attempt to remove dialectal peculiarities and make the text conform with a central standard.

The state of the Scottish dialects in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, the peculiarities of regional pronunciation, and the extent to which these are reflected in early literary works, are not sufficiently well known for us to determine thereby the local origins of the 'BuiK.' It is idle to expect in the works of the courtly Archdeacon much trace of the local peculiarities of Aberdeen, some of which, moreover, are modern—*e.g.*, the North-Eastern Sc. pronunciation of *wh* as *f* is not shown in Mid. Sc. orthography.<sup>4</sup> But it is interesting to note that "*blude*" = BLOOD, riming with *3eid* (I. 1654), recalls the well-known Aberdonian "*bleid*," and is actually so written (I. 1544), and that *beit* = BOOT, sb. "advantage," rimes with *sueit* = SWEET (II. 2471) [cp. N.E. dialect: "into the *beit* and the bargain" (II. 2792)], and that some elements in the vocabulary are not recorded outside the Aberdeen Council Register: "*deray*," an erroneous form of ARRAY sb. (II. 2792) [the Register has "in their best *deray*"]; "*mel3e*" = MELLE, a cloth of mixed colours; "his leggis ware arrayit in *mel3e* of fyne hew" [the Register has "the price litting of the stane of mellay hew, xxii. sh."], while for "*perk*" = a pole (IV. 9210) and "*warpiss*" (I. 1657) O.E.D. quotes only the 'Legends of the Saints' and the 'Aberdeen Register.'

as in the MSS. of the 'Bruce.' No importance attaches to this, as the use of *-d* may be only an idiosyncrasy of Wyntoun's: see Craigie, 'Sc. Rev.' (1897), p. 54. The frequency of excrescent *l*, as in *chalmer* (see 'D. S. Sc.', p. 54), is a sign of M. Sc. orthography.

<sup>3</sup> 'D. S. Sc.', 65.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 54.

## § 52. VOCABULARY.

The vocabulary coincides in great part with that of the 'Bruce.' Barbour's pet words, like his pet phrases, occur in the 'Buik' with a frequency on which we need not insist here, as it is sufficiently indicated in the glossary and in the notes, where interpretation of the text is continually facilitated by reference to the 'Bruce.' Words which modern lexicography has traced back to Barbour, but no further, duly appear in the 'Buik'; of these, some, now commonplace, were no doubt in unrecorded use before his day; but others, which have remained rare and which are almost always of French origin and are sometimes suggested by the French text, are presumably his own direct borrowings. The mass of striking similarities with the vocabulary of the 'Bruce' is so overwhelming that little importance attaches to the fact that some words and forms found in the 'Bruce' are curiously absent.<sup>1</sup>

WORDS IN THE 'BUIK' FIRST RECORDED IN  
THE 'BRUCE.'A. COMMON WORDS.<sup>2</sup>

ANSWERING, *vbl. sb.*; ARMING, *vbl. sb.*; assail<sup>3</sup>earis = *pl.* of ASSAILER; ASSEMBLING, *vbl. sb.*; auysit = *pa. pple.* of ADVISE; auysitly, *adv.* = ADVISEDLY; awent, *v.* = AVENT;

<sup>1</sup> It would be instructive, though laborious, to invert the method which we have adopted and make a list of words present in the 'Bruce' and conspicuously absent in the 'Buik.' We note among those not satisfactorily accounted for by the subject-matter of the 'Bruce' (see §§ 26 and 34): *atour* = "military equipment," 'Br.' XVII 717 (also in Caxton); *bait* (A litill quhile thai baitit thar), 'Br.' XIII 599; *in apert* = "openly" ('Br.' XIX 27); to "occupy" land, frequent in 'Br.' (and in other fourteenth century texts—*e.g.*, 'Morte Arthure' 98:

"To ansuere anely why thow occupyes the laundez  
That awe homage of alde till him and his eldys").

It would also be interesting to make a list of words conspicuously absent from both texts, such as *roy* = "King," which was in common use—*e.g.*, in 'Morte Arthure' and 'Wall.,' but apparently not in Barbour or Wyntoun.

<sup>2</sup> For references and quotations, see the Glossary in Vol. iv. and O.E.D., *s.v.* The form in which the word appears in O.E.D. is added in small capitals.

BOLL, *sb.*; CHAIP, *v.*; chaissing, *vbl. sb.* = CHASING; communite, *sb.* = COMMUNITY; CONTRARY, *v.*; DISCONFORT, *sb.*; disheris, *v.* = DISHERISS; distrubling, *vbl. sb.* = DISTROUBLING; dushis, *pl.* = DUSH; eird, *v.* = EARTH; GREATUMLY, *adv.*; hartfully, *adv.* = HEARTFULLY; hindmaist, *adj.* and *adv.* = HINDMOST; ingreif, *v.* = ENGREVE; ISHING, *vbl. sb.*; leif-taking, *vbl. sb.* = LEAVE-TAKING; MANRENT, *sb.*; MISTER, *v.*; na wis, *adv.* = NOWISE; newlingis, *adv.* = NEWLINGS; pennoun, *sb.* = PENNON; perfurneis, *v.* = PERFURNISH; persauing, *vbl. sb.* = PERCEIVING; pryse, *v.* = PRIZE; quhein, *adj.* = WHEEN; recowering, *vbl. sb.* = RECOVERING; rigorously, *adv.* = RIGOROUSLY; ROD [= path] *sb.*; samyng, *adj.* = SAMEN; schore, *v.* = SHORE; sloppis, *pl.* = SLAP; STAMPING, *vbl. sb.* [= "trampling"]; swak, *sb.* = SWACK, *sb.*: suaked, *pa. t.* = SWACK, *v.*; sufficiand, *adj.* = SUFFICIENT.

## B. RARE WORDS.

B. A.	O.E.D.	INSTANCES RECORDED IN O.E.D.
abandonly, <i>adv.</i>	=ABANDONLY	only 'Br.' and 'Wall.'
barblit, <i>pa. pple</i>	=BARBELED	only 'Br.' and 'Caxton.'
barnie, <i>sb.</i>	=BARNE	only 'Br.' and S.L.S. ('Baptista').
colle, <i>sb.</i>	=COLEE	a blow (in battle): 3 quots. The other two (c. 1430 'Pilgr. Lyf. Manhode,' and c. 1450 'Mirour Saluacioun') refer to the dubbing of a knight.
cowardy	=COWARDY	'Br.'; c. 1386, Chaucer 'Knt's T.'; c. 1440. Partonope; 1536 Bellen-den. 1578.
Intermelle, <i>adj.</i>	=INTERMELLE	only 'Br.'
„ <i>sb.</i>	...	MS. E of 'Br.' and 1535 Stewart 'Cron. Scot.'
irously, <i>adv.</i>	=IROUSLY	'Br.'; c. 1450 Lovelich, 'Grail'; c. 1475 'Partenay.'
mardale, <i>sb.</i>	=MERDAILLE	'Br.'; S.L.S. (Ninian); 1687 Clevedale.
mauite, <i>sb.</i>	=MAVITE	only 'Br.' in O.E.D. The word, however, occurs in Wyntoun.
reconforting	=RECOMFORTING	'Br.'; 1423 Jas. I. 'K. Q.'; c. 1550 in 'Dunbar's Poems'; 1611 Cotgrave.
renoune	=RENOWNE (E trisyll.)	'Br.'; c. 1385 Chaucer 'L.G.W.'; 1513 Dougl. 'Æn.'
rimmill, <i>sb.</i>	=RIMMEL	'Br.' and c. 1450 Holland 'Howlat.'
sarray, <i>adj.</i>	=SARRAY	only 'Br.'
stalwartly, <i>adv.</i>	=STALWARTLY	'Br.'; c. 1400 'Destr. Troy'; 1475 'Rauf Coilgear'; 1887—Dicts.
stokking, <i>vbl. sb.</i>	=STOKING (f. STROKE, <i>v.</i> <sup>1</sup> )	only 'Br.'
tropell, <i>sb.</i>	=TROPEL	'Br.' and c. 1400 'Laud Troy-Bk.'

The words which are absent from the 'Bruce,' and which we tabulate below in the chronological order of their recorded appearance elsewhere, are of varied importance. Those first registered in the fourteenth and early fifteenth century are of no great interest, because a few years' difference is immaterial, and the dates are often only approximate. Of those which in lexicography must be called "late fifteenth or sixteenth century words," but in fact may be much older, some occur chiefly in translations from French, notably in Caxton, and are often accounted for by that fact; others are compounds, like "tale-telling" and "cherry-stone," of which the date of appearance in English is difficult to determine precisely; and others again are original only in form, such as "dukery" (DUCHERY being in the 'Morte Arthure'), or new adverbs formed from very old adjectives.

The words which are absent not only from the 'Bruce' but from all other known texts are, when not explainable as above, nonce-words coined by a translator in distress, mere Scotifications of French terms.

We append the results obtained by checking the vocabulary on the O.E.D. that readers may form their own opinions, and that we may indulge in the pastime, growing daily more strenuous, and likely, with the appearance of the Supplement, to become impossible, of capping the earliest example in O.E.D. with a yet earlier one, and producing words that had escaped the all-seeing eye of the great dictionary<sup>3</sup> :—

EARLIEST RECORDED APPEARANCE ELSEWHERE OF  
WORDS IN 'B. A.' BUT NOT IN THE 'BRUCE.'

FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

1377 Langland	tunicall, <i>sb.</i>	= TUNICLE
c. 1380 'Ferumbr.'	perroun, <i>sb.</i>	= PERRON
"	quaif, <i>sb.</i>	= COIF
c. 1380 Wyclif	cressand,	= <i>pres. pple.</i> of CREASE
1382 "	coustumit, <i>ppl. a.</i>	= CUSTOMED
1386 Chaucer	varnist, <i>ppl. a.</i>	= VARNISHED
1387 T. Usk	intermellit,	= <i>pa. pple.</i> of INTERMELL
1389 in 'Eng. Guilds' (1870)	listis,	= <i>pl.</i> of LIST
1398 Trevisa	nobillite, <i>sb.</i>	= NOBILITY
"	starting, <i>vbl. sb.</i>	= STARTING
c. 1400 "Burgh Laws'	ioys, <i>v.</i>	= JOISE
" 'Destr. Troy'	sport, <i>v.</i>	= SPORT
" "	stythly, <i>adv.</i>	= STITHLY
" 'Morte Arthure'	rashes,	= <i>pres. t.</i> RASH, <i>v.</i> <sup>1</sup> to rush
" 'Troy-Bk.'	vmest, <i>adj.</i>	= UMEST

<sup>3</sup> We are much indebted to the Editor, Mr C. T. Onions, for purging our list of several words which we had been unable to discover in O.E.D., but which he successfully showed it to contain, and of several would-be "earlier instances," which he rebutted, very gently.



## FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

1412-20 Lydgate 'Chron. Troy'	haitfully, <i>adv.</i>	= HATEFULLY
" " " " "	syper, <i>sb.</i>	= SINOPER
1419 'Liber Albus' " "	stain-bow, <i>sb.</i>	= STONE-BOW
c. 1420 'The Avowynge of King Arthur'	avowing, <i>vbl. sb.</i>	= AVOWING
" 'Anturs of Arth.'	startand, <i>ppl. a.</i>	= STARTING
c. 1425 Wynt. [O.E.D. 1513, Dougl. 'Æn.']	canous, <i>adj.</i>	= CANOUS
c. 1425 Wynt.	chad-melle, <i>sb.</i>	= CHAUD-MELLÉ
" "	coft	= <i>pa. t.</i> of COFF
" "	raid, <i>sb.</i>	= RAID ("foray")
" "	vame, <i>sb.</i>	= WAME
" "	warsling, <i>vbl. sb.</i>	= WRESTLING
c. 1430 Lydgate	fete, <i>adj.</i>	= FEAT
c. 1430	masoned,	= <i>pa. pple.</i> of MASON
c. 1440 'Gaw. & Golagr.' as <i>sb.</i>	bloncat, <i>adj.</i>	= BLUNKET
[1448 'Ld. High Treas. Accts.' as <i>adj.</i> ]		
c. 1440 'Promp. Parv.'	letter, <i>sb.</i>	= LITTER
c. 1440 'Gesta Rom.'	alphyne, <i>sb.</i>	= ALFIN
c. 1440	vmbethinking, <i>vbl. sb.</i>	= UMBETHINKING
1449 (but cp. REPROVABLE <i>adj.</i> )	repreuabily, <i>adv.</i>	= REPROVABLY
1340 Hampole		
1432-50 <i>tr.</i> 'Higden'	inclusit,	= <i>pa. pple.</i> of INCLUDE
" "	intromettit,	= <i>pa. t.</i> of INTROMIT
c. 1400-1450 'Alexander' (the only instance quoted by O.E.D.)	clap, <i>v.</i>	= CLAP, "to embrace"
" "	cod, <i>sb.</i>	= COD, <i>sb.</i> <sup>2</sup> , "a cushion"
" "	tyrlis, <i>sb.</i>	= TRELLIS, "a latticed window"
c. 1450 Henryson	conqueis, <i>v.</i>	= CONQUEIS
" Lovelich 'Grail'	affraying, <i>vbl. sb.</i>	= AFFRAYING
c. 1450	medecyne, <i>sb.</i>	= MEDICINE, <i>sb.</i> <sup>2</sup> , "a doctor"
c. 1450 'St Cuthbert' (Surtees)	glaidfully, <i>adv.</i>	= GLADFULLY
1456 Sir G. Haye, 'Law of Armys'	lymmar, <i>sb.</i>	= LIMMER
" "	sumpart, <i>adv.</i>	= SOMEPART
1460 Earl 'Marche in Ellis 'Orig. Lett.'	euill-willeris	= <i>pl.</i> of EVIL-WILLER
c. 1460 'Towneley Myst.' (only instance in O.E.D.)	indoissit,	= <i>pa. pple.</i> of ENDOSS
" "	abasitly, <i>adv.</i>	= ABASEDLY
c. 1470 Henryson	seindill, <i>adv.</i>	= SENDLE
c. 1470 'Wall'	gorgettis,	= <i>pl.</i> of GORGET
" "	scry, <i>sb.</i>	= SCRY
" "	splendris,	= <i>pl.</i> of SPLINDER
" "	stoneis, <i>v.</i>	= STONISH
1480 Caxton	disprysit,	= <i>pa. pple.</i> of DISPRIZE
1481 "	musardy, <i>sb.</i>	= MUSARDY
1483	sporting, <i>vbl. sb.</i>	= SPORTING
" 'Cath. Angl.'	warrit,	= <i>pa. pple.</i> of WAR, <i>v.</i> <sup>2</sup> , to worst
1486 'Bk. St. Albans'	bastardy, <i>sb.</i>	= BASTARDY
1488 'Acta Audit'	warrandyse, <i>sb.</i>	= WARRANDICE
14— 'Dietary' in 'Br.'	grounch, <i>v.</i>	= GROUNCH



14— 'How Gd. Wife' in 'Br.'	moy, <i>adj.</i>	= MOY
1491 Caxton	malancoliand,	= <i>pres. pple.</i> of MELANCHOLY
14— in 'Tundale's Vis.'	noblenes, <i>sb.</i>	= NOBLENES

## SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

1513 Dougl. 'Æn.'	douncome, <i>sb.</i>	= DOWNCOME
" " " "	huly, <i>adj.</i>	= HOOLY
(as <i>adj.</i> , c. 1340 Hampole)		
1530 Palsgrave	according, <i>vbl. sb.</i>	= ACCORDING
" "	doggitness, <i>sb.</i>	= DOGGEDNESS
1548	battreis,	= <i>pl.</i> of BATTERY
1549 Coverdale	tantingly, <i>adv.</i>	= TAUNTINGLY
1556 but cp. TALE-TELLER, 1377, Langland	tail-telling, <i>sb.</i>	= TALE-TELLING
1559 Sackville	inthyrlit,	= <i>pa. t.</i> of ENTHRILL
1565 Lindesay (Pitscottie)	dukrie, <i>sb.</i>	= DUKERY
1589 but cp. AMEL, c. 1340 'Gaw. & Gr. Knt.'	esmale, <i>sb.</i>	= ESMAYLE "enamel"
1590 Shaksp. 'Com. Err.'	chirrie-stane,	= CHERRY-STONE

## LATER.

1614 Selden	feid,	= FEUD, <i>sb.</i> <sup>2</sup> "lordship"
1842 Tennyson, 'Mem.'	tuinfold,	= TWINFOLD
1845 (only quot.)	knychtfully, <i>adv.</i>	= KNIGHTFULLY
1868	quarraled	= QUARRELED, <i>adj.</i>

## WORDS IN 'B. A.' NOT RECORDED IN O.E.D.

Antife, *adj.*, "antique"; basing, *vbl. sb.*, f. base = BASH, *v.*<sup>1</sup> "dismay"; disagysitly, *adv.*, "in a feigned manner," but cp. DISGUISE, *adj.* Br. and disagyse, sixteenth century Sc. form of DISGUISE, *v.*; herauld, *sb.*, "old man" (? play upon HERALD); herefurth, *adv.*, ? "lately"; largite, *sb.*, "liberality" tr. *largetés*; limmounis, *sb. pl.*, "shafts" tr. *limons*; mynzetotly, *adv.*, "gracefully"; neif-stainnis, *sb.*, "stones thrown by hand"; pensoun, *sb.*, "paunch"; rioting, *vbl. sb.* (f. RIOT), "ravaging of a country" [F. MSS. *rioter*; cp. RIOT = to harry, Br.]; ruffell, *sb.*, "a slight wound," (f. RUFFLE *v.*<sup>2</sup> "to handle roughly" Br.); schip-grome, *sb.*, "boatman"; soldie, *sb.*, pay, tr. *saudée*; tyre, *sb.*,<sup>2</sup> silk cloth from Tyre, tr. *Tyr*; vmbestrade, *pa. t.*, "bestrode."

Some words are used in peculiar senses, often paralleled in the 'Bruce,' sometimes scarcely anywhere else. The significance of this fact will appear from the two lists below. A distinction of sense first recorded in Barbour is likely to be of his own making, and when it is made also in the 'Buik,' with or without prompting by the French, it throws some

light on his thought and style. The senses which are paralleled not in the 'Bruce' but elsewhere, and those which are apparently peculiar to the 'BuiK,' are mostly due to imitation, more or less direct, of the French text, and to the exigences of translation:—

## SENSES FIRST RECORDED IN BARBOUR'S 'BRUCE.'

BUIK OF ALEXANDER, GLOSSARY.	O.E.D.	SENSE.
anger, <i>sb.</i>	= ANGER	<i>pl.</i> with <i>sing.</i> meaning. Only 'Br.'
apertly, <i>adj.</i>	= APERTLY	sense 3 O.E.D. " "
arest, <i>v.</i>	= ARREST	<i>trans.</i>
chais, <i>v.</i>	= CHASE	sense 1 <sup>d</sup> O.E.D., "to pursue," <i>in-</i> <i>trans.</i> or <i>absol.</i>
chaisaris,	= <i>pl.</i> of CHASER	sense 2 O.E.D., "one who pursues."
charge, <i>v.</i>	= CHARGE	sense 10 O.E.D., "to press hard" (in battle). Only 'Br.' and 1568 Grafton.
conqueir, <i>v.</i>	= CONQUER	sense 2 <sup>d</sup> O.E.D., "to gain honour."
festning, <i>vbl. sb.</i>	= FASTENING	"imprisonment."
instrumentis	= <i>pl.</i> of INSTRUMENT	"engines of war."
iolely, <i>adv.</i>	= JOLLILY	sense 3 O.E.D., "finely." Only 'Br.'; 1426 Audelay; <i>c.</i> 1640.
leif, <i>v.</i>	= LEAVE	<i>trans.</i> "to send away, dismiss," not in O.E.D., but in 'Br.' XX. 315.
maieste, <i>sb.</i>	= MAJESTY	"sovereign (temporal) power."
manteme, <i>v.</i>	= MAINTAIN	<i>refl.</i> "to conduct oneself."
martirdome, <i>sb.</i>	= MARTYRDOM	sense 2 O.E.D., "slaughter."
recomfort, <i>v.</i>	= RECOMFORT	"to put heart into," <i>trans.</i>
refuse, <i>v.</i>	= REFUSE	sense 3 O.E.D., "to shirk."
shamefull, <i>adj.</i>	= SHAMEFUL	"ashamed."
sterand, <i>adj.</i>	= STIRRING	sense 2 <sup>b</sup> O.E.D., of horses: "spirited."
trauersit	= <i>pa. t.</i> of TRAVERSE	"to go across," <i>intrans.</i>
vmbecast, <i>v.</i>	= UMBECAST	sense 3 O.E.D., "to consider." Only 'Br.' and Wynt.
waiffand,	= <i>pres. part.</i> of WAVE	sense 1 O.E.D. (of a banner).

## SENSES FIRST RECORDED IN 'B. A.'

EARLIEST INSTANCE IN O.E.D.	GLOSSARY.	O.E.D.	SENSE.
<i>c.</i> 1380 'Ferumbr.'	antiquiteis	= <i>pl.</i> of ANTIQUITY	sense 4 O.E.D. "olden time."
<i>c.</i> 1400	birth, <i>sb.</i>	= BIRTH	sense 3 O.E.D. "young of animals."
1415 Sir T. Grey	lousing, <i>vbl. sb.</i>	= LOOSING	"release."
<i>c.</i> 1425 Wynt.	fede, <i>sb.</i>	= FEUD	sense 2 O.E.D. "mutual hostil- ity."
" "	plummettis	= <i>pl.</i> of PLUMMET	sense 3 O.E.D. "knob (on a hilt)."

EARLIEST INSTANCE IN O.E.D.	GLOSSARY.	O.E.D.	SENSE.
1438 'Buik of Alexander'	sonȝe, <i>sb.</i>	=SONYIE	sense 1 O.E.D. "excuse."
c. 1438	carpet, <i>sb.</i>	=CARPET	sense 2 O.E.D. "floor-carpet."
c. 1450 Henryson	heidit, <i>pa. pple</i>	=HEADED	sense 2 O.E.D. "tipped."
c. 1450 'Ratis Raving' (the only instance in O.E.D.)	misterfull, <i>adj.</i>	=MISTERFULL	"necessary."
c. 1455 Paston 'Lett.'	shot, <i>sb.</i>	=SHOT	sense 8 O.E.D. "range."
c. 1450 'St Cuthbert'	stour, <i>sb.</i>	=STOUR	sense 2 O.E.D. "a struggle with pain."
1456 Sir G. Haye, 'Law Arms'	„	„	sense 5 O.E.D. "dust."
1470 Henry 'Wall.'	sonȝe, <i>sb.</i>	=SONYIE	sense 2 O.E.D. "delay."
1489 Caxton	mynȝeot, <i>adj.</i>	=MIGNOTE	"dainty."
c. 1500 'Lancelot'	nece, <i>sb.</i>	=NIECE	"nephew."
1501 Dougl. 'Pal. Hon.'	disseit, <i>pa. pple</i>	=of DIZZY	"to make dizzy."
1513 Dougl. 'Æn.'	leid, <i>sb.</i>	=LEED	"language, ton- gue."
1535 Stewart 'Chron. Scot.' (as <i>adj.</i> Chaucer)	bay, as <i>sb.</i>	=BAY, <i>adj.</i>	"bay horse."
1587 Fleming, 'Contn. Holinshed'	avowery	=AVOWRY	sense 6 O.E.D. "vowing."
1590 Spenser	sweaty, <i>adj.</i>	=SWEATY	"covered with sweat."
1601 Shaks. 'Jul. C.'	enclosit, <i>pa. pple</i>	=of ENCLOSE	sense 6 O.E.D. "to surround (in battle)."

### SENSES NOT RECORDED IN O.E.D.

? Conjure, *v.*, "to press hard in battle"; gage, *sb.*, "reward"; mariner, *sb.*, "boatman," tr. *marinier*; short, *v.*, "to amuse" [= to beguile, c. 1400 onwards O.E.D.]; sikkerness, *sb.* = SICKERNESS, "defensive armour"; stering, *vbl. sb.* = STEERING, ? "line of march"; warrandy, *sb.* = WARRANTY, "protection" *gen.* [only legal in O.E.D., 1338 onwards].

### WORDS IN PHRASES.

That phrasal power in Barbour is somewhat marked would appear from Mr F. H. Sykes' interesting study.<sup>4</sup> It is difficult, however, to arrive at much certainty on this subject,

<sup>4</sup> *E.g.*, p. 14, where numerous examples are given of noun + verb.

because it is hard to say when a concatenation of words becomes a phrase, and because (no doubt for the same reason) less help than usual is provided by the O.E.D. We note below (a) phrases which seem characteristic of, but are not peculiar to, Barbour; (b) others which are first recorded in the 'Bruce'; and (c) some which are not found there, so far as we have observed:—

(a) PHRASES CHARACTERISTIC OF (BUT NOT PECULIAR TO)  
BARBOUR'S 'BRUCE,' FOUND ALSO IN 'B. A.'

BR.	B. A.
<i>to do chivalry:</i> Thai saw Thar fayis ridand . . . Willful <i>to do cheualry</i> (II 342)	Worship to do and cheualry (II 1455)
<i>to make a course:</i> Till thame all ane <i>courss he maiss</i> (XVII 316)	Emynedvs his cours maid weil = Bien vot E. son poindre par- furnir (I 1367)
<i>at all device:</i> The king . . . wes vicht and viss And richt vorthy <i>at all deuiss</i> (XI 348)	Courtes, douchty at all deuyce (II 2012)
And <i>held</i> him lelely <i>his fay</i> (XIII 545)	haldand thair fay (III 7576)
Gyff thow wald <i>kep thi fewte</i> (I 427)	Now will I . . . kep my fewte with thame (III 6908)
Than sprent thai sammyn <i>in-till a lyng</i> (XII 49)	rushit togidder all in ane ling = brochent ensemble (IV 9337)
In-myds the visage = "face to face" (XII 576)	(I 122, 2842)
<i>without</i> (also <i>but</i> ) <i>ransom</i> = "irre- mediably" slyand thame without ransoun (XIII 72)	Outher sall thay all ouris be, Or we sall all die but ransoun (I 498)
<i>to make rescours</i> = to rescue And quhen the king thaim <i>maid rescours</i> (III 76, XII 369)	(I 44, 2134)
<i>on raw</i> = "in a row" Thai stude than rangit all <i>on raw</i> , Reddy for till byde battale (XI 431)	His princes and barrouns standand on raw = entour lui environ (III 8012)
We haf <i>tynt</i> this <i>trauell</i> (VII 45)	May nocht mis honour na tyne <i>trauell</i> (II 396)
<i>to have victory</i> (I 473)	
<i>to have the war</i> = "to have the worst of it" Bot thar bowmen <i>the wer</i> had ay (IX 159)	(II 2800, III 6687)
<i>of war</i> = "in a hostile manner" Thai justit . . . <i>of weir</i> (XIX 787)	The wakar sone the war can hait (I 1782)
	And he to him come, as of <i>were</i> [Not in F.] (II 1226)

## (b) PHRASES IN 'B. A.' FIRST RECORDED IN THE 'BRUCE.'

For the examples, see Glossary, s.v. *answer*, *answering*, *hynder*, *mak*, *new*, *put*, *set*, *vailȝe*, *vnder*.

To make answer, answering; to make arrest = "to stop"; this hinder day = "a few days ago"; to make of some one = "to esteem highly"; of new = "of late"; to put agane = "to drive back"; a set battle = "pitched"; at under = "in an inferior position"; *vailȝe* quod *vailȝe* = "whatever be the consequences." Cp. Br. IX. 147: Bot gif othir wald thame assalȝe, Thai wald defend, avalȝe que valȝe [MS. E. *wailȝe* que *wailȝe*].

## (c) PHRASES FIRST RECORDED IN 'B. A.'

EARLIEST REF. IN  
O.E.D.

c. 1380 Wyclif	to set to sale ("to put up for sale")	see Glossary, s.v.	SAILL
c. 1386 Chaucer 'Sqr's. T.'	the maister tour	" "	MAISTER
c. 1400 'Destr. Troy'	in peirt ("openly")	" "	PEIRT
c. 1440 'York Myst.'	to make room ("to make way")	" "	ROUME
1500 'Three Kings' Sons,' E.E.T.S. [but the phrase occurs in Wynt. VIII 900]	hand in hand	" "	HAND
c. 1556 'Aurelio & Isab.'	to make the wheel (of a peacock)	" "	QUHEILL

[There is a reference to the peacock's "wheel" in Douglas, 'Æn.' XII. Prol. (ed. Small), Vol. IV., p. 85, l. 10].

## § 53. GRAMMAR AND SYNTAX.

*The Article.*

*Ane* is found in all positions representing the earlier *ane*, *an*, *a*. The use of *ane* before a consonant, extremely rare till c. 1475 and not established in literary usage till c. 1500,<sup>1</sup> is no doubt due to a late copyist or to the printer. But assimilation to sixteenth century usage has been less complete than in, e.g., the 1572 print of 'Rauf Coilȝear,' and a few examples

<sup>1</sup> See Murray 'D. S. Sc.,' 57. In the 'Bruce' *an* before *n* is common — e.g., *ane narow* place; see 'D. S. Sc.,' p. 55, n. 2.



of *a* remain which escaped notice—*e.g.*, A poynt (I. 1112 and 2280), a deill (II. 4930), cp. Ane poynt (I. 3087). Sometimes *a* has been altered to *ane* too hastily—*e.g.*, Ane back (I. 2409) is for Abak = ABACK, *adv.*, ane mendis (II. 738) = AMENDS, and some hesitation appears in ane seage (II. 275), ane assege (II. 201), the latter line being faulty.

The Indefinite Article is occasionally omitted, all the more easily no doubt because of the corresponding custom in French, in phrases like—

And ask answer quhat we sall do (II. 403).

War I woman, I durst weill say (II. 4819),

and very generally after *as* in comparisons like—

as douchty knicht (I. 2099 ; cp. II. 4469).

as gude vassale

(I. 2548) ; cp. as gud nyctbur (Br. I. 87).

as man of mane

(I. 2620, 2702).

Thay smot togidder as tempest

(I. 2326).

The Definite Article is omitted (as always in O.F.) with the name of the inhabitants of a country—*e.g.*, Gretians (I. 2036), Gaderains (I. 3094) [so 'Wall.' VII. 483, Sotheroune] ; but used (as in French) with abstract nouns, occasionally—*e.g.*, I hait the weir and luffis the peis = Car moult desir *la* pais et *la* guerre m'anoie (II. 4824).

### *The Noun.*

The undeclined possessive is limited to a few examples : "his sister [= sister's] sone" (I. 686), "his hors hede" (II. 1205). The types "at the battell beginning" = a l'estor commencier (I. 736), "at the day rising" (II. 3962), "before the sone rying," are special cases of this usage, however, being accounted for in the French, which uses *infin.* + *sb.* with the same sense. Also due to French influence is the habit of omitting a preposition with proper nouns—*e.g.*, the palace Jupiter, the tempil Venus (Diane, Marcus), chalmer Venus. The singular is oddly substituted for the plural, to suit the rime :—

And knichtis lyand in blude be dosin (I. 2538).

And all the douzepeirs and barroun : *rime* Emynedoun  
(II. 316).

To the latter example a somewhat analogous case can be quoted from 'Sir Orfeo,' 201, where *renouns* = *renown* is used merely to rime with *barouns*. Apposition is sometimes indicated by the Gallicism "of," suggested obviously by *de* in the French original :—

Of douchty man is nobill thing (II. 355).

Cp. the pleonastic use of "body" = "self" (O.F. *cors*) :  
ony ane manis body (I. 3178), Gaudefeirs body (II. 4265).

The Adjective has occasionally the force of a substantive,  
*e.g.* :—

sa riche and sa mychty As he . . . (II. 3238).

"That auld," "that suet," &c., is general M.E.

*The Personal Pronoun.*

The pleonastic use is common, as in M.E. :—

Thus as he spak, the King of pris (II. 219) ;

That bourd or it be assayit,  
The Indeans sall be full affrayit (III. 7823) ;

of Grece the cheualry,  
Thay war affrayit (I. 317) ;

"Se my neuoy, how he stonayis  
3on Gaderanes . . ."

= "Veés de mon neveu, com se vait contenant"  
(I. 1349) ; so I. 1228, II. 472, 474.

The Pronoun is, as in O.F., frequently omitted :—

Quhen Licanor had hard this saw,  
For propir tene began to thraw (I. 257, 3044) ;

Quhen Porrus hard, had matelent (II. 4579) ;  
how him befell (II. 4666) ;

"My freind sall be that may it speid !" (II. 4975) ;

on Grecians leid,  
That wele couth speke and wittely  
= quar bel le sot parler  
(III. 7588) ; cp. III. 8060.

The odd use of *him*, "Him durst lytle drede 3on great deray" (II. 2792), if not a printer's error, might be accounted

for by confusion with "him thocht" = seemed; cp. thame semyt (Br. XII. 147).

### *The Relative.*

The practice of omitting the Relative must be remembered in sentences like—

And of the gude thairof nicht fall (II. 2178).

The Kingis sonnes, at the hunting had bene  
(II. 2680).

My hart is he dois my bidding (III. 7261).  
= moult sera mes amis  
Qui fera mon conmant.

The frequent use of "sic . . . that" = "one who"; e.g., in—

For *sik* man wenes weill that he is worth,  
*That* failȝeis all quhen he cumis forth (II. 4255)

is amply paralleled in O.F. (and Mod. F.: *Tel qui rit vendredi, dimanche pleurera*).

*Quha* requires no antecedent; cp. O.F. *qui* = *si l'on*; e.g.—

*Quha* had ane scheild hale, may fall  
That sone sall be to-fruschit all (I. 2208).

The use of *quha* as simple relative in place of the earlier *at* appears first in Henryson, where, however, it may be due to later copyists, and becomes frequent from c. 1540<sup>2</sup>; it is not found in our 'BuiK.'

*Quhilk*, occurring in the 'Bruce,' though rarely,<sup>3</sup> is frequently used in the 'BuiK,' and occasionally takes the plural form *quhilkis*, found in the Old Scottish Laws (end of the fourteenth century).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> 'D. S. Sc.,' 69.

<sup>3</sup> Koepfel, 'Engl. Stud.,' X. 381, says that 'Br.' XVIII 225 is the only example of *quhilk* used otherwise than in the form *the quhilk that*, and Mr Mackenzie therefore adopts there the reading of E, "And that." But *quhilk* occurs = "which of two" in 'Br.' I 77, where it is confirmed by Wyntoun.

<sup>4</sup> E.g., all playntis the *quhilkis* ar in burgh, *Leges Quatuor Burgorum* vj., in 'D. S. Sc.,' 32.

*The Verb.*

The ending of the Present Participle, normally *-and*, as in Early Sc., is found occasionally as *-ing*—e.g., *Sporting* (II. 3788), probably due to the printer.<sup>5</sup>

The Past Participle has an excrescent final *-g* in *becumming* (IV. 10,874), *numyng* (II. 4718), *rysing* = "risen" = *levés* (II. 4072).

The form *houin* (III. 6251), pa. pple. of *HELE*, *v.*<sup>1</sup> to conceal, did not, according to O.E.D., survive the fourteenth century.

In the first person singular a differentiation is made, the form in *-is* being preferred in the second of two co-ordinate clauses :—

Now pray I God and makis my mane (II. 2099);

Than I now think, and thinkis eft (II. 2417);

I hait the weir and luffis the peis (II. 4824);

I am ane man of mekill eild,

And thinkis . . .

= Viex sui de grant viellege

Et . . . je cuide . . .

(III. 7393).

[Cp. Br. XII. 294: I trast, and trowis sekirly.]

The Historic Present, which is so marked a feature of the 'Bruce' (Buss, *loc. cit.*, p. 507), is common.

The Present is used in the sense of the Future :—

And will 3e, schir, do this erand,

3our saull 3e bring to lyfe lestand (I. 600);

I do it nocht for all paradise

Before that . . .

= Je nel feroie mie . . . Devant que . . . (I. 770);

Quha met with him, I tak on hand

Thay haue of him sic ane menzeing

= Qui tel le vuet attendre, de la mort le semon

(I. 1312);

Thay come down ay tua and tua=venront (II. 541).

The Past, similarly, may take the place of *suld*=*SHOULD* :—

And gif I fleand fra 3ow 3eid,

I seruit 3ow of euill seruice

(I. 768).

<sup>5</sup> The distinction between the pres. part. in *-and* and the gerund in *-ing*, lost in Southern English before 1300, was retained in Northern English till the sixteenth century ['D. S. Sc.,' 210], and in Scots till much later.

The Infinitive has often a passive force :—

This message is to refuse (I. 370) ;

To loif thow is (I. 1070) ;

The laif are nocht to dreid greatly  
(I. 1927) ; so II. 2514, 2704.

Some strained uses are due to the French, *e.g.* :—

For to dreid [= by dreading] deid sa grittully

May fall bot shame full sikkerly

= Quar de trop cremir mort ne vient se honte non  
(I. 649).

The phrasal power of "make" is considerable :—

mak sembland (III. 5107 [so Br. VIII. 238]) ;

mak dule (IV. 10,810) ;

mak wa (I. 1530), &c.

The form "be" is freely used :—

Quhan I haue bene in sic ane fray

That my sheild *be* to-frushit all . . .

And arme and shoulder all bludie *be* (I. 468-71) ;

it is often interchanged with *is* (am), *e.g.* :—

Quhan I am stad as I 3ow say,

And I than prayit *be* (I. 871),

where "And" can scarcely = "If" [cp. "I am traistar . . .  
Than [= Than if] I into ane castell ware (I. 788)], and *vice-versa* :—

Gif he *be* tane and *is* nocht dede (II. 4873).

"Mycht" = "mycht have" occurs (as in the 'Bruce') :—

Our help mycht lytill the availzeit. (II. 1196).

### *Syntax of THAT.*

In the syntax of subordinate clauses, certain strained or elliptical uses of *that*, borrowed from French syntax,<sup>6</sup> are noticeable :—

1. = "of such sort that," connecting somewhat vaguely with what went before—

And on ane gude steid als sat he

That nouthur king nor empriour

Mycht better haue in stalwart stour.

= emperere ne rois nul millor ne demant (I. 1148).

<sup>6</sup> French parallels to the five uses enumerated here will be found in great numbers in our '*Syntaxe de la Conjonction "Que" dans l'ancien français*' (Champion, 1907), xxviii + 197 pp.



2. Omitted after *than*—

Me had leuer with dule and cair  
Be deid, than thay vnsailzeit be (I. 618).

## 3. (a) Substituted for the normal Infinitive—

The King forbad his men ilkane  
That nane sould chais  
= Al. deffent que nus n'en soit chaciés (IV. 9518).

(b) = THAT, sense 4f. O.E.D. [Instead of infin. a clause is used as if *semis* had been impersonal].

Sic . . . That semit thay wald be at assay (I. 316).  
And be 3on semis richt wele that he  
Of wit hes 3arnessing plente,  
= Et il semble a cestui, qui est de sens garnis,  
Que ce soit grans hounourz, grans sens et grans porfis  
(II. 3281).

[The only early example of this construction in O.E.D. is Br. III. 168—

3one knycht . . . tournys sa mony tyme his stede  
That semys off ws he had na dred.]

4. *That* . . . *na*, also *na* alone = *Que* . . . *ne*—

Was nane sa hardy of that rout  
That he *na* than to die had dout  
= il n'i ot si hardi, n'eüst de mort doutance (I. 1965).  
Is nane on lyfe . . . Na he sould . . . (I. 2584).

## 5. Others are due to imitation of well-known devices in O.F. sentence-building—

Thay sall it by *sa deir*, perfay,  
That thay bocht neuer *sa deir* ane pray (I. 173).  
I haue sene *sik ane* thing here  
That I sall neuer *sic ane* vther se  
= veü as  
*Tel* chose qui jamais *autele* ne verras (IV. 9660).

[Cp. Followand hym *sic a men3he*  
That neuir in his lif-tyme he  
Had *sic men3e* at his leding (Br. IV. 298).]

The form *or* = ERE, which is found at first only in Barbour (O.E.D.), occurs in 'B. A.,' e.g., I. 219.

The evidence collected above proves not only that the syntax of the 'BuiK' is markedly French, but also that, as Mr Sykes suggested long ago, the syntax of the 'Bruce' shows strong French influence.

#### § 54. METRE AND RIME.

The translator appeals to the reader's indulgence in case he should, in the interests of accurate translation, appear to have fallen short of a proper ideal in metre, rime or phraseology :—

"Bot thocht I failzeit of ryming  
Or meter or sentence, for the rude,  
Forgif me, for my will was gude  
To follow that in franche I fand writtin "

(IV. Col. 4).

This, however, is the usual conventional apology. The easy-going metre allows lines to remain with syllables too many or too few, in cases where it would have been the simplest thing in the world to regularise their number, *e.g.* :—

And, gif thay mister, to mak rescours (I. 44),

but though this apparent negligence offends the modern ear, it is universal in M.E., and in no wise peculiar to the 'BuiK' or the 'Bruce.'

The following points, which could be paralleled easily in the 'Bruce,' are noted (from Book I.) merely to facilitate reading :—

Final *e*, which plays so great a part in Chaucer's versification, is not pronounced at all, any more than it is in the 'Bruce' (see Skeat, Vol. ii. pp. 308-10). Douzē peris (I. 505) is only an apparent exception.

The first foot often consists of one syllable only, especially perhaps when the line begins with a conjunction :—

Añd / ane Earle / of me/kill nicht (41).

Thát / the oist / thairof / might be (170).

Fór / with richt / great che/ualry

(180 ; cp. 48, 213, 977, 989).

Bót / I tak / now ane / vengeance

Sóne / in this / new ac/quentance (203).

Hé / sal nocht / call thame / gabbing (476 ; cp. 979) ;

[cp. Añd / in branch / collat/erale Br. I. 56, 64, &c.]

An unstressed syllable is often slurred, either in the interior of a word in accordance with the inveterate Scottish habit of clipping: *hardyment* (e.g., I. 283, 302); *Paradise* (I. 398, 770); *remanand* (I. 166); *rigorously* (I. 118) = *hardment*, &c.; or at the end, especially before a word beginning with vowel :—

Great hat/rent a/*ther* at vt/*her* had  
(2006; cp. 1850);

Bot foll/*ouit* thame / *efter* in / ane lyng (3142);

Baith le/*uer* and lungis / in shun/*der* he share  
(2887; cp. 1145, 2080);

but also before a consonant :—

For better / na thow / may spend / na speir  
(1083, 2497);

His scheld was gold but v*ther* colour  
(991; cp. 1682, 2531).

With *-er*, as in the above examples, this is particularly frequent, and the following words in *-er* are almost always monosyllabic: *euer* = *EVER* and *neuer* = *NEVER*; *nather*, *nouther*; *quhidder* = *WHETHER* (e.g., *To leif or die quhidder God will send* (637; cp. 1125, 2495), *togidder* = *TOGETHER*; *couer* = *COVER* (e.g., 1191, 2150) and *reouer* = *RECOVER* (e.g., 906, 1366, 1390, 1995), as in Br. IV. 123. But *power* is dissyllabic (I. 1766). The practice of elision is extended to *-our* :—

Of succ/*our* and help / great neid / had thay  
(1661, cp. 482);

and it also occurs with *-le* (*-el*, *-ill*, &c.)

And in / the cant/*el* was set / a flour  
(992; cp. 3027);

Ane Con/*stabill* or/*daned* be / the King (421).

[Accented *Constábill*, as in 29 and in Br. VI. 201]; so *nobillest*, dissyllabic in 1431; *perill* (860); similarly, *-in* (*-en*, *-yn*, &c.), notably in past participles: *brokin* (2534), *cummin* (2233 [as in Br. I. 50]), *fallin* (1233), *geuin* (777, &c.), *gottin* (687), *haldin* (1318), but also in other parts of speech: *gamin*, *samyn* (1194), *euin* = *EVEN* (1239, &c.); cp. Br. VII. 103; *seuin* (*seuyne*, &c.) = *SEVEN* is always monosyllabic. For a somewhat similar elision cp. :—

Bot ver/*ray* tak*innis* [= "tokens"] / I will nocht ga (870)  
That thret/*ty* thousand / or ma / may be (484).

Knawin = KNOWN is monosyllabic in 684 (as in Br. IV. 175, III. 146, &c.), but hewin = HEWING (*rime* stampin: III. 7403), auin = OWN (2737) are dissyllabic. Several of the above examples fall under the general rule (see Gregory Smith, *o.c.*, p. xxxviii, § 23) that intervocal *v* (written *u*) is not pronounced, which also accounts for euill, = EVIL, being generally a monosyllable—*e.g.*, 337, 642, 769, 1647; so euenture (1616).

The plural ending *-is*, often printed *s*, counts as a syllable or not, largely at the writer's convenience, but in monosyllabic words and in words accented on the final syllable the *-is* generally forms a distinct syllable, as in Br.<sup>1</sup> But cp.

Fór / of Douze / *pers* ane / was he (48)

Of the / Douze *peiris* / he held / na ma (50)

Óf / the Dou/ze *peris* / that ay (505).

Rimes like furriouris = "forayers": rescours (43) show what hesitation prevails. So also for the genitive ending *-is*, Kingis, &c.

Certis (838) is a monosyllable; so is *-it* (*-yt*) of the past tense in:

His Hau/brik helpit / him nocht / ane hair (120),

and of the past participle in:

Arrayit / into / fell gud / armour (132).

Coalescence of *his* is rare: *on his* is no doubt intended to be pronounced "on's" in 2086; cp. also—

And sturdely, *befoir his* battell (2262).

Proper names are treated with the customary freedom. Alexander has regularly three syllables, corresponding to E. Sc. Alsander (and Mid. Sc. alschinner, 'Privy Council Reg.', 1618, Gregory Smith, *o.c.*, p. 231, 1, 15; Mod. Sc. 'Elshenar').

Quhen Alex/ander / in his / impire

(1; also 207, 587, 703, &c.)

[cp. Quhen Alexander the king wes deid (Br. I. 37)].

And the exceptions are only apparent, *e.g.* :—

Al/exander / the nobill King (519; cp. 1727);

Wist Al/exander of / this che/uallry (224).

---

<sup>1</sup> 'D. S. Sc.,' 153.

But the other proper names are scarcely subject to the rules of scansion—*e.g.*, *Areste*, usually trisyllabic ; but cp. :—

Andreome / Areste / and Per/diccas (407) ;

*Betys*, occasionally a monosyllable, cp. :—

War a/bout Betys / with burneist brandis (2595) ;

*Emynedus* has four syllables in I. 657, 745, 793, &c., three in 27, 757, &c.

*Licanor* has three syllables in 257, two (= Lic'nor) in 245, and is apparently unmetrical in—

Licanor, Antigonus, and Floridas (39).

### *Rime.*

Battell (F. *-aille*) rimes with tell (III. 6956). In the 'Bruce' bataill (-alyhe, &c.) rimes with words of similar character—*e.g.*, assaill, travaill,<sup>2</sup> and for this reason, among others, Skeat held that in the passage (in H, but absent from C and E) relating to the Heart of the Bruce (XX. 421-32), and containing the rime battell, tell must be spurious, although he accepts 27 lines elsewhere, occurring only in H. But Mr Mackenzie<sup>3</sup> points out that the spelling *battell*, with dissyllabic pronunciation, is frequent in the 'Bruce.'

Skeat,<sup>4</sup> following Buss,<sup>5</sup> maintained that in the 'Bruce' such a word as *de* = DIE (Icel. *deyja*), *he* = HIGH (O.E. *héah*), or *e* = EYE (O.E. *éage*), never rimes with words like *he* = HE (O.E. *hé*) or *be* = BE *v.* (O.E. *béon*), because of the final guttural sound still audible in 1375, and he found in the occurrence of the rime *de* = DIE : *be* = BE *v.* (Br. XX. 428) an additional proof that the above-mentioned passage was not written by Barbour. Dr Neilson<sup>6</sup> pointed out that in the 'Buik' this rule, if such it be, holds good in respect of five words ; *de* (with one exception), *dre*, *e*, *he*, and *fley* = "frighten" which rime with *e* guttural, but that *fle* = FLEE, *le* = LIE, *s.b.*, and *unsle* = "not sly" rime both with *e* guttural and with ordinary *e*, as in the 'Troy-Book' and the 'Legends of the Saints.' Herrmann mentions that such distinctions are all but entirely lost in Haye's 1460 translation.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Buss, 'Anglia,' IX., pp. 493-514.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. 'Br.' Appendix D., p. 505, n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. 'Br.' III. lxxvii.

<sup>5</sup> 'Anglia,' IX. 493.

<sup>6</sup> 'J. B.,' pp. 49-50.

<sup>7</sup> 'Taymouth MS.,' p. 6.



*Imperfect Rimes.*

The riming is less correct than in the 'Bruce,' where, however, it is far from perfect—*e.g.*, ruschit : refusit (IV. 145), Robert : sperit (V. 13). In the 'Buik' the following imperfect rimes occur :—

*Consonants.*

belyfe	: swith (II. 1923).
lyfe	: blyth (III. 8394).
hardement	: mend (III. 7810).
grant, <i>sb.</i>	: plesand (II. 2253).
visantis	: flankis (French : <i>jazerans</i> : <i>flancs</i> , IV. 9350).
great	: baith (IV. 11,071) [cp. Br. V. 387, laid : grathit].
det	: subiect (III. 5137).
shupe	: tuke (IV. 9810).

The assonance *m : n* is not uncommon :—

shame	: gane (15).
lame, <i>adj.</i>	: bargane, <i>sb.</i> (IV. 9689).
grome	: sone (II. 479).

[Cp. with the first two the similar rimes (although in proper names only) in the 'Bruce' : hame : Bretane (XVIII. 473) ; lame : Carnavarane (XIX. 256 (Hart).)]

*Vowels.*

sone	: fyne (IV. 10,933, where the text may be corrupt);
gaif	: neif (IV. 9745) ;
was	: preis (I. 2555) ;
I	: he (I. 1526) ;
drawyne	: slane (97), with which Dr Neilson, 'J. B.,' p. 51, compares 'Troy-Book' drawyne : mayne. Liberties, for which there is ample precedent in the French original, are taken with proper names— <i>e.g.</i> , "Betys" appears as "Betoun," to rime with lyoun (III. 5053).

Gerunds, or verbal nouns, in *-ing*, which usually rime

accordingly, are occasionally found riming with, and spelled as, *-yne* and *-in* :—

Cummyn (IV. 10,699), festnine = "fastening" (III. 5041), justyne = "jousting" (II. 5561), lyking (II. 3223), all riming with *syne*; helpyne (I. 608), and horsine = "horsing" (IV. 8344), riming with *tyne*;  
 armin : shein (I. 823);  
 armyne : fyne (II. 3667);  
 carpyne : thyne (IV. 10,195);  
 chapin = CHEAPING, *vbl. sb.* (III. 5386) : win, *v.*;  
 lesing : alping, usually alphyne (II. 3736);  
 stampin = "stamping" : hewin = "hewn" (III. 7403).

Similar forms occur also in the interior of the line, *e.g.* :—

armine = "arming" (II. 4618), helpyne (I. 608).

This practice is found also in the 'Bruce,'<sup>8</sup> and sporadically in the 'Legends of the Saints'<sup>9</sup> and the 'Troy-Book,'<sup>10</sup> but is relatively uncommon elsewhere. Dr Neilson<sup>11</sup> found "in 70,000 lines of fourteenth-fifteenth century Scots" only four cases (excepting proper names)—viz., Wynt. VIII., I. 5417, hurtyne : syne; 'Howlat' 52 and 712; 'Rauf Coilgear' 60; and he might have added that the usage is not Wyntoun's, the solitary instance being due to his anonymous contributor. Dr Brown<sup>12</sup> pointed out that of Skeat's fourteen examples in the 'Bruce,' six belong to passages which he considered spurious; also that such riming occurs in the 'Sowdan of Babylon,' Henryson, Lyndesay, Douglas, and Dunbar. The 'Sowdan,' however, is not a Scottish text, and its rimes are notoriously loose; the practice of late fifteenth and early sixteenth-century Scottish writers proves very little.<sup>13</sup> With-

<sup>8</sup> See the list in Skeat ed. 'Br.' III. p. 312, to which Muehleisen adds cummyng : covyng (E conwyne) (IX. 13); medicyne : governyne (XX. 531); murnyng : syne (XX. 569).

<sup>9</sup> Neilson, 'J. B.,' p. 53, enumerates 24 such rimes in 33,000 lines of the Legends.

<sup>10</sup> Neilson, *ibid.*, finds 2 with *syne*, and another, *stekinges : engynes*.

<sup>11</sup> 'Athenæum,' 27th February 1897, p. 280.

<sup>12</sup> 'Br. and Wall.,' pp. 167-8.

<sup>13</sup> The confusion of *-in* and *-ing* is common in 16th century Sc.; cp. the rime *femining : inclyne* in 'Clariodus' (Curtis, *op. cit.*, § 421). To terminal *-in* a *g* was frequently added (see Lengert, 'Engl. Stud.' XVII. 368; Skeat, ed. 'Lanc. Laik,' E.E.T.S., p. xvii.) This practice is common in words of French origin—*e.g.*, *bassing*=BASIN, 'Inv. Roy. Wardr.' 1488; 'Edinb. Rec.' II. 133, 1560-1; and is extended to those in *-ine*—*e.g.*, F. *bottine*>botingis in Dunbar, *courtine*>curteingis, 'Aberd. Reg.' The form *maring* ('B. A.' II. 2926)=MARINE may be due to the printer.

out subscribing to Dr Neilson's view that such rimes are *essentially* characteristic of Barbour, we can safely say that the 'Buik' and the 'Bruce' show here a marked similarity. Of the fourteen examples (see the list in Skeat, 'Bruce' III., pp. 315-16, and Neilson, 'J. B.', pp. 53-54), eight rime with *syne*, two with *tyne*, two with *vyne*, one with *medicynes*, and one with *covyng* = *covyne*, which coincides with the practice in the 'Buik.'

#### CHAPTER XIV.: THE MSS. OF 'LI FUERRES DE GADRES.'

THE MSS. in which our text is found, along with parts, or the whole, of the 'Roman d'Alixandre,' are fully described by Paul Meyer, 'Romania,' Vol. XI. (1882), pp. 247-320, and classified as under. Most are discussed in the Introduction to our Vol. II.

- [B]<sup>1</sup> Venice, Museo civico B. 5. 8  
First half of 14th c.
- [C] Bibl. Nat. Fr. 15095  
(anc. suppl. fr. 643)  
Second half of 13th c. 'F. G.' begins at F<sup>o</sup> 45.
- [D] Bibl. Nat. Fr. 15094  
(anc. suppl. fr. 403)  
Middle of 13th c. 'F. G.' at F<sup>o</sup> 57.
- [E] Bibl. Nat. Fr. 787  
(anc. 7190<sup>2</sup> Baluze)  
Last third of 13th c. 'F. G.' at F<sup>o</sup> 15<sup>d</sup>.
- [F] Parma, Bibl. naz. 1206  
14th c. 'F. G.' at F<sup>o</sup> 14.
- [G] Bibl. Nat. 25517  
(anc. Oratoire 189)  
Second half of 13th c. 'F. G.' at F<sup>o</sup> 54.
- [H] Bibl. Nat. 786  
(anc. 7190)  
Third quarter of 13th c. 'F. G.' at F<sup>o</sup> 17<sup>c</sup>.
- [I] Bibl. Nat. Fr. 375  
(anc. 6987)  
A.D. 1288. Written by Jean Madot, nephew of  
Adam le Bossu. 'F. G.' at F<sup>o</sup> 172<sup>v</sup>, col. c.

<sup>1</sup> [A] Bibl. de l'Arsenal 3472 does not contain 'F. G.', these folios having been lost.

- [J] Bibl. Nat. Fr. 24366  
(anc. Notre-Dame 275)  
Middle of 13th c. 'F. G.' at F<sup>o</sup>. 40<sup>b</sup>.
- [K] Bibl. Nat. Fr. 792  
(anc. 7190<sup>5.5</sup>A Colbert)  
Third quarter of 13th c. 'F. G.' at F<sup>o</sup>. 67<sup>c</sup>.
- [L] Bibl. Nat. 789  
(anc. 7190<sup>4</sup> Baluze)  
A.D. 1280. 'F. G.' at F<sup>o</sup>. 22<sup>a</sup>.
- [M] Bibl. Nat. Fr. 24365  
(anc. S. Victor 420)  
First half of 14th c. 'F. G.' at F<sup>o</sup>. 21<sup>b</sup>.
- [N] Bibl. Nat. Fr. 791  
(anc. 7190<sup>5.5</sup>)  
End of 14th c. 'F. G.' at F<sup>o</sup>. 20<sup>a</sup>.
- [O] Bibl. Nat. Fr. 1375  
(anc. 7598<sup>3</sup> Cangé)  
15th c. 'F. G.' at F<sup>o</sup>. 73<sup>v</sup>.
- [P] Oxford, Bodleian Library  
Bodl. 264  
(formerly F. 10).  
A.D. 1338. 'F. G.' at F<sup>o</sup>. 21.
- [Q] Bibl. Nat.  
Fr. 790  
(anc. 7190<sup>5</sup>)  
Middle of 14th c. 'F. G.' at F<sup>o</sup>. 21<sup>c</sup>.
- [R] Bibl. Nat. Fr. 368  
(anc. 6985)  
First half of 14th c. 'F. G.' at F<sup>o</sup>. 51<sup>v</sup>, col. c.
- [S] Bibl. Nat. Fr. 1590  
(anc. 7611)  
First half of 14th c. 'F. G.' at F<sup>o</sup>. 55<sup>c</sup>.
- [T] Bibl. Nat. Fr. 1635  
(anc. 7633)  
End of 13th c. 'F. G.' at F<sup>o</sup>. 108<sup>a</sup>.
- [U] Bibl. Nat. Fr. 12567  
(anc. suppl. fr. 342)  
Early 14th c. 'F. G.' at F<sup>o</sup>. 2.
- [V] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 67  
14th c. 'F. G.' at F<sup>o</sup>. 27 after "Assit principio  
s'ca maria meo." [Parchment 190 × 130 mm.  
Contains (besides some 800 lines of 'F. G.'  
F<sup>o</sup>. 27-46, with the same order of "laisses"  
approximately as in D) F<sup>o</sup>. 10, 'Turpin,' F<sup>o</sup>. 18,  
some 650 lines of Merlin's 'Prophecy,' F<sup>o</sup>. 51, Ser-  
mons of Maurice de Sully. 'Descr.,' P. Meyer,  
'Romania' V., p. 470, and XI., pp. 317-18.]

Portions of 'F. G.' appear in the Lugo fragment [a] (= pp. 92, 23-109, 5 of the Michelant edition), of which extracts are printed by A. Parenti, 'Osservazioni . . . dans le Opere del conte Giulio Perticari (1839), II. pp. 359-65; see P. Meyer, 'Rom.' XI. p. 319; and in the Saint-Lô fragment [b] = pp. 173, 25-179, 14, and 196-201 of the Michelant edition.

Another 'R. A.' MS. is noted by E. Langlois, 'Notices et Extraits,' xxxiii. pp. 142-44, in the Library of the Vatican, Reg. 1364, Second half of 13th c., 188 × 123 mm. 240 F<sup>os</sup>.

These MSS. are grouped by Paul Meyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 247-8 and 322, broadly as follows:—

- I. A B, oldest as containing the First Branch of 'R. A.' in decasyllabics, but not possessing the intercalated poems of the Third Branch.
- II C D E F, similar to Group I, but having the First Branch in alexandrines.
- III. G H I J, having the Melcis episode, but not the 'Voyage au Paradis.'
- IV. K L, having both these episodes but not 'V. P.,' and therefore transitional between III. and V.
- V. M-V, possessing in addition 'V. P.' (except T, which is incomplete, and V, which has only 'F. G.,' but which on other grounds must belong here).

The above grouping, though generally accepted, is admittedly only approximate and provisional. To arrive at greater precision would entail such enormous labour that it may be doubted whether the exact relationship of the 'R. A.' MSS. will ever be determined. One important factor is the order of the "laisses," which varies very considerably in the different MSS. Since 'F. G.' consists of disconnected episodes, X jousting with Y, or A with B, at almost any moment in the fighting, the original, or the "correct," order of the episodes must remain extremely doubtful. Our task is not to discuss these matters, but, in the absence of any critical, or even sound, edition of 'F. G.,' merely to select a good text, corresponding generally with the Scottish translation, and collate it with such others as can reasonably be considered to be within reach of the editor of a Scottish text. Since none of the MSS. consulted presents the "laisses" in exactly the same order as the Scottish translation, we have been obliged to transpose them. But we number them as they occur in the MS. we have selected, and append a table showing their order in the other MSS. utilised, so as to meet the claims of accuracy and provide the future, perhaps unborn, editor of 'R. A.' with at least some useful material.

To select a MS. suitable enough for our special purposes was



not difficult. The famous MS. 264 of Bodley's Library [P] was within easy reach, and, having used it largely for 'V. P.,' we were well aware of its merits. In it the order of the "laisses" tallies better than in others with that in the Scottish translator's MS.; the text is sound as a whole, and forms a close parallel to the Scots. We therefore took P as the base. Since Oxford possesses another 'R. A.' MS.—viz., Hatton 67 [V], the only one written by an English scribe,<sup>1</sup> we have used it to check P. For the same purpose we utilise H and, partially, I, not because they are the best—they are unfortunately among the poorest—of the 'R. A.' MSS., but because they are accessible in print in the only edition of the Romance, that published by Michelant,<sup>2</sup> who reproduced H and entered occasional variants from the transcript of I made by Sainte-Palaye, which is preserved in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. Our text is thus that of P, collated with that of V—for both of which we accept responsibility,—and with Michelant's reproduction of H and his incomplete variants from I, which we give merely for what they may be worth. Our text accounts very adequately for the Scots translation, except in a few cases (see p. cclxxxi), where a short "laisse" may be missing.

#### APPARATUS CRITICUS OF LINES 1-10.

The following variants on the text of C are taken from the passages quoted by Paul Meyer, 'Romania,' XI. pp. 250 ff. All the MSS. are represented except A (which does not contain 'F. G.,' but is generally as B), and F, which is incomplete and which Paul Meyer omits.

- Devant les murs de Tyr la dedens en la mer  
 Li rois de Macedoine fist .j. castiel fremer  
 Molt fu rice la tors sot entor maint piler  
 4 La façon del castiel ne vos sai deviser  
 De la porte vers terre lor vout le port veer  
 Qua la cite ne puiscent ne venir ne aler  
 Barges nes ne galies ne issir ne entrer  
 8 Li rois i coumanda de sa gent a aler  
 Armes et garnisons i fait ases porter  
 Souvent de jor en autre lor fait asaut livrer.

1. JK Thir ; NO Tir.

2. E *om. line.* D Macidoine ; F Mascedoine ; M Macydoine ; P Macedone. I Li rois bons Alex.

<sup>1</sup> P. Meyer, *op. cit.*, II, p. 274.

<sup>2</sup> Stuttgart, 1846.

3. E Fut mout riche l. tor; L A tors et a bretesces.  
*entor maint*]. D entour eust; I e. et.
4. L L.f.de le tor.
5. *vers terre*] EIJLNU marage; O de Tir.  
*lor veut*] DGİKLMNRS l. veut; E l. fist; J l. vient;  
O ne peut. *port*] I pont; U pas.
6. P Quen. E Que par la n. puist nus; U Que lom n.  
puisse leens.  
MOPQRV v.n. retorner; N n.v.n. torner.
7. E *om. line.* DGJMPQRS Ne b.n.g.; IKT Ne barge  
n. galie; NO B. nef n.galie; U Que b. de g.  
DGJMPQRSU ni (U ne) puisent ariver; NO ni  
puisse ariver; IKT n.venir n.e.
8. *de sa gent*] D sagement; L le barnaige; O ses gens.  
*a*] O y. DEGKIMNOPQSTUV entrer; I monter.
9. DJV garisons; ILP garison; KMNOT garnison. U  
Et riches garnissons. DE fist. J af.dedens p.;  
NOY i fet metre et p.
10. *en*] IKLMNOPQ a. Eu S. deures a (U e.) autres: *livrer*]  
DMQR doner.

OPENING LINES OF THE 'LAISSÉS' IN P [MS. BODLEY  
264], F<sup>os</sup>. 22-43<sup>v</sup>.

- F<sup>o</sup>. 22. 1. 'Deuant les murs de tyr la dedens en la mer . . .'  
2. 'Li grieu issent del ost por querre la vitaille . . .'  
3. 'Ce soir vont bien li grieu a guise de forriers . . .'  
4. 'El val de iosafaille lor font li grieu saillie . . .'  
5. 'Emenidus ot ire quant vit ses o<sup>o</sup>paignons . . .'  
6. 'El val de iosafaille vont li grieu proie prendre . . .'  
22<sup>v</sup>. 7. 'Molt ont bien li greiois la mellee tenue . . .'  
8. 'Li grieu se retornoient a lost molt liement . . .'  
9. 'Emenidus regarde uers les puis denemonde . . .'  
10. 'Emenidus a dit car i ales filite [*for* filote . . .']  
23. 11. 'Emenidus regarde uers les puis denemoie . . .'  
12. 'Emenidus apele le hardi perdicas . . .'  
13. 'Emenidus a dit car i ales caulus . . .'  
14. 'Emenidus a dit, ales i ariste . . .'  
15. 'Qvant voit emenidus que por noient trauaille . . .'  
23<sup>v</sup>. 16. 'Emenidus darcage antiocum apele . . .'  
17. 'Emenidus darcage en apela sanson . . .'  
18. 'Qvant voit emenidus qui tant fait a loer . . .'

- Fo. 23<sup>v</sup>. 19. 'Emenidus darcage apela festion . . .'  
 24. 20. 'Emenidus regarde desous .i. oliuier . . .'  
 24<sup>v</sup>. 21. 'Emenidus regarde par mi le champ a destre . . .'  
 22. 'Emenidus darcage vit le duc aatir . . .'  
 23. 'Molt furent pau li grieu mes bel se 9forterent . . .'  
 24. 'A lassembler des griex iosta primes sansons . . .'  
 25. 'La fu molt grans li duels ou sanses fu cheois . . .'  
 25. 26. 'Salatons fu armes sus liart blanche rale . . .'  
 27. 'Ceuls apeloient turs qui portent les roeles . . .'  
 28. 'Cornex fist el cheual que chesaire ot 9quis . . .'  
 29. 'Antigonus de grece vint par lestor poignant . . .'  
 30. 'Androynes sist el vair & galope sous frain . . .'  
 25<sup>v</sup>. 31. 'Licanor & filote dui frere molt vaillant . . .'  
 32. 'Armes de toutes armes & molt riche ator . . .'  
 33. 'Lyons vint as rens sus .i. destrier norois . . .'  
 34. 'Perdicas vit les osts de .ij. pars assembler . . .'  
 26. 35. 'Par le champ vait poignant li nies emenidon . . .'  
 36. 'Li valles sist armes sus .i. destrier isnel . . .'  
 26<sup>v</sup>. 37. 'Li valles tret sa lance que du retrere brise . . .'  
 38. 'Pirrus est en lestor si cop i sont parant . . .'  
 39. 'Bien uolt emenidus son poindre parformir . . .'  
 40. 'Gadifer des larris ou croissent li paumier . . .'  
 27. 41. 'Pirrus vit Gadifer qui se melle as greiois . . .'  
 42. 'Dv conte sabilot qui ert mort a dolor . . .'  
 43. 'Emenidus darcage vit son neuueu morir . . .'  
 27<sup>v</sup>. 44. 'Aristes vint poignant par mi lestor plenier . . .'  
 45. 'Emenidus darcage vit la gent honnoree . . .'  
 28. 46. 'La ou recourerent deuant le plesseis . . .'  
 47. 'Arides de ualestre regarde emenidon . . .'  
 28<sup>v</sup>. 48. 'La ou li grieu recueurent fu li chaples molt  
 grans . . .'  
 49. 'Grieu se vendent molt chier qui ne trueuent  
 monaie . . .'  
 50. 'La mesnie le roi fu molt afebloie . . .'  
 51. 'Aynsi 9me li turc orent place guerpie . . .'  
 52. 'Deuant les 9paignons vint armes salatins . . .'  
 29. 53. 'Licanor & filote vont irie par lestor . . .'  
 54. 'Li grieu oent lenseigne alixand' crier . . .'  
 55. 'Por filote resscore sont li grieu assemble . . .'  
 29<sup>v</sup>. 56. 'Cil de gadres nont mie 9ueue loraingne . . .'

- Fo. 29<sup>v</sup>. 57. ' Por secorre betis i sont ses gens venues . . . '  
 58. ' Por secorre betis sont ses gens asemblees . . . '  
 30. 59. ' Bien ot emenidus rehetie sa gent . . . '  
 60. ' Betis & li gadrain cil de sa compaignie . . . '  
 61. ' Betis resaut en pies qui ot ire & pesance . . . '  
 30<sup>v</sup>. 62. ' Gadifer vit les griex tornes en aventure . . . '  
 63. ' Gadifer fu a pie en la combe dun val . . . '  
 64. ' Li grieu lessent lestor si se partent atant . . . '  
 65. ' Molt se furent malmis li vassal airous . . . '  
 31. 66. ' Montes est gadifer mes il est molt blecies . . . '  
 67. ' Li rois & tholomer & danclins sont venu . . . '  
 31<sup>v</sup>. 68. ' Qvant li greiois prurent alixand' dalier . . . '  
 69. ' Mieux vaut amis en uoie que argens ne fins ors . . . '  
 70. ' Illec ou li greiois sont as gadrains ioste . . . '  
 71. ' Qvant voit li dus betis alixand' & sensaigne . . . '  
 72. ' El chief de la montaigne sarrestent li gadrain . . . '  
 32. 73. ' Molt grant seurtance (?) torna li dus betis . . . '  
 74. ' Molt fu grans la bataille par les plains dorius . . . '  
 75. ' Lymers .i. cheualiers qi de sorfait not cure . . . '  
 32<sup>v</sup>. 76. ' Gadifer vit les griex le roi engramir . . . '  
 77. ' Festions sist armes sor .i. amoravi . . . '  
 78. ' Li dus vit alixand' qui a lui sest melles . . . '  
 33. 79. ' Emenidus esgarde le grant enõbrement . . . '  
 33<sup>v</sup>. 80. ' Li estors fu molt grans & merueilleus & fier . . . '  
 34. 81. ' Gadifer fu dolens ce li fu molt maus . . . '  
 82. ' Illec ou li vassal sont a terre cheu . . . '  
 83. ' Molt se furent maumis li vassal au ioster . . . '  
 34<sup>v</sup>. 84. ' Molt ot bien gadifer son seignor deliure . . . '  
 85. ' Dolens sen vait li dus corroucies & iries . . . '  
 35. 86. ' Or sen uait Gadifer qui les gadrains enmaine . . . '  
 87. ' Bien sen alast sans perte Gadifer ce cuidons . . . '  
 88. ' En parler bonement puet len bien gaaignier . . . '  
 35<sup>v</sup>. 89. ' Molt a bien Gadifer son encontre emploie . . . '  
 36. 90. ' Ne porent li gadrain lestor plus maintenir . . . '  
 91. ' Gadifer fu molt preus dun arrabi lignage . . . '  
 36<sup>v</sup>. 92. ' Fier furent li vassal & de grant estoutie . . . '  
 93. ' Cil ot feru grant cop qui donei en ot maint . . . '  
 94. ' Sor vne coutepointe de paile & dauqueton . . . '  
 37. 95. ' Ce soir iurent li grieu el val a la froidor . . . '  
 96. ' Li rois porsiu le duc qui de seior na cure . . . '

- F<sup>o</sup>. 37. 97. ' Apres heure de tierce .i. poi deuant midi . . . '  
 98. ' Li forrier ont mengie a ioie & a plente . . . '  
 99. ' Lamiraut des arquois fu cheualier vaillans . . . '  
 37<sup>v</sup>. 100. ' Trestout le premerain licanor en apele . . . '  
 101. ' Emenidus lait tout a chascun son bon dire . . . '  
 102. ' Emenidus apele lyone en souriant . . . '  
 38. 103. ' Emenidus darcage ne sot onques tenchier . . . '  
 104. ' Li messagiers sen torne qui des forriers se part . . . '  
 105. ' Li messagiers ains nonne a le roi conseau . . . '  
 106. ' Li messagiers a bien la parole rendue . . . '  
 107. ' Li rois ses cors meismes est premiers retornes . . . '  
 38<sup>v</sup>. 108. ' Li rois cheuauche tost qui molt ot fier corage . . . '  
 109. ' Lamiraus fu honteus quant a terre se sent . . . '  
 110. ' Pris fu li amiraus par folement venir . . . '  
 39. 111. ' Li estors fu molt fiers plus que ne sai retraire . . . '  
 112. ' Li estors fu molt fiers & durement ferus . . . '  
 113. ' Molt par fu grant la perte si 9 raconte estace . . . '

Followed by—

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 114. ' Li dus fu desconfis & sa gent ot<br>perdue . . . '                     | } Absent in the<br>Michelant<br>edition. |
| 115. ' Li dus fu desconfis sa terre<br>gastee . . . '                         |  |
| 39 <sup>v</sup> . 116. ' A laube aparissant quant il dut<br>esclavier . . . ' |  |
| 117. ' Li Rois de macedoine es reuenus a tyr . . . '                          |  |

[= Michelant edition, p. 215, l. 5.]

After this the "laisses" continue as in the Michelant edition, pp. 215-230, to F<sup>o</sup>. 42<sup>v</sup>, where our information ceases.



## INDEX OF ASSONANCES OF 'LAISSES' 1-113 IN P.

-ace	113	-el	36	-is	28, 46,
-age	38, 91	-ele	16, 100		73
-aie	49	-eles	27	-ise	37
-aigne	71	-endre	6	-ius	74
-aille	2, 15	-ent	8, 59,	-oie	11, 50
-ain	30, 72		79, 109	-ois	25, 33,
-aine	86	-er	1, 18,		41
-aingne	56		34, 54,	-on	17, 19,
-aint	93		83		35, 47,
-aire	111	-erent	23		94
-al	63	-és	78, 107	-onde	9
-ale	26	-estre	21	-ons	5, 24,
-ance	61	-i	77, 97		87
-ans	48, 99	-ie	4, 51,	-or	32, 42,
-ant	29, 31,		60, 92		53, 95
	38, 64,	-ier	20, 40, 44,	-ors	69
	102		68, 80,	-ote	10
-art	104		88, 103	-ous	65
-as	12	-iers	3	-u	67, 82,
-aus	8	-iés	66		105
-é	4, 55,	-ies	85	-ue	7, 106
	70, 84,	-ir	22, 39,	-ues	57
	89, 98		43, 76,	-ure	62, 75,
-ée	45		90, 110		96
-ées	58	-ire	101	-us	13, 112

## ORDER OF 'LAISSES' IN MSS. HPV.

Order in P.	Order in H.	Reference in Michelant Edition.		Order in V.	Place in V.		Page in our Edition.
		Page.	Line.		Fo.	Line.	
I	I	93	I	I	27	I	I
2	3	94	37	2	27	27	2
3	4	95	II	3	27 <sup>v</sup> .	4	3
4	5	95	28	4	27 <sup>v</sup> .	19	3
5	6	96	6	5	27 <sup>v</sup> .	32	4
6	7	96	17	6	28	7	5
7	8	96	25	7	28	15	5
8	9	97	II	8	28	34	6
9	10	98	6	9	28 <sup>v</sup> .	29	8
10	11	98	27	10	29	15	9
11	12	99	II	11	29	34	10
12	13	100	10	12	29 <sup>v</sup> .	19	11
13	14	100	22	13	29 <sup>v</sup> .	30	12
14	15	100	32	14	30	3	12
15	16	101	22	15	30	26	14
16	17	101	38	16	30 <sup>v</sup> .	2	15
17	18	102	14	17	30 <sup>v</sup> .	16	16
18	20	103	32	18	31	4	17
19	24	107	31	19	31 <sup>v</sup> .	10	19
20	22	105	26	20	32	20	21
21	21	105	12	21	32 <sup>v</sup> .	26	25
22	25	109	10	22	33	4	26
23	26	110	8	23	33 <sup>v</sup> .	I	28
24	27	110	29	24	33 <sup>v</sup> .	18	29
25	28	III	8	25	34	I	30
26	29	III	26	26	34	21	..
27	30	II2	4	27	34	35	..
28	{ *31	II2	14				
	35	II5	5	28	34 <sup>v</sup> .	12	36
29	32	II3	16	29	34 <sup>v</sup> .	22	36
30	34	II4	17	30	35	7	37
31	42	I20	21	..	..	..	32
32	44	I21	30	..	..	..	32
33	45	I22	15	..	..	..	38

\* In reality two separated sections of the same 'laisse' (28) in -is (see p. 36, App. crit. 28, l. 6).

ORDER OF 'LAISSES' IN MSS HPV.—*Continued.*

Order in P.	Order in H.	Reference in Michelant Edition.		Order in V.	Place in V.		Page in our Edition.
		Page.	Line.		Fo.	Line.	
34	46	I23	I	..	..	..	35
35	56	I3I	I7	..	..	..	4I
36	57	I32	27	..	..	..	42
37	58	I33	5	..	..	..	42
38	59	I33	I6	..	..	..	43
39	6I	I35	37	..	..	..	44
40	62	I36	3I	52	42 <sup>v.</sup>	I7	45
4I	63	I37	35	53	43	I7	46
42	42	I38	I6	54	43	35	47
43	65	I39	II	55	43 <sup>v.</sup>	23	48
44	36	II5	I6	32	35 <sup>v.</sup>	II	33
45	37	II6	I5	33	36	3	49
46	66	I40	9	..	..	..	..
47	38	II7	23	..	..	..	..
48	39	II8	I6	34	36 <sup>v.</sup>	II	5I
49	72	I46	9	35	36 <sup>v.</sup>	20	52
50	73	I46	2I	36	36 <sup>v.</sup>	30	52
5I	40	II9	IO	37	37	I4	53
52	4I	I20	3	38	37 <sup>v.</sup>	6	54
53	47	I24	I7	40	38 <sup>v.</sup>	I5	55
54	48	I25	I2	4I	39	I	56
55	49	I25	27	42	39	I6	57
56	50	I26	33	43	39 <sup>v.</sup>	I5	58
57	5I	I27	25	44	40	5	59
58	52	I28	8	45	40	24	60
59	53	I29	3	..	..	..	..
60	54	I29	29	..	..	..	..
6I	55	I30	26	..	..	..	6I
62	67	I4I	I3	..	..	..	..
63	68	I43	IO	..	..	..	..
64	69	I43	29	..	..	..	63
65	70	I44	33	..	..	..	64
66	75	I49	3I	47	4I	3	64
67	76	I5I	I4	48	4I <sup>v.</sup>	I	68

ORDER OF ' LAISSES ' IN MSS. HPV.—*Continued.*

Order in P.	Order in H.	Reference in Michelant Edition.		Order in V.	Place in V.		Page in our Edition.
		Page.	Line.		Fo.	Line.	
68	77	152	7	49	41 <sup>v</sup> .	34	70
69	78	153	36	50	42	19	71
70	79	154	8	51	42	28	72
71	86	162	37	..	..	..	..
72	88	164	11	..	..	..	73
73	89	164	32	..	..	..	73
74	90	165	16	..	..	..	74
75	92	166	19	..	..	..	..
76	87	163	9	..	..	..	..
77	43	121	13	31	35	30	31
78	80	154	36	..	..	..	76
79	81	156	30	..	..	..	78
80	82	158	7	..	..	..	80
81	93	167	21	..	..	..	83
82	94	167	36	..	..	..	83
83	95	169	1	..	..	..	84
84	96	170	16	..	..	..	86
85	98	171	23	57	44	20	87
86	99	173	23	58	45	16	90
87	100	174	21	60	45 <sup>v</sup> .	17	91
88	101	175	12	..	..	..	93
89	102	178	16	..	..	..	97
90	105	182	6	61	45 <sup>v</sup> .	45	99
91	106	182	29	62	46	20	100
92	107	183	12	63	46	36	101
93	111	187	34	64	46 <sup>v</sup> .	28	103
94	112	188	25	..	..	..	104
95	113	100	10	..	..	..	..
96	114	190	24	..	..	..	..
97	115	191	8	..	..	..	..
98	116	191	25	..	..	..	..
99	117	192	13	..	..	..	..
100	118	193	19	..	..	..	..
101	119	194	4	..	..	..	..
102	120	194	21	..	..	..	..

ORDER OF 'LAISSES' IN MSS. HPV.—*Continued.*

Order in P.	Order in H.	Reference in in Michelant Edition.	Order in V.	Place in V.	Page in our Edition.
		Page. Line.		Fo. Line.	
I03	I2I	I95 3	..	.. ..	..
I04	I22	I95 3I	..	.. ..	..
I05	I23	I96 8	..	.. ..	..
I06	I24	I96 23	..	.. ..	..
I07	I25	I96 33	..	.. ..	..
I08	I26	I97 I7	..	.. ..	..
I09	I27	I98 2	..	.. ..	..
II0	I28	I98 36	..	.. ..	..
III	I29	I99 33	..	.. ..	..
II2	I30	20I I	..	.. ..	..
II3	97	I7I 5	..	.. ..	..

## " LAISSES " ABSENT IN CERTAIN MSS.

I. Present in H ; absent in PV (and ' B. A.').

No. in H.	Reference in Michelant Edition.	Opening Line.
	Page. Line.	
19	I03 I	' Or voit Emenidus la cose si venue . . .' [Emenidus vainly appeals to his nephew Aiglente d'Arvolue to ride for help (cp. 7 of P).]
24	I06 38	' Emenidus d'Arcade fu enbrons et pensis.' [printed pp. 24-25 of our edition.]
33	II4 3	' Antigonus li preus sist sor i. ceval cras . . .' [Antigonus overthrows Judas in a joust (cp. 12 of P).]
60	I34 I6	' Gadifiers voit les Grius qui sunt bon chevalier . . .' [Gadifer reviews his forces ; Emenidus encourages the Greeks (cp. 40 of P).]



"LAISSES" ABSENT IN CERTAIN MSS.—*Continued.*

I. Present in H; absent in PV (and 'B. A. ')—*Continued.*

No. in H.	Reference in Michelant Edition.		Opening Line.
	Page.	Line.	
7I	145	14	' Quant sunt venu ariere et vasal et destrier . . .' [Licanor and Ginohoces unhorse each other.]
83	160	6	' Gadifiers sist armés sor béart d'Esca- lone . . .' [Gadifer unhorses the "amiral de Mansone."]
85	161	13	' Li dus Betis de Gadres vot le camp calengier . . .' [Emenidus slays an "amiral" and takes his steed, winning praise from Alexander.]
9I	166	4	' Le duc Betis remontent si home natural . . .' [Betis being remounted, Gadifer slays many Turks (cp. 81 of P).]
103	180	1	' Or s'en va Gadifiers a la ciere hardie . . .' [Ginohoces slays a Greek, but is un- horsed by Licanor.]
104	181	16	' Or sunt li doi vasal a pie en mi le pré . . .' [Ginohoces is slain by Licanor.]
108	184	30	' A Gadifier s'areste Alixandres d'Aliers . . .' [Gadifer surrenders to Emenidus.]
109	185	32	' Cescuns fu mult proudom et chevaliers adrois . . .' [Gadifer is taken prisoner. Emenidus slays Salinot.]
110	186	21	' Or s'en fuient Gadrain ni vont plus arestant . . .' [Alexander, pursuing Betis into the hills, is advised by an old man to give up the chase.]

2. Present in HV ; absent in P.

No. in H.	No. in V.	Reference in Michelant Edition.		Opening Line.
		Page.	Line.	
74	39	148	1	' Par le camp, esporone li povres desarmés . . .' [printed pp. 38-39 of our edition.]
84	59	160	23	' Gadifiers fet samblant que de rien ne s'esfroie . . .' [Alexander, admiring Gadifer's bravery, offers him peace, which he rejects.]

3. Present in V ; absent in HP.

..	46	..	..	' Quant veit li dux betis de greus la contenance . . .' [printed pp. 62-63 of our edition.]
..	56	..	..	' Li dus betis de gazres ne se uelt pas refreindre . . .' [Emenidus is wounded by Gadifer.]

4. Unaccounted for in HPV.

				' B. A., ll. 2097-127. [Emenidus persuades Aristé, now sorely wounded, to ride for help.] ' B. A., ll. 2186-2209. [Emenidus, awaiting Alexander's arrival, revives the drooping spirits of the Greeks.]
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## ARGUMENT OF 'LI FUERRES DE GADRES.'

N.B.—The “laisses” are given here in the order in which they are translated in the ‘Buik of Alexander.’ The numbers indicate their order in MS. P. “Laisses” found only in MSS. H or I are enclosed in square brackets.

When Alexander laid siege to Tyre, the city withstood his assaults so long that, finding himself in straits for food, he sent a band of forayers to the Vale of Josaphas under Emenidus, his lieutenant, with Perdicas, Lyone, Caulus, Licanor, Filote and Samson, while he kept Cliton and Tholomer by him for the siege (1). The forayers rode away (2), and early on the morrow came to Josaphas, and there found kine enough to feed the besieging host for many a day. But they that tended them were no herdsmen but knights in armour, and when Emenidus pricked forward (3) and seized the kine, Otheserie, their keeper, blew a blast upon his horn, assembled his men, and, slaying seven of the forayers, rescued the beeves (4). Wroth was Emenidus when he saw his men undone. He charged the foe and a fight ensued (5), wherein Caulus slew Licanor and Lyone slew Otheserie, whose followers broke and fled, abandoning their kine (7).

The forayers were riding back with the beeves when they came on Betis, Duke of Gadres, marching with a mighty host to the relief of Tyre (8). Emenidus, for his men were few against so many, resolved to send a knight to Alexander for help. But Licanor would not go, before taking toll of the enemy (9), nor Filote (10), Lyone (11), Perdicas (12), Caulus (13), Aristé (14), Antigonus (15), Antiochus (16), nor Samson; for how could they ride away and leave their brother knights in mortal peril? (17). Then Emenidus in his despair begged Corineüs to bear the message. But he, although he was a man of little substance, would not, for promise of gold (18); nor would Festion go (19), nor a poor and unknown knight in sorry armour, who had been held thirteen years a hostage by Darius and had come but three days since to Alexander (20), nor yet [Caunus (H) nor] the cousin of Aristé. At last, as the unequal battle opened, Aristé consented to bear the message, but not till battered helm and splintered spear and

bleeding body should show to Cliton and Tholomer at Tyre that he came fleeing from no coward's ploy (22).

The Greeks were but seven hundred against thirty thousand (23). Samson died by Betis' hand (24), but Emenidus slew Salahaton, Archbishop of Gadres (25), Festion slew a mighty Duke (77), and Caulus slew the Prince of Corinth (32); while Licanor and Filote, brothers clad in like armour (31)—and with them Aristé,—dealt death around them (44). Perdicas fell from his steed, and had been overpowered but for Emenidus (34). A kinsman of Betis was slain by Corinëus (28); an Arab by Antigonius (30); another, who held Jordan in fee, by Androyne (30), and Maudras by Lyone (33).

[The Poor Knight, having donned the fair armour of a vanquished foe and saved Emenidus from death, proved to be none other than Emenidus' own cousin, Pirrus of Monflour (I).] This Pirrus was a perfect knight (35); he slew Gastinel (36) and many more (37), and won the highest praise from Emenidus his uncle (38); but at the last Gadifer came up with a great company (39), slew Sabilot (40), and learned that his own nephew had been slain by Pirrus (41), whom he therefore most furiously attacked and slew. Thus, nephew for nephew (42), did Gadifer and Emenidus suffer bitter and equal loss.

Grieving for Pirrus (43) and bitterly avenging his untimely end (45), Emenidus performed wondrous prowess as he rode to and fro on Ferrand his charger (48), while his Greeks, under the great banner of Macedon, stoutly held their ground (49). Salatin (51) fell by the hand of Licanor (52), whose brother Filote, jousting with Murmigalés, was flung from his saddle, and lay in peril (53) till his friends reached him (54), and set him on his steed again. In the thick of that affray Emenidus was wounded by a bludgeon (55); seeing this, Betis came at him, but was unhorsed (56), and with difficulty succoured by his men; meanwhile Emenidus withdrew with a broken rein (57). Betis and Emenidus cheered their followers with brave words (58), and fiercer waxed the fight. Licanor was wounded by Betis, Caulus and Aristé were struck from their steeds (61), certain Greeks even fled; but Emenidus fought the harder with Gadifer, till both were unhorsed (64). Men rallied to their fallen leaders, who, being remounted, fought again (65). Then, but not till then, Aristé, wounded sore

and moved with pity for the Greeks, rode from the stricken field (66).

When Alexander beheld Aristé in such evil case and heard his ill tidings, he called to horse (67), and as the Greeks saw him approach they took heart, but Betis uttered defiance (68). The forayers had suffered so grievous loss that of seven hundred, ten alone remained (69). Alexander pressed forward and slew Calot, but Betis with five men assailed him, and laid him flat on Bucifal his steed. But when Cliton and Tholomer came up (70), the foe withdrew to a hill, whence they made great slaughter with their arrows. Cliton took Nasel prisoner (72), Tholomer overthrew Betis and led away his steed (73), and scarce had Betis mounted another when Aristé and Caulus struck him down again. But when Murmigalés talked of defeat, Betis upbraided him (74). Gadifer overthrew Cliton, with such violence that his helm clave to the ground (76), while Betis told his men that of all their foes he most feared Emenidus. The battle waxed fiercer (78). Emenidus, lest the newcomers might outdo him (79), charged Betis and unhorsed him, and won praise of Alexander (80); Gadifer and Tholomer jousted (81), and when both were remounted (82), Gadifer worsted Tholomer and seized his charger (83).

But now must Betis and Gadifer retreat (84), and right sorrowfully they left the field. Ever and anon would Gadifer turn on the pursuers; one of them, Corineüs, paid for his insults with his life (85), and even Alexander himself was held at distance (86). Gadifer might have won home to Gadres, had he not tarried to protect his men (87). Once he turned on Alexander and stunned him, and when the King came to himself he praised his bravery to Cliton and Tholomer (88). But hardest after Gadifer rode Emenidus (89), who, mindful of the havoc he had wrought, determined to fight him (90) to the death (91), and slew him with his spear. Then he made lamentation over him as the bravest of knights (92), and swooned, for he too had been sore stricken. Alexander feared for him, and bade his own leech bind up his wounds (93); and when he had been tended, the Greeks rejoiced in victory, grieving no more for Samson and Pirrus, and rested for the night upon the field (94).





Cest si conme li home alixandre alerent en feure  
 el ual de iosafaille / et oment cil de tyr le  
 desfēdirēt et oment enmenidus darcade ne pot  
 trouuer en a la suie gent ki noncier le uosist  
 a alixandre.

- 1 Fo. 22. **D**EVANT les murs de Tyr, la dedens en la mer,  
 Li rois de Macedoine fist .i. chastel fermer ;  
 Molt fu riche la tour, s'ot entor maint piler,  
 La faichon du chastel ne vous sai deviser.  
 5 De la porte vers terre lor volt le port veër  
 Qu'en la cité ne puissent venir ne retorner,  
 Ne barges ne galies n'i puissent ariver.  
 Li rois i conmanda de sa gent a entrer,  
 Armes et garison i fait assés porter,  
 10 Sovent de jor a autre lor fait assaut doner ;  
 Et cil se desfendirent a trere et a geter,  
 Car la cité ne veulent rendre ne delivrer.  
 Alixand' i anuie forment a sejourner,  
 Car entour eux ne puent vitaille recovrer.  
 15 Li rois par mautalent commencha a jurer  
 Que ja n'en prendrai .i. qu'il ne face afoler ;  
 Emenidon d'Arcage conmente en fuerré-aler

1, 7. a riuer.

16. prendrai.

13. Alixand'.

17. commence.

*Rubrick here in H:* 'Si dist si com Alixandres asaut les murs de Tyr, mais il ne puet prendre la cite,' and (out of place, Fo. 71<sup>a</sup>, Michelant ed., p. 428, instead of Fo. 17<sup>c</sup>): 'ci comence li fuers de Gadres.'

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*For the apparatus criticus to lines 1-10, see Introd. to this volume.*

- 1, 11. I C. dedens s. desfendent ; V & c. s. defendeient. H au traire & au  
 ruer. 12. HV ne r. n. donner (V liurer). 13. V A alisandre ennuie.  
 14. H puet ; V poent. 15. V en coñeñce a i. 16. H prendra ;  
 V prendray. ne] H nel. 17. H Emenidus darcade ; V Eumenidū de  
 archage. HV commande. *fuerré*] V fort.

Heir beginnis the first parte of this bulk of the  
most noble and valiant Conquerour Alexander  
the grit. Callit the Forray of Gadderis.

Vhē Alexāder in his impire  
Lay to assege the toun of Tire,  
And neir the wallis of that Citie  
Vpon a craig, was in the sie,  
5 Ane stalwart Castel gart he mak,  
& garnison & vittell tak,  
& hes gud fuson thidder sēd  
& staluart men it to defend—  
Thairwith he thocht to stop the way,  
10 That nouthier ship nor ȝit Gallay  
Sould be sey cum to the toun  
With vittell nor with garnisoun  
Bot thay the craig sould cum sa neir  
That thay sould be in his dangeir.  
15 The King gart oft his men assaill  
With bissines and grit trauell  
To tak the nobill toun of Tyre ;  
Bot Balas, that thairof was Syre,  
Defendit it sa manfully,  
20 Throw helping of his cheualry,  
That oft the Kingis menze ware  
Rebutit, beft and woundit sair.  
The King thair grit defence hes sene,  
And maid ane aith in propir tene  
25 That nane that was in that Cittie,  
That nicht be takin, sould sauit be ;  
And to Emynedus de Archade,  
That for his hie worship was made  
Baith Constabill and ledere  
30 Of all the Kingis oist in were,

[He

2, 3. *the*] *ye*.

3. *that*] *y<sup>t</sup>*.

21. *oft*] *of*.

25. *Archade*] *archarde*.

Et .vij. chens chevaliers ensamble o lui mener,  
 Perdicas et Liōne et Caulon qui fu ber,  
 20 Licanor et Filote, por les forriers garder.  
 Le val de Josafaille a molt oī loër,  
 Que c'est la mieudre terre que l'en puisse trover.  
 Sanson, qui claime Tyr, les conmande a guier,  
 Que bien seit le païs et les destrois de mer ;  
 25 Li rois retint o soi Cliton et Tholomer ;  
 Et cil issent del ost, si font lor gent monter.

2 LI Grieu issent del ost por querre la vitaille,  
 Et Sanses les conduit el val de Josafaille,  
 Une terre garnie de bestes et d'aumaille ;  
 Mes la gent est molt fiere et duite de bataille

1, 18. en samble.

23. aguier.

26. *cil*] supplied.

1, 18. H viii. H ensamble l. ; V ensemble od. 19. V liōne. H Caunus.  
 20. H Lincanor & Filotes. *forriers*] H forces. [H & maint autre baron  
 que jou ne sai noumer.] 21. H *om. line.* I Josafa ont. V El ual d.  
 iosafayle les fet li rois aler. 22. HV Car. V ke poūt t. 23. H &  
 a S. d. Tir. a *guier*] HV l. c. guier. 24. *de mer*] V mener. H Qui  
 b. sait les maus pas del p. esciver. 25. *soi*] H lui H Clincon ; V Clycon.  
 26. *cil*] HV.

2, 1. H vitalle ; V uitayle. 2. H conduist ; V conduist. 4. H Mais  
 l. gens ert hardie de bestes & daumaille (*repeated from prec. line*).

He bad him seuin hundreth knychtis ta,  
 And with thame in to forray ga  
 Richt to the vale of Iosaphas,  
 That of mair stoir aboundand was,  
 35 As of sheip, oxin and of ky,  
 Than ony vther land thairby.  
 The King bad Caulus and Lyoun,  
 And sindrie vtheris of renoun,  
 40 Licanor, Antigonus and Floridas,  
 Andreome, Areste and Perdiccas,  
 And ane Earle of mekill nicht,  
 Schir Sabilour to name he hecht,  
 Pass to comfort the furriouris  
 And, gif thay mister, to mak rescours.  
 45 Schir Sampsoun tuik thay to thair gy,  
 For he that land knew halely,  
 Baith strait, plane and valie,  
 For of Douze pers ane was he.  
 The King held with him Tholomere  
 50 And Danclene, for thay fellowis were ;  
 Of the Douze peiris he held na ma,  
 The laif he let to Forray ga.  
 Thay buskit as thay bidding haid,  
 And fra the hoist euin out thay raid,  
 55 **N**OW rydis the furreouris thair way,  
 Richt stoutly and in gude array.  
 Schir Sampsoun was thair gyde that nicht,  
 That led thame in ane randoun richt  
 To Iosaphas, to tak the pray.  
 60 Bot, or thay cum agane, perfay,  
 Thay sall weill hard assailzeit be,  
 For all the men of that cuntre

[Raid

32. *thane*] yame.43. *L. Past.*50. *Danclene*] Daclene.

51. Douzepeiris.



5 Et vait tous jors armée por crieme c'on l'asaille ;  
 Ce qu'il ont a garder n'est mie comunaille,  
 A envis en leroient vaillant une maaïlle.  
 Avant que li Grieu l'aient, vous di sans devinaille  
 En sera il perciés maint pis et mainte entraille  
 10 Et de maint blanc hauberc derompuë la maille.  
 Trop vont a escheri ; ne cuit que preu lor vaille,  
 Qu'ençois qu'il s'en retornent, le conperront sans  
 faille !

3 C E soir vont bien li Grieu a guise de forriers,  
 Chauces de fer chaucies, et font as escuiers  
 Devant porter les armes et mener les destriers.  
 Toute nuit chevauchierent sans bruit et sans noisiers;  
 5 Au matin par son l'aube, que jor dut esclairier,  
 El val de Josafaille, vers les puis de Gibiers,  
 Ont choisie la proie et veüs les vachiers ;  
 Mes il n'aloient mie a guise de berchiers,  
 Ains ont escus et lances et dars trenchans d'archiers,  
 10 Les bons chevaus d'Arrabe abrievés et corsiers.  
 Li Grieu sont descendu lés .i. brueil d'oliviers ;  
 Chascuns de soi armer ne fu mie laniers.  
 Emenidus d'Arcage est remontés premiers  
 Et est alés devant a tout .c. chevaliers.

4 E L val de Josafaille lor font li Grieu saillie,  
 Et acueillent de proie une si grant partie  
 Dont l'ost peüst bien estre par lonc tens replenie ;

2, 6. Ceux.

7. maille.

3, 11. daliers.

2, 5. *vait*] H ert. 9] V kem. H nasalle. 6. *Ce*] V. H Cil ki lont  
 a g. H garconalle ; I contrevalle ; V *g*ouaille. 7. H lairont. H  
 vallisant u. m. ; V *as* P. 8. *In V the order of the lines is* 7, 11, 12, 8-10.  
 HV Ancois q. l. G. aient (V laient). 9. H mains p. sor la coralle. V E.  
 serra pcez meint cors & meint encraine. 10. H & d. m. bon h. ert rompue  
 lentraille. 11. H escari ; V eschari. *preu*] H peu. 12. H Ancois ;  
 V Anceis. H que il r.

3, 1. *soir*] HV jor. 2. V chaucees. *as*] H a. V eschiues. 3. *les*]  
 HV lor. H & mainent maint d. 4. H les confanons lacies. 5. H q.  
 jors fu esclaires ; V **quant li iors** poit clers. 6. H Gibies ; V gibiers. 7.  
*choisie*] HV **trouee**. *veüs*] HV coisis. 9. *In place of l. 9 HV have two lines :*  
 A. erent bien arme car il lor est (V ert) mestier (V mesters)  
 & descu (V **deschuz**) & de l. (H lance) & de d. por lancier (V trenchanz dascers).  
 10. HIV & ont cevaus de garde (I de Gadres, V darabie). 11. *i*] V le.  
 H dolivier ; V dolieurs. 13. V E Eumenidus darchage. HV e. montes  
 tous premier (V tot premiers). 14. *deuant*] H auant. V & e. uenuz auant  
 [H pour aquellir la proie dont as Grius est mestier].

4, 2. *de*] V la. H & prisent d. le p.  
 De coi los p. e. i. grant tans raemplie.

3. *bien*] V om. *par*] V a. H

- Raid with hors, armit Iolely,  
 To keip thair cattell and thair ky.  
 65 Thus think thay, throuch thair cheualrie,  
 Sa stoutly to defend thair fee  
 That thay of thairis sall haue na thing,  
 Bot thay it win throw hard fechtin.  
 Thir knichtis of Grece, that war sa wicht,  
 70 Raid weill as furreouris that nicht,  
 With leggis armit withouttin mair,  
 And squyaris wicht, that with thame wair,  
 Tursit thair harnes halely,  
 And led thair guid steidis thame by ;  
 75 And thusgaittis all the nicht thay raid,  
 That nouthar noyis nor crying maid,  
 Quhill on the morne, in the morning,  
 Richt as the day begouth to spring,  
 In Iosaphas thay fand the ky,  
 80 And sawe thame that sa sturdely  
 Raid furth for to defend their fee ;  
 Bot hyrdis semit thay nocht to be,  
 For thay raid, armit wantonlie,  
 On startand steidis of Arabie.  
 85 The furriouris, quhan thay thame sawe,  
 Thay lichtit doun into ane thrawe,  
 And armit thame but mair abaid.  
 Emynedus befoir thame raid,  
 That had into his cumpanie  
 90 Seuin hundreth knichtis full hardie.  
 The furriouris the pray hes tane.  
 Micht thay thairwith thair gait haue gane,  
 The Oist micht weill refreshit bene,  
 Bot the hirdis, quhan thay haue sene

[Men -

- Mes li cris est levés et la gent estormie ;  
 5 Li sires ques gardoit ot non Otheserie ;  
 A .i. cor d'olifant toute sa gent ralie,  
 Aus Griex vindrent devant, lés la roche Lerie,  
 Jusqu'a .vij. des Grejois ont toluë la vie ;  
 La proie lor resqueuent, maugré eux l'ont guerpie.  
 10 Duel ot Emenidus, qui les chadele et guie,  
 S'or ne se puet vengier, ne se prise .i. aillie.  
 Lors regrete sa gent et " Macedoine ! " crie,  
 Et li Grieu s'espandirent par mi la prairie ;  
 Ja sera commencie de .ij. pars la folie !

- 5 **E**MENIDUS ot ire quant vit ses conpaignons  
 Morir por la vitaille dont li rois l'ot semons ;  
 Ferrant qui molt tost vait, broche des esperons,  
 Et fiert le premerain qu'en vuide les archons  
 5 Et l'auberc li fausa con ce fust auquetons ;  
 Par mi le cors li passe fer et fust et pignons  
 Si que de l'autre part en gita les roignons.  
 Li autre s'entrevindrent, bessiés les confanons,  
 Des mors et des navrés fu jonchiés li sablons ;  
 10 Tant forment s'entrehéent n'ont cure de prisons ;  
 As espées d'acier paient lor raënchons.

5, 11. A sespees.

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4, 4. *gent*] I noise. 5. H qui les garde ; V ki gardot. H Oteserie ; V *otesserie*. 6. HIV les assemble (V ressemble) & r. (H alie). 7. H D. lor sunt venu sor le roce naie ; V D. lost est uenuz sor l. r. burnie. 8. HV a vii. d. premerains (V de premiers grex). V ja a tolu l. v. 9. H & le p. ont rescouse. V lor l. g. 10. H E. darcade ; V E. les ueit. V ka le. *chadele*] H caiele ; V chaele. 11. V Sil nel les p. v. 12. *regrete*] H apele ; V recleime. *Macedoine*] V *senseingne*. *crie*] H escrie ; V rescrie. 13. *par mi*] H a val. 14. V *om. line*. H J. s. d. ij. p. la guerre c.

5, 1. H Duel ot E. (*cp.* 4, 10). 2. H d. il erent somons. 3. H F. q. tos li cort ; V F. ki tot li ua. *broche*] H hurte. 4. V & f. si l. p'mer. H vuident. 5. H Le hauberc l. f. 6. H *om. line*. 7. *gita*] H vit on ; V ieta. H le rognon. 8. H De ii. pars aprocierent ; V L. autre sentreuient. 9. *fu ionchies*] H sunt joncie. V sont sanglenz li blacons. 10. H Si durement encontrent que n. soig d. prison. 11. *As espees*] HV. V manchons.

- 95 Men seis thair oxin and thair ky,  
 The scry thay raissit hastely.  
 Thair chiftane hecht Otessorie ;  
 His men to him he can relie,  
 And hardelie came thame agane,  
 100 And hes fele of the forrest slane,  
 In maugre of thairis reskewit the pray,  
 And dang the furreouris away.  
 E MYNEDVS was wonder wa,  
 That sawe his men rebutit sa,  
 105 And bot vengeance thairof be tane  
 He prysis him nocht worth a chirrie-stane,  
 His price nor 3it his cheualry.  
 His ensigne than can he cry,  
 And thay of Grece that with him war,  
 110 All in ane sop assemblit ar,  
 And straucht thair steidis endlang the plane,  
 And hardely came thame agane.  
 Emynedus was wonder wa  
 Quhan that he sawe his furriouris sua  
 115 Die for the Cattell that the King  
 Had chargit thame to the Oist to bring.  
 Ferrand he straik with spurris in hy,  
 And straik the first sa rigorously  
 That throw the bodie he him bair ;  
 120 His Haubrik helpit him nocht ane hair.  
 The laif, with vaponis stith of steill,  
 In middes the visage met thame weill,  
 And faucht sua that, in lytill spais,  
 Of deid and woundit fele thair was ;  
 125 Bot, with thair swordis to pay ransounis,  
 Thay tuik na tent to tak presounis.

[The

6 EL val de Josafaille vont li Grieu proie prendre,  
 Mes cil ont bon talent qu'il la veulent deffendre ;  
 As espées d'achier lor sont venu contendre.  
 Caulus point le cheval, grans saus li fait porprendre,  
 5 Et fiert Lacianor, que l'escu li fait fendre,  
 Le plus hardi des lor, et si estoit le mendre ;  
 Niés ert Otheserie ; el champ le fist estendre,  
 Si l'a mort abatu ; l'ame li estuet rendre.  
 A ses vaches garder ne porra mes entendre !

7 Fo. 22v. MOLT ont bien li Grejois la mellée tenue ;  
 Le jor i ot doné maint cop d'espée nue.  
 Duel ot Otheserie de la descouvenue  
 Quant vit mort son neveu desus l'erbe menue ;  
 5 Le cheval esperone qui molt tost se remue,  
 Et fiert si .i. Grejois de l'espée esmolue  
 Que la teste du bu li a au branc tolue.  
 Liones point le brun toute une voie herbue,  
 Et fiert Otheserie en la targe volsue  
 10 Que sous la boucle a or li a frete et croissue,  
 Mes la lance brisa con .i. rain de cegüe ;  
 Outre s'en est passés et tret l'espée nue.  
 Mes a Otheserie est molt mal avenue :  
 A une autre bataille qu'a .i. Grieu ot tenue,  
 15 Furent li las rompu et sa coiffe cheüe :

6, 2. *quil la*] H qui lor. V uodrūt cōtendre (*cp. next line*). 3. *contendre*] V defendre (*cp. prec. line*). 4. *grans*] H les. 5. H Lusianor ; V lazianor. 7. V Ne. *ert*] H fut ; V fu. H Otesien. H a qui Loth dut apendre ; I al camp la fait entendre. 8. HV S. l. a m. feru (V naffrez). H que l. l. fait r. ; V lalme l. estot rendre. 9. HV om. line.

7, 1. *tenue*] H meue. 2. V Cel. *done*] H feru. 3. H Otesiens. H desconvenue ; V desconuenue. 4. *vit*] V ueit. 6. *grejois*] V gazereis. V molue. 7. V om. lines 7-9. H Del bu li a le t. al b. dacier t. 8. H tout u. v. obscure. 9. *en*] H sor. *volsue*] H menue. 10. HV Desour l. b. d. (H om. dor). V est quassee & *croissue*] HV fendue. 11. *la*] H sa. *brisa*] H peçoie. I *cenue*. H sor un peu deceue. 12. V tint. V sespee. 13. HV e. grant perte (H perde) a. (H venue). 14. H Quar a u. b. *tenue*] H eue. V q̄ out i. G. t. 15. *sa*] V la. H Son elme avoit perdu & s. c. abatue.



- The furriouris, as I hard say,  
 In Iosaphas thay tuik the pray ;  
 Bot the hirdis, with swordis of steill,  
 130 Hes gud will to defend thame weill.  
 Caulus came prikand in that stour,  
 Arrayit into fell gud armour,  
 And straik sa fast on Bassanor  
 That he brist all his sheild befoir,  
 135 And him out-throuch the bodie bair,  
 And fellit him [stane-] deid richt thair ;  
 Thair endit all his cheualrie.  
 He was neir sib to Otessorie,  
 Lytill he was of corps, bot he  
 140 Passit all vthir in bounte.  
 The Grecians, throw thare gret valour,  
 Mantemyt weill the stalwart stour,  
 Bot richt wa was Otessory  
 Quhen he his neuoy dede saw ly ;  
 145 He straik the steid that weill him bare  
 And, with his sword that sharpely share,  
 To ane Grecian he swappit sa  
 That arme and shulder he dang him fra.  
 Bot Lyonell, the gud in neid,  
 150 Sterit to him in hy ane steid,  
 That hit him euin vpon the sheild,  
 To flenderis flew out of the feild ;  
 The stalwart speir in sunderis brast.  
 As Lyonell far by him past,  
 155 The sword he swappit out in hy.  
 That fell euill to Otessory  
 That tyme, for in the bargane thair  
 His helme and lance baith hewin wair ;

[Bot

134. *his*] hls.141. *thare*] yare.142. L. *Manteinyt.* *the*] ye.*Minuscule at l. 154.*

Et Lyones le fiert en la teste chenuë  
 Que l'espée li a jusqu'as dens embatue.  
 Quant li sires est mort, l'autre gent est vaincue,  
 Par mi une montaigne s'en fuit toute esperdue,  
 20 Et li Grieu ont de proie tel plenté retenue  
 Dont l'ost porroit bien estre grant piece maintenue.  
 Mes ançois que il l'aient, lor sera chier vendue !

8 **L**I Grieu se retornoient a l'ost molt liement ;  
 Mes ançois qu'il i soient, seront il molt dolent,  
 Car li sires de Gadres ot mandée sa gent  
 Tant que il furent bien .xxx. mil et .vij. cent.  
 5 Li dus Bales de Tyr li ot mandé sovent  
 Qu'Alixand' li tourne sa terre a grant torment ;  
 Si le vorra secorre, s'il puet, hastieusement.  
 De la ville s'en ist molt esforcielement ;  
 Il en jure le ciel et la mer et le vent

7, 17. ius ques.

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7, 16. V crenue. 17. H dusquas ; V tres kas. 18. *est . . . est*  
 H fu . . . fu. 20. HV & l. G. d. le (V la) p. orent (V i ont) tant r.  
 21. HI De coi los peust e. i. g. tans rapeue (I repeue) ; V D l. poust b. e. un  
 mot long tens peue. 22. V M. einz kil eient quite.  
 8, 1. H **sunt** retourne ; V sen retournerent. HV **vers.** H villement.  
 2. HV M. a. que li soirs (V kil seit nuiz) s. grain (V grein) & dolent. 3.  
*mandee*] H mande de ; V fet mander. 4. .xxx.] H iiii. 7. *Si*] HV  
 Or. HV procainement (V prochainement). 8. H De Gadres sen isci.  
 9. *en*] H a. & la mer] H & le tiere ; I le solel.

- 160 Bot hat his heid was left all bair,  
 Bot, for grete eild, was canous hare ;  
 And Lyonell with all his maucht  
 Wpon the hede ane rout him raucht,  
 That to the schoulderis he him claue  
 And dede down to the erd him draif.  
 165 Than, fra that lord was dede, all tyte  
 The remanand was discumfit quyte,  
 And to the hillis held thair way ;  
 And thay of Grece sesit the pray  
 In to sa mekill quantitie  
 170 That the oist thairof nicht be  
 Lang tyme easit at thair lyking.  
 Bot, or thay to the hoist it bring,  
 Thay sall it by sa deir, perfay,  
 That thay bocht neuer sa deir ane pray !  
 175 **T**HE furreouris hes tane the way  
 Towart the oist, mery and gay ;  
 Bot, or thay thidder cummin be,  
 The best and of the maist bountie  
 Of all that rout salbe sory,  
 180 For with richt great cheualry  
 Thair fais before thame sall thay sie  
 Or that thay cum to the citie.  
 For duke Betys that Gaderis aucht,  
 Richt towart Tyre the way hes caught  
 185 To skaill the sege of that citie,  
 For of gude men with him had he  
 Threttie thousand and ma, Perfay,  
 Be seuen hundreth, as I hard say.  
 Alexander thay mannaice greatly,  
 190 And said he did ane great foly

[Gif

159. *Bot hat*] To that.161. *lyonell*.168. *sesit*] felit.169. *samekill*.175. *way*, pray.183. *betys yat gaderis*.

- 10 Que fols est Alixand' s'a bataille l'atent !  
 Li dus Betis regarde vers le puis d'orient,  
 Et connuit les forriers et sot certainement,  
 Puis a dit a ses homes : " Esgardés quel present !  
 Ceste gent est de l'ost, je sai a escient,  
 15 Qui enmaine la proie et la terre porprent.  
 S'as premeraines jostes n'en pren ja vengeance,  
 Ja ne tiengne je mes de terre .i. seul arpent !  
 Hui saura Alixand' que je ne l'aim noient ! "  
 Emenidus d'Arcage vit premerainement  
 20 Le duc Betis de Gadres, entre lui et sa gent :  
 " Vés l'empire de Gadres qui nous vient ataignant !  
 En aventure somes de mort et de torment,  
 Mes tout soit il honis qui ançois ne s'i vent !

8, 16. San.

21. Vees.

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8, 11. H de Gadres ; IV esgarde. H v. les p. de Nublent. 12. H sa  
 veu l. f. *sot*] V vit. 13. *Puis*] H &. 14. H j. le s. vraiment ; V  
 jel s. a esscient. 16. *Sas*] V. II Sas premerains ne j. *nen*] H ne.  
*pren ia*] H prendes ; V prenom. 19. HV les v. premierement. [HV &  
 (V Si) **a dit a ses homes** (V as gazerois) **cevalcies sajement** (V cheuauchez  
 sagement).] 21. *Ves*] H. V Veez. *ataignant*] H en present ; V irrement.  
 23. V Mult tost. *qui*] H sil. H venc.

- Gif he wald byde thame in battale,  
 For duke Betys, that thay assale,  
 Suld of thame weill reuengit be !  
 As the duke with his grit menȝe  
 195 Raid our the hillis, he hes sene  
 The forreouris all haill bedene,  
 That in towart Tyre gart drife the pray,  
 Than to his menȝe can he say :  
 " Lordis, behald quhat-kin present  
 200 That our Goddis hes to vs sent !  
 ȝone folk ar of the oist, perfay,  
 That driffis thiddirwart the pray ;  
 Bot I tak now ane vengeance  
 Sone in this new acquentance,  
 205 I hope neuer to hald of land  
 Ane akirbreid in to my hand !  
 And Alexander sall find, na fail,  
 This day that I luif him bot smail ! "

Heir Emynedus makis praying  
 To the douze pers to warn the king.

- 210 E MYNEDUS formest hes sene  
 The battellis and thare baneris schene,  
 Than to the knichtis of Grece in hy  
 He sais, " now ridis wittely,  
 For of Gaderis the empire  
 With Betys (that thairof was sire)  
 215 Cummis vpon vs sturdely !  
 We ar in perell sickerly  
 Outher of dede or of turment,  
 Gif God sum succour to vs sent !  
 Bot, or we dee on that manere,

[Our

191. yame.

194, 195, 201, 202. ye.

196. be dene.

197. tyre.

199. *quhat-kin*] quhat thing.

204. yis.

210. yare.

211. grece.

213. gaderis.

218. succour.

219. yat.

*Minuscule at l. 210.*



Hui porra l'en vëoir qui plus a hardement ! ”  
 25 S'Alixand' seüst ce grant encombrement,  
 Hui vausist le gäaig .c. mile mars d'argent ;  
 Mes ce ne puet pas estre, que Diex ne le consent.  
 Atant sont descendus tost et isnelement,  
 De lor cors atorner ne furent mie lent,  
 30 Et montent es chevaux ; qui ot escu, sel prent.

9 **E**MENIDUS regarde vers les puis de Nemonde,  
 Et vit la gent de Gadres dont tout le val  
 soronde,  
 N'a mie par grant vent en haute mer tant onde  
 Comme il viennent espés la valée parfonde ;  
 5 Tous les veulent enclorre entor a la reönde ;  
 Autresi les aceignent con vilains o sa fonde.  
 Emenidus les voit, ne puet muër n'en gronde ;  
 Pau a gent a conbatre, n'en a cuer qu'il reponde,  
 Ne por pöour de mort n'a talent qu'il s'esconde ;  
 10 Et bien seit et connoist que tuit sont des chiés monde,  
 Et ne voit nul secors qui envers lui s'esponde.  
 Lors n'a oil en la teste qui de pitié ne fonde,  
 Il en a apelé Licanor de Mirmonde :  
 “ Ber, ja est tes chevaus plus isnel d'une aronde !

8, 26. gaig.

9, 6. safonde.

10. Et] om.

13. a] om.

8, 24. *plus a]* V avera. 25. H Se s. A. icest e. ; V Si Alisandf sout  
 cest g. e. 26. H gaains ; V gaanz. 27. V put. *que]* HV car.  
 28. H Li Griu s. d. 29. *cors]* H cor. 30. &] H puis. V sil. [H  
 Cescuns i a feru par grant airement.]

9, 1. H d. Nimonde ; I d. Meronde ; V danemüde. 2. V gazres. H  
 & a veus les Grius. 3. H navie. *en]* H par. 4. *espes]* H es pres.  
 5. *Tous]* H &. *entor]* H trestous. 6. H aceignent. H com li v. a f. ;  
 V come uileins s. f. 7. HIV *om. line.* 8. HV poi. *a]* H por. H  
 na c. que il responde ; IV ni a (V n. na) cor qui (V quor ke) responde.  
 10. *seit]* H voit. &] HV. *des chies monde]* H cief de m. ; V de chef m.  
 11. &] H Ne ; V Kar. HV q. avec l. abonde (V saponde). 12. V Il.  
 H L. n. cuer ens el ventre. 13. V Lors. *a]* H ; V as P. H dorieonde ;  
 V d. mormüde. 14. H B. i. as tu ceval ; V Beals i. e. t. destrers. H  
 p. i. na el monde.

- 220 Our deidis sall be sauld full dere.  
 I trow weill now that folk sall se  
 Quha hes maist vertew and bounte,  
 And quha the hart hes maist hardy!  
 Wist Alexander of this cheualry,  
 225 His winnyng suld be worth this day  
 Ane houndreth thousand pund, perfay,  
 Bot God will nocht that it sa be ;  
 Our euenture heir ta mon we ! ”  
 With that, thay lichtit all in fere,  
 230 And armit thame on gude manere.  
 The gude Emynedus beheld  
 Thame of Gaderis our-tak the feild,  
 That thikkar our the hillis did thraw  
 Than in grete wynd on sey dois waw ;  
 235 He saw the battellis approchand  
 With baneris to the wynd waiffand,  
 And saw few with him, for to fecht  
 Aganis men sa mekill of nicht ;  
 And he on na kyn wise couth se  
 240 How thay nicht best reskewit be,  
 Bot Alexander, the nobill king,  
 Wald speid him sone in thare helping.  
 He sichit, and the tearis than  
 For piete our his chekis Ran,  
 245 And to schir Licanor can he say,  
 “ Gude schir, 3e se in quhat affray  
 The folks of Gadris hes vs set.  
 Bot gif we succour the sonar get,  
 Alexander sall tyne to-day  
 250 The folks that he luffit maist ay.  
 And 3e haue hors richt weill at hand,

[Stalwart

223, 243. ye.

225. yis.

232. *our-tak*] our tuke.234. *in*] ane.

238. samekill.

241. alexander.

242. yare.

243. yan.

247. gadris.

- 15 Car va dire Alixand' : se tost ne nous abonde,  
 Hui perdra de la gent que plus aime en cest monde ! ”  
 Quant l'entent Licanor, ne puet muër ne gronde,  
 Et ne lesse, por ce, son talent ne responde :  
 “ Non ferai,” dist li cuens, “ par ceste teste blonde !  
 20 Ains parra mes escus estre targe reõnde,  
 Et aurai de mon cors trenchié la mestre esponde,  
 Que isse de cest champ que maint des lor n'i tonde ! ”

- 10 **E**MENIDUS a dit : “ Car i alés, Filote !  
 Et dites Alixand' que toute terre est mote,  
 S'est venuë sus nous de Gadre et d'Amïote,  
 Et sont bien .xxx. mile de gent en une rote !  
 5 Se tost ne nous secort en si male rïote  
 Nos amis Alixand', ne cuit nus s'en estorte.”  
 Et cil li respondi : “ Ne me pris une bote  
 S'ainçois ne vois au branc commencier .i. note  
 Juggleör ne fist tele en vïele n'en rote !  
 10 Molt sera or honis qui verra tel conplote

9, 15. a alixand'.  
 20. ronde.

10, 1. filite.  
 6. nus] que nus.

9, 15. H Cou. a] HV om. 16. V Kui. V q. il p. eime el m. 17.  
 HV Q. Licanors l. (V loi). puet] V pot. ne] H nen. 18. por ce] H  
 portant ; V pour quant. H que tos n. li r. ; V sun sen n. r. 19. H Je  
 nirai. 20. H om. lines 20-21. estre] I que soit. reõnde] H roonde ; V  
 as P. 21. I & arai detrancie del c. l. m. e. 22. V Anceis kisse del  
 ost. H Ne nisterai del camp q. d. l. n. rencontre ; I q. d. l. nen etonde.

10, 1. Filote] HV. 2. est] V om. mote] H morte. 3. V Est.  
 H & sunt venu sor n. de Gadres daraiote. 4. H .xx. V E sunt trente  
 millier. HV fote. 6. H Des. I Nous a mis li bons rois. HI n.  
 quic i. (I nous) en estorde ; V ke chascons sen desrote. 8. V om. line.  
 9. V Kunc bret me f. t. HI Conques encor Bretons n. f. t. en sa r. (I en  
 harpe ne en r.). 10. or] H hui. V Mut en serra h. 9plote] H pelote  
 (cp. 10, 12).

- Stalwart, stith and weill sterand,  
 And 3e thair nocht dreid na chaissing !  
 Sais, gif 3our willis be, to the king :  
 255 Bot gif he succour ws in hy,  
 All dede in Gaderis mon we ly ! ”  
 Quhen Licanor had hard this saw,  
 For propir tene began to thraw,  
 And said, “ that I will nocht, perfay ;  
 260 Thair force first I will assay !  
 My scheild, that now is haill and feir,  
 Sall hewin be in pecis seir ;  
 My hawbrek and my helm of steill  
 Salbe to-hewin ilk a deill,  
 265 And I neir woundit out of life,  
 Or ony leuand man me driue,  
 Or do to gar me tak the flicht !  
 To were me 3it I haue sum nicht ! ”  
 E mynedus sais, “ Philot, bew syre !  
 270 Ga to the king that lyis at Tyre  
 And tellis him how duke Betys,  
 With Gaderis, Turkis and Arabys,  
 In haill battell thretty thousand  
 And ma, quhat lord and quhat seruand,  
 275 Ar cummand on vs sudandly,  
 And, bot he speid him haistaly  
 And succour vs with his barnye,  
 In lyfe he sall vs neuer se ! ”  
 “ Shir,” said Philot, “ sa God me sane !  
 280 I sall se first the grete bargane  
 Begin with brandis that ar bricht,  
 And thay that wourthy ar and wicht  
 How thay thair hardyment dar assay.

[I war

254. ye.

256. gaderis.

257. Licauor ; yis.

270. tyre.

272. gaderis turkis and a rabys.

279. god.

- Et partira du champ, se ançois n'i escote !  
 Je cuit que cis besoins n'est pas jeu de pelote !  
 Quant mes haubers sera pertuisiés comme cote,  
 Et mes escus a or con dras c'on haligote,  
 15 Et le sanc de mon cors sus mon arçon me flote,  
 Si revenra el pas mon cheval qui or trote,  
 Fo. 23. S'adonc vois el message, ne diront ' cist asote ! '  
 Ne ne m'en blasmera li rois ne Aristote !  
 Or soions tuit seür comme chastiaux sus mote ;  
 20 Honis soit li preudom qui por .i. jour radote ! "

- 11 **E**MENIDUS regarde vers les puis de Nemoie  
 Et vit les gens de Gadres dont li pays ondoie,  
 Qui plus viennent espés qu'espis ne sont en voie,  
 El premier chief devant, mainte ensaigne de soie  
 5 Et tel mil aprochier dont chascuns se desroie.

10, 18. *ne*] *om.*

10, 12. V Ne. *nest*] V seit. II Ne c. q. del besoing samble jus d. p.  
 14. *a or*] H fendus. H alignote ; V aligote. I environ la ligote. 15.  
 HV *invert lines* 15, 16. 16. *Si*] HV &. *el*] H au ; V al. H mes  
 cevas ; V mis cheuals. 17. H Ce dont ; V Se lors. *asote*] V. H on  
 dira cil nasote. 18. *ne*] HV. *men*] HV me. H gabera. *chastiaux*] H  
 singes. 20. IV redote.

11, 1. H esgarde. *puis*] I pres. II d. Nimoie ; V danemoie. 2. HV  
 & v. (H voit) la gent d. G. d. tous l. vaus o. 3. *plus*] V *om.* *voie*] V  
 moie. H & v. p. e. que nes e. e. Moie. 4. *chief*] V *om.* H enseigne ;  
 V enseigne. 5. H aprochans ; V aprochant.



I war wele mair than shent, perfay,  
 285 Gif I went now as messingeir  
 And left 3ow in sik perrall heir !  
 Quhill my haubrek to-hewin is,  
 And my gude helme also, I wis,  
 Sall to-hewin be about my eiris,  
 290 And my sheild thirlit with stalwart speiris,  
 And my blude into great fusoun  
 Be fletand on my arsoun,  
 My steid, that now sic stering mais,  
 Be fallen in the haltand pais—  
 295 Gif I gang than to say sik thing,  
 Sall nouthier Tholomere, na the King,  
 Na 3it Danclene, that is thame by,  
 Say that I fled hame cowardly !  
 We sall be first on hard assay,  
 300 For I sie nathing now that may  
 Mar vs sa mekill as cowardis ;  
 In hardiment all our worship lyis.  
 Thairfor be we als sikker all  
 As stane closit in castell wall,  
 305 For douchty men ar shent, Perfay,  
 That dreidis ouermekill for ane day.”  
 E MYNEDVS the hillis beheld,  
 And sawe the Gadderis ouertak the feild,  
 Attour the hilles, with thair baneris  
 310 And ensigneis on seir maneris ;  
 As in grit wynd dois haill and snaw,  
 Sa come thay on but dreid or aw,  
 And in the formaist front befoir,  
 He sawe mair than ane hundreth scoir,  
 315 And ma thay war, and sik, perfay,

[That

La conpaigne des Griex durement s'en esfroie ;  
Puis n'i ot si hardi qui entendist a proie.

- Lor anemis chascun son confanon desploie,  
Et li vens se fiert ens qui les langues baloie.  
10 Molt ressemblent bien gent qui a force guerroe ;  
Ja ne perdront de terre, s'il puënt, une roie,  
Et la pöour du perdre les semont et asproie ;  
De lor paijs desfendre nes .i. ne s'afebloie  
Et dient bien entr'eus qu' Alixand' foloie,  
15 Ne tiennent rien de lui, a grant tort les pleoie :  
En tel lieu met s'entente ou folement l'emploie !  
Molt pense hautement quant tante gent chastoie !  
N'a talent, ce m'est vis, que encor se recroie,  
Mes au partir de nous ert chaint de tel corioie  
20 Ja ne li covendra de ce dont plus dannoie.

- Emenidus apele Lyone, si li proie  
D'aler a Alixand' ; por le secors l'envoie,  
Et s'il fait ce mesage, tout le pris l'en otroie.  
Et Lyones respont que ja puis Dieu ne voie  
25 Que il aille el mesage dessi que l'en l'encroie :  
" Mes escus est tous sains et ma lance ne ploie !  
Ce diroit Tholom' que de pàour fuioie  
Et Danclins ses compains, qui as tentes s'ombroie,  
La gent qu'ai amenée en ce champ guerpiroie !  
30 Li rois les me chargea et sans eux m'en iroie !  
Dont porroit il bien dire que traîtres seroie !  
Miex voil avoir percié d'une lance le foie  
Que je aille el message dessi que l'en m'encroie ! "

- 12 **E**MENIDUS apele le hardi Perdicas :  
" Car nous fai cest mesage ! biaux amis, car i vas ! "  
Et cil li respondi : " Or ne m'amés vous pas !  
Ains vous vorrai aidier a descroistre ce tas,

11, 7. aproie.

*N.B.—Lines 8-20 of the French are not rendered in the Scots.*

11, 6. H Il apiela les Grius. 7. a proie] H ; V an proie. 8. V om.  
lines 8-20. H Calnu prist i. pignon contre vent le desploie ; I Cascuns de  
cex de G. s. c. d. 9. H i feri. H q. l. landes ondoie. 10. H M.  
resambloient g. a] H par. 11. H J. n. perderont t. se il pueent plain doie.  
12. asproie] H aigroie. 13. nes .i.] H nus daus. 14. H Ains disoient e.  
Alixandres f. 15. H guerroe. 16. H a malement l. 17. H mestroie ;  
I caroie. 18. H quil encore r. 19. H cains. 20. couendra] H  
sovenra. H desvoie. 22. le] V lez. H p. souscors li envoie. 23. len]  
H en. ce mesage] V cest afere. 24. H L. li a dist. HV i. p. Dex n. me v.  
25. Que il aille] H Q. jou a ; V Q. aillie. H devant q. jou recroie ; V d. q.  
lein me c. 26. sains] H saus. 27. H Ja ; V Tost. de] H por. 28.  
H om. line. as] V a. 30. HV L. r. l. mescarga (V ma charges). men] V  
nen. 33. HV Q. jaie tesmognagne que vis recreans (V uif recreant) soie.  
12, 2. nous] H me. V fetes. 4. H Ancois v. aiderai ; V Jo vodrai eider.  
I destruire.

That semit thay wald be at assay.  
 And than of Grece the cheualry,  
 Thay war affrayit greatumly,  
 For thair was nane thar, I dar say,  
 320 Sa hardy that tuik tent to pray.  
 The gude Emynedus tuke Lyoun  
 And maid him prayer and sermoun  
 To pas thair errand to the King :  
 " Say, shir, gif ȝe will do this thing,  
 325 The pryse all hail of this iorne,  
 And our weifair, sall ȝouris be."  
 Than said Lyon, " sa God me saif !  
 Sik pryse think I nocht to haif.  
 Na, I will nocht sik message ma,  
 330 Bot gif men trow me quhair I ga.  
 My helme, my sheild nor ȝit my speir  
 [Is] nouthir brokin nor bowit in weir ;  
 And Tholomeir weill syne sould say  
 I fled for cowardise away,  
 335 Or, gif I left in sic ane neid  
 The folke that I haue heir to leid  
 Micht say that thay haue euill warrand,  
 That fled and left thame barganand !  
 With thame will I tak gude and ill,  
 340 Lat God wirk syne quhat euer he will ! "  
 E MYNEDVS sair noyit was,  
 And said to hardy Perdicas,  
 " Gude shir, gang [into] this message."  
 And he ansuered, as ane in rage,  
 345 " Thow lufis me nocht that sa me prayis !  
 I will abyde with the, neid-ways,  
 To helpe the to pas this pace !

[Me

5 Si ert ma lance frete et mes escus tous quas,  
 Et mes chevaux corans ert revenus au pas,  
 Que g'isse de l'estor sain ne hetié ne cras !  
 Se je venoie au roi, armes saines et dras,  
 Et vous lessoie mort el val de Josafas,  
 10 Molt auroie bien fait le service Judas !  
 Li rois seroit mauvés se demain n'estoie ars ! ”

13 **E**MENIDUS a dit : “ Car i alés, Caulus !  
 L'un des .xij. pers estes, tant vous croira on  
 plus,  
 Et dites Alixand' que tuit sommes conclus :  
 Se tost ne nous secort, mort sommes et confus,  
 5 Car o sa gent de Gadres nous a enclos li dus ! ”  
 Et cil li respondi : “ Cest afaire refus !  
 Par la foi que vous doi, biau sire Emenidus,  
 Quant g'istrai de cest champ, n'en i remaindra nus  
 Se ne sui mors ou pris ou tornés a dejus ! ”

14 **E**MENIDUS a dit : “ Alés i, Aristé !  
 Ja a il tant en vous vasselage et bonté !

12, 5. Siert.

8. roie.

13, 4. vous.

12, 5. *Si*] H &; IV Ainz. H frainte; V freite. 6. [I *Mix voel jo estre oei ancui vencus & mas.*] 7. *sain*] H saus. *ne . . . ne*] H & . . . &. 8. V venisse. *rois*] HV. I a. u. en mes d. 9. H & v. laie morir. 11. *maunes*] H honis. *nestoie*] H estoit; V nere. *ars*] V tas. 13, 2. V ki rois eime p. 3. *conclus*] H confus. 4. HV nos. H soscors. H m. sont & confondus. 5. [H Nous somes es esprueve & il sunt au desus.] 6. H & Caunus l. respont. 7. *vous*] V li. H istrai. *nus*] H plus. 9. V S. einz n. s. m. *a deius*] H al desus; V el d. 14, 2. *bonte*] V fierte.

Me leuer war, into this cace,  
 Wery and woundit with the be,  
 350 Than ony leuand man sould se  
 Me, haill and feir, into my micht,  
 For ony chance eschew the ficht ;  
 And gif I now went to the King  
 And left 3ow heir in fell fechting,  
 355 I war mair tratour than Iudas,  
 And the gud King that wan Damas  
 War wickit, sa the Lord me sane !  
 Bot I to-morne war brint or slane ! ”  
 E MYNEDVS sayis to shir Caulus,  
 360 “ Gang fetch the King to succour vs.  
 Ane of his Douze pers ar 3e,  
 3e fall ouer all mair trowit be !  
 Say to him, but he vs succour sone,  
 We ar all confusit and done,  
 365 For with his folke the duke Betys  
 Hes vs inclusit on sic ane wys  
 That it semis thay sparhalkis war  
 And we lawrokis, that durst bot dar ! ”  
 And he sayis, “ shir Emynedus,  
 370 Perfay, this message is to refuse,  
 And, be the faith I to 3ow aw,  
 Quhan I for power, strenth or aw  
 Sall of this stalwart stour be gane,  
 Behind thair [I] fall nocht leif ane,  
 375 Bot gif I sa woundit be  
 That [I] micht set na help in ye.”  
 E mynedus sais to Arreste,  
 “ 3e ar sa full of grete bounte  
 That 3e, I trow, will help at neid,

[To



- Bien connois ce destrier sus quoi vous voi armé,  
 Que ne vous bailleroient trestuit cil qui sont né !  
 5 Et dites Alixand' que tant avons alé  
 Se tost ne nous secort, mort somes et finé !  
 Se nel faites por nous, si le faites pour Dé,  
 Et por l'amor du roi qui tant nous a amé ! ”  
 Et cil li respondi : “ Or avés bien parlé !  
 10 Ne vorroie estre sain por iceste bonté !  
 Au plus mauvés de tous m'i avés esgardé !  
 Alés i vous meïsmes qui l'avés porparlé !  
 Se jamés estiens de cest besoing torné,  
 Assés en petit d'eure m'en auriés gabé !  
 15 Quant j'aurai mon escu et percié et troé  
 Et mon hiaume en .c. lieus trenchié et enbarré,  
 Et le branc de m'espée trestout ensanglenté,  
 Et je aurai le cors en plusors lieus navré—  
 Se donc vois el mesage que m'avés conmandé,  
 20 Ne dira pas li rois, Danclins ne Tholomé

13, 7. *nel*] *ne*.10. *i ceste*.

14, 3. *Bien*] H Tant. *destrier*] H cheval. *quoi*] V ki. 4. H tout c. q.  
 or s. n. 5. H direz. *auons*] V eimes. 6. *fine*] HV outre (V oltre).  
 7. *nel*] HV. *si le*] V veals. 8. HV & p. amor. H le. H que. *nous*]  
 V vous. [H Ses pales & sounor & son argent donne.] 9. V C. l. a  
 respondu. or] H ca. 10. *sain*] V sauf. H N. le v. avoir sacies de verite.

[H Por trestout lor del mont je vus dis par verte

Par foi Emenidus mult ai le cuer ire.]

11. H Quar i. des plus laniers maves ore e. 12. V Par ma foi v. m.  
 13. H Se vous me veisscies. V d. bosoigne t. 14. H m. averies g.  
 15. HV Quant aurai lescut fraint (V froit) & le hauberc fause. 16. *mon*]  
 H le. *trenchie*] V hoschee. 17. H *inverts* ll. 17, 18. *de mespee*] H acerin.  
 H souille & maillente; V tort & e. 19. H q. or maues rove. 20.  
*ne*] H &.

- 380 To gar the King him hidder speid.  
I knawe the steid that 3e on ryde.  
I wate that in this warld sa wyde  
Is [na] hors that may him ouer-tak.  
For vs the message man 3e mak,  
385 And say vnto our Lord the King  
In his hand is our succouring ;  
And gif 3e will this errand make,  
All hail the pryse, I vndertake,  
Of this iornay, and our weill-fair,  
390 Sall 3ouris be for euermair.  
And gif 3e will nocht it for vs maik,  
Gud shir, do it for Goddis saik  
And for the gentill Kingis lufe,  
That oft was wont for vs [to] prufe  
395 Lufe, largenes and tendernes,  
Gud cumpanie and humbilnes ! ”  
And he answered and said, “ Parde !  
Into Paradise wald I nocht be  
Halely to serue on sic seruiss !  
400 For the worst that amangis vs is  
Me think that 3e haue chosin me !  
And in short tyme I trow that 3e  
Sould scorne me, fra I war went.  
My haubrek salbe first to-rent,  
405 And my helme also hewin be  
In seir places, that men may se,  
My sword richt in my hand bludy,  
And I als woundit in the body  
In sindrie places, or I ma  
410 This message that 3e carp of sa !  
The King sall neuer haue na cause to say,  
[Na 3it

Que m'en voient venir comme coart prové !  
 Je n'en prendroie mie tout paradys a gré  
 Par covent que n'eüsse en ce besoing esté ! ”

- 15      **Q**UANT voit Emenidus que por noiënt travaille,  
           Antigonon apele, qui fu nés de Soraille :  
       “ Car alés ou message desus ce cheval baille  
       Qui plus vait de randon qu'esprevier qui prent quaille !  
 5      N'a plus isnel destrier jusques en Cornuaille !

13, 22. prenderoie ; agre.

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14, 21. HV Quil m. (V me) v. parti (V partir).      22. a gré] HV.      23.  
 HV P. fi (V ce) q. jou (V ie) n.

15, 1. HV p. nient se t. (V travaillie ; in V the 'laisse,' except l. 14, is in  
 -aillie). [HV Que (V Ne) pour lui ne feront qui vaille (V uailant) une  
 maaille.]      2. H Antigonum ; V **Antigonuz**.      3. H Vus ires el mesage.  
 H sor cel c. darcage ; V de suz cel serugaillie.      4. qui prent] H apres  
 5. V om. line. destrier] H cheval. iusques] H desi.

Na 3it shir Tholomere, perfay,  
 That I fled hin for cowardise !  
 I wald nocht to haue Paradise  
 415 In thank to change, to be trewlie  
 Fra 3ow, out of this companie.  
 Thy-selfe may best this errand may,  
 That thou oft carpis to assay ! ”  
 Emynedus said him curtasly,  
 420 “ Beuschir, 3e wait richt weill that I  
 Am Constabill ordaned be the King,  
 And hes 3ow heir in gouerning.  
 And I left 3ow but gouernall,  
 Fechtand in sa fell battall,  
 425 I sould all warldis honour tyne,  
 And, with gud richt, be hangit syne.  
 Bot had the King biddin 3ow be  
 Constabill, as he hes biddin me,  
 Than micht I weil this message ma,  
 430 And sould foroutin grudging ga.  
 Bot in this point it may nocht be,  
 For sen the King 3ow taucht to me,  
 Me had leuer die in bataill  
 Than ocht in my defalt sould fail.”  
 435 **Q**VHAN that the Duke sawe his trauaill  
 To get succour micht nocht avall  
 And that nocht ane wald for him ga,  
 In his hart he was wonder wa,  
 And to Antigonus said he,  
 440 “ Gud shir, gif it 3our willis be,  
 To Tyre our message will 3e beir  
 Vpon that steid, that is suifter  
 Than is Sparhalk, Pertrik or quail3e ?

[Say

413. *hin*] him.437. *nocht*] not.*Lines 419-34 of the Scots are not paralleled in our French MSS.*

Et dites Alixand' qu'a cest besoing nous vaille !  
 Se tost ne nous secort nel tiengne mie a faille,  
 Ne trouvera el champ ne le grain ne la paille ! ”  
 Et cil li respondi : “ Or oi grant devinaille,  
 10 Ains ert mes haubers rons par desous la ventaille  
 Fo. 23v. Et je navrés el cors par desous la coraille !  
 Miex voel ci demorer en iceste bataille  
 Qu'emperere de Rome ne rois de Cornuaille !  
 Je remaindrai o vous ! Or querés qui i aille ! ”

16 **E**MENIDUS d'Arcage Antiocum apele :  
 “ Vous irois el mesage sus bauchant de Castele  
 Qui plus court de randon que ne vole arondele,  
 Et dites Alixand' qui tantes gens chadele :  
 5 Se tost ne nous secort, en si male roële  
 Nous somes enbatu qui ne li ert pas bele ;  
 Ne trovera mes nul en cheval ne en sele ! ”  
 Et cil li respondi : “ Or oi gente favele !  
 Quant verrai de mon branc sanglente la lumele,  
 10 Et mes escus ert frains sous la boucle novele,  
 Et mes haubers rompus par desous la mamele,  
 Et sus l'archon devant me gerra ma boële—  
 Lors irai je au roi par dessus la gravele,

15, 7. mi.

6. en batu.

10. frais.

16, 3. *ne*] *supplied*.

9. lalumele.

11. per.

15, 6. *qua*] H a. *nous vaille*] H ne faille. 7. H je nel tieg mie a f. ;  
 V ne tenge mie a f. 9. *oi grant*] H oies. 10. *desous*] HV desus.  
 11. *desous*] H dales ; V desuz. [H Si que jus a la tiere me coulera lentraille.]  
 12. *ci demorer*] H estre avoec vus ; V morir ou vous. 13. V Questre  
 empor d. r. 14. *o vous*] H el camp. H & vus querres ki a. ; V querez  
 autre q. a.

16, 1. H Antigonum ; V Antiochū. 2. *Castele*] V tudele. 3. *ne*] HV.  
 4. *tantes gens*] H mainte gent. 5. HV mal torne la r. 6. HV *om. line*.  
 7. H Nen. *i*] H nul. 8. H o. oies grant f. 9. H *places l. 9 after l. 11, V after l. 12*. HV Q. (H &) aurai. H la lemele ;  
 V laleme. 10. HV Ains e. m. e. f. H par desous la mamele. 11. V desuz. *mamele*] H forciele. 12. H se gira m. boviele. 13. HV  
 L. noncerai (V en irrai) a. r. a Tir sor la g.



- Say to the King, gif he vs failȝe,  
 445 To succour vs in full grit hy,  
 All deid in Gaderis mon we ly ! ”  
 And he answered and said, “ Parde !  
 Heir in this battell will I be,  
 To helpe ȝow for to leis ȝon rout.  
 450 Gif ony sall ga, foroutin dout  
 It sall ane vther be than I ;  
 For heir sall I dwell, sikkerly.  
 Of me sall na man say that shame,  
 That I am fra the battell gane,  
 455 And left my feiris in sic ane stour,  
 Quhair thay micht preue thair grit valour,  
 For-thy, gud shir, for cheritie,  
 Of that ȝe carpe na mair to me ! ”  
 460 **T**HE douchtie Duke Emynedus  
 Said efter to Antiochus,  
 “ Into this message mon ȝe ga  
 On bausand that, I vndersta,  
 Is suifter than is foull of flicht.  
 Say to our nobill King of micht,  
 465 Bot he vs helpe with staluart hand,  
 He sall not sie vs on lyfe leuand.”  
 Than answered he and said, “ Perfay,  
 Quhan I haue bene in sic ane fray  
 That my sheild be to-frushit all,  
 470 My haubrek hewin in peces small,  
 And arme and shoulder all bludie be,  
 The Duke Betys and his menȝie  
 Be discomfite alluterly—  
 Than, gif I leif, I sall blythlie  
 475 Ga tell thir thythingis to the King ;

[He sall

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473. *alluterly*] printed almost as if two words, “all uterly”: it is difficult to say whether a space is intended or not.

Adonc saura il bien que voire est la novele !  
 15 Dehés ait, se g'i vois, qui honni ne m'apele !

17 **E**MENIDUS d'Arcage en apela Sanson :  
 " Car i alés ! " fait il, " gentil fils de baron,  
 Et dites Alixand' qui est fils Phelipon  
 Qu'il nous viengne secorre a coite d'esperon,  
 5 Car l'empire de Gadres nous enclot environ,  
 Et sont bien .xxx. mil, a itant les esme on ! "  
 Chil li a respondu : " Vous parlés en pardon !  
 Je sui ja tous armés et tieng mon confanon,  
 Desirans de ma terre dont li rois m'a fait don,  
 10 Et atent la bataille ; vés la ! ci ja l'auron !  
 Et or aille el mesage a guise d'un garchon !  
 Miex voil estre tornés a grant confusion  
 Que g'isse de cest champ se mort ou navrés non.  
 Ou l'ounour en ert nostre, si que nous le verron,  
 15 Ou nous i morrons tuit, ja n'auron garison."  
 Quant l'ot Emenidus, si bessa le menton,  
 Lors regrete li cuens Tholomer et Cliton :  
 " Quant vous lessai as tentes, molt oi le cuer bricon ;  
 Hui partiront a duel li douse compaignon ! "

16, 15. De hes.

16, 14. H om. line. 15. H Dehait a. il sans moi ; V Dahaeit seinz i u. honni] H couart.

17, 1. fait] H dit. de] HV a. 3. est] HV fu. 4. V mut tost a esperon. 5. enclot] V a clos. environ] H a bandon. 6. V sūt trente millier. HV esmon. 7. HV & c. li respondi. 8. II Ia s. je t. a. 10. ves la ci] H desirant. 11. V Or irreie e. m. a] V en. dun] HV de. 12. V atornez. 13. cest champ] H lestor. 14. Ou] H &. H q. nos bien l. v. ; IV s. q. n. les vaincron. 15. H de verte le savon. 16. H baise. 17. cuens] I dus. H & regratte le roi. 18. tentes] H loges. HV m. o. sens (V sen) de b. ; I m. en fis que b. 19. H H. partirent. HIV a glaive (H glaves).

He sal nocht call thame gabbing.  
 Gif I ga els, foule him befall  
 That recryand will nocht me call ! ”

- 480 **E**MYNEDVS sayis, “ shir Sampsoun,  
 Gang to the King, gentill Barroun,  
 And bid him cum into grit hy,  
 To succour vs with his cheualry,  
 For of Gaderis all the barnie,  
 That thretty thousand or ma may be,  
 485 With felloun battell hes vs socht.”  
 He said, “ shir duke, ȝe carp for nocht.  
 I sit all armit on my steid,  
 Richt freshely flowand in my weid,  
 ȝarnand to conqueir and to haif  
 490 The land that the gud King me gaif,  
 And abydis the battell heir,  
 That we sall haue richt sone but weir ;  
 And gif I ȝeid [in] this message  
 As sould ane knaif do, or ane page,  
 495 Than my worship war all in vane.  
 Me had leuer in feild be slane  
 Than leif the fecht in sik degre.  
 Outher sall thay all ouris be  
 Or we sall all die but ransoun.”  
 500 Quhen that he herd, gud Emynedoun,  
 He kest down his he[ve]de in hy  
 And regrated full tenderly  
 Of the King, Tholomere & Cliton,  
 And said, “ now beis departicion  
 505 Of the Douze pers that ay  
 Thame prouit weill at hard assay ! ”  
 With that, thay of that vther party

[Cryit

20 Et li dus lor escrie : “ Tuit estes mort, glouton !  
 Ja guerpirois la proie ; nous le vous calengon !  
 De vos cors ne prendroie nes une raënçon ;  
 Tuit perdrois hui les testes sans autre devisiön ! ”

18 QUANT voit Emenidus qui tant fait a loër,  
 Qu'en nul de ceux ne puet nul bon conseil trover,  
 Des biaux ieux de son chief conmencha a plorer  
 Et le Roy Alixand' forment a regretter :  
 5 “ A ! frans debonaires, qui tant nous seux amer,  
 Tes pailles et ton or et ton argent donner,  
 Et tes beles richescs a chascun presenter,  
 Et tout quan que li dieu te lessent conquerer,  
 Jamés ne te verrons, bien le puis afermer !  
 10 Ay ! con grant soufrete aurons de Tholomer  
 Et de Cliton le conte, qui les rens fait trembler,  
 Ne je ne puis ici nul chevalier trouver  
 Qui vait a Alixand' por ceste gent sauver ! ”  
 A une part du champ commence a esgarder,  
 15 Et vit .i. chevalier desous .i. arbre ester.  
 Corineüs ot non, ainsi l'oï nommer,

17, 22. prenderoie. 18, 9. *te*] om. 12. ici ; *nul*] om. 13. *a*] om.

17, 20. *li dus*] H Betis. V tot i morrez gloton. 22. H D. racat nen  
 prendroie ; V D. vous prendroie ie. H nesune ; V neis u. 23. V  
 Trestoz perdrez l. t. H T. perderes l. t. ja naures garison.

18, 1. H om. *line* 1. 2. V om. *lines* 2 and 3. H Quant. I n. c.  
 recovrer. [I Qui sen voelle partir por les autres salver.] 5. HV A  
 f. rois d. *seux*] H sius ; V sols. 6. H nos soloies douner. 7. V  
 om. *line*. 8. *quan*] H cou. *dieu*] I Griu. 9. *te*] HV. H je los b.  
 afremer ; V sa tos b. a. 10. H & Dex ; V Ha deu. V si. H soufrance.  
*aurons*] HV ai hui. 11. H Clincon ; V Clicon. H q. f. l. r. H tranler ;  
 V branler. 12. H & i. n. p. H ici ; V isci. *nul*] H ; V un. 13. HV  
 Q. le voist dire au roi (V Ke uoit dire le Roi). 16. H C. o. a n. *ainsi*]  
 H isi ; V eissi.

Cryit, " 3e sall all die haistely !  
 Leif 3e the pray, we challenge it !  
 510 Or we sall reid 3ow sic ane fit  
 That 3e sall all the headis tyne  
 Or die, ilkane, with dule and pyne ! "  
 QVHAN Emynedus had hard . . .  
 515 And his trauell was all in vane,  
 And that he nicht find nane wald ga  
 His message, na his erand ma,  
 The teiris ouer his chekis ran,  
 And smertly he regratit than  
 Alexander, the nobill King,  
 520 And said, " a ! lord, at our all thing,  
 Was wount to lufe vs and to pryse,  
 And giftis gif on mony wyse,  
 Thy treasure and thy nobill steidis,  
 Thy gret riches and ryall weidis,  
 525 And all that God lattis the conquer,  
 Thow geuis frely but dangeir,  
 On lyfe thou sall vs neuer sie !  
 Allace ! this day grit neid haue we  
 Of Danclene and of Tholomeir,  
 530 That in ane stour can weill thame steir ;  
 And I can find, for na kin thing,  
 Ane knycht that ryde will to the King,  
 To set helping in his mènzie.  
 Certis, I can na succour se."  
 535 He lukit than in feild him by,  
 And sawe ane gud knicht in great hy  
 Licht, him allane, vnder ane trie.  
 Corneus to name hecht he.  
 Pure of all gudis he was,

[Bot



- Povres hom est d'avoir, mes de cuer estoit ber.  
 Lors estoit descendus por son cors contraër,  
 Durement se penoit de son cors bien armer,  
 20 Car il voloit ce jor ceux de Gadres grever,  
 Son mautalent et s'ire desus eux desenfier,  
 Et l'ounor Alixand', s'il pöoit, alever.  
 Emenidus l'apele, qui molt sot bien parler :  
 " De ceste gent," fait il, " vous voil merci criër.  
 25 Sire, par ta franchise, pense d'euls delivrer !  
 Se tu fais cest mesage, pres sui de l'afier  
 Qu'encore t'en ferai du roi si mercier  
 Grant masse te donra de l'or de cha la mer,  
 Et bon gré t'en sauront trestuit li .xij. per."  
 30 Et li vassaux respont : " Je me voil d'el pener !  
 Se secor volés querre, autre i covient aler.  
 Se je sui povres hom, ne me devés gaber ;  
 Nuls ne doit povreté ledement reprover,  
 Mes povres hom est vil, sel devroit on tuër,  
 35 Car a paine est si preus c'on le voille loër,  
 Ses œvres ne ses fais a nul bien atorner,  
 Por promesse d'avoir me volés vergonder,  
 Mes itant de respit vous vorrai demander

18, 20. *il*] *om.*28. *chalamer.*30. *deil.*35. *apaine.*36. *a torner.*


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18, 17. H *om. line.* IV mais d. corage est (V e.) b. 18. *Lors*] H &.  
 V atorner. 19. *cors*] HV *cief* (V chef). 20. *il*] H ; V i. *ce*] HV  
 le. 21. H *inverts lines 21-22.* H Sire & s. m. H detorner.  
 [I Nies est Emenidus com li ot fait conter  
 Mais le veraï estoire le me revelt falser  
 Car not onques neveu fors Pieron de Mondler].  
 22. V si poust enhaucer. 23. H ki biel savoit p. 24. *vous*] HV *te.*  
 27. H Que encor t. f. del bon r. m. 28. H & g. m. douner. HV d. l.  
 doutre l. m. 29. HV & t. s. b. g. 30. H el vus volrai rouver ; V  
 del m. lesses penser. 31. H *om. line.* 33. HV *Hom.* 34. H  
 Mais le povre & le viel. 35. *a paine*] HV. *voille*] I doie. HV ounorer  
 (V honorer). 36. *ses fais*] H li fait. *atorner*] HV. 38. *de*] H ce.  
*vorrai*] H voel jou ; V en voil.

- 540 Bot of hart he had grete riches.  
 He panit him sa tentifly  
 To arme his hede and his body,  
 For that day thocht he for to greif  
 His fais, and his worship preif,  
 545 And suage on thame his matelent,  
 And with grete strenth and hardement  
 Manteme the kingis mense that day.  
 Emynedus meikly can him say,  
 " I cry the of thir folk mercy,  
 550 Schir, saif thame for 3our courtasy!  
 And gif thow will do this message,  
 I am reddy in all ostage  
 That thow sall thank haif of the king,  
 And grete reward for thy ganging;  
 555 And the douze pers, gif thow will ga,  
 Sall 3eild the mekill thank alsa."  
 The knycht said, " schir, be heuinnis king,  
 My thocht is on ane vther thing.  
 Gif that succouris mon gottin be,  
 560 3e mon ane vther send than me!  
 Thocht I be pure, in euill array,  
 I think my vertew to assay.  
 Men suld nocht repruf pouerte,  
 Thocht pure men ay skornit be,  
 565 For pure men sa vnwourthy is,  
 Vneis that ony will thame pryse,  
 Or loif, or turne thair deidis in gude.  
 For fare hecht wald 3e change my mude  
 And shame me for hope of geuing.  
 570 For, be him that is heuinis King,  
 And I nicht get [sa] lang laseir
- [That

541. *sa tentifly*] satentifly.545, 550. *yame*.547. *L. Manteine*.549. *yir*.555. *thow*] yow.559. *gottin*] gettin.

- Que me lessiés les las de mon elme fermer,  
 40 Et monter el cheval ou tant me puis fier,  
 Puis, certes, vous envi del estour endurer !  
 Et, par icele foi que je vous doi porter,  
 Ce sachiés bien por voir, et sel vous puis jurer :  
 Quant partirai du champ, n'i vorrois demorer ! ”  
 45 Emenidus respont : “ Diex t'en doint bien ouvrer !  
 Par bon cuer i remains ! Je ne t'en sai blasmer.”

- 19 E MENIDUS d'Arcage apela Festion ;  
 Cil ert bien d'Alixand' du mieux de sa maison,  
 Fo. 24. Ses mestres chamberlens, que de voir le savon.  
 “ Va,” fait il, “ di le roi de qui nos fiés tenon,  
 5 Hui est venus li jors que bien les deservon !  
 Li dus Betis de Gadres est plus fier d'un lion ;  
 Chi nous a amené fiere procession,  
 Et nous promet a faire dure confession.  
 Di le roi qu'il chevauche a coite d'esperon,  
 10 Resqueuë ses amis de mort et de prison !  
 Se tu fais ce mesage, tu auras guerredon  
 Et t'ame en ert el ciel, s'en auras vrai pardon !  
 Tu vois ci nostre mort que ici atendon.  
 Trop est grans li meschiés se a eux conbaton.

18, 43. *voir*] vous.9. *roi*] om.

19, 5. Que hui.

12. *sen auras*] sauras.

- 18, 39. H laies ; V lesez. V noer. 40. H qui tant fait a loer. 41. H En apries [H Emenidus respont qui mult fist a loer]. 42. HV q. d. le roi p. ; I q. i. d. Dieu p. 43. *voir*] V. H C. s. tout de voir si los bien afier. 44. H volries [H Se souscours voles querre autre i convient aler]. 45. *ten doint*] H vus laist. 46. *sa*] H doi ; V pus.  
 19, 1. V apele. 2. H *ert bien*] H estoit. *sa*] H ma. 3. H en escrit le trueve on ; V ke d. fi l. s. 4. *di le*] V dire au. H V. tent f. i. au r. 5. *Hui*] H ; V Ou. HV q. *cier* (V cher) l. (H le) d. 6. *dun*] V que. 7. H Es. H pourciession. 8. H permet. 9. *roi*] II. *quil*] H si. V D. l. roi kor cheualst. 10. H Resceue ; I Rescoe. 11. *tu*] V tun. H *sen aures* g. 12. V sin auras ueir p. H Quar votre ame en sera la sus e. c. a mon. 13. *ici*] V nous ci. H T. ies *pries* de ta m. q. de fi le savon ; I T. vas querre no vie si nous i atendon. 14. H T. estera mescies. HV sensi (V seissi) nos c.

- That I micht pres[t] me in my gere  
 And lepe vpon my stalwart steid,  
 That oft hes helpit me in my neid,  
 575 I sall induce 3ow to begin  
 This bargane, quha-sa tyne or win !  
 And, be the faith that I aw to the king,  
 Quhen I, for force of hard fechting  
 Or dreid of dede, away sall ryde,  
 580 3e sall na will haue to abyde."  
 Emynedus ansuerit him till,  
 " Thow bydis with sa richt gude will  
 That I can on na wayis blame the.  
 God sawe the, gif his willis be ! "  
 585 **E**MYNEDVS callit Festioun,  
 That was ane man of grete renoun,  
 And with Alexander was priuie ;  
 His maister chalmerlane was he.  
 He said, " gang say our Lord the king,  
 590 That we hald of all our halding,  
 That the day is cummin that we  
 Sall by full dere his grete bounte,  
 For duke Betys, that bald baroun,  
 Hes brocht vs hard processioun,  
 595 And knychtis to assay vs sa  
 That nane on lyfe sall pas him fra !  
 Say the gude king he spedely ride  
 To succour vs in to this tyde.  
 And will 3e, schir, do this erand,  
 600 3our saull 3e bring to lyfe lestand !  
 3e se weill that 3our dede is neir,  
 That at our hand is cumand heir.  
 The myscheif is to grete, I hecht,

[Gif

577. yat.

594. *processioun*] possessioun.591. *cummin*] cumming.

- 15 Se ne vient li bons rois que seignor reclamation,  
 Les elmes o les chiés perdrons sans raënçon,  
 Mes el fer de sa lance a nostre garison.  
 Des que bien me remembre de la sieue faïçon  
 Et des bones proëscs que vëoir i solon,  
 20 Si me croist li corages vers ce pueple felon ;  
 Et m'est sempers avis que a tort les douton,  
 Conment que il nous aient ci trové a bandon.  
 Miex voil estre ferus el cors jusqu'au pomon  
 Que li champs soit guerpis se ainçois n'i joston ! ”  
 25 Et li vassals respont ; “ Or avés dit raison,  
 Biau sire Emenidus ; Or soions compaignon,  
 Car, tant con je aurai se entier le blason  
 Ne le hauberc du dos ne le elme d'en son,  
 Ne partirai du champ, si verrai tel tençon  
 30 Dont li coart seront en molt male friçon.  
 Ices mauveses gens, por coi les criendrion ?  
 Ains soions esprivier et il soient pinçon !  
 Se il sont plus de nous, tant bien les requerron  
 Que, par les premerains, ceux derriers esmaion !  
 35 Nous somes tuit eslit et conneü baron  
 Et priviés d'Alixand' qui nous a fait maint don.  
 Bien est, quant Diex le vuet, que merite en aion ;

19, 22. abandon.  
 28. denson.

31. I ces ; *criendrion*] crier brion.

19, 15. *ne*] HV ni. H de qui nos fies tenon (*cp. l. 4*). 16. HV Les  
 vies & les cies (V chiefs) sens r. (V sanz rechat i) perdron. 17. a] H  
*gist* ; V tent. 18. H Puis q. il m. r. 19. V *om. line. bones*] H  
 rices. H q. veir i siut on. 20. *li*] H mes. 21. V Ke *grantment*  
 nes doton. 22. *a bandon*] H ; V as P. 23. *iusquau*] V & el. H  
 M. voel e. tornes a grant confusion. 24. *se*] V que. *ainçois*] H *ca eus*.  
 26. H *om. line.* 27. *q*] H que. HV si. *le*] H mon. 28. H &.  
*du*] H el ; V del. *den son*] V ; H en son. 29. *tel*] H le ; V la. 30.  
 H ficon ; V fricon. 31. HV *om. line.* 32. V Ore. I faucon. H  
 Or soies en porvance ne soies en fricon. 33. *plus*] H mius. 34. V  
 Ker. H derier ; V detters. H detrion. 36. HV priue.



- 605      Gif that we with sa mony fecht.  
           Bot gif the gude King cum, that we  
           Hald for our lord and avowie,  
           Helmis and heidis mon we tyne ;  
           Bot in his sword lyis our helpyne.  
 610      Bot quhan that I vmbethink me  
           Of his great worship and bountie,  
           And of manheid and hie empryse  
           That we haue sene him do oft-syse,  
           My hart, it growis sa sturdelly  
           That I think of my-selfe ferly  
 615      That we sa greatly sould thame dread,  
           Suppose it now fallin be in dead  
           That at mischeif we fundin ar.  
           Me had leuer with dule and cair  
           Be deid, than thay vnsailzeit be ! ”  
 620      Quod Festioun, “ sa God me sie !  
           Gud shir, now haue 3e spokin richt !  
           Now be we fallowis in this ficht !  
           I sall not pas out of this feild  
           Quhill I sie sa haill my sheild  
 625      And quhill I sie sa great mellie  
           That cowardis sall anoyit be.  
           Now be we Sparhalkis and thay Quailzeis,  
           For multitude in fecht oft failzeis !  
           Thocht thay be ma nor we, for-thy  
 630      Seik we the first sa sturdely  
           That the hindmaist abasit be !  
           We ar all chosin of great bountie,  
           And priuie with the nobill King  
           That geuis sa mony ryall thing ;  
 635      And it is full gud richt that we

[Quyte

609. *quhan that*] that quhan.633. *priuie*] prouit.

De vivre ou de morir a hounor entendon,  
 Que li nostre oir n'en aient vilaine retraçon  
 40 Ne li mainnes rois honte, quel fin que nos façon,  
 Ne vers n'en soit oïs de mauvese canchon.  
 En tant lieus ont esté taint nostre confanon  
 Et por ce n'est pas drois que nous espoënton.  
 Soions de bon confort et nos cuers afermon,  
 45 Car de trop cremir mort ne vient se honte non.  
 Au premerain s'en fuit qui trop doute prison.  
 Qui muert por son seignor, o Dieu a mansion.  
 Les amis Alixand' ancor hui connoïstron ;  
 Se nus l'aimme de cuer, au ferir le verron ! "

20 **E**MENIDUS regarde desous .i. olivier,  
 Descendre vit à terre .i. povre chevalier,  
 Sa sele r'avoit mise et cenglé son destrier,  
 N'avoit ensamble o lui sergant ne escuier.  
 5 Il ot lance et escu et espée d'achier,  
 Mes n'ot hauberc ne hiaume que il eüst molt chier ;  
 N'ot plus de toutes armes, plus n'en pot esligier,  
 Et celes furent tex, s'il les vosist lessier,  
 Ja frans hom par nature ne les daignast baillier.  
 10 Gros fu par les espaules et leis par le braier,  
 Et grelles par les flans et le visage fier,

20, 1. sesous.

9. bailler.

19, 38. ou] V &. H & d. v. & d. mort. HV lounor. 39. HV Si q.  
 40. V maignes. H N. l. r. nen ait h. de qui nos fies tenon (cp. 19, ll. 4 and  
 15). 41. oïs] H cantes. V N. v. nous n. s. o. 42. H porte no c.  
 43. &] V Ke. H Que il n. p. or d. 44. bon] H cou. H & si nos  
 afremon ; V & n. quors refermon. 45. cremir] H douter ; V crendre.  
 ne] H nen. 46. HV As premerains (V premereins). H fuie. 47.  
 a] H ot. IV o (V od) D. a (V en) sa maison [V Aura sanz nule fin noble  
 mansion]. 48. H Nos a A. que nous bien connoïsson. 49. H Sil  
 nous aime d. c.

[H & li dus lor escrie tout i more gloton  
 Tout guerpies la teste nos le vus calengon  
 De racat en ores nesune raencon  
 Vus perderes les testes pardesous le menton

(practically a repetition of 17, ll. 20-23)].

20, 1. H esgarde. desous] H ; V de sor. 2. H Descendu. chevalier]  
 V soldeer. 3. V auoit. & cengle] H recaingle. 4. o] H om.  
 escuier] H chevalier. 5. lance] H elme. 6. HV om. line. 7.  
 H Navoit. HV car nes p. e. 9. nature] V droiture. daignast] HV  
 deust. 10. H & le viaire ot fier (cp. next line). 11. H & les par le  
 braier (cp. prec. line).

- Quyte him merite for his bountie.  
 To leif or die quhidder God will send,  
 Luke with honour that we [sa] wend  
 That our airis nocht blamit be,  
 640 Na 3it the King in na degre  
 Haue shame, quhat ending that we ma,  
 Nor na man euill rehersing ma,  
 To sing of vs efter our day.  
 Our hardiment sall we assay,  
 645 For in fele places haue we bene,  
 Our hardiment with worship sene,  
 That we na wayis sould vs mismay,  
 Bot be of gude comfort ay ;  
 For to dreid deid sa grittumly  
 650 May fall bot shame, full sikkerly ;  
 Quha for his Lord dois, he sall be  
 Harbreid with Angellis gle.  
 The Kingis freindis sall to-day  
 Be knawen in this hard assay ;  
 655 Quha lufis his honour, he sall be  
 Renoumed in this great mellie ! ”  
 E MYNEDVS beheld him by,  
 Beheld ane pure man anerly  
 Licht, him allane, vnder ane tre,  
 660 That had nocht bot his hors and he,  
 Ane sheild, ane helme, ane suord but mair,  
 And thay 3it sa vnworthie ware  
 That nane that worth war, wald thame ta,  
 Bot gif he wald cast thame him fra.  
 665 Richt stout visage and fair he had,  
 With browis brent and shoulderis braid,  
 And small in vame and als lenzie.

[Ane

- Blonde chaveleüre, et longue por trecier,  
 Et grant enfourcheüre por le miex chavauchier.  
 Emenidus l'esgarde, que molt fist a prisier,  
 15 Et dit entre ses dens, soëf et sans noisier :  
 " Se cist avoit proësce, bien samble chevalier !  
 Por fil d'empereör nel devroit l'en changier ! "  
 Mes s'il le conneüst, il l'eüst forment chier ;  
 Nés fu de sa seror, fils d'un riche princhier.  
 20 Daires l'avoit tenu .xiiij. ans prisonnier,  
 Petit i fu portés por son pere ostagier,  
 Eschapés lor estoit a l'issir d'un jenvier ;  
 En l'ost le roi de Grece ert venus avant-ier,  
 Encor nel connoissoit sergant ne chevalier.  
 25 Emenidus l'apele, sel prist a aresnier :  
 " Amis, en ce mesage vous vorrai envoier.  
 Car i alés por Deu, et por nous conseillier !

20, 12. chaelure.

15. souaet.

23. auantier.

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20, 12. H B. ceveleure ; V B. ot la cheuelure. V tresser. 13. H aforceure ; V aforceure. 14. V E. le garde. *que molt*] H qui tant ; V ke bien. 15. HV coiemet (V souët) s. n. 17. HV nel convenroit (V couendroit) c. 18. *sil*] V si. 19. H Fius. H il leust forment chier (*repeated from prec. line*). 22. HV a lentrete de Jenvier (V al entrer de genuer). 23. *ert*] H est. H avant hier ; V auant er. 24. *nel*] V ni. H Encore ni connoist. H haut home n. princier ; V riche hō ne t'rer. 25. H acointier. V si p. aresomer. 26. *nous*] V te. H volroie. 27. *nous*] H vous.

670 Ane large fute and fair had he,  
 Crispit hair and sumdele broun ;  
 His hede he bair as ane lyoun ;  
 With lymmys square and manly maid,  
 And armys lang and schoulderis braid.  
 Quhat sall I say of his renoun ?  
 He was sa fair of all fassoun  
 675 That nane farar mycht fundin be.  
 He was man of grete quantatie,  
 His beird of new begouth to spring . . .

\*   \*   \*   \*   \*   \*  
 \*   \*   \*   \*   \*   \*

680 " Had he bene dicht in gude armyng,  
 Amang fyue houndreth suld thair be  
 Sa knycht-lik man to cheis as he ?  
 Men suld nocht in ane stalwart stour  
 For the sone of ane empriour  
 Change him, as me think sickerly."  
 Bot had he knawin him werraly,  
 685 He suld haue haldin him full dere ;  
 His sister sone he was, but were,  
 Gottin of ane prince of grete renoun.  
 Daurus had haldin him in presoune  
 Weill .xiiij. 3ere before, ane page,  
 690 For his father in to hostage.  
 Large he was and fair of feir,  
 And to the oist of Grece, but weir,  
 Thre dayis before, cummin he was  
 Richt as it hapnit him per cais,  
 695 Bot 3it had he nocht sene the King,  
 Na knew bot quhein of his duelling.  
 E MYNEDVS sais to him, " gude freind,  
 In this message I pray the weind !  
 Ga furth, gif that thy willis be,

[To

669. *Crispīr*] Cristall.677. *Some lines seem to have been dropped.*679. *yair.*689. *.xiiij.] .xv. ane] of ane.*691. *Lines 691-92 are transposed.*695, 698. *ye.*698. *yis.*699. *yat.*



- Et dites Alixand' qu'il nous viengne aïdier,  
 Et c'onques en .i. jor ne pot tant gäaignier  
 30 Con de sa gent secorre ne de ceux empirier  
 Qui nous cuident ancui ledement damagier.  
 N'avés pas bones armes ; remanoir ne vous quier,  
 Et hom qui n'est armés ne se puet preu aidier.  
 En si aspre bataille n'auriés vous mestier ;  
 35 Mes alés, si pensés du message exploitier " !  
 Et cil li respondi belement, sans tencier :  
 " Biau sire Emenidus, ne me devés proier !  
 Ne me connoist li rois, ce me puet annuier,  
 Ne par itex paroles ne me quier acointier.  
 40 Ja de povre home estrange ne faites mesagier !  
 Envoiés i plus riche, qui miex sache plaidier !  
 Ja Dieux, se je i vois, ne m'en doint repairier !  
 Certes, je ne fui onques en nul estor plenier ;

20, 29. gaignier.

31. *damagier*] empirier.

20, 28. H sil n. venoit a. ; V ke il n. uegne eyder. 29. HV Conques  
 e. i. seul j. H gaegner ; V gaangner. 30. V Ne d. s. g. rescoure. H  
 & pour ceus damagier ; V ne dautres empeirer. 31. H Quil. H mult  
 forment enpirier ; V leidement dāmager. 32. V demorer. 33. *In*  
*place of line 33* HV has :

Por cou que cest messages ne voellies exploitier  
 (V P. ce ceste message puissez espleitèr).

34. *In place of ll. 34, 35* H has :

Vus ferai c. M. dor doner au repairier  
 Dont pores acater & harnas & destrier.

35. V om. line. 36. V bonement. 37. *Emenidus*] H chevaliers.  
 me] H men. 38. HV Ciertes onques n. vit (V Vnkes n. m. conuth)  
 Alixandre dalier. 39. H N. jou p. tel parole. HV ne mi voel (V uoyl) a.  
 40. H om. line. 41. V parler. 42. *doit*] HV lest. V retourner.  
 43. H Par foi. nul] H grant.

- 700 To bring vs of this perplexitie,  
Thir folke that ar into sik thrang.  
For Goddis lufe prais the to gang  
And say to Alexander, gif he  
Will vs reskew with his barnie,  
705 That he wan neuer sa mekill ane day  
As in this bargane win he may.  
For he may succour his men<sup>3e</sup>  
And victor of his fais to be.  
Thay think as now to skaith vs sa  
710 That nane sall quick eschaip thame fra  
Thow hes, me think, na gud arming,  
And to byde, it is perrillous thing ;  
And, gif thow will do this message,  
Thow sall haue vnto thy vantage  
715 Ane hundreth pund of gold, perfay,  
And thair-with-al by the thow may  
Arming and hors of grit bounte.”  
“ A beauscheir,” to the duke said he,  
“ 3e sould nocht make me prayer !  
720 3it sawe I neuer the King, but weir,  
Na with sik tythandis, for na chance,  
Think I to mak my first quentance.  
3e sould not mak 3our messinger  
Of ane pure man that strange wer.  
725 Send to him ane richer man,  
That do 3our erand better can ;  
And gif I ga, God, for his will,  
Lat me neuer cum agane 3ow till !  
3it was I neuer in ane stour  
730 Quhair I micht preue my valour,  
And into this I think to-day

[To

- Fo. 24v. En cestui me vorrai, se je puis, assaier.  
 45 Bien tost ou vous ou autre i puis avoir mestier.  
 Sachiés d'une parole me puis bien affichier :  
 Que ja Diex ne garisse le mien cors d'enconbrier  
 Se de l'estor partir me vëes hui premier !  
 Molt aurai grant corrous s'aus premerains ne fier ! "

**H** **E**MENIDUS d'Arcade fu enbrons et pensis  
 Quant voit que del mesage li est cescuns escis.  
 L'aighe des ious li file tout contre-val le vis ;  
 Bien voit, s'il n'a soscors, n'en estordera vis.  
 Devant lui vit armé i. chevalier de pris ;  
 C'est Caunus de Milaite, c'on clame Menalis ;  
 Armes avoit plus blances que ne soit flors de lis.  
 Emenidus l'apele,\* a proier li a pris  
 Qu'il voist dire Alixandre a Tyr, qu'il l'a asis,  
 Que mult tos le souscore, car a mort est aquis.  
 Cil entent le parole, d'orguel a fait i. ris  
 Et li a respondu, com hom maltalentis :

*This 'laisse,' corresponding to ll. 745-92 of the Scots text and absent in MSS. P and V (and apparently I), we supply from MS. H as printed in Michelant, p. 106, l. 38—p. 107, l. 30. It is 'laisse' No. 24 of H.*

*\* printed li apele.*

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20, 44. H or en droit e. V E. c. si io pus m. uoldrai e. 45. H B. t.  
 vus u autrui.

[HV Se je nai bones armes a lestor commencer

Jou aurai se Deu plest (V Je porrai bien auoir) millors ains  
 lanuitier.]

46. HV & (V Mes) dune autre parole me voel ore (V bien) a. (H enficier).

47. H dencontrier. 48. *hui*] V uif. 49. *corrous*] HV essone (V

essoine). *saus*] H se. *ne*] H ni. V si io premers ni fier.

H, 1. H esgarde. *le*] H i. 2. HV i. c. apiele.

To byde, and my vertew assay.  
And 3it may fall in this battale  
To 3ow and 3ouris I may avale ;  
735 And thocht I haue na gud arming  
Now at the battell beginning,  
I think, or it all endit be,  
That I sall haif aneuch, parde !  
Sa helpe me God, that mekill may !  
740 Ane thing I will heir to 3ow say :  
Thair sall na thing abase me sa  
That I first of the feild sall ga !  
And 3it I sall anoyit be,  
Bot I be first at the mellie ! ”  
745 **E**MYNEDVS kest down his face  
And in his hart great anger hes.  
Quhan he sawe that na man wald ga  
In the message, bot son3e ma.  
The teiris in great plentie  
750 Ran ouer his cheikis for pure pitie,  
For he wist, but thay had belyue  
Rescours, sould nane be left on lyue  
Of all that was into that rout.  
Sa saw he Caulus, that was stout,  
755 Arme him as man of grit valour,  
His armes quhyter far than flour.  
Emynedus meikly can him pray,  
To pas furth to the King, and say  
That thay war all but deid and done,  
760 Bot he with strenth thame succour sone.  
Quhan Caulus hard his carping,  
He leuch for pryde, as in hething,  
And angerly can answer ma,

[Thow

“ Par foi, Emenidus, n’estes pas mes amis  
Quant vus de cest afaire m’avés ore requis !  
Damel Dex me confunde, qui est poësteïs,  
Se por vus ne por homme \* hui cest jor me honnis !  
Ja sui je tous armés, or m’en alle fuitis !  
Je nel feroie mie por l’or de Miravis  
Devant que mes aubers soit rompus et malmis  
Et mes cors estroés et perciés et malmis !  
Li rois m’a ja Melans otroié et promis,  
Versgaus et Ivorie et trestout le païs,  
Et trestoute la tiere de si a Mon Senis.  
Qui tel fief done a homme, bien doit ses anemis  
Tant souffrir en estor qu’il en aient le pis.  
A nule riens el mont n’est mes cors ententis  
Se a mon signor non essaucier nuis et dis.  
Quant jou sui † el ceval, ma glave el feutre mis,  
Si sui aussi seürs com ‡ fusce en paradis ;  
Ainc de faire mesage encore n’entremis  
Ne ne ferai hui més ; de çou soiés tous fis ! ”

21

**E**MENIDUS regarde par mi le champ a destre,  
Et vit .i. chevalier qui mieudre ne puet estre,

\* houme.

† suel.

‡ come.



- 765      " Thow art na freind that chargis me sa !  
 God me confound gif I schemit be  
 To-day, for vthir or for ye !  
 I sit all armyt on my steid,  
 And gif I fleand fra 3ow 3eid,  
 I seruit 3ow of euill seruice.  
 770      I do it nocht for all paradice,  
 Before that my gude habersoun,  
 That now is of ane fyne fassoun,  
 In sindry placis to-fruschit be ;  
 And, or I pas, I trow that 3e  
 775      Sall se my body of blude all rede,  
 Woundit in perell of the dede.  
 The king hes geuin me grete cuntreis  
 And rentis of mony fare Cieteis,  
 And he that sa grete feis tais  
 780      Suld the strenth of his lordis fais  
 Suffer sum quhile at grete myscheif,  
 Thocht dede appeir, perell and greif.  
 My hart is set vpon na thing  
 Bot how I may, but soiornyng,  
 785      Auance my lordis honour ay ;  
 And sen I am in sic array  
 And stridin our my stalwart steid,  
 I am traistar, sa God me speid,  
 Than I into ane castell ware.  
 790      I intromettit me neuer are  
 In message for to do nor say ;  
 Nane will I, certis, do this day ! "
- 795      **E**MYNEDVS lukit him by,  
 And saw ane knycht in full grete hy  
 Array him on ane ryall steid.

[He

- Cousin germain estoit Arides de Vallestre.  
 Il li dist : " Biaux amis, por Dieu le roi celestre,  
 5 Di le roi, va vers l'ost, lés ce brueil a senestre,  
 Que nous viengne secorre o sa gent nostre mestre !  
 Onque si felon champ n'acointasmes a pestre.  
 Tout le plus viel de nous n'i vosist encor estre,  
 Et tout li plus hardis s'amast miex a Guincestre ! "  
 10 " Je n'irai pas," fait cil, " qui que s'en doie irestre,  
 Se en ce mien escu ne voi ains tel fenestre  
 Que bien saura li rois que autre ne puet estre,  
 Et le champ dont je part n'est pas jeus de palestre ! "

- 22 **E**MENIDUS d'Arcage vit le duc aätir  
 De grant mellée rendre, de grant estor soffrir,  
 Et vit aus premerains les fors escus saisir,  
 Et les hanstes de fresne paumoier et tenir,  
 5 Tant riche confanon contre le vent bruïr,  
 Tant elme vert et cler au soleil resplendir,  
 Sous tant corant destrier ot la terre fremir,  
 Ces moïnniaus sonner et ces tambors tentir,

21, 20 sau.

3. au.

22, 1. a atir.

5. broier.

- 21, 3. HV Cousins germain. H Aride. 6. V Cor. o sa gent] HV en cest camp. 7. HV Onques mais n. (H nacointastes) isi (V nul si) f. a p. 8. H Tous li miudres d. n. vorront or e. a nestre. 9. H volront m. as gues estre. 10. H Nirai mie f. c. ; V Nirrai p. dist li quons. que] HV qui. 12. autre] H miudres. puet] V pot. An extra line occurs in H here, and in V after line 13, viz. : [HV & li cevaus sor moi na pas ale en destre (V Ne li cheuals desoz moi nest trop alee en destre)]. 13. H Ne. H dabalestre.  
 22, 1. I les Grius. aatir] H. 2. H D. grans mellees faire. H d. durs estors s. ; V & del e. s. 3. H voit. aus] H as. V As p. les lances & les e. s. 4. tenir] H branlir ; IV brandir. 5. V brunir. HI & voit t. c. c. solet jesir (I encontre mont bruïr). 6. au soleil] H ilueques. 7. H & t. ceval c. a la tiere tentir ; I T. rice cor divoir sonner & retentir. 8. H moieniaus ; V manuals. H tabors. V tabours & cors bondir.

He was ane of the gud at neid  
That micht be fundin in ony cuntre ;  
He was neir sib to Areste.

800 Emynedus sais, " for Goddis saik,  
This message for vs will 3e maik ?  
Gang to the hoist and tell the King,  
Bot he him speid in our helping,  
For we had neuer sa hard assay,  
The stoutest of vs all, perfay,  
805 Sall sone 3arne erar hame to be  
Than haue all France in his pouste."  
And he said, " how that euer it ga,  
This message will I na way ma,  
Quha-euer thairat wraith or blyth be.  
810 Into my sheild first sall I sie  
Sik woundis that the King sall say  
That I come fra na herdis play,  
Na that my steid sall noch be  
Sa greatly sojornit vnder me."

815 **E**MYNEDVS saw neir approachand  
His fais richt felloun, neir cumand  
As folk that war of grit rigour,  
Reddie to 3eild that stalwart stour.  
He sawe thame first thair sheildis ta,  
820 Thair brandis and stith speiris alsua.  
He sawe sa feill broudin baneris,  
And pennomis vpon seir maneris,  
And helmis als and vther armin,  
That cleirly agane the Sone shein ;  
825 And mony steid stith steirand  
He saw into the front cumand ;  
Trumpetis, Taburnes and hornes blast

[Soundit

- La plus fiere ost du mont s'en peüst effraïr.  
 10 Arides de Valestre sist sus baiart de Tyr  
 Dont il ot abatu Lanides de Mommir.  
 Emenidus l'apele a plor et a soupir :  
 " Ha ! sire, car pensés a ceste gent garir !  
 Ne voi mes nul secors se m'en volés faillir.  
 15 Tel m'ont hui du mesage respondu lor plaisir  
 Qui en seront encui trop tart au repentir.  
 Tant avons devisé tart sera au choisir  
 Le quel nous vient miex faire : ou atendre ou fuïr ?  
 Et li vassaux respont : " Dés or me puis haïr  
 20 Puis que l'en ne me puet au grant fais sostenir.  
 L'en me soloit jadis o les meilleurs soffrir,  
 Et nequedent bien doi si preudomme obeïr,  
 Car onc mieudre de vous ne pot lance tenir.  
 Por vous et por le roi que tuit devons servir,  
 25 Et por ceux que je voi en essai de morir,

22, 19. desor.

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22, 9. I cuers. H esfreir. 10. H Aristes. H Beart ; V bayard. 11. H Ladinet d. Montir ; V danclines d. müttinir. 12. a . . . a] HV o . . . o. 13. V Bel. a] HV de. 14. H Ni u. or m. soscors. men] V nous. 16. V Ke serunt einz la nuit. 17. H om. line. devise] IV attendu. IV serons. 19. des or] HV. 20. puet] H viut. V Des q. lem n. m. pot. H au besoig sostenir ; V a g. meinténir. 21. H om. line. V Je soleie ia ben grant estor esbaudir. 22. V nepourquant. H a tel home o. 23. Car onc] H Onques ; V Car nul. H puet. 24. tuit] V tant. 25. ie] HV ci. HV perir.

- Soundit sa hideously and sa fast  
The greatest hoist, and the stoutest,  
830 Of ony cuntre, and the best,  
Suld of that sicht abasit be.  
Besyde him thairwith can he sie  
Areste, that was gude at neid,  
Sittand all armit on his steid,  
835 And, gretand than with sair sicing,  
He said, "guid shir, for heuinis King,  
Haue of thir folke reuth and pitie,  
For, certis, I can na succour sie,  
Gif 3e vs fail3e to set helping.  
840 The laif hes me ansuered at thair lyking,  
And tauld me largely thair intent,  
Bot all to lait sall thame repent.  
Sa lang thairon standin haif we  
That lait it is to luke and sie  
845 Quhidder is better to byde or fle away."  
And he ansuered and said, "perfay,  
I sie 3e hait me vterly,  
Quhan 3e will not lat me byde 3ow by,  
The great charge of the stour to beir.  
850 Men war wont sum tymes heir  
To cheis me with the best to be,  
And 3e now tuise hes prayit me.  
Bot nocht-for-thy men sould meikly  
Obey to sa guid and worthy  
855 As 3e ar, for better than 3e  
May neuer with sword beltit be.  
Thairfoir for 3ow and for the King,  
That hes vs all in gouerning,  
And for the folke, that I heir sie

[In



Le mesage ferai (que Dieus m'en doint joïr !),  
 Mes ains verrai mon elme embarrer et croissir,  
 Et mon escu percier, mon hauberc desartir,  
 Et le sanc de mon cors a grant randon issir,  
 30 Le cheval desous moi d'aigre suör couvrir.  
 Ne me devra nus hom gaber au departir,  
 Ne li rois trop blasmer se a lui puis venir."  
 De .ij. pars s'entreviennent, apresté de ferir.

23 **M**OLT furent pau li Grieu, mes bel se conforterent ;  
 Tuit descendent a pié, communement s'armerent,  
 Lor poitraux ont restrains, lor chevaux recenglerent,  
 Pignonciaux et enseignes en lor lances fremerent ;  
 5 Au plus tost que il porent, de s'armer se hasterent,  
 Lor escus a lor cols, sus lor chevaux monterent,  
 Estroitement chevaucent et sagement errerent.

22, 26. masage.

32. *se a lui*] salui.

33. aprestier.

23, 5. *sarmer*] larmer.

22, 26. *mesage*] V message. H L. *message* en f. H & Dex m. *lest i* ; V dous nous en d. i. 27. H *quoir*. 28. V *dementir*. 29. V *om. line.*

30. H *daighe* [HV **Sans** (V *Sanz bien*) **veraies enseignes ne voel le camp guerpier**]. 31. *me*] H *men*. 32. *se a lui*] HV. 33. H **sentreferient**. H par *mervillous air* ; V *apreste d. f.*

23, 1. H *preu. mes*] H & *bel*] HV *bien*. H *sen*. 3. [IV Lor *guices* *acorcierent* (V *racorcerent*) & lor *resnes noerent*.] 4. V *om. line.* H E. & *pignons. en*] H *sor*. 5. HV *om. line.* 6. *lor*] H *les*. 7. I *esterent*.

- 860 In perrill and in perplexitie,  
 This message do for 3ow I will,  
 Gif God will gif me grace thair-till.  
 Bot my sheild suthly first shall be  
 To-hewin, that men sall weill it sie,  
 865 My helme and als my habersoun ;  
 And I sall sie in grit fusoun  
 The blude rin out of my body,  
 And my steid, that is gude, sall halely  
 Be haillit in blude and sueat als ;  
 870 But verray takinnis I will nocht ga.  
 Quhan I am stad as I 3ow say,  
 And I than prayit be, gif I may  
 Haif mycht and space and lyfe thairto,  
 This message glaidly will I do.  
 875 Thair sall nane mak at me scorning,  
 Gif I may, at my departing,  
 Na 3it the King sall nocht blame me  
 To gretly, gif I may him se.”  
 With that, thay war on athir side  
 880 All reddy semblit for to ryde,  
 With vapnis that war bricht as flour,  
 Redie to 3eild that stalwart stour.  
 The knychtis of Grece [were] quhone, bot thai  
 Gouvernit thame-self wysly, perfaì.  
 885 Thai lichtit all in full grete hy,  
 And armyt thame all comonly,  
 Gaderit thare hors and knyt thair ren3es,  
 And to thair speris fesnit sen3eis,  
 And syne lap on thair steidis styth,  
 890 And embraissit thair scheldis swyth.  
 Thay raid wisly and in gude array,

[And

870. *nocht*] not.872. *yan*.873. *yairto*.881, 882. *yat*.883. *were quhone*] quhom ; *thai*] yai.884, 886. *yame*.886. *all comonly*] full cumly.887. *yare* ; *yair*.889, 890. *yair*.

Lors dist li uns a l'autre que " bones œvres perent " ;  
 Les paroles sont bones a ceux qui bien ouvrerent.  
 10 La fu grans li meschiés ou li Grieu asamblèrent  
 A l'empire de Gadres, quant ensemble josterent,  
 Car ne sont que .vij. cent et cil .xxx. mil erent.  
 As premeraines jostes forment i mescheverent,  
 D'un de lor meillor homes le jor se desevrerent,  
 15 Dont en ice besoing plus se desconforterent.  
 Alixand' le roi maintes fois regreterent,  
 Car il par sont si pou que entr'eux ne reperent ;  
 Ne porquant tant i furent que chier le conpererent.

24 **A**L'ASEMBLER des Griex josta primes Sansons,  
 Desirans de sa terre dont li fu fais li dons ;  
 Il et li dus Betis brochent des esperons,  
 Si grans cox s'entre-donnent, bessiés les confanons,  
 5 Que li hauberc fausserent trés par mi les blasons ;  
 Et Sanses de sa lance a fait .iiij. tronchons,

23, 11. en semble.

15. i ce.

14. i mescheuerent (*repeated from prec. line*).

24, 5. faussent.

23, 8. *Lors*] H &. *que*] H les. 9. *bones*] HV beles. H q. bel errerent.  
 11. *ensemble*] V ; H ensamble. H ajosterent. 12. H cor. 13. H  
 A. H mescierent ; V meschiuerent. 14. *se desevrerent*] H ; V i mes  
 errerent. 15. H icel ; V itel. *plus*] I puis. 16. *roi*] HV jour.  
 17. H Quar i. erent s. poi. H q. a paines i perent ; V ka grant peine entre  
 eus perent. 18. HV P. t. i esturent (V iouste).

[H As espees trancans grans cos sentredonerent  
 Tant fierent as premiers que cier le comparerent  
 Ne au partir del camp luns lautre ne gaberent.]

24, 1. *primes*] HV premiers. 2. H d. li *rois* l. fait don. 3.  
*brochent*] V fierent. 4. H si en ciet li b. 5. HV fauserent. H si  
 en ciet l. b. 6. HV S. *brisa* (V brise) s. l. *sen volent* li t. (V kel vole  
 par t.)

And ilk man can to vther say,  
 " Sie that our worship now appeir " ;  
 For the wordis richt lykand weir  
 895 That men speikis of thame that dois weill.  
 The myscheif was to great to feill  
 That thay of Grece, that war sa wicht,  
 Assemblit in the feild to fecht  
 With thame of Gaderis, the grete empire,  
 900 That all inflammit war with ire,  
 That ma than .XXX. thousand wair,  
 And thai bot seuin houndreth, but mair  
 Thai misfell at thare first semble,  
 For ane that was of maist bounte  
 905 Amang thame at thare first meting  
 Was slane, but ony vther recouering.  
 That stoneit thame gretlie that day,  
 And Alexander regratit thay,  
 Bot nocht-for-thy thai sauld him dere,  
 910 Bot thai swa quhein amang thame were  
 That vneis micht thai knawen be,  
 Or sene, amang that grete menze.

**H**EIR the furriours and thair fais,  
 Assemblis and grete melle mais,

First at the semble of the ficht  
 Iustit schir Sampson, for he was wicht,  
 915 That for to win had grete 3arning  
 The land that him had geuin the king.  
 He and the duke Betis, thai tua,  
 With speris stracht can thai ga,  
 And straik sic straikis till blasonis  
 920 Thirlit haistaly thare habirgeonis.  
 Sampson in flenderis brak his spere,

[Bot

898, 899. ye.

899. gaderis.

900. L. *inflamit*.

902, 909, 910, 911, 917, 918. yai.

903, 905, 920. yare.

905, 907, 910. yame.

908. *thay*] ay.

909. *saula*] suld.

910. *swa*] saw.

919. blasoms.

Et li dus le feri, iriés comme lyons,  
 Que desous la mamele li copa les roignons,  
 Toute plaine sa lance, l'abat mort des archons ;  
 10 Outre s'en est passés si joins comme faucons,  
 Par contraire li dit : " D'un plet estes semons  
 Dont ja par vostre bouche jugement n'i orrons !  
 Hui saura Alixand' que de riens ne l'amons,  
 Et li sires de Tyr que de vous le vengons ;  
 15 Ne tenrois de sa terre fermetés ne doignons ! "

25 **L**A fu molt grans li duels ou Sanses fu chëois,  
 Il jut mort a la terre, sus son escu tous frois.  
 La veïssiés les Griex corrouciés et destrois,  
 Emenidus le pleure et se pasme .iij. fois,  
 5 Bonement le regrete et despiece ses dois :  
 " Gentis rois Alixand', jamés ne nous verrois !  
 Hay ! que n'estes ci, gentis sires adrois ?  
 En l'estor perilleus vostre ami vengissois !  
 Hui perdrons tuit les testes, que de voir le sachoïs.  
 10 Sanses, se ne vous venge, coars sui et revois ! "  
 Le destrier esperonne contremont .i. chaumoïs,

25, 9. deuoir.

24, 9. H de larcon. 10. H s. i. que i faucon. 11. *dun*] H al. 12. *nostre bouche*] H bouce domme. *ni*] HV nen. 13. H rien. 15. HV N. tenres (V tendrei) en s. t. **ne cite** (V fermete).

25, 1. H La grande f. l. os. V *fu*] est. 2. HV &. H tot freiz. 4. &] H si. 5. &] H sen. *despiece*] IV & si detort. 7. V & droiz. 8. H le baron venjerois ; V le uassals uengisseiz. 9. H H. perderons l. cies. *de noir*] H de fi. V Ou perdron l. t. de uerte l. sacheiz. 10. *se*] H sor. H Grejois ; I & malvois ; V & reueiz. 11. H Par air e. le cheval es caumoïs.



Bot the duke, that was wyse in weir,  
 With his speir that sharpely share,  
 Him baklingis throw the body bare,  
 925 And laid him deid richt suddanly ;  
 And ioynt and clois passit him by,  
 And said him in his by-passing,  
 " I am weill certane of ane thing,  
 That we sall neuer of thy mouth heir  
 930 Iudgement ; fra this day, but weir,  
 Sall Alexander say and feill  
 That I nor myne lufis him neuer a deill,  
 And Balas, that hes Tyre in fie,  
 That we haue wengit him on the !  
 935 Thow sall neuer of his honour  
 Hald castell, cittie, toun na tour ! "

THE mischeif was great and cruell  
 Of Sampson, that deid down fell.  
 The knychtis of Grece thair nicht men sie  
 940 Be stad in grit perplexitie.  
 Emynedus anoyit was,  
 And said to hardy Perdicas,  
 " Alexander, the gentill King !  
 This day of vs beis departing !  
 945 A ! sen thow war into this stour,  
 Throw thy helpe, worship and valour,  
 Thow sould vs venge richt weill, Perfay,  
 We man all die with dule this day.  
 A ! Sampson, sweit freind, sa sone  
 950 Hes all thy douchtie dayis done !  
 Bot I the venge, shent mot I be ! "  
 With that, with spurris his steid straik he,

[And

Si s'i met en la presse que tous i fu destrois,  
 Et fiert Salehaton qui sire ert de la lois,  
 Archevesques des Gadres, ausi noir comme pois,  
 15 Que desous la ventaille del hauberc ront les plois,  
 L'eschine li trencha a l'acier qui fu frois.  
 De la mort de Sanson fu illec pris li drois,  
 Et li Grieu s'entr'alien et plevissent lor fois  
 Que l'un ne faudra l'autre tant soit de mort destrois.

77 **F**ESTIONS sist armés sor .i. amoravi,  
 Ains hom ne vit meillor, persant ne arrabi ;  
 D'un chier paille ert couvers, onques meillor ne vi,  
 .iij. lyonciaus d'or fin i ot cousus en mi ;  
 5 Et li vassaux fu preus, si ot le cuer hardi.  
 A l'estendre des armes li destriers tressailli,  
 Et fiert .i. riche duc que entr'eus ot choisi.  
 Chil avoit en l'escu Licanor acueilli,  
 Et de cops si chargé que ses chevaus chei ;  
 10 Mes cil le vengera que il tient a ami :  
 Tel li donne en l'escu, fraint li a et parti,  
 Le blanc hauberc du dos desront et dessarti,  
 El cors li met l'espié o tout le fer bruni  
 Si que dedens le pis la hanste li croissi.  
 15 Tant roidement l'empaint qu'a terre l'abati ;  
 Cist est mors a dolor et maint autre autresi.

77, 11. frait.

16. autre] supplied.

25, 12. *la presse*] H lestour. H estrois. 13. H Salehadin ; I Saleson ;  
 V salaazon. H est. *la*] H lor ; V lour. 14. *des*] HV de. 15. H  
**inverts lines** 15, 16. HV Par (V Ke) desous la mamele. H r. d. h. iii. p.  
 16. H & lescu de manois. 17. HIV f. de lui (I i f. lues) p. l. d. 18.  
 HV se ralient. 19. *faudra*] IV laira.  
 77, 1. I armoravi. 2. H om. line. V Einz n. v. h. m. gascoin n.  
 arabi. 3. H C. fu d. cier pale. 4. H ij. lions de f. or. HV i o.  
 (H avoit) tissus (V tissu) e. m. ; I i o. il sus e. m. 5. *si*] V &. [I Il  
 embraca lescu & la lance altres.] 6. H lestraindre. H cevaus. 7.  
*duc*] H turç. HV q. es (V ki des) autres coisi. 8. *lescu*] H lestor. V  
 Cil a L. e. lestor a. 9. H & ci cargie del cop. H q. li c. c. ; V ke del  
 cheual c. 10. *le*] H len. HIV quil tenoit a a. 11. *a*] H ot. 12.  
 H & lauberc de son d. *desront*] V rūpu. 13. *lespie*] H la lance. *le fer*]  
 V lascer. 14. **In place of lines** 14, 15, HI **have one** : S. q. de lautre  
 part a tiere le flati (I del ceval labati). 16. *est*] fu. HV & m. autre a. ;  
 I qui que crie merci.

[H Il ne sen pot gaber se Sanses fu ocis  
 Tes le plora anqui qui ains en avoit ri.]

- And plungit in the thickest preis,  
 And smot schir Saladyne, that was  
 955 Ane knycht of Gaderis, at the chyn ;  
 He bristand bair him butlingis in,  
 To all throughout the spere went syne,  
 And he fell doun with dule and pyne.  
 Thair was wengance, and that was richt,  
 960 Tane for schir Sampson, that was wicht.  
 The knychtis of Grece, that was stout,  
 Lappit togidder all in ane rout,  
 And suore that nane suld vthir fail  
 For dout of dede, in that battail.  
 965 Festione, weill arrayit at richt  
 In armour that was fare and bricht,  
 Sat on ane stalwart steid of pryse,  
 In gude sandell at all deuse  
 Couerit, and throw sutelte  
 970 Lyons of gold war set thair thre.  
 The scheld was styth, the knycht hardy  
 And in the stour sa sturdely  
 He smot in the stour before  
 Ane knycht, had caught schir Licanore,  
 975 Chargit with strakis sa stalwartly.  
 He gart him deir the bargane by,  
 For throw the he[ve]de he him bare  
 And fellit him stane-dede richt thare.  
 He deit suyth, and sa did ma,  
 980 For all that euer he nicht our-ta  
 Vpone the samyng wyse he gart ly,  
 For he gaif thame nane vther mercy.  
 Few eschewit his strakis, I hecht,  
 He gaif sic strakis in to that fecht.

[Caulus

961. *that*] than.963. L. *vther*.

966, 980, 984. yat.

970. yair.

974. *had caught*] was callit.

976. ye.

978. yare.

982. yame.

- 32** **A**RMÉS de toutes armes et de molt riche ator,  
 Desus .i. vair destrier vint Caulus a l'estor,  
 Huimés se contendra a loi de poigneör,  
 L'en puet bien en .i. ost recouvrer .i. pïor,  
**5** Et ot escu a or entier d'une colour  
 Fors qu'el chancel devant ot d'asur .i. flor,  
 S'ot confanon tout blanc, qui fu a l'aumaçor,  
 Lance roide sus feutre porte de grant vigor,  
 Lait corre a ceux de la, vers qui n'ot point d'amor.  
**10** Endroit li ne sont mie li Gadrain a sejour,  
 N'ont pas après son cop de grant joie loisor.  
 Le prince de Corinte feri par grant iror  
 Qu'il li trenche l'escu sus el chancel hauçor,  
 Le hauberc fausse et ront, tant vint par grant vigor  
**15** El cuer li met le fer a la clere brunor,  
 Si que de l'autre part en vit en la luör ;  
 Le cors del chevalier tresperche a tel dolor  
 Mort l'abat sans parler du destrier coreör ;  
 La lance vole en pieces comme .i. rain sans verdor,  
**20** Ce ne fu mie cop d'apprentis vavassor,  
 Puis met la main au branc et guencist vers les lor,  
 Qui il ataint a cop, cil a de mort pãor ;  
 Autressi comme bestes s'en vont devant pastor,  
 Les enmena .i. poindre qu'ains n'i firent trestor.
- 31** **L**ICANOR et Filote, dui frere molt vaillant,  
 D'une œuvre, d'un corage, mes ne sont pas d'un grant.  
 Filotes ert .i. lons, ce trueve on en lisant,  
 .j. chevalier alis, nul plus bel ne demant,  
**5** Licanor ot plain vis et chiere sousriant,  
 Gais fu et amoureux et de joli samblant,  
 Plus espés et plus fort et mieudres en estant.  
 Armés d'une color, vindrent as rens poignant,  
 Armes ont de sinople fors le chancel devant,  
**10** Ot chascun .i. lýon d'or bruni reluisant,  
 Lance roide ot chascuns et confanon pendant.  
 Licanor sist el bai, Filotes el ferrant.  
 Hobel, n'esmerillon, ne fauconcel volant,  
 Ne vont mie si tost a oisel descendant  
**15** Comme en l'estor s'enbatent li destrier remuant.  
 Licanor vait ferir Mustamur l'Aufriquant  
 Que des vaines du cuer le sanc a rais espant,
- 32**, 1. (&) *de*] *om.*      17. *del*] *de.* trespercha.      **31**, 3. *on*] *supplied.*  
 15. brunour.      18. *parler*] plet.      7. *Plus*] & plus.  
 17. *del*] *de.*      22. pavour.

'*Laisses*' **32** and **31**, absent in V, occur in H and I. The variants not indicated 'I' are those of H.

**32**, 1. *toutes*] *rices.*      2. *vair*] *sor.* destrier] *baucant.* Caunus.  
 4. H *om. line.*      5. *ses e.* fu a o. *entrais d.* c.      6. *quel*] *el.* *dasur*  
*asise.*      7. H *inverts lines 7 and 8.*      8. *de*] *par.*      9. H *om. line.*  
 11. *ses cos.* de *mire g.* l.      12. i. *amiral* *encontre sel fiert par tel vigour.*

- 985      **C**AVLVS, callit Emenelis,  
             Sat armit on ane steid of prys.  
             I trow he sall contene him weill,  
             For in hard battale morteill  
             Quhair knychtis suld assailzet be,  
 990      Men nicht find sone ane war than he.  
             His scheld was gold but vther colour,  
             And in the cantel was set ane flour.  
             The prince of Corynthe smot he sa  
             That he him to the ground gard ga,  
 995      In to ane heip, baith hors and knycht.  
             As scheip that for the wolf takis flicht,  
             He led the folk before him was.  
             Quhen Gaderanis saw sa hard ane pais  
             Be held thame, thai war all sary.  
 1000      Syne to his feris he went in hy.  
             **L**ICANOR and Philot alsua,  
             Thay wounder wourthe brethir tua,  
             War of ane will and ane stoutnes,  
             Bot nocht all of ane mekilnes.  
 1005      Licanor was ane partie broun,  
             And wonder fetas of fassoune,  
             Baith wise, courtes and wicht was he.  
             Philot was of mare quantite,  
             Of ioyous and of blyth manere,  
 1010      With stout visage and lauchand chere,  
             Richt kynd, courtes and amorous ;  
             And thai war baith glaid and ioyous.  
             All armyt in to ane colour,  
             Thay come baith prekan in the stour.  
 1015      Licanor smot ane knicht sa fast  
             That of his nek the vanis brast ;

[And

987. *contene*] content.  
 997. ye.

998. gaderanis.  
 999. Beheld ; yame ; yai.

1012. yai. L. *glad*.  
 999. Beheld ; yame ; yai.

13. Quel l. trenc l. sor le cantiel au tour. 14. H *om. line.* 15. *cuer*] cors. a] o. 16. suour. 17. H *om. line.* 18. parler. ceval. 20. I joster. 21. P. a traite lespee. 22. na d. mie loisir. 23. Ausi comme les b. fuient d. p. 24. L. mena i. grant p. li gentius vavasor.  
 31. 1. H Filotes. *frere*] homme. 2. *æure*] I ordre. *dun*] & dun. & nerent p. d. g. 3. *ert i.*] estoit ; I est plus. H c. trouvons nous l. 4. & a. c. *nul*] mais. 5. Lincanors o. cler v. a] &. 6. Uns dansiaus a. & joie demenant. 7. *Plus*] menre. 8. I A. tot dun sanlant. H venoient a r. brocant. 9. Lor escut sunt vermel en cantiel de d. 10. a fin or r. 11. *ot chascuns*] sor feutre. 12. H *om. line.* I Lincanors s. e. b. & F. f. 13. Ostoirs. 14. a loisiel randonant. 15. Com viennent a l. 16. Mustamar le tirant. 17. *cuer*] cors. a *rais*] vermaus.



Mort l'abat des arçons, quel virent ne sai quant,  
 Qui en plorent des ieux et por lui sont dolant ;  
 20 Et Filotes refiert .i. neveu l'amirant  
 De Triple en Barbarie, cousin le fis Balant ;  
 Tex armes comme il ot ne li firent garant ,  
 Si vilment l'abat mort comme .i. petit enfant  
 De ce cop s'esfraèrent li Turc et li Persant,  
 25 Et cil de Babiloine en furent esmaiant.  
 La ou les lances fraignent sont recovré li branc,  
 Plus d'une arbalestée li vont si demenant  
 Ne truevent chevalier envers eux trestornant,  
 Trestuit li plus hardi vont devant eux fuiant,  
 30 Et tuit li plus seür se vont espoëntant.

44 **A**RISTES vint poignant par mi l'estor plenier,  
 Lance roide sús feutre a loi de bon guerrier ;  
 Li fers en fu trenchans, et l'anste de pommier,  
 Les langues de l'enseigne lait au vent baloier,  
 5 Le cors ot bel et gent et le visage fier.  
 Durement se penoit des Gadrains damagier,  
 Riens ne pöoit durer encontre son achier,  
 Et fiert .i. duc de Perse, neveu le roi Gaifier,  
 Que le cuir et les ais fait de l'escu percier  
 10 Et le hauberc du dos desrompre et desmaillier,  
 Par mi le cors li fait le confanon baignier  
 Si qu'outre d'autre part fait le fer essaier.  
 Cil conpere Pirrus, qui quel doie vengier,

31, 19. *son*] son.

44, 8. Gadifer.

31, 18. M. l. del ceval q. v. li auquant. 19. H om. line. 20.  
*refiert*] feri. 21. *cousin*] Corbin. 22. Les a. que i. porte n. l. valent  
 i. gant. 24. D. c. c. sesmaierent l. preudome sacant. 26. H om.  
 line. 27. HI les v. si reusant (I reculant). 28. retornant. 29.  
 vet d. lui f. 30. H om. line.

44, 1. H A. de Valestre vet p. l. p.

[H &amp; fu mult bien armes sor i. corant destrier

Tieste &amp; col &amp; crepon couvert dun pale cier.]

2. H L. ot r. s. f. 3. H Dont l. f. trance plus. &] H en. V la hanste  
 d. p. 4. HV langes. V sen sengl. *lait*] H fait. 5. *gent*] V  
 grant. *visage*] H corage ; V uiaire. [HV Ains ne vestes homme mius sanlast  
 chevalier (V mieuz sache gwerroier).] 6. H om. line ; V *inverts lines 6*  
*and 7.* I de G. empirier. 7. H Arme nauoit duree. 8. *duc*] V turc.  
 III & f. i. rice Turc (I roi de Bastre). H Gaifier. V nies estoit r. galfer.  
 9. H Q. pardesous le boucle li f. l. p. 10. H & lauberc de son d. 11.  
*le*] V sun. 12. H om. line. 13. S. que de lautre p. I en peut on voir  
 lacier ; V li a fet essewer. [HV Tant com anste li dure li fait siele widier (V  
 labat mort el graver).] 13. *Pirrus*] HV *San*son ; I Piron. H q. que d.  
 anoier.

- And laid him dede doun to the ground.  
 The knycht was callit Ingramound ;  
 He was ane mychty cenatour,  
 1020 And held grete lordschip and honour.  
 And Philot, with ane grete waffyne,  
 Smot ane stout knycht, callit Coruyme,  
 That he him fellit dede richt thair.  
 Of that straik fele affrayit ware  
 1025 Sum of the Gaderanis that assailzeit ;  
 And quhen the bretheris speris failzit,  
 Thair swordis swyftly out thai swyng.  
 Mare than ane bow-schot, on ane lyng,  
 At thair fais thai ruschit sturdely.  
 1030 Na man of thame was sa hardy  
 That thai na gaif the brother steid,  
 Sa of thair handis to de thai drede.  
**V**PONE ane steid of grete bounte,  
 In the stour prikit Areste,  
 1035 With ane spere schairp and weill scherand,  
 The pensale to the wynd waiffand,  
 Fair corps and hie and stark he had,  
 With stout visage, and richt weile maid.  
 Men nicht nocht fynd in na countre  
 1040 Ane man mair ganand knycht to be.  
 Nane nicht endure agane his dynt,  
 His fais chaissit than as he mynt.  
 He smot ane duke hecht Morgathare,  
 That throw the body he him bare,  
 1045 Sa that nouthier scheld nor blassone  
 Auailit him of ane buttoune.  
 He duschit doune in blude all rede ;  
 He bocht full deir schir Sampsonis dede,

[quha

1017,-26,-31. ye.

1028,-42. yan.

1030. yame.

1023,-32. yair.

1029,-32. yai.

1042. *chaissit*] chaisiss ; yan.

1027,-31. yai.

- Tel en plorront encui qui s'en rirent premier.
- 15 Lors commencent li renc sus destre a despoissier,  
 Cil escu a trouer, ces lances a froissier,  
 Cil vassal a verser, cil arçon a vuidier.  
 Aristes lor lait corre, qui n'a soing de tencier,  
 A l'espée trenchant les vorra acointier.
- 20 La vit Emenidon tant fierement aidier,  
 Sanc et cervel espandre et teste et bras trenchier,  
 Et l'un mort desus l'autre verser et trebuchier :  
 " Ha ! gentil dus," fait il, " tant faites a proisier !  
 Gent qui tel connestable a por soi enseigner
- 25 Si ne se devroit mie por petit esmaier,  
 Mes le droit lor seignor fierement chalengier,  
 Car certes au destruire ne sont mie legier.  
 Li cop de vostre espée nous font tout rehetier,  
 Car après vostre main n'a nul entret mestier.
- 30 Honis soit qui en poise se li rois vous a chier,

44, 16. treuer.

17. auerser.

19. a cointier.

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44, 14. H *om. line.* V ristrent. 15. H L. commence l. rens. HV sor d. (H destrier) a **espessier**. [V La **poissez ueer un estor si plener**.] 16. H Tant e. estroer tante lance brisier ; V Ces escuz estroer & ces l. brisier.  
 17. HI & tant elmes quase & tant auberc desmallier (I a percier) ; V & cil cheual aloient par le chāp estraer. 18. H Arides laise c. ; V A. let coure. *tencier*] I targier. 19. HV **Ens en la grignor prese** (V En mi la greingn presse) **est ales a.** 20. H & vait E. ; I L. vint E. H mult f. a. 21. H & puins & pies trancier ; V & piez & poinz t. 22. V *om. line.* H Lun m. deseure l. 23. *fait*] H dist. 24. HV ont p. eus e. (V iustiser). 25. HV N. s. devroient m. *por*] H de. 26. HV vivement. 27. *au*] V a. H Quar teus gens a d. 28. V *om. line.* 29. *après*] H en pries ; V empres. *nul entret*] H de mire ; V nuls entres. 30. H Dehait ait q. lait est ; V Honiz seit il kil peise.

- Quha-sa thairof be wraith or blyith.  
1050 Sic leuch before sall greit all suyth.  
The renkis begouth sa thik that  
He feld full fair in sadill sat.  
Thair men nicht sie ane staluart stour,  
And sheildis that war of great colour  
1055 To-frushit, and speiris brak in shunder,  
Steidis ouertirf, knichtis ly vnder,  
And sadillis temit of douchty men.  
Areste stoutly prikkit then  
In middes the thickest of the thrang,  
1060 And with his sword about him dang.  
Sa sawe he in the stour, him by,  
Emynedus sa sturdely  
Help him-self with waponis snell  
That it war wounder for to tell,  
1065 For he sa hard his fais led  
That he baith blude and harnes shed,  
And with his brand, of blude all rede,  
Ouertyruit the deid men vpon dede.  
He said, “ a ! gentill duke of pris,  
1070 Abone all knichtis to loif thow is,  
That leuand is in warld this day  
Is nane thy peir, suithly to say.  
Men that sik ledaris hes as the  
Durst not gritly abasit be  
1075 To challenge weill thair lordis-richt,  
For sikkerly it is not licht  
To distroy thame ; but thy skirming  
Geuis to vs all recomforting.  
Efter thy dint na sawe may saue.  
1080 Maugre of God euer mot he haue

[That

C'onques mieudres de vous ne pot lance baillier ! ''

- 34** PERDICAS vit les osts de .ij. pars assembler,  
 S'ot buisines et cors et moïnniaus sonner,  
 Et voit maint confanon desploier et venter,  
 Et maint bon chevalier de ferir aprester,  
**5** Et soi r'encoragier et grant chose penser,  
 Et les auquans fremir et les plusors douter,  
 Car de mains se peüst .i. coars esfrêr.  
 Les bons voit par les rens et venir et aler,  
**Fo. 26.** Les uns poindre des lés, les autres galoper,  
**10** Auquans ferir d'espées et les plusors joster.  
 Perdicas fu armés miex que ne sai conter,  
 Et sist sus .i. cheval qui molt fist a loër,  
 Lait corre a ceuls de la, que il ne puet amer,  
 Ens en la grignor presse fait le ceval entrer,  
**15** Et fiert .i. chevalier, tant con pot raviner,  
 Des .xv. fis Merel, Hobé l'oï nomer,  
 El regne as Arrabis n'avoit tel baceler.  
 Onques nel pot escus ne blanc hauberc tenser  
 Par mi le cors n'en faice et fer et fust passer,  
**20** Si l'abat des archons, puis ne pot relever,  
 N'il n'ot loisir .i. mot de la bouche parler.  
 Outre s'en vait poignant, sans point desconraër,  
 Le branc nu en sa main qui tant fait a douter ;  
 Cui il ataint a cop ne li puet eschaper  
**25** Qu'il ne trenche la char et traie le sanc cler,  
 Et s'en fait les talons envers le ciel torner  
 Et le coing de son elme a la terre hurter.  
 Plus d'une arbalestée fist son poindre durer

**44, 31.** bailler.

**34, 14.** En la presse (*the rest of the line, left blank in P, is supplied from H*).

**44, 31.** HV Quar nus m. (V Kar nul mieltre) d. v. *pot*] H *puet* ; V *put*.

'Laisse' **34**, absent in V, occurs in H and I. The variants not indicated 'I' are those of H.

**34, 1.** *osts*] I Griu. P. voit l. **gens** & les Grius asambler. **2.** & m. corner ; I & ot timbres s. **3.** *venter*] moustrer. **5.** H transposes lines 5 and 6. En s. acoragier. **6.** *fremir*] I servir. **9.** *des lés*] a eslais. **10.** Les i. f. d. & l. autres i. **11-12.** In place of lines 11 and 12 H has : A. s. el liart q. tant f. a l. **13.** Biaus fu & preus as armes plus quon ne puist esmer. **14.** prese. **15.** randonner. **16.** *Merel*] I Martel. H & estoit fuis dun r. H Aquin ; I Hobex. **18.** *blanc*] li. **19.** N. face fier & f. p. m. l. c. p. **20.** *Si*] **Mort.** cainc nen p. r. **21.** *Ni*] Si. *la*] sa. **22.** s. plus a demorer. **23.** que biel savoit porter. **24.** n. p. vis escaper. **25.** N. li tolle le teste sans plus a demorer. **26.** & faisoit pies & puins encontre vent voler. **27.** & les quins d. lor elmes.



That is anoyit at the King  
 Hald the in great cherising,  
 For better na thow may spend na speir,  
 Na into battell wapin beir ! ”

- 1085      **P**ERDICAS sawe on ather syde  
             The folk assemble with routis ryde,  
             And hard trumpettis and hornes blaw,  
             And mony worthy man he saw,  
             Reddie to smyte on sindrie wise  
 1090      And vndertak full hie emprise.  
             He sawe the gude, with hart full thra,  
             Throw out the thik preis cum and ga,  
             Sum stryke with sword and sum with speir.  
             He was hardy and wicht in weir,  
 1095      And prikked sa to the tuther party  
             That he rushit richt sturdely  
             In middes of the stalwart ficht,  
             And with sic wraith he smot ane knicht  
             That hecht shir Amere, and was ane  
 1100      Of Melchis xij sonnes ; bot thair was nane  
             Better of hand than was he,  
             Na manlyar knicht in na cuntre.  
             Thair micht na armour him auailze ;  
             He ran throw the corps in the entrailze,  
 1105      He bair him baklingis with ane spere,  
             And dede doun to the erd can bere ;  
             And passit clos by, and drew his brand.  
             Quhom euir he hit, I tak on hand,  
             He chapit nocht vnhurt him fra.  
 1110      He raid, or he arest wald ma,  
             Ane archear-schot all out and mare ;  
             A poynt apertly maid he thair.

[Bot

1087. *hard*] hardy.1088. L. *sawe*.1097. L. *In the middes*.1104. *the corps*] ye cours.1110. *arest*] a rest.1112. *A poynt*] Apoynt.

- Quant son cheval li chiet, par le frain sortirer  
 30 Au travers d'un roion qu'il devoit trespasser,  
 De .ij. piés entravers le covint a tumber.  
 Li Gadrain s'esforcierent desus lui recovrer ;  
 Le lor acointement peüst ja conperer  
 Quant point Emenidus le vassal delivrer ;  
 35 Devant le sien acier covient les rens trembler,  
 Plus l'outra c'on ne puet une pierre geter,  
 Tout ainsi comme il vient, devienient le renc cler.  
 Tex .iiiij. chevaliers lor fist desafeutr  
 Li plus povres avoit .v. chastiaus a garder,  
 40 Et li pires ert preus por ses armes porter ;  
 Ou il voillent ou non, les a fait retorner ;  
 En itel connestable se doit on bien fier.

- 28 **C**ORNEX sist el cheval qu'a Chesaire ot conquis,  
 Des esperons le hurte, es grans galos l'a mis,  
 En la presse se met, de bien faire pensis,  
 Comme bon chevalier et des armes penis,  
 5 Et fiert .i. chevalier, neveu le duc Betis,  
 Que le cuir et les ais trence del escu bis ;  
 Mort l'abat des archons ou li or ert assis.  
 Molt li a bien mostré qu'il n'iert pas ses amis ;  
 Cil ne se pot gaber se Sanses est ocis !

- 29 **A**NTIGONUS de Grece vint par l'estor poignant,

28, 1. que.

34, 29. Q. ses cevaus cai a sen f. soustirer. 30. HI a lentree (? lentrer)  
 dun rivot (I rivoist) u dut outre passer. 31. D. ij. p. i entra si l. c. tumer.  
 32. Cil de Gadres sesforcent d. l. al capler. 33. li convenist conprer.  
 34. Q. E. vint. 35. H *inverts lines 35 and 36*. D. trestous les autres a  
 fait xxx l. r. tranler. 36. P. lonc quon n. poroit u. p. ruer. 37. H  
 om. line. 38. *fait*] fist. 39. v] iii. 40. H om. line. 41.  
 H l. a f. remonter ; I si la f. r.

28, 1. HV Corineus s. e. bai qua cesaie (H ca Ceseraie) o. c. 2. H  
 e. g. eslais est m. ; V e. granz galops set m. [H D. si grant aleure com vait li  
 Arabis.] 3. *se met*] H est ferus. 4. H *places after line 1 a line*  
*corresponding to this* : Si com bons chevaliers coragous & hardis. H om. line.  
 V kert darmes peneis. 5. H F. i. mult rice. *le*] al. 6. *In place of*  
*line 6 H has* :

Si grant cop li dona en lescu dasur bis  
 Que li haubers del dos ne li vaut ii. tapis  
 Que ii. toises de lanste ne li enbate el pis.

*These lines occur also in what purports to be another 'laisse' in -is (Mich., pp. 112-113) :*

i. neveu Gardien de la serour Bietris  
 Vait ferir si grant cop en lescu dasur bis  
 Que li haubers del dos ne li vaut ii. tapis  
 Del anste une grant toise li met parmi le pis.

- Bot, at ane lytill burne passing,  
 His hors him failzeit of leping,  
 III15 And with the foirfute enterit sua  
 That hors and he to eird can ga.  
 Than thai of Gaderis in full grete hy  
 Schot vpone him full doughtely,  
 And to dede had him doungin thus,  
 II20 Had nocht bene duke Emynedus,  
 That prekit to him in full grete hy  
 And dang the folk sa rigorously  
 That vpone him thair dingand was  
 That, maugre thairis, thai left the place.  
 II25 He horssit him, quhethir thay wald or nocht,  
 And syne towart thare fais thay socht.  
 In sic ane ledare men nicht affye,  
 That helpit his men sa duchtelye.
- CORNEVS set him vpone ane bay,  
 II30 That he gart hardely hald his way.  
 In the thikkeste preis he prekit to,  
 In thocht and will richt weill to do,  
 As nobill knycht and wicht in were.  
 He smot ane king sa with ane spere,  
 II35 That neuoy was to duke Betys,  
 That of the nobill steid of prys  
 He draif him dede doune to the ground.  
 Thare schewit wele in to that stound  
 That he ane hard pais can thaime leid ;  
 II40 He bocht full dere schir Sampsonis dede,  
 That he thairfore hes tynt the sueit.  
 Sic leuch befor that now sall greit !
- ANTIGONVS, that wourthy was,  
 A Plungit into the thikkeste preis.

[With

III17. yai ; gaderis.

II23. yair.

II24. yairis ; yai.

II26. yare.

II31, -37, -44. ye.

II39. yaime.

II42, -43. yat.

7. V o. 1 lions e. a. H M. l. del arcon u respent li vernis.

line. 9. H C. n. sen p. garder s. S. fu o. [V Tel le plourent eincui

ken orent anceis ris.]

29, 1. de Grece] H li preus. H vet ; V vent.

8. H om.

- Lance droite sus feutre et l'escu tret avant ;  
 Les langues de s'enseigne vont au vent baloiant,  
 Bien semble chevalier hardi et combatant,  
 5 Et fu molt bien armés sus .i. cheval ferrant,  
 Empereres ne rois nul meillor ne demant,  
 Car il i faudroit bien se il l'aloit querant ;  
 Et vit .i. Arrabi, qui les rens vait cerchant,  
 La compaignie des Griex forment afebloiant,  
 10 Quatre lor en a mort d'un poindre maintenant.  
 Antigonus lait corre le destrier remuant,  
 Et cil broce vers lui, nel va pas redoutant.  
 Li Arrabis failli, qui cheval ot tirant,  
 Antigonus le fiert, tout plain de mautalent,  
 15 Grant cop en son escu du roit espié trenchant  
 Desous la boucle a or, la li pechoie et fent,  
 Par grant ire li ront son hauberc jaserant,  
 Tant con hanste li dure, l'abati mort, sanglant.  
 Quant la lance peçoie, ne lesse mie atant,  
 20 Met la main au costé, si en a tret le branc,  
 Et guencist vers les autres en la presse plus grant.  
 Il nel tenront hui més du ferir por enfant !

- 30 **A**NDROYNES sist el vair et galope sous frain,  
 Lance roide sus feutre et l'ennarme en sa main,  
 As garnemens tenir ne semble pas vilain,  
 Plus cointement nes tint nus fis de chastelain ;  
 5 Si s'afiche es estriers qu'en froissent li lorain,

29, 15. trechant.

18. sanglent.

30, 2. len narne.

- 29, 2. H om. line. tret] I tint. 3. V langes ; H as P. H lensegne.  
 5. H om. line. cheual] V destrer. 7. bien] HV tos (V tost). H querant  
 [H Antigonus de Grese qui le cors ot vaillant]. 8. vit] V ueit. H Muet  
 a i. A. les rens vait] V v. l. r. 9. H Les compaignes roiaus ; V L. c. de  
 grece. V esclariant. 11. H om. line. 12. broce] H nen cist. H qui  
 ne le doute i. gant ; V nel uent de ren dotant. 13. H Ains arieste a i. fet.  
 HV car ceval o. t. 14. H del roit espiel trencant (cp. next line). 15.  
 roit] V bon. trenchant] V. H Si g. c. e. lescu a fin or reluisant. 16.  
 V de lescu dolifant. H Que par desor lescu fent les ais dolifant. 17.  
 ire] V vertu. H Li aubers de son dos ne li valu i. gant.  
 [H Ne vo fis par le cors le confanon bagnant ;  
 I Par mi liu de son cors va lespiel guiant.]  
 18. V labat del auferant. H l. sovinant. 19. In place of lines 19 and 20  
 H has : Q. l. l. est brisie recouvre a le branc. 20. V M. l. mein al espe  
 s. a t. l. bon brant. 21. H Antigonus ses fiert.  
 [H Cui il ataint a cop il na de mort garant  
 Tant i a cos ferus & deriere & devant.]  
 22. du] V al. H Que pas ne le tenront de f. p. e.  
 30, 1. HV Andrones (V Androines) s. armes. 2. H om. line. roide]  
 IV droite. sus feutre] V leuee. I lenarme ; V len arme. sa] I la. 3.  
 V P. gentement ne vint. H A. rices g. n. sanla p. v. 4. H Onques plus  
 biaux nen ot. nus] H ne. 5. HV croisent (V croissent).

- 1145 With spere in fewter and scheld embraissit,  
 Haubreik indoissit and weill laissit ;  
 Him semit weill ane knycht to be,  
 And on ane gude steid als sat he,  
 That nouthur king nor empriour  
 1150 Mycht better haue in stalwart stour.  
 He saw ane hardy Arraby  
 Socht to the renk sa sturdely  
 That he the Grecians febillit fast.  
 Four deid to ground thair can he cast.  
 1155 Antigonus to him sterit his steid,  
 And he him met in that, gude speid,  
 Bot he missit and by can gang,  
 For that his hors was hewit strang.  
 3it than Antigonus smot him sua  
 1160 That he the scheld smot euin in tua,  
 And the gude hawbrek that was thair-vndir  
 Throw strenth & vertew brast in schoundir,  
 And throw the body he him bare,  
 And fellit him stane-deid richt thare ;  
 1165 His spere brak, bot his brand he drew  
 And strakis rude about him threw,  
 And fellit mony mudy knycht,  
 For he was hardy, bald and wicht.  
 His fais sall nocht hald him that day  
 1170 For child at striking, gif he may !  
 ANDREANE was armit fute and hand,  
 And raid on brydill wallapand,  
 In fewter set his stalwart spere,  
 His scheild embraissit ioynt in his gere ;  
 1175 His armes he bare iolely,

[And

1145. *scheld*] helme.1151. *array*.1152,-61. *ye*.1153. *grecians. fast*] sa fast.1154. *yair*.1159. *yan*.1161. *yat*.1164. *yare*.



- Il broce le destrier qu'il ot delivre et sain.  
 .j. Arrabi felon encontra premerain,  
 Cil tint tout le paijs environ flun Jordain,  
 Calafet ot a non et fu fis Galoain,
- 10 L'amirant Bedoïn de terre Madiain ;  
 La gent de sa contrée menguë petit pain,  
 Lait boivent de chamuel et au soir et au main.  
 Par deseure .i. jupel ot vestu .i. clavain,  
 Sa lance ne fu mie de sap ne de fust sain,
- 15 Ains est cane molt fort, norrie en son terrain,  
 Et glüée o le nerf de chevrueu ou de dain.  
 Des homes Alixand' ot mort .i. chastelain,  
 Et .i. riche baron c'on apeloit Gallain ;
- Fo. 25v. Mes ja sera vengies d'un sien cousin germain,  
 20 Car Androyne le fiert ens el pis tout de plain,  
 Le clavain li rompi, qu'iert du tens Elenain,  
 Et le cuer li trencha a l'achier corrochain,  
 Tant con hanste li dure, l'abat mort el terrain,  
 Le cors en lait sanglent et sans l'ame, tout vain,
- 33 **L**YONES vint as rens sus .i. destrier norois,  
 Et fu molt bien couvert d'un vert paille grejois,  
 Brodé tout environ a grans bendes d'orfrois,  
 Por ce que molt l'ama, li ot donné li rois ;
- 5 Et tint a .iiij. clous d'or cuit arrabiöis,  
 S'ot ou fer de sa lance .i. confanon tout frois,  
 Assés biaux de faichon et de color inöois,  
 Molt richement ouvré d'un paille antioquois ;  
 Une manche ridée si blanche comme nois
- 10 Ot li bers en son bras, a guise de Franchois ;  
 Li vassaux fu molt preus et li chevaus tous frois,  
 En l'escu de son col fiert Maudras le cortois,  
 Qui sire ert de Facons et .i. cuens de Herblois,  
 Escu ne li valut la montance d'un pois,
- 15 Ne li haubers du dos la monte d'un balois,  
 Par mi le cors li mist le fer sarragoçois,  
 Mort l'abat des archons, ains ne li fist sordoïs.  
 Ne fist pas lonc sejour, outre vait de manöis,  
 Le branc nu en sa main d'un acier coloignöis,
- 20 Ains ne tira son frain, s'en ot abatu trois  
 Qui mes ne li metront riche terre en defföis.

**P**AR le camp esporonne li povres desarmés ;

30, 9. anon.

20. de plain.

33, 1. Lyons.

14. lamontance.

30, 6. H & a point le cheval [H & il li vait plus tos que cers ne cace dain].  
 7. H i. amiral encontre devant lui en i. plain. 8. H om. line. Cil] I II.  
 V Ki t. l. p. quite descî ken f. I. 9. H Galafres, a non] HV. H Godevain ;  
 I Germain ; V godoain. 10. H i. felon Beduin. H Micovain ; I Matoain.  
 11. HV manjuent. H peu de p. 12. V al s. & al matin. 13. H om.  
 line. 2] V le. 14. HV fusain (V fusein). 15. H Mais une c. roide. IV  
 n. e. sosterain (V soterain). 16. H Bien loie de cuir ; V Engleue dez ners.  
 [H Li fiers en trance plus que faus qui soie fain (V Li fers ert plus trenchanz

- And strenzeit in his sterapis stythly.  
 Prikkand he smot ane Araby,  
 That he met first, sa sturdely  
 That deid doune to the erd him bare.  
 1180 Men callit that knycht schir Calafare,  
 And wounder mychty in all thing,  
 Richt prudent in his gouerning ;  
 Vpone 3ond halfe of flom Iordane,  
 Of land he held ane mekill pane.  
 1185 This knycht before slew ane Romane,  
 Philotis neir cousing germane ;  
 Bot he was quyt thare trewly,  
 For Andreane deid doune gart him ly.  
 1190 INTO the renk prekit Lyoun,  
 All helit in ane sandale broun,  
 With orpharis all couerit about,  
 King Alexander the sterne and stout  
 Had geuin him, withowtin were,  
 With pinsale on the samyn manere.  
 1195 He in the scheld smot Aradas,  
 That of Pharone the cheif lord was,  
 That haubrek, scheld nor 3it ventale,  
 Agane the dynt mycht nocht avale,  
 That he to erd deid doun him draue ;  
 1200 Syne, with straucht arm, straik on the laif  
 Sa fast at he had fellit thre  
 Or euer his renze arrest wald he.

How 3young Pirrus lord of Montflour  
 Reskeuit his men and wan honour

THE pure man that vnarmit was  
 Raid prekand stoutly throw the preis.

[He

1177. araby.

1185. romane.

1196. pharone.

1180, 1203. yat.

1187. yare.

1201. at] as.

1183. flom] plom.

1192, -94. ye.

(Rubrick) montflour.

que fauz q̄ sie fein.)] 17. HV ot ocis i. **Romain**. 18. HV & i. conte abatu  
 tot envers ens el (V en un) plain. 19. ia] H il. HV de son c. g. 20.  
 H Andrones ; V androines. *ens el pis]* H en lescu. *de plain]* HV. 21. V  
*om. line.* H De si rice vertu que tranca l. c. 22. H L. c. l. a cope ; V &  
 li t. l. quor. H souverain ; V corocain. 23. H l. m. ens e. plain. 24.  
*en]* H li. H & de larme t. v.

33. The 'laisse' is absent in V. 1. Liones fu armes sour i. ceval norois.  
 2. H f. trestous armes. *dun]* sor. *vert]* I brun. 3. Bendes t. e. de b. a orfrois.  
 4. P. cou caukes l. 5. H *om. line.* 6. Sor le f. d. s. l. ot c. turcois.  
 7. D. mult bele facon. 8. H *inverts lines 8 and 9.* Ouvree r. d. drap anti-  
 gonois. 9. plus blanche que nest n. 10. *bras]* branc ; I brac. H Francois.  
 11. H *om. line.* 12. I Maldors i. turcois. 13. Vesques e. d. **Faros**. H &  
 sires d. lor lois ; I & visquens d. Rebois. 14. Li escus de son col n. l. v. i. p.  
 15. H Cune toise del anste o le pignon dorfrois. 16. H Li met p. m. l. pis  
 cui soit tors ne qui drois. 17. *In place of line 17* H has two :

M. l. d. a. a fin or Espagnois Outre sen est passes nus n. l. f. s.

18. H *om. lines 18 and 19.*

19. I B. ot il e. s. m. d. a. verdunois.

20.

*Ains]* H il. H sot a tous t.

21. H le pais e d.

- Niés fu Emenidus et de sa seror nés ;  
 Et fu parmi le cors d'une lance navrés ;  
 Bien garra de sa plaie, car li fiers n'est pasés  
 5 Et non porquant s'est il de son flanc bien bendés.  
 A i. baron de Gadres fu en l'estour joustés  
 Qui estoit fors des rens et des autres sevrés ;  
 Ne ne vit chevalier qui tant fust adoubés :  
 Ses elmes fu a pieres et a ciercles dorés,  
 10 Li cevaus u il sist fu ferrans pumelés.  
 Li vasaus vit les armes, s'en fu entalentés ;  
 Le ceval esporone, s'en est vers lui alés,  
 Sa lance li peçoie joute l'un des costés,  
 Et lui et le ceval porta en mi les prés ;  
 15 L'escine li est frainte et li cos desnoés ;  
 Plus de xxxv. fois s'est ilueques pasmés.  
 Li vasaus saut a tiere, qui bien fu apensés,  
 Del escu et del hiaume est il tos adoubés,  
 Prist armes et espées, el ceval est montés.  
 20 Le ceval esporone, mult par fu biaux armés,  
 Le branc nu en sa main, s'a ses piés regardés,  
 Li cuers li est el pis bien demi pié levés ;  
 Et vit Emenidus, ki tant fu agrevés,  
 Tant estoit conbatus, tous ot les bras lasés ;  
 25 Ceüs fu desous lui le cevaus sejoinés.  
 Plus de v. chevaliers ot sor lui arestés  
 Qui sovent le requerent o les brans acerés.  
 Li vasaus crie " Archade ! " cele part est alés,

*This 'laisse,' corresponding to lines 1203-82 of the Scots text and absent in MS. P, we supply from MS. I, as printed in Michelant, p. 148 l. 1—p. 149 l. 30.*

6. des. 21. mult par fu biaux armés (? repeated from prec. line).  
 14. Et] om. 27. Que.  
 18. Printed Des escu et de l'hiaume. 28. et garde.

N.B.—The text is that of H. The variants are those of V.

2. d. li tint deuz citeez. 3. Li escu de son col f. en set luz  
 troez. 4. pases] pas les. 5. & nepourquant si ert i. dune feisse bendez.  
 6. A un b. de gazres sert e. l. medlee. 7. Ki ert a une part fors d. a.  
 seurez. 8. Einz n. v. c. plus beus f. des armez. 9. a] li. 10.  
 V om. line. 11. vasaus] uadlet. 12. cele part est tornez. 13.  
 La. desour un d. c. 14. & l. & l. cheual abati e. uns prez. 16. V  
 om. line. 17. uadlet. qi ert proz & senez. 18. Del cheual & des  
 armes sest m'lt tost adobez. 19. P. lescu as enarmes e. destrer e. m.  
 20. qui bien fu conreiez. 21. Tint l. b. e. s. m. si ad ces pez regardez.  
 22. pis] cors. plein palme levez. 23. ki ml't estoit greuez. 24. T.  
 se fu cōbatu. enflez. 25. li ferrant pomelez. 26. v] set. 27.  
 Ki s. l. ferroient. 28. & garde] archage. sest c. p. a.

- 1205 He was neuoy to Emenydounis,  
 And held of him baith towris and tounis.  
 His scheild to-fruscht was halely,  
 And he woundit in the body,  
 Bot the wound was litill, suthlie,  
 1210 And he had bundin it straitlie.  
 Wpon ane syde of the feild he saw  
 Ane knycht of Gaderis without fallow,  
 Armyt in to full riche armour.  
 His armis quhitar war than flour,  
 1215 His scheild was bordouret richely  
 With gold and asure halely,  
 His hors was fare ; he saw neuer knycht  
 That him thocht sa gaily dicht.  
 On syde sa stoutly he him straik  
 1220 That all suddanly the hede can tak  
 Baith of the knycht and of the steid,  
 And his necbane in sounder 3eid,  
 And his chyn brak dispitusly.  
 The child than lychtit down in hy,  
 1225 And dicht him in his armour swith,  
 And syne lap on his steid sa styth.  
 His swerd nakit in hand he bare,  
 Beheld his leggis, how thay ware  
 Arrayit in mel3e of fyne hew,  
 1230 His hart within his body grew ;  
 He saw his eme at erd, him by,  
 And his gude steid vpon him ly,  
 For he was fallin in ane turnyng.  
 Seuyne knychtis he saw vpon him dyng,  
 1235 That grete rowtis vnto him raucht.  
 The child cryit " Archade ! " with all his maucht  
 [And

- Si fiert l'un de l'espée ki li pendoit au lés  
 30 Que le puig li copa, a la tiere est alés.  
 En le prese se fiert quant il fu abrievés,  
 Plus de c. cos i a de s'espée dounés ;  
 U il voelent u non, les a si reüsés  
 Que par force les a de la place gietés.  
 35 Li cevaus se redrece et li quens est levés,  
 Le vasal apiela : " Biaux amis, ça venés !  
 Com avés non ? ki estes ki tel mestier m'avés ? "  
 " Sire," fait li vasaus," jamais nen ert celés.  
 Corineus ai a non, ensi sui apielés.  
 40 Ma mere fu d'Arcade et tous mes parentés.  
 En la prison roi Daire fui xiiii. ans gardés,  
 Asés i fui petis, por mon pere portés.  
 Mult aurai hui esté de mes armes gabés ;  
 Merci Notre Signor, or en ai a plentés !  
 45 Niés sui Emenidus et de sa serour nés,  
 Or vois querre mon oncle par estranges regnés."  
 " Dex," dist Emenidus, " tu soies äourés !  
 Biaux niés, je suis vos oncles ! saciés c'est verités !  
 Or soiés mes amis, et jou votre privés !  
 50 En la court Alixandre serés par moi amés."  
 An ii. ses bras li a par mi le col gietés,  
 Plus de xx. fois le baise, sor lui est aclinés.

41. passés.

43. estes.

29. Sin f. un d. l. dont li brant fu letrez. 30. *puig*] *braz.* si qua tere  
 e. verseez. 31. si cū uent abruiez. 32. *i*] *lor.* del espee. 33.  
 l. a tels conreiez. 36. uadlet. 38. S. dist li uallet ia mi nōs nert  
 celez. 39. *a*] *om.* 40. darchage. 41. *gardés*] passés. 43.  
 este. *de*] pour. 44. o. e. hauōms asez. 46. querrant. 47. *dist*]  
 fet. *tu*] hui. 48. que uous tant desirez [& vo' estes mi nez bien sai quest  
 ueritez]. 49. serrez. 50. s. des plus a. 51. li quons al c. ietez.  
 52. *xx*] cent. *est*] sest.



- And towart him raid in full great hy,  
And smot the first sa sturdely  
That he smote euin the arme in tua,  
1240 And ane other to the erd can ga ;  
And rushit, with that, vpone the laif,  
And mony deidly dynt thame gaif ;  
Sa of the seuin slew he fyue.  
With that, the duke vpstart belyue—  
1245 The tother tua hes left that steid—  
And he drest him into his weid,  
And said, “ quhat art thow, freind, that me  
Hes in this thrang done this bounte ? ”  
“ Schir,” said the childe, “ I hecht Pyrrus,  
1250 And neuoy is to Emynedus.  
In Daurus presoun haue I bene  
Weill xiiij. 3eir, forouttin wene.  
For, quhan I was ane lytill page,  
For my fader I went in hostage ;  
1255 Now (louit be God ! ) eschaipit am I.  
I haue bene scornit this day greatly  
For armour ; louit mot God be,  
For now I haue aneuch plentie !  
My fader is of Archade, suithly,  
1260 Emynedus sister sone am I,  
Now seik I him in seir countre.”  
The duke said, “ louit mot God be !  
I am thy eme, fair, deir cousine ;  
Thow art my deir sib-man and I thine.  
1265 In Alexanderis court throw me  
Thow sall menskit and honourit be.”  
With that, he can him fast imbrais,  
And kissit him, armit as he was.

[A dere

“ Niés,” dist Emenidus, “ pres de moi vos tenés ! ”  
 “ Sire,” dist li vasaus, “ ains sera conparés,  
 55 Li brans de ceste espée tains et ensanglentés,  
 Que jou parte de vus se ne sui mors gietés ! ”

35 **P**AR le champ vait poignant li niés Emenidon,  
 Pirrus, cil de Monflor, a la gente faichon,  
 Qui cors ot et corage et chere de baron.  
 Molt se vait desreänt sus .i. cheval gascon,  
 5 De meillor se puet bien consirer .i. preudon,  
 Et si fu en tous sens de bone afaitoison.  
 S’il connut mauvés home, ains n’ama son sermon,  
 Ne ne volt retenir les vers de sa chançon.  
 Molt honora les bons, ses tint en sa maison.  
 10 La donna son avoir ou sauf furent li don,  
 Tant que la sieue enseigne estoit de grant renon,  
 Et tuit si anemi en ont male friçon,  
 Sa proësce les mist en male soupeçon.  
 Diex, qu’il ne pot durer ! trop se mist a bandon,  
 15 Tout jors voloit par armes esmovoir tel tençon  
 Dont chevalier gisoient par terre et par sablon.  
 Si droit ne voloit mie ne quarrel ne bouion  
 Comme il aloit ferir d’estoc le confanon  
 Ceux qui vers Alixand’ n’orent subjection.  
 20 Por ce l’amoit li rois et si franc compaignon ;  
 Ses oncles en faisoit molt sovent oroison  
 Que Diex le deffendist de mort et de prison.  
 Onques n’oï de lui vilaine retrachon,

35, 3. *chere*] cheualerie.

14. abandon.

[Deus ce dist li uadlet cū sui ben eurez  
 Mult est mis quors en ioie bels sire or en pensez  
 Ke io soie par vos & par moi honorez.]

53. [Li estors est mot fiers tost serrū deseurez.] 54. einz est ch’  
 copez. 55. & l. b. d. mespee tors & e. 56. si a mort ne sui  
 naurez.

‘Laissez’ 35-39, absent in V, occur in H and I. The variants not indicated  
 ‘I’ are those of H.

35, 1. *le champ*] lestor. 2. Cest Pireus d. M. a le clere facon. 3.  
 Q. cuer a & c. & ciere d. b. 4. Ademetant s. v. 5. H *om. line.*  
 6. & est de t. endrois. 7. S. coneust couart ja noist s. s. 9. Mult  
 ounora vasal par vrete le dison. 10. u f. haut l. d. 11. *estoit*] en fu.  
 12. *ont*] mult. 13. *les*] le. 14. H *om. line.* 15. mostrer t.  
 contencion. 17. I S. doit ne voelent mie. HI inaturas (I materas) n. b.  
 18. Com cil les vet f. destort l. c. 19. mouvoient le tencon. 20.  
 Quar mult lama l. r. & tout si c. 22. detornast. 23. H *om. line.*

- 1270      "A! dere God," sais Pyrrus, "quhat I  
             Am of this meting richt happy!  
             My hart is full of Iolite.  
             Now think I, sweit eme, to be  
             Honourit, throw 3ow, with great and small,  
             And for my awin deidis with all."  
 1275      Emynedus sayis, "my neuoy deir,  
             Se that thow hald the by me heir!  
             This is the perrillous battale  
             That euer I saw in my trauell,  
             And thow, my sone, be set fra me."  
 1280      "Schir," said the child, "or it sa be,  
             My sword sall be of blude all rede,  
             And I woundit neir to the deid."

- 1285      **P**YRRVS, that lord is of Mountflour,  
             Richt douchty and of great valour,  
             He was weill taucht in deid and saw;  
             Quhair he ane wickit man couth knaw,  
             He luiffit him nocht, na wald him heir,  
             His laittis na his lessons leir.  
 1290      His ensigne was of great renoun,  
             And sair dred with his fais felloun.  
             His worship set thame in affray,  
             Bot he went all to some away,  
             For he wald euer, at hard melle,  
             At stryking with the formaist be.  
 1295      He straucht his steid, that stithly ran,  
             And in the preis he plungit than,  
             And deidlyke dintis about him gaue.  
             His eme prayit God sould him saue

[Fra

1283. mountflour.

1292. Bot] For.

*Lines 1299 and 1300 are transposed in Arbuthnot's print.*

Des sieues grans bontés les manieres diron :  
 25 Ses pies furent votis, et pendant li talon,  
 Large ot l'enfourcheüre et le cors par raison,  
 Grailles flans et votis et les rains gros selon,  
 Et large pis et gros, de bele formoison,  
 Les mains et grans et fors et les bras a foison,  
 30 Et le col lonc et droit et quarré le menton,  
 La bouche bien seânt, et les dens environ  
 Plus blans que nus yvoires ne nul os de poisson,  
 Et le nés avenant, sans nulle mesprison,  
 35 Les ieux vairs et apers a guise de faucon,  
 Et biaux les ot et clers plus que la fille Oton,  
 Qui par biauté fu dame du roiaume Esclavon,  
 Les cheveux lons et crespes, n'i avoit se bien non.  
 Atant li venoit barbe et poignoient grenon,  
 Qui lui avenoit molt, que miex en sembloit hon ;  
 40 Ítele en est la somme de la description,  
 Car, envers lui, sont let li plus bel c'or savon.  
 Hé ! Diex ! con biau li sistrent li doré esperon,  
 Et les chaucés de fer et l'auberc fremeillon,  
 Et li hiaumes a pierres, qui cler reluit en son !  
 45 Ses escus ert a or, s'i ot .i. vermeillon,  
 Ce est vis, qui l'esgarde, que nes soit en blason ;  
 Et la lance fu blanche, o vermeil confanon,  
 Rades en ert li fus, d'un fresne de planton,  
 Et .iiij. fois recuit o gliu et o savon ;  
 50 Li fers ert plus trenchans que faux enfen oison.  
 Qui tel le vuet atendre, de la mort le semon,  
 Bien est drois qu'au partir se tiengne por bricon,  
 Car puis n'aura loisir de requerre pardon.

36 **L**I valles sist armés sus .i. destrier isnel  
 Qu'il ne donast le jor por l'amor d'arondel.  
 Les armes le couvrirent, qui molt li sistrent bel,  
 Fo. 26v. Lance porte sus feutre et l'escu en chancel.  
 5 Le destrier esperone qu'il li perce la pel,  
 Et cil porprent la terre, qui plat ot le musel ;  
 En l'escu de son col vait ferir Gastinel  
 Que le vernis li trenche, l'alun et l'arguël,  
 Et l'escu et les ais, par mi le taint novel,  
 10 Du hauberc ront les mailles, et fausent li clavel,  
 Tout le fer de sa lance sentirent li boiel,  
 Par mi outre l'eschine en passe le coutel,  
 Et lui et son cheval abat en .i. mustel.  
 Le cors du chevalier trebuce en .i. doitel,  
 15 La morut en noiant qu'ains n'issi du ruisel.

37 **L**I valles tret sa lance que du retrere brise ;  
 Ne fu mie esperdus, que mautalens l'atise ;  
 Met la main a l'espée, qui fu forgie en Pise,  
 Li sain en erent d'or o letre bien assise,  
 5 La color ne fu mie trop blanche ne trop bise,  
 Mes brune verdoiant ; qui d'autre se devise,  
 S'ele fu bone assés, bien estut a sa guise,  
 Et cil l'a a porter qui en son cuer se prise ;

35, 29. &] *supplied.*

46. les garde.

37, 8. *aporter.*

35, 24. De sa tres grant proecce verite en d. [Quar tout aves oi **de son cors le facon**]. 25. Li. 26. Sot l. forceure. 27. *H om. line.* 28. **Larges p. & espaulés** sot large formison. 29. L. b. gros & quarres l. puins gros a f.

- Fra dede, myschif and fra presone.  
 I300 I will record þow his fassoun,  
 Of all schaip was he richt wele maid,  
 With armys large and schoulderis braid,  
 Fare schankis, leggis and feit  
 Weil maid, all to his body meit.  
 I305 His berd to spring of new began ;  
 Him semyt weill to be ane man.  
 Certis to say of his bounte,  
 Thare nicht nane farar fundin be.  
 A ! dere God, how his helm of steill  
 I310 And his hawbrek sat him ! how weill !  
 His spere was schairp and weill scherand.  
 Quha met with him, I tak on hand  
 Thay haue of him sic ane menzeing  
 Thai sall neid, I wis, of leching !  
 I315 **P**IRRVIS sat on ane nobill steid,  
 And he richt douchty was in deid ;  
 He lukit fast to his armyng,  
 And thairof had he grete plesing.  
 His steid he straucht, and straik ane knycht,  
 I320 Schir Gastinall to name he hecht.  
 Throw baith scheild and habirgeoun  
 He plat his spere in his pensoun,  
 And duschit him dede down in that place,  
 Sa sone that he said neuer " allace ! "  
 I325 Pirrus his stalwart spere hes tynt,  
 Bot swith in hand his sword he hynt,  
 That forgit was and formyt weill  
 Of ane broun, vnbrekand steill.  
 The sword was gude and of grete pryse,  
 I330 And it had lord at all deuyse.  
 At this poynt thinkis he, gif he may,

[Sum

1308. *L. farer.*

1316. indeid.

1313. *menzeing*] menyng.1320. *Gastinall*] Gastmall.*Minuscule at l. 1310.*

30. *L. c. l. & poli & forme l. m.* 31. Biele bouce riant. 32. Ot p. b. que yvores. *nul*] que. 33. N. seant & bien fait. 34. *L. ious ot v. el cief.* 35. & si l. o. rians. 36. *roiaume*] lignage. 37. *H om. line.* 38. Adonques l. poignoit la b. & li g. 39. Mult l. a. bien car mult e. sanloit h. 40. & teus est en l. fin d. sa discrecion. 41. *cor*] I que. *H Que vers l. estoit* lais li cors le fort Sanson. 42. *sistrent*] sient. *li*] si. 43. *H om. line.* 44. *li*] si. q. reluist environ. 45. S. e. fu tos dor. *H ni ot pas v. ; I sa en* mi un lion. 46. *H om. line.* 47. L. roide sor feutre & v. c. 48. & fu de cuir loie entour & environ. 49. Par iiii. f. saudees (? for saudies). *H glu ; I* cire. 50. L. f. en trance p. q. li faus en saison. 52. *H om. lines 52-53.* 36. 1. fu. ceval. 2. *H places line 2 immediately before line 7.* Cel i n. le dounast p. tout lor dun castiel. 3. Ses a. li avient & mult l. sient b. 4. *porte*] roide. 5. ceval. si q. l. fent l. a. 6. [*HI Le piet cauf & coupe (I reont) plus tot vait darondel.*] 8. *In place of lines 8-9 H has one :* Quil li perce & porfent p. m. l. t. n. I Quil trance l. v. & lasur fait n. 9. *nouel*] I rouel. 10. & lauberc li fausa quen rompent l. c. 11. *sa*] la. 12. Si que p. m. le cors passerent li coutiel. 13. *son*] le. porta e. i. monciel. 14. *In place of lines 14-15 H has :* Larme sen est alee le cors lait a reviel. 37. 1. *tret*] prist. q. a tiere li b. 3. *Met la main*] Le main m. Frise. 4. L. pois e. estoit d. o] a. 6. M. b. & verdoians del pumiel s. d. 7. signes ot a d.



- A ce poindre fera des Gadrains grant justise ;  
 10 Cui il ataint a cop, ne quiere autre joïse !  
 Je ne di pas d'un home qu'il faice grant jostise,  
 Mes tex .xx. en i lait, n'i a celui ne gise,  
 Qui bien ont au Grejois droite treve promise.
- 38 **P**IRRUS est en l'estor ; si cop i sont parant,  
 Car nul de son eäge n'ot corage si grant  
 Ne, por armes baillier, nul cuer ausi vaillant ;  
 De meillor ne plus bel ne vous sont ne ne chant,  
 5 Car se il le disoit, il n'en auroit garant  
 Qu'ains tel de son eäge portast lance ne branc.  
 Diex ! conme il vait les rens a l'espée cerchant,  
 Le fier orguel de Gadres fierement reversant !  
 Emenidus l'esgarde, le cuer en ot joiant,  
 10 Licanor en apele, si li dit en riant :  
 " Veés de mon neveu conme il vait abatant,  
 Le grant orgueil de Gadres entor lui abessant !  
 Qui vuet bon chevalier, ja meillor ne demant.  
 Se cestui puet avoir, plus loing nel voist querant ! "  
 15 Lors s'afiche li oncles et tret l'escu avant,  
 Rade lance en son poing o .i. fer avenant,  
 Et ot a .iiij. cloux de fin or arrabiant,  
 Sus le fer atachié .i. confanon pendant.  
 Au destraindre des armes fait tresailir Ferrant,  
 20 Et il li vait molt bien la terre porprenant,  
 Les chaillaux et les pierres sous ses pies esgrunant.  
 Par ire vait ferir .i. molt riche amirant ;  
 Cil ot a non Cadot, et fu fis Rodoant,  
 De la sereur Betis, a l'amoureux semblant,  
 25 Gente dame bien faite, o le cors avenant ;  
 Et de cestui trovons, en l'estoire lisant,  
 Qu'il n'ot tel chevalier, Arrabi ne Persant,  
 En la terre de Gadres puis le tens Moysant,  
 Ne si large de cuer ne francement donant,  
 30 Emenidus le fiert de la lance trenchant  
 Que par mi le blason ront l'auberc jaserant,  
 Si li perce le cuer, la boiele en espant,  
 Mort l'abat des archons par mi .i. desrubant ;  
 Et Pirrus lor escrie : " Cha vous venés traiant !  
 35 Cist vous garra du mal dont vous estes tremblant !  
 Ce ne sont mïe cop d'apprentis paisant,  
 Mes du meillor du monde, fors le roi conquerant !

37, 12. nia.

38, 10. apela.

N.B.—*Lines 22-33 of the French are not rendered in the Scots.*

37, 9. H om. lines 9 and 10.

11. iostise] ocise.

12. M. t. x e.

trespase ni a c. n. g.

13. &amp; cil o. as G. d. treves demise.

38, 1. fu. s. c. sunt apartant.

2. Ainc hom d. s. lignage nen ot cuer

si vallant.

3. N. de porter ses a. corage si poissant.

4. n. conte

- Sum of his vertew to assay.  
 With that, he socht furth in the thrang,  
 And sic dyntis about him dang  
 1335 That he passit by sik thretty  
 That nane was na he gart him ly.  
 Pyrrus thus steirit him in this stour ;  
 Thair was he haldin of great valour ;  
 That tyme was nane of his 3outhheid  
 1340 Of sa grit worship and manheid,  
 And farar was nane sikkerly.  
 A ! deir God, how he was douchty !  
 He gyrd throw renk with sword in hand,  
 Thame of Gaderis fast febiland,  
 1345 And comfortand sa grittumly  
 The folk that war of his party.  
**E**MYNEDVS him saw and vox blyth,  
 And said to Licanor all suyth,  
 " Se my neuoy, how he stonayis  
 1350 3on Gaderanes that he assayis !  
 Quha 3arnis ane knicht of great bounte,  
 Sall he find nane better than he."  
 With that, the gude Emynedon  
 Embraisit sadly his blason.  
 1355 His suord was drawin in his hand,  
 Agane his dynt had nocht warrand.  
 And Pyrrus cryit, " now gais heir ga !  
 He that heir cumis, I vndersta,  
 With ane sweit medicyne sall now  
 1360 Mak quyte of that that greuis 3ow.  
 His straikis ar nocht of ane prentis,  
 Bot of the best that leuand is  
 In warld, saiffand the King allane.

[He

1335. *passit*] past.

- 
- |  |   |                                 |
|--|---|---------------------------------|
| nus n. cant.                               | 7. <i>cerchant</i> ] trancant.                  | 8. L. grant o. d. G. desous lui |
| confondant.                                | 9. E. le vit sen o. l. c. i.                    | 10. Licanor e. apele se l.      |
| vet consillant.                            | 11. com se v. contenant.                        | 12. <i>H om. line.</i>          |
| Sil enconter le viut p. ne le v. quercant. | 15. I safeutre.                                 | H L. s. es                      |
| estriers & l. mist a.                      | 16. <i>In place of lines 16-18</i>              | H has one : L. roide sor        |
| feutre & confanon pendant.                 | 19. A lestraindre d. jambes.                    | 20. & i. l.                     |
| v. menu les grans saus porprendant.        | 21. degietant.                                  | 22. De Barbais                  |
| v. f.                                      | 23. Galafres o. a n. I Roboant.                 | 25. Bele d. & plaisans.         |
| lestoire] estore.                          | 28. <i>la terre</i> ] lempire.                  | puis] tres.                     |
| Gadifier celui met jou auant.              | 31. <i>For lines 31-32</i>                      | H has :                         |
|  | Si tres grant cop li done que ne li fait garant |                                 |
|  | Ne escus ne haubers le montance dun gant        |                                 |
|  | Ne vet par mi le cors son confanon bagnant.     |                                 |
| 33. M. l. sans parler dales i. d.          | 34. Cest traies a g.                            | 35. Cil vus gari                |
| de mort d. v. ales tranlant.               | 36. Cor.  | 37. <i>H om. lines 37-39.</i>   |

Fis sui de sa sereur, drois est que je m'en vant,  
 Car de par lui me vient honor a mon vivant !  
 40 Ains la nuit vous donra d'un tel boivre en ferant  
 Qu'ains ne burent a Gadres de nul plus enyvrant ! ”

39 **B** IEN volt Emenidus son poindre parfornir,  
 De celui tret sa lance qu'el champ a fait gesir,  
 Si s'afiche es estriers le fer en fait croissir,  
 Et li chevaus li cort de si trés grant aïr,  
 5 Il et Pirrus ses niés les vont si envaïr,  
 Et tuit li autre Grieu qui ne volront foïr,  
 Que par mi les harnois les font outre ferir  
 Et por pâour de mort ledement resortir,  
 Quant virent Gadifer d'unes brueilles issir  
 10 Ô .iij. mil chevaliers, que il ot a baillir :  
 Cil sot bien que li Grieu ne vorroient fuïr ;  
 Ains se vendront molt chier ains qu'il voillent morir ;  
 Por ce, se fist armer belement a loisir,  
 C'or les vorra, s'il puet, derompre en son venir ;  
 15 Ses conpaignons a fait de bataille garnir.  
 El mi lieu veïssiés maint confanon broïr  
 Et oïssiés busines et lor tamburs bondir,  
 Et grans cors d'olifans sonner et retentir.  
 Li Grieu tirent lor frains quant les virent venir,  
 20 Et traient au destrois por lor vies garir  
 Ne lor tint de gaber ne de riens escharnir,

38, 38. *je*] *supplied*.

41. en yurant.

39, 10. abaillir.

13. aloisir.

38, 40. Ancui vus monsterra d. t. boire poissant. 41. d. n. si agrevant.  
 39, 2. *H om. line.* I D. c. trait le l. cot f. e. camp cair. 3. que l. f.  
 fet c. [& si fait au ceval les esporons sentir]. 4. & l. cevaus l. cort par isi  
 g. a. [Que il fait des caillaus le fu cler resplendir]. 5. Pireus [Ne truevent  
 chevalier qui lor cos puist souffrir]. 6. *Griu*] per. q. n. voelent falir.  
 7. P. m. eus tous ensamble l. v. entre f. 8. *H om. line.* 9. Q.  
 voient G. hors del bruellet i. 10. quil o. fait establir. 11. Il. n.  
 volrent pas f. 12. H & le proie enmenront u tout quident morir ; I Mais  
 els vendre mult cier a. que viegne al m. *In H the remainder of the 'laisse' is  
 quite different :*

Et Gadifers a dit des or poes veïr  
 Les millors chevaliers por lor vies garir  
 Qui onques fust en tiere ne mes doie nasquir  
 Ja nen veres i. seul pour cou acouardir  
 Mais ales maintenant tant ruste cop ferir  
 Por cou voel isci tant fierement bondir  
 Que jou les puse ronpre trestous en mon venir  
 Lors veiscies Gadrain lor cevaus poursalir  
 Tant rice garniment contre solet luisir  
 Et ces elmes luisans et espïers resplendir  
 Ces moieniaus sonner et ces tertres tentir  
 Resouner les valles si con le puet oïr

- He sall 3it, or this day be gane,  
 1365 Brew 3ow sik drink, I tak on hand,  
 That 3e drank nane sa poysonand ! ”  
 E MYNEDVS his cours maid weill,  
 That fele of Gaderis may feill  
 His sword schare in thair nakit hyde.  
 1370 Pyrrus was ay neir him besyde.  
 Thir tua, with all thair cumpany,  
 Socht on thair fais sa sturdely,  
 Quhill to thair baneris thay thame dang,  
 Thair had thay thirlit weill the thrang,  
 1375 Quhan that gude Gaudifere de Larys,  
 With tua thousand knichtis of prys,  
 Saw ische out of ane craig, thame by.  
 He wist and knew aluterly  
 That thay of Grece wald wele thame weir ;  
 1380 Thairfoir, with tyme and at laseir,  
 He dicht him in his apparell,  
 And ordaned him for battell.  
 His men he gart als weill array,  
 For at his micht he wald assay  
 1385 To skaill them sua in his cuming  
 That thair sould be na recouering.  
 In his battellis than micht be sene  
 Baneris and pennomis shynand shene ;  
 Trumpettis and taburnes gaylie blaw.  
 1390 Quhan that the folk of Grece thame saw,  
 In hy all fleing reillit thay,  
 And to ane strenth hes tane the way,  
 To saue thair lyues quhil thay mocht.  
 Is nane of thame, I trow, had thocht  
 1395 Of gamin or play or 3it solace,

[For

1373. yame.

*Minuscule at l. 1365.*

1375. larys.

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La plus fiere os del mont sen peust esbahir  
 Ausi com li ostoirs vet le mallart saisir  
 Lors descendent Gadrain qui les vont envair  
 & li Griu tienent coi ques voellent requellir  
 Lors veiscies cescun de bien faire aatir  
 Quar tous li plus couars na talent de fuir.

Car de plus grant meschief ne porroit nus oïr  
N'i a celui qui mort n'atende, sans languir.

- 40** **G**ADIFER des Larris ou croissent li paumier,  
**Fo. 27.** Qui la terre d'entour ot toute a justicier,  
 En toute l'ost de Gadres n'ot si bon chevalier  
 Ne .i. qui par son cors feist tant a proisier,  
**5** Ne nul ne se sot miex en .i. estour aidier  
 Ne les siens maintenir ne autres damagier,  
 Et les tornés de place si de prés enchaucier  
 Qu'il n'avoient loisir de nului enpoirier.  
 Belement sot fuïr quant il en ot mestier,  
**10** Et, s'il en vit son lieu, faire .i. biau recovrier.  
 Les sieues bones teches font bien a renoncier,  
 Biaus est et avenans, et tint son cors molt cier,  
 Et larges et cortois, n'i ot que enseigner.  
 Ou que il vit le bien, molt le volt avancier,  
**15** Et vilaines paroles et lais dis abessier,  
 Et toutes bones gens lever et essaucier,  
 Les orgueilleus abatre et les felons blessier.  
 Quant vit les osts fremir et l'estor commencer,

40, 7. tornois.

8. en poirier.

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40, 1. *des*] H del ; V de. H crurent. 2. *ot toute*] H avoit ; V a t.  
 3. H E. lenpire d. G. n. si bon c. ; V El realme de egipte n. meillor c.  
 4. *i*] H nul ; V hōme. H s. peust t. p. 5. HV N. si bien se seust. H  
 rehaitier. 6. HV &. H delivrer. *ne*] HV &. 7. *tornes*] H ; V  
 L. tornez d. la p. *si de prés*] H d. s. p. 8. V nourent. H enpirier ; V  
 empeirer. 9. H mult savoit bel f. 10. H & se lui plot a li (*printed*  
*l'i.*) ; V & **quant** il uit s. l. *i*] H *om.* 11. *renoncier*] H acointier. V sūt  
 b. arepcher. 12. *est*] HV fu. H & mult fist a prisier [H Simples estoit  
 & dous & bons a acointier]. 13. H Douneur i ot large & mult bon  
 vivendier [H & vers son anemi ot le corage fier]. 14. U q. i voit les bons.  
 HV ses vot (V sil uout) mult a. (H essaucier ; *cp. next line*). 15. H *om.*  
*line.* 16. HV T. les b. g. 17. *blessier*] H plaiser ; V pleiser [H Ne  
 il ne vot a tort franc home forjugier]. 18. *osts*] HV **rens**. H & le noise  
 engrangier.



For the mischeif sa mekill was.

**T**HIS gude Gaudefeir de Laris,  
That was of sa hie souerane pris

- 1400 That, in all the land of Afrike,  
Of worship was thair nane him lyke,  
Na nane sa grit of hie valour,  
For to mentene ane staluart stour  
Na haldis his fais in sic danger,  
Na helpis his freindis that had mister,  
1405 Na, quhan his fais left the place,  
Sa strenthily couth demane ane chace.  
He could fle fairly, but affray,  
Quhan neid him strengeit to hald his way ;  
And quhan that he his point culd sie,  
1410 Recouer couth he weill his bountie,  
And mak mony ane fair turning.  
His teching and his fair hauing,  
His vertew and his countenance,  
Wald to ane gude man mak plesance.  
1415 His worship will I rehers heir :  
He was vpon full great maneir  
Cumly of corps and assemble ;  
His body weill adornit he ;  
Richt large, weill luiffit and courtais,  
1420 The gude auansit he alwayis,  
And fellon deid and word all way  
He preissit to scaill and put away.  
With ane thousand knichtis of pris,  
To help his lord, duke Betis,  
1425 He come from Gadderis in ane lyng ;  
The regard was in his leding.  
Quhan he the rinkis saw shudder sua

[And

1396. samekill.

1397. laris.

1404. yat.

1412. *teching*] tething.

- Et la noise lever, et les cris enforchier,  
 20 Et les dolereus plains des navrés enforcier  
 Car la mort ques destraint les fait asouploier,  
 Il sist a ce besoing sus le meillor destrier  
 Que li rois de Nubie li peüst envoyer,  
 Qui des meillors du mont a trestout le dangier,  
 25 Par les costés le point des esperons d'or mier.  
 Ne volt pas por joster granment les rens cerchier,  
 Mes, en la greignor presse ou il vit l'encombrier,  
 Fait le chief du cheval et l'escu adrecier.  
 Le conte Sabilot ala Tyr chalengier  
 30 De par Daire de Perse, son seignor droiturier,  
 Sel feri de la lance en l'escu de quartier  
 Que par mi le blason fist l'auberc desmaillier  
 Et le cors du vassal d'outre en outre percier.  
 Tant roidement l'estut a terre trebuchier  
 35 Qu'il li fist tous les membres et le cors esmier  
 Et le col et les bras et les cuisses brisier.  
 La sieue mort fera maint home coroucier  
 Et meïsme Alixand' des biaux ieux lermoier ;  
 A piece n'en peüst par lui seul redrecier,  
 40 Des autres, lor a fait tex .iiij. deschevauchier  
 Dont li pires ert preus por ses armes baillier,  
 Qui ne vaudront més riens por grant fais enbracier.
- 41 **P**IRRUS vit Gadifer qui se melle as Grejois,  
 Mort lor a Sabilot, .i. preu Macedonois,  
 Et des autres avec deschevauche tex trois  
 Dont li pires peüst, tout par droit, estre rois.  
 5 Cui il ataint a cop, tost li tolt le jenglois,  
 Car il a cest afaire entrepris sans gabois.  
 Et Pirrus lesse corre le baiart gasconnois ;  
 Ne s'i tenist chevrel quant il ist de desfois.  
 J. neveu Gadifer, qui ert venus tous frois,  
 10 Molt richement armés sus .i. cheval norois,  
 Vait ferir a bandon en l'escu sapinois,  
 Perce li comme fueille de trumel en marois,

40, 8. en poirer.

29. al a tyr.

41, 6. a faire.

40, 19. H & l. os cevaucier ; V & l. c. engroisser. 20. enforcier] H abaisier ; V rachoiser. 21. H les faisoit acoisier ; V l. fet ml't abesser.  
 22. ce besoing] H icel jor ; V cel estor. 24. H Quar sour tous caus d. m. en avoit l. d. ; V Ki d. m. d. siecle auoit tot l. d. 25. H om. line. 26. volt] H vait ; V vient. HV le cief (V cler) des r. c. 27. vit] H voit ; V la o. v. l. 28. H F. lescu & l. c. au ceval a. 29. H Salemon ; IV Sabilor. ala] HV. 31. la] HV sa. en] H sor. 33. H par mi o. plaier ; V d. e. o. passer. 35. V esmier. H Q. l. fait tout l. c. & la teste esmier. 36. H L. quises & l. b. doutre en outre b. ; V & leschine & l. b.

- And the battellis togiddir ga,  
 And hard the grete noyis and the cry  
 1430 Of woundit men sa soroufully,  
 He sat vpon the nobillest steid  
 That ony lord mycht haif at neid,  
 With spurris he straik him sturdely,  
 And he lansit deliuerly  
 1435 Into the thikkest of the preis,  
 Quhar he saw maist of melle was.  
 He plungit in the feild before  
 And smot the gude erll Sabolore,  
 1440 That he all peirssit his blassoun,  
 And thirllit als his habirgeoun,  
 And bet him dede down in the grene,  
 And smot him throw the body clene ;  
 And efter sone sic vther thre  
 Throw his worschip to erd laid he  
 1445 That the worst was of grete valour  
 For to manteme ane stalwart stour.  
**P**IRRVVS hes sene how Gaudifere  
 Sa stoutly can his fais dere,  
 How he erll Sabalour hes slane,  
 1450 And vthir als of mekill mane,  
 That the worst was richt douchty  
 And praissit of hie chewalry.  
 With spurris tit straik he the steid,  
 And he come lansand wale gude speid.  
 1455 Gaudifere had thare ane cousine,  
 Armit in armouris gude and fyne ;  
 Pirrus him smot with all his maucht,  
 And sa rude ane rout hes him raucht  
 That scheld and habirgeoun of steill

[At

- 1429, 37, 41, 42, 45, 53. ye. 1446. *L. manteine.*  
 1438. sabolore. 1447. gaudifere.  
 1440. hakirgeon. 1454. *Lines 1454-55 are inverted in Arbuthnet.*  
 1444. *worschip*] wirschop. 1455. yare ; consine.

& la quisse b. 37. HV *om. lines 37 and 38.* 39. H En. V Vne p.  
 ne poit il soul p. li r. 40. H & puis a f. d. a. ; V & d. a. fist pus. 41.  
 H *om. line.* V Dount l. p. e. ml't proz. 42. HV Jamais ne seront preu  
 (V ualdrunt gweres) por lor signour aidier.

41. 1. HV voit. 2. H Salemon ; V Sabilor. 3. *avec*] HV lor a.  
 4. H p. son cors e. r. ; V p. d. e. bien r. 5. H *om. line.* 6. V *places*  
*this line before line 2.* H & mult a c. afaire ; V Ki a ml't c. a. 7. & P.  
 esporone. H baet ; V baiet. V esspanois. 8. H *om. line.* I q. sen i.  
 des forois. 9. *ert venus*] H v. e. ; V est v. 10. H Arme tout ricement  
 sor i. baucant n. 11. *en*] HV sor. H Paviois ; IV sabinois. 12. HV  
*om. line.*

- L'auberc fausse et desront o l'acier vienois,  
 Par mi le cors li met le confanon turquois,  
 15 Mort l'abat des archons a fin or espanois.  
 Cist ne sembloit as armes Provençel ne Baclois,  
 Ains sembloit bien qu'il fust ou amiraus ou rois.  
 Emenidus s'en rit et dit .i. mot cortois :  
 " Cist vous a tost apris des jeux alienois !  
 20 A meillor chevalier ne josterois des mois ! "

- 42 **D**U conte Sabilot qui ert mort a dolor,  
 Sont li Grejois dolant et demainent grant plor,  
 Que desous les ventailles se pasment li plusor ;  
 Assés i ot de ceuls qui tremblent de pàour  
 5 Quant de tant riches armes regardent la brunor  
 Et du soleil qui done as armes grant luôr.  
 Lors sont en esmaiance de maintenir l'estor,  
 L'angoisse et le destroit i sueffrent li meillor.  
 Et Gadifer ot ire, onques nul n'ot greignor,  
 10 Por son gentil neveu qui fu fils d'aumaçor ;  
 Broche des esperons le destrier missoudor,  
 Le branc nu en la main qui a brune color,  
 Et fiert si .i. Grejois par mi son elme a flor  
 Qu'il li trenche en parfont de la teste plaindor  
 15 Jusques al os du col lait couler le rasor.

42, 4. tremblèrent.

41, 13. H Par desous est fauses li haubers demanois ; I Le hauberc f. & ront qui fu sarragocois ; V Ke parmi le blazon ront le hauberc demanois.  
 14. HV El c. l. m. (H mist) le lance (V fust) & lensegne a orfrois. 15.  
 H M. l. sans parler. H d. a. Espagnois ; V a la terre manois. 16. V Cil  
 ne resemblet mie. HV Basclois (V bascleis). 17. HV A. quidast que il  
 f. i. naturaues francois ; V Einz quidissez kil fust bon naturel englois. 18.  
 H E. darcade. 19. HV de son ju (IV de ses giex) alenois. 20. H  
 jostastes ; V iosta il.  
 42, 1. H Salemon ; V sabilor. H fu. 2. V S. iree l. G. *grant*] H  
 lor ; V tel. 3. H Par. V entrassent d. pour. 4. V *om. line.* H q.  
 pasment d. p. 5. *riches*] H cieres. HV esgardent l. b. (H luor ; *cp.*  
*next line*). 6. *du*] I le ; V li. I claror. H Li solaus luist a. a. qui lor  
 d. l. 7. *sont en*] H promet. HIV soustenir. 8. HI destraiçe. V  
 La coite & le meschef. H quil souffrirent le jor. 9. *nul*] V mes. H &  
 Gadifiers sot i. que o. not grignor. 10. [H *Quil voit mort devant lui*  
*jesir sor la vredor.*] 11. HV *Espris de lui vengier* b. l. m. 12.  
 H sa. H brun de bon coulor ; V dur de b. c. 13. H & vait ferir *Pirrus*  
 le signor de Monflor. 14. H Que l. trance p. H plaindour ; V plein  
 dor. 15. H De si quel gros del pis fait c. le savour ; V Desci ken los del  
 c. fist coler l. rasour.

- 1460 At that point valzeit neuer a deill,  
 Bot he him throw the body bare,  
 And feld him stane-deid richt thair ;  
 And he all clois passit far by.  
 Emynedus than said thame in hy,  
 1465 " Lansand, he leris thame of his play ;  
 I trow that 3ow, this mony ane day,  
 Iustit nocht with ane better knycht,  
 Na with sa hardy, na with sa wicht ! "
- 1470 **O**F the erll Sabolouris dede  
 The Grecians war sa will of rede  
 That sum of thame sa sair can grete  
 That thare auantallis worthit weit,  
 And sum for propir radnes quoik ;  
 Sic basing in thare hartis thai tuik,  
 1475 Quhen thai saw [sa] feill bricht armyng  
 Agane the sone shirly schyning,  
 And saw thair fais grete stoutnes.  
 Bot thare price and thare worthynes  
 Gart thame endure trauale and pane  
 1480 To put thair fais strength agane.  
 And Gaudifere for dule and ire  
 Brint within as ony fyre  
 For his gentil neuois dede,  
 That he saw slane ly in that steid.  
 1485 In grete will vengeance for to tak,  
 Ane schot on Pirrus can he mak,  
 With swerd into his hand all bare,  
 That heuy was and scharply schare ;  
 And hit him on the helm of steill,  
 1490 And all to-claif it ilka deill,  
 And all the hede richt to the chyn ;

[He

1463. *passit*] past.

1464. yan.

1466. yat ; yow ; yis.

1470. grecians.

1472,-74,-78 (*bis*). yare.1475. yai ; *feill*] fall.

1476. ye.

1477,-80. yair.

1479. yame.

1483. L. *Neuois*.

1484. yat.

1486. pirrus.



Cil chei maintenant qui perdi la color,  
 De lui n'auront secours li Grejois a nul jor.  
 Por quant n'ert mie fis de povre vavassor,  
 Ains ert en Alenie sire de mainte tour,  
 20 A justicier en ot la richesce et l'onnour.  
 Pirrus avoit a non, s'estoit nés de Monflor,  
 Niés ert Emenidon et fis de sa seror.  
 Ains ne fu tel vallet, ce dient li autor,  
 De neveu por neveu prist eschange le jor.  
 25 Mes s'Emenidus a de lui vengier loisor,  
 Il li rendra merite comme de tel labor  
 Ja sauront li Gadrain a ce premerain tor  
 S'entre lui et l'enfant avoit nis point d'amor !

43

Fo. 27v.

**E** MENIDUS d'Arcage vit son neveu morir  
 De qui avancement estoit en grant desir  
 De mostrer sa proësce et de lui avancer,  
 Car nul de son eäge ne fist plus a chierir  
 5 Ne monter sus cheval ne fort lance brandir.  
 Miex l'amoit en estor por chaple maintenir  
 Que tout le miex vaillant que l'en peüst choisir,  
 Et il avoit grant los, por ce fait maint soupir,  
 Car molt est ententis a son seignor servir,  
 10 Et tous ert ses corages a faire son plaisir.  
 Molt ressembloit son oncle de proësce et d'aïr,  
 De cors et de corage ert ses niés, sans faillir,  
 Car enchois se lessast tous les menbres tolier,  
 Ou recevoir tel mort que ne fust por honnir,  
 15 Qu'il volsist ledement d'un afaire partir.  
 Hé ! Diex ! qui le veïst .i. estor resbaudir  
 Et en destroit besoign trestorner et guencir,  
 Du meillor chevalier li peüst souvenir,

42, 18. nert il mie fis.

42, 16. H *om. line.* IV si p. l. (I se) vigour. 18. HV nest mie. 19. I Alemaigne. H flour. 20. *en ot*] H avoit. 21. H *om. line.* V P. ert apelez & si ert d. M. 22. HV & n. Emenidus. 23. *vallet*] H neveys ; V uassal. V content. 25. H S. darcade en puet avoir l. ; V Si eumenidus pot d. li aueir lessor. 26. HV I. avera (V en avera) m. ; I Il li rendra merci. 28. HV a. bien grant (V ne) amour.  
 43, 2. H erent e. q. d. ; IV ert e. mult (V mult e.) g. d. 3. I D. monter en p. HV & d. sen cors tehîr (V their). 4. HV *om. lines 4 and 5.*  
 6. HV M. lamast (V lamot) entor lui (V soi) as durs estors (V a dur e.) souffrir.  
 7. *len*] H il. 8. HV *om. line.* los] I droit. I je vous di sans mentir.  
 9. HV & cil ert e. a s. *oncle* s. 10. HV *om. line.* 11. HV M. le r. bien. H & de cors & d. 12. *ert ses niés*] V s. n. e. *faillir*] H mentir.  
 13. V Mes. 14. H *om. line.* *que*] V Ki. 16. V en lestor. HV esbaudir. 17. H & lestroît b. retourner & g.

- He fell doun deid, na lyfe was in.  
 The folk of Grece, that worthy ware,  
 Sall helpit be of him na mare,  
 1495 For Gaudifere maid change that day  
 Of neuoy and neuoy, per my fay,  
 Bot, and Emynedus the wicht  
 May sie his poynt, forsuth, I hicht,  
 He thinkis that he sall him quyte,  
 1500 As for sic seruice, sic merite ;  
 And thay of Gaderis sall wit, perfay,  
 As I trow, at his first assay,  
 Sall baldly on thare bodeis feill  
 That he luffit his neuoy weill !  
 1505 **E**MYNEDVS saw his neuoy de,  
 That he thocht to advance sa hie,  
 For vpon his auancement  
 He thocht to set all his intent.  
 His wourschip thocht him gude to se ;  
 1510 Leuer him in ane stour had he,  
 Be far, than ony that was on lyfe,  
 For he was to him richt tentyfe ;  
 To serue his eme, all at his will,  
 He set all his intent thairtill.  
 1515 He was lyke him in all gudness ;  
 Of will and strenth, forsuth, he was  
 His cousing, and of grete bounte,  
 For he wald tyne the lyfe or he  
 Wald fra the fecht part felly.  
 1520 Quha-sa had sene him sturdely  
 Stonay in that stalwart stour  
 His fais throw his grete valour,  
 Vpone the best knyght he mycht mene

[That

1495. yat.

1497, 1518, 23. ye.

VOL. I.

1511. yan ; yat.

1516. *he*] L. *it*.

1517. consing.

1519. *felly*] fully.

- Fors seulement le Roy qui l'estor fait fremir  
 20 Et son oncle, vers qui je ne l'os aâtir,  
 Dont on doit mès bons vers en bone cort oïr.  
 Or est mort ; c'est grant duel de tel home perir !  
 Emenidus le pleure, ne se puet aténir,  
 Si grant duel en demaine ja n'en cuide garir.  
 25 C'est avis qui l'esgarde qu'il en doie fenir,  
 Car l'ire quel destraint le fait taindre et noircir.  
 Après sa grant dolor s'est pris a esjoïr,  
 Qu'il vit de toutes pars ses conpaignons gaudir,  
 Desconfis et desrous por la force guerpir ;  
 30 Si s'afiche es estriers, les fers en fait croissir  
 Et Ferrant desous lui fierement tressaillir.  
 Ja seront li Gadrain trop tart au repentir  
 De lui et son neveu par armes departir ;  
 A l'espée trenchant les vait si envaïr  
 35 Ne consieut chevalier qui ses cops puist soffrir,  
 Tant se sache enbuissier ne de l'escu couvrir,  
 Qu'il n'en faice le sanc de molt parfont issir,  
 Ou la teste voler, ou le cervel boullir.  
 Ne puënt autrement envers lui escriemir  
 40 Ne mès parendurer et par ses cox soffrir.

- 45 **E**MENIDUS d'Arcage vit la gent honnorée  
 Por l'amor lor seignor a mort abandonnée ;  
 Por nul meschief qu'ele ait ne se tient esfraée,  
 Ne vers la gent de Gadres ne doute la mellée.

43, 20. a atir.  
26. norcir.

33. & son] & de son.  
36. en buissier.

45, 2. amort.

43, 19. *le Roy*] V celui. *lestor fait*] H les rens f. ; V f. l. 20. *vers*] V  
 envers. *qui*] I lui. H n. le pot aatir ; I qui n. lose aatir. 21. H om.  
 line. V Hui m. deuez b. v. de riches cols o. 22. V O. e. il ml't g. d.  
 23. *se*] HV sen. H pot asténir. 24. H om. line. 25. H Cou est vis  
 q. l. H que il d. f. ; V kil le uoie f. 26. *quel*] H quil ; V kil. V  
 deffreint. *noircir*] H ; V nercir. 27. V En pres. *sa*] HV le (V la). H  
 se prist. V esbaudir. 28. HV Q. v. (H voit) s. c. d. t. p. g. (H bondir).  
 29. V Deroz & d. HV tout (V pour) lafaire g. 30. HV que le fier fet (V  
 kil fet l. f.) croisir. 31. HV om. line. 32. V om. line. *au*] H a.  
 33. H om. line. & son] I. V D. la mort s. d. 34. H A l. dacier.  
 36. V enbrüchier. H T. s. puist en lestor *enbuscier* n. c. 37. H Que.  
*nen*] HV ne. 38. H u en son sanc couvrir. 39. a. e. l.] V e. l. a. H  
 N. se sot a. maintenir. 40. H Fors que de lescu vert & de s. c. ferir ; V  
 N. m. ke eschuire & de s. c. foïr.  
 45, 1. *la*] I sa. H Quant voit E. de l. g. h. 2. *lamor*] H lounor ; IV  
 amor. HV Alixandre. *a*] HV de. 3. V Ki p. m. kel uoie. I n. sen  
 fuit e. H Ne p. m. quil ont ne doutent la mellee (*cp. next line*). 4. H  
 n. doutent il riens nee.

- That at the sege of Tyre was sene,  
1525 Out-tane the King allanerly  
And his gude eme, quhome to that I  
Dar compare nane in na degre ;  
Now is he deid, that is pitie !  
Emynedus him menit sua,  
1530 And grat, and maid sa mekill wa,  
That all that euer stude him by  
Wenit he sould die thair suddanly.  
EFTER the mekill dule and wa,  
1535 Comfort begouth he for to ta,  
Quhan he sawe that his menȝe was  
Scaillit, and bounit to leif the place ;  
Than in stirroppis sturdelly  
He streinȝeit him, and in grit hy  
He rushit in amang his fais,  
1540 And sa great payment to thame mais  
That nane micht thole his sword of steill,  
Thocht he inbushit him neuer sa weill  
Vnder his sheild, and hid him sua  
That he na the grittest bleid wald ma  
1545 Full depe for to ishe full sone,  
Or ellis thair harnes for to crone ;  
Thay could nocht helpe thame quhair he raid,  
Bot thole, or ellis roume him maid.  
Emynedus saw his menȝe  
1550 Richt worthily, throw thair great bounte,  
For the hie, douchty Kingis saik  
Put thame in euentur for to tak ;  
Thay did sa that na mischeif,  
Na pane, trauell, perell, nor greif,  
1555 Micht stoneis thair hartis, na affray.

[And



- 5 Li bers les reconforte au trenchant de l'espée  
 Qu'encontre son achier n'a nule arme durée ;  
 A .i. poindre qu'il fist l'a si ensanglantée  
 Que tous li mains hardis a molt fiere pensée,  
 Et Ferrant li cort miex tout une randonnée  
 10 Qu'esprevier familleus ne vole a recelée.  
 .J. duc lor a trenchié très par mi l'eschinée  
 Si que l'une moitié est de l'autre sevrée.  
 La mesnïe Betis en est si esfraée  
 Qu'arieres est sortie plus d'une arbalestée.  
 15 Quant l'espée li faut, qui en trois est volée,  
 Par mi l'enheudeüre, ou de viés est quassée,  
 Li bers fu molt aidant, sa lance a recouvrée.  
 Ains qu'il s'en parte d'euls ert en cler sanc güée,  
 Et la mort de Pirrus chierement conperée,  
 20 Et au plus orgueilleus asprement demandée.  
 Du seneschal le duc a sa gent delivrée  
 Qu'il avoit a .i. poindre molt durement grevée ;  
 Il tenoit Daïmade, une cité loée ;  
 Dés le tens Abraham fu desus mer fondée ;  
 25 Sieue ert la paumerie et toute la contrée  
 Toute jusqu'au Larris ot la terre aquitée.  
 Emenidus le fiert en la targe listée,  
 Sous la boucle d'argent est fendue et quassée,  
 Et la broigne doubliere et rompue et faussée.  
 30 .V. piés li mist el cors de la lance planée  
 Si que de l'autre part a l'enseigne mostrée ;  
 Tant con dura li fus, et plus une tesée,  
 Le porte en mi le champ de la sele feutrée.  
 La mesnïe Betis se fu lors assemblée,  
 35 Seure li sont coru et font une hüée ;

45, 6. Quen contre.  
 15. vole.

16. len heudeure.  
 17. a] supplied.

26. Tout.

45, 5. bers] HV dus. 6. HV Quar contre s. a. arme] V rien. 7. HV om. lines 7 and 8. 10. HV Q. ne faucons. 11. duc] H Turc.  
 13. V places lines 13-14 after line 16. HV se fu dont (V est ia si) reusee.  
 14. H S. estoit arriere ; V Quarere estoit s. 15. H om. lines 15 and 16.  
 V Mes. V ki est entre en v. 16. len] V le. V o. ele estoit q. 17. bers] HV dus. a] H ; V out. 18. V e. e. chaut s. gacee. H A. que p. del camp sera ensanglantee. 19. Pirrus] HV Sanson. 20. HV fierement. H acatee. 21. H Dun. 22. H cil xx .i. poindre] V deus pointes. [V repeats here line 11.] 23. II] II & ; V Cil. H Amistie ; I Damiete ; V Damiote. HV fermee. 24. H Del tans S. Abreham.  
 25. H om. line. V ki tante est renomee. 26. H Tout dusque al (V Tote tres kal) lairis. terre] H mer. 27. en] H sor. V bendee. 28. V Sor. H Que par desour l. b. HV li a frainte & q. (H troee). 29. H & l. b. del dos. H deroute & depanee ; V derüpie & f. 30. V met. 31. H om. line. 32. HV T. c. hanste l. dure. 33. H lenporte. feutree] HV doree. 34. HV s. f. (H sestoit) dont rassemblee. 35. lz] HV lor. huer] H tesee (cp. line 32).



- And stoutly he thame comfort ay  
 Richt with the scharpest of the brand ;  
 Agane his dint had nocht warand,  
 And Ferrand richt sturdely him bare.
- 1560 Ane riche duke that he met richt thare  
 He keruit with his sword in tua,  
 Quhill the tane half to erd can ga  
 And in the sadill left the laif ;  
 And, with the grete dynt that he gaif,
- 1565 The sword brak in the hiltis in tua,  
 Bot Betys folk, I vnderta,  
 Thai war ruschit, with that, on bak.  
 Quhen he saw that his suord sa brak,  
 Fra ane of thame he reft ane spere,
- 1570 (He was richt help-lyke into were)  
 I trow in blude wyte sone sall be.  
 He thinkis, throw his grete bounte,  
 That the proudest of thame sall by  
 Pyrrus dede, that was wourthy.
- 1575 The dukis stewart met he thair,  
 That at tua pointis, ane lytill are,  
 Had greuit gretly his menze ;  
 He held great landis in to fee.  
 Emynedus in the scheild him straik
- 1580 Quhill all in schunders he couth it schaik ;  
 Throw scheild, hawbrek and all his gere  
 He preissit sa rudely with his spere  
 That fyue fute of the spere and mare  
 He butlingis throw his body bare,
- 1585 And down dede thair-with duschit he.  
 The duke Betys and his menze  
 Ar ruschit on thame with ane schout.

[Thocht

1559. ferrand.

1564. yat.

1580. *it*] L. *him*.

1560. yare.

1571. L. *troue* ; *in*] ane.1587. *Ar*] And.

1562,-63. ye.

1577. *Had*] He.

Se la gent Alixand' ne l'a bien escoutée,  
 Au grant meschief qui est ne doit estre blasmée.  
 Lors ont estal guerpi et place remüée  
 Jusqu'a une plessie, qu'ont devant eus trovée.  
 40 Ja fust la gent roial toute desbaretee,  
 Ne fust Emenidus a la chiere membrée,  
 Qui derriere se mist o la lance acerée  
 Et a tant le grant fais et la presse endurée  
 Que trestoute la chasce a par force arrestée.  
 45 Mes l'enseigne Alixand' n'a il mie oubliée,  
 " Macedoine ! " a .iij. fois hautement escriée ;  
 L'enseigne que il crie en la silve ramée,  
 Que li Grejois avoient d'une part escoutée,  
 Lor a tel hardement et proësse donnée  
 50 Tuit recovrerent ensamble, et font la retornée.

48 LA ou li Grieu recuevrent, fu li chaples molt grans,  
 Et selonc le meschief li afaires pesans,  
 Mes li home Alixand' fierent grans cox des brans,  
 Bien sevent que ne sont pas per ne tant ne quant,  
 5 N'il ne se fient mie en lor chevaus corans,  
 Car .i. ne s'en fuiroit por .i. mui de besans ;  
 Il cuideroit bien estre plus vils que recreäns.  
 Lor seürtés est toute en lor espils trenchans,  
 Molt se vendoiënt bien as Mors et as Persans.  
 10 Ja cil de Salenie ne tendront por enfans.  
 Emenidus d'Arcage emporte tost Ferrans,  
 Ains ne fu beste nule, en cest siecle vivans,  
 Qui se tenist a lui quant il est ravinans,  
 Ne més que Bucifal, qui fais est par samblans ;  
 15 De celui ne cuit mie que il fust plus poissans.  
 Cil n'iert tendres en bouche, ne mie trop tirans,

45, 50. en samble.

48, 15. poissains.

45, 36. *escoutee*] HV encontre. 37. H A. g. m. quil ont ; V Al g. efforz kil urent. 39. I Dusqua ; V Tresqua. H Dales u. forest la sest toute arestee. 40. H J. f. el premier poindre la bataille finee. 42. H Q. d. eus est mis. o] H a. 43. *presse*] H prise. 44. *la*] I lor. H Si q. p. une fois a lor cace a. 45. HV ni fu (V ad) pas o. 46. H Ancois a M. par .ii. f. e. 47. H L. quil escrie. H selve. IV broille (V broille). 48. HV acostee. 49. H Lors. *tel*] V guient. *proesce*] H tel force ; IV seürte. 50. H ensanle ; V ensemble. HV ni (V &) ot resne tiree. 48, 2. H la bataille p. 3. *Mes*] H &. H feroient bien d. b. 4. HV B. voient quil n. s. HV p. p. n. a tans (V atant) quans ; I parel n. t. n. q. 5. H om. *line*. V Il. 6. HV Ne. V deus n. fuirent. 7. H Quil cuidascent b. e. *que*] H &. 8. V om. *line*. H Mais il donent grans cos des espees t. 9. H om. *lines* 9 and 10 ; IV Mais m. s. vendent b. (V cher). I li chevalier vaillant. [I Car cascuns abati Turc Païen u Persant.] 10. V Il nes t. hui mes de ferir p. e. 11. V om. *line* 11 and the remainder of the 'laisse.' In place of lines 11-13 H has :

Emenidus darcade li preus & li vallans  
 Les sostient & conforte & si lor est garans

- Thocht thay of Grece war styth and stout,  
 Thair fais on thame the feild hes tane,  
 1590 As, sickerly, ferly was nane ;  
 The myscheif thair sa mekill was  
 That thame behuffit to leif the plais,  
 And sped thame to ane strenth in hy.  
 Thare had thai bene alluterly  
 1595 Vincust, na war Emynedon,  
 That stoutly can him habandon,  
 With spere in hand, to all his fais ;  
 And thame behynd sic melle mais,  
 And gaif sic dintis withoutin leis,  
 1600 At the formest chace can seis.  
**T**HAN " Massidone ! " he cryit thrys.  
 Grecians that war gretly to prys,  
 Quhen thay the Kingis senze hard cry,  
 Sic hardement thai hint in hy  
 1605 That thai ilkane turnit agane,  
 Semblit in ane sop as men of mane.  
 Quhen thai of Grece recouertit the place,  
 The fecht richt fell and noious was,  
 And, efter, the myscheif was heuy,  
 1610 And richt cruell to athir party.  
 Bot King Alexanderis menze,  
 Varneist all of grete bounte,  
 Thocht thai war few, thai bare thame weil,  
 Strikand grete strakis with swordis of steill.  
 1615 For thay wald leuer, or thai wald fle,  
 Put thame in euenture for to de.  
 Thairfoir thair lyffis sauld thai deir,  
 For thai wist weill foroutin weir  
 That the maist of thair comfort lay

[To

1589, 1619. ye.

1590. sikcerly.

1591. samekill.

1594. L. *all uterly*.

1604,-07,-15,-17,-18. yai.

1605. Thatyai ; L. *ilk ane*.1613. yai (*bis*) ; yame.

1616. yame.

1617. yair.

1618. for outin.

*Minuscule at l. 1604.*

Lor est murs & desfens & lor recouvremans  
 Com se tient de sa proie li gentius faus volans  
 Plus est penis des autres hardis & conbatans  
 & cremus en bataille & sor tous endurans  
 Quant il voit i. des Grius saisi entres pasans  
 Lors cort a se rescouse com pere a ses enfans  
 Il trestorne & guencist car plus tos va ferrans  
 Que quarriaus en enblee envoies par serjans  
 Quar not si bon cheval es Grius ne es Gadrains.

14. H Fors q. seul B. q. sor teus (? ceus) e. courans.

penier &amp; isniaus &amp; soufrans.

est t. e. b. se nest m. t.

15. H Volentier &amp;

16. H Il ot roide la b. ne si fu pas t. ; I Cis

Mes isneaus et delivres et en presse enbatans  
 Qu'il ne redoute noise ne cri de paisans,  
 Ne huy de Sarrasin, ne tambors bondissans,  
 20 Ne cors, ne moïneaus, ne resons d'olifans,  
 Ne escus de colors, ne confanons pendans,  
 Ne haubers, ne espées, ne hiaumes reluisans ;  
 Miex s'amerait en presse que colons faus volans.  
 Si li chevaus fu bons, li sires fu vaillans,  
 25 Iriément chevauche contre-val .i. pendans,  
 D'orgueil et de fierté sous son elme enclinans,  
 Du damage as Grejois corrouchous et pensans ;  
 A ce poindre qu'il fist, ot abateïs grans,  
 Si en fu Alixand' baus et liés et joians,  
 30 Et Betis por ses homes douteus et esmaians.

49 **G**RIEU se vendent molt chier, qui ne truevent  
 moraie  
 Envers la pute gent qui de prés les essaie.  
 Une eschiele de Turs lor sort lés une haie,  
 Plus furent de .iiij. mil, n'i a celui ne traie ;  
 5 Des homes Alixand' n'i a gaires sans plaie,  
 Mes de vengier son cors nus d'euls ne s'i delaie.  
 Li soleus s'esbrandist qui en lor armes raie,  
 Lors prennent tel fierté tous li cuers lor esgaie,  
 La baniere Alixand' contre le vent balaie,  
 10 Tel hardement lor donne que nus ne s'en esmaie,  
 Ains dient qu'as espées quaront acorde et paie.

50 **L**A mesnie le roi fu molt afebloie,  
 De l'estor maintenir maumise et empirie,  
 N'en i a gueres nul n'ait la broigne percie,  
 Par desous la chemise la blanche char trenchie,  
 5 Descolorée et pale et du sanc esvuidie,  
 Quant l'eschiele des Turs, qui se fu desbussie,  
 Lor traient plus espés que yvers noif negie.  
 Duel ot Emenidus, qui ele fu chargie,  
 Quant la vit a ce poindre si fort estoutoïe.  
 10 Il embrace l'escu, s'a sa lance enpoignie,  
 Et Licanors li preus r'a la sieue aloignie,  
 Et Filotes li grans a l'espée sachie,  
 Chascuns des compaignons a la targe enbracie,

48, 25. Iriement.

49, 9. baloie.

50, 10. en poignie.

48, 17. *H om. line. enbatans*] I battans.

[H Partout est a mesure ne petis ne trop grans  
 Com cil qui tous passoit les fors & les baucans  
 Quar onques not si bon ne rois ne amirans.]

*In H the rest of the 'laisse' (paraphrasing the opening lines of 49 in P) is :*

Griu se vendoient cier envers les mescreans  
 Quant lor saut une eschiele devers les desrubans  
 Plus furent de vii. m. as vers elmes luisans  
 Lor oisies grant noise de Turs Arabicans  
 Cors darain buisines tous en tentist li cans.

- 1620 To stryke great straikis at hard assay.  
**V**ITH that, ane battell of Nuby,  
 Seuin thousand in ane cumpany,  
 That shot with arrowis barblit bare,  
 Of syde come shutand on thame thair.
- 1625 Thair shot was great and greaut thame sare,  
 Sa that full few vnwoundit ware ;  
 And quhan Emynedus the wicht  
 Saw how [his] fers into the ficht  
 War skalit with thair shot of far,
- 1630 He thocht for to assailze nar.  
 Than " Massidone ! " he cryit in hy.  
 Thairwith his feiris haistelly  
 Assemblit in ane sop him till ;  
 To venge thame than thay had gude will.
- 1635 The sone-shyne cleir on armouris bricht,  
 Quhill all the land lemit on licht,  
 And Alexanderis baner braid  
 Quhairin his awin figure was maid,  
 And his ensigne that thay hard cry,
- 1640 Sa comfort all that cumpany  
 That thay thocht vengeance for to taik,  
 And na perrell nor pane forsaik.
- T**HE Kingis folk, as I said air,  
 Febillit with shot richt felly wair.
- 1645 Foroutin wound I trow was nane ;  
 The blude that fra thame ran gude wane  
 Euill hewit and pale in hy thame maid,  
 For the Turkis with arrowis braid  
 Schott thikker weill than hale or snaw ;
- 1650 And quhan Emynedus that saw,  
 With all thame of his cumpany

[He

1621. nuby.

1649. L. haill.

*Lines 1627-33 are not paralleled in the French text.*

49. 1. HV Li G. s. v. c. V kar. *ne*] I ni. H criement. HV manaie.  
 2. *pres*] V mort. H asaie ; V assaie. 3. V V. eschele l. sourt par de souz  
 u. h. 4. *ijj.*] HV vij. V na c. ki n. t. 6. *nus deuls*] H nes i. ; V  
 un d. 7. H L. s. reluist cler ; V L. s. sesbaudist. *en*] V sor. [H Es  
 escus a fin or & es hiaumes iraie.] 8. V *om. line.* H De la clarte des  
 armes. H esmaie (*cp. line 10*). 9. V *inverts lines 9 and 10. balaie*] V ;  
 H baulaie. 10. H q. n. dans ne sesmaie ; V toz lor quors lor esgaie (*cp.*  
*line 8*). 11. V Or. *quas*] H as. H feront ; V querront.  
 50. In V the 'laisse' *ends in -ee.* 2. H maintenant. 3. *nul*] H i.  
 H ki la car nait plaie ; V neit leschine p. 4. H *om. line.* la chemise] V  
 le halberc. 5. H car de s. ert widie. 6. HV Q. (V Kar) l. de Gadres.  
 H q. estoit enbuscie. 7. H Lor sali p. e. H q. la plueue ne cie ; V quen  
 may pluie deugee. [H A maint de nos Grijois fisent souffrir hascie.] 8.  
 H quant voit sa gent cacie. 9. V Q. a c. p. fu. H Sor ne se puet vengier  
 ne se prise une aillie. 10. HV Sa s. l. baisie (V abescee). 11. H & l.  
 p. L. H a lespee sacie ; V a l. s. esloignee. 12. HV *om. line.* 13. la  
*targe*] HV le suie (V sue). H empugnie.



Et lessent chevaus courre vers la pute lignie.  
 15 Ja i aura espées en cervel töoillie ;  
 L'eschiele se repent que tant est aprochie,  
 Que plus de mil en ont la champaigne vuidie ;  
 Cil qu'en pot eschaper n'oublia sa corgie,  
 Mes li retenu muerent sans trop longue haschie.

51 **A**YNSI comme li Turc orent place guerpie  
 Et li Grieu se retindrent qui n'aillent a folie,  
 Par .i. val parfont devers destre partie  
 Lor revint une eschiele du regne de Nubie.  
 5 Plus furent de .v. mil icele gent haïe,  
 N'i a nul qui ne port rade quane forbie,  
 Et li plusor avoient enseigne d'Aumarie.  
 Ains qu'il reviegne arriere ne revoie s'amie,  
 Salatins les conduit qui les Griex n'aime mie ;  
 10 Onques nus jones hom n'ot greignor estoutie,  
 Car ne prise cors d'ome vers le sien une aillie ;  
 El chief de rouge mer avoit herbergerie,

51, 3. *mi*] supplied.

10. *nus*] supplied.

50, 14. HV & (V II) l. corre ensamble. 15. H cierviaus. V en sanc vermeil baignee. 16. V *inverts lines 16 and 17. que*] H ki. *est*] HV fu. 17. HV De. *mil*] H c. *vuidie*] HV *joncie* (V iüchee). 18. H *om. lines 18 and 19. quen*] I ki ; V qe. V gorgee. 19. V *om. line.* I M. l. remes i m. a duel & a h. [H Viers le gent Alxandre ont le place guerpie.]

51, 1. *Turc*] HV Griu. 2. I retraient. HV *Emenidus les tint.* HV kil. 3. H *om. line.* V. P. mi un v. [H & commande & defent quil ne facent folie.] 4. *reuint*] V resort. H Quant lor *sort* u. e. I dune gent d. N. 5. HV vii. *icele*] HV de cele. H hardie. 6. H N. a cel nait roiele ; Rouele auoit chescuns. HV & fort (V grant) cane brunie. 7. H & teus i. ot e. V & si out meint e. HV de soie d. 8. HV Mult i ot de leur lois (V loi) *fiere cevalerie.* 9. V nama. 10. *nus*] HV. H signorie. 11. H Cor. 12. H Al.

- He shot on thame full suddanly,  
 That to the ground full mony 3eid,  
 All bathit into braine and blude,  
 1655 That all the feildis strowit war.  
 Sa smartly thair thay can thame skar  
 That the fecht halely warpit thay,  
 And thay that nicht fle fled away.  
 1660 **T**HVS as the furriouris ware  
 With shot of arrowis woundit sare,  
 Quhan gude Emynedus de Archade,  
 That gouernit thame wysely in that raid,  
 Had rushit and put abak halely  
 Throw his grit wit and cheualrie  
 1665 Tha Turkis, throw his great bounte,  
 Sa saw he out of ane valie  
 Ane great battell ishe neir him by,  
 That was of the land of Nuby.  
 Thay nicht be numbred vij. thousand,  
 1670 Armit, on hors, baith fute and hand.  
 Dartis and staffis heidit with steill  
 Thay bair, and couth shute thame richt weill.  
 Thair nicht na armour thame withstand,  
 Quhair thay come of ane stalwart hand.  
 1675 Thay war ane sturdie companie  
 As of thair maner, sikkerlie.  
 Salarine led thame in that were,  
 That 3oung was and of great effere.  
 He was sa full of succudry  
 1680 That he prysit na man ane penny,  
 Aganis him corps for corps, for he  
 Trowit he past all vther in bounte.  
 By the Red See his Lordship lay,  
 [That

1660. *L. schot.*1663. *Had*] He. *L. aback.*1668. *nuby.*1683. *Red See*] red see.

Une cité molt bele, asazée et garnie,  
 Jene fu apelée quant el fu estableie,  
 15 Tant par est environ large la pescherie  
 Que toute soloit paistre la terre de Sulie,  
 Mes or l'ont Crestien deserte et agastie.  
 Salatins vorra faire premiers chevalerie ;  
 Ja fust a icest poindre nostre gent departie,  
 20 Ne fust Emenidus qui proësce n'oublie,  
 Qui derriere se mist o la lance brunie  
 Ce tant qu'il ot de gent ensamble o lui ralie ;  
 Grant hardement lor done quant " Macedoine ! " crie.

52 **D**EVANT ses conpaignons vint armés Salatins,  
 Onques puis ne nasqui plus cointes Bedoins,  
 Ses chevaus fu couvers de .ij. riches porprins,  
 Fo. 29. Orfroisiés environ et par roies sanguins,  
 5 Mes, ains soleil couchant, changera ses latins ;  
 Molt ert d'autre maniere ains que soit li matins.  
 Il n'estoit mie bien de sa paine devins,  
 Car n'i asamblast mie por .i. muy d'esterlins  
 Ne por trestoute Arrabe avec les Meulechins  
 10 S'il ne fust plus dervés que iriés Sarrasins.  
 O le fer de sa lance fu ocis .i. meschins  
 Qui fu parens Filote et ses germaines cousins,  
 Puis en ot sa deserte, comme d'Abel Cayns,  
 Car Licanor le fiert, qui prés ert ses cousins,

51, 13. *bele*] H noble. H asasee ; V aese. 14. H clere ; V E le. H q. ele f. bastie. 15. H T. estoit rice & noble entor l. p. ; V Mult p. e. grans & bele entour la prairie. 16. H Q. toute repaiscoit. V Tote en reu'doit la terre de rossie. 17. H *om. line. agastie*] I essilie. V trestote adesertie. 18. HV p. ceste envaie.

[HV **Tant forment le** (V *om.*) **requiert & par tel envaie** (V *aatie*)].

[H Quar lassembler des gens en i brait mult & crie].

[HV **La mesnie le roi** (V *roial*) **fut mult afoibloie** (V *kel sest m'lt esbaie*)].

**Quar grant besoig avoient** (V Car bosoing auoit grant) **de soucors & daie**].

19. *a icest*] H au premier. HV la bataille fenie. 20. H a la chiere hardie. 21. H Q. derrier eus sest mis. H o le l. enroidie ; V o lespee forbie. [H De plus de c. en a la campagne widie (*i.e.* 50, 17 repeated)].  
 22. H *inverts lines 22 and 23*. H Cou q. avoit d. g. *ensamble*] H. o] H *om. lui*] V sei. 23. HV escrie.

52, 1. H Sor liart blanche taille v. poignant S. [HV Baus de Grius (V des greus) desconfire tous les tint a frarins]. 2. *nasqui*] HV fu nes. I si riches b. ; V si curteis baudoins. 3. H S. escus f. c. d. ij. **cendaus p.**

4. H *om. lines 4-10, V om. lines 5-10*. 12. H *om. line. I Cil. fu*] IV ert. [HV Onques nel pot garir li (V sis) haubers doblentins]. [V **Parmi le cors li passe li gonfainons pourpris**]. [HV Que tous nen fust (V en fu) sanglens li biaux osterins (V sis biaux afforins)]. 13. V P. e. prist uengance.

H com d. ot Cains. 14. V & *ert*] H fu. IV uoisins. [HV **A mont de sor son elme u cler luist li or fins**].

- That was richt large, as I hard say.  
 1685 This Salarine and his company  
 Socht thame of Grece so fellonly,  
 With dartis that richt sharpely share,  
 That fele of thame sair woundit ware.  
 Their war thay set in sic ane thrang  
 1690 That thay nicht nocht it suffer lang.  
 Of succour and help great neid had thay ;  
 Their war thay set in sic affray  
 That thay had ilk ane tane the flicht,  
 Na war Emynedus the wicht,  
 1695 That ay behind baid sturdely,  
 And, throw fors of his cheualry,  
 He stinting of his fais maid,  
 And helpit his that mister had.  
 And quhan he " Massidone ! " wald cry,  
 1700 The best to him wald ay rely,  
 And helpe him weill with all thair nicht ;  
 Bot thay war all to few to ficht  
 Agane sa fele, bot nocht-for-thy  
 Thay did their deuour douchtelly.  
 1705 **B**EFOIR his feiris raid Salaryne,  
 Armit in armour gude and fyne,  
 All couerit in fyne sandale.  
 Full sturdely start he out of stale,  
 And smot ane Gretian with ane speir,  
 1710 And throw the body can him beir,  
 Quhill deid down to the eard he 3eid.  
 Bot he thairof gat sone his meid,  
 For Lycanor hit him, I hicht,  
 With his brand, was burneist bricht,  
 1715 Weill heich vpon the helm of steill,

[That

1690. *nocht*] not.1703. *forthy*.*Lines 1701-04 are not paralleled in the French text.*

15 Dessi en la cervelle but li brans acherins.  
 Filotes vint armés, desous son elme enclins ;  
 Quant vit mort son neveu qu'a terre jut sovins,  
 Doucement le regrete et despicee ses crins.  
 Por la mort du baron commencha tel traïns  
 20 Dont le jor fu perciés maint pelichons hermins  
 Et mains bons chevaliers aprochiés de lor fins.  
 La mellée commence lés le brueil de sapins,  
 Des mors et des navrés fu jonchiés li chemins ;  
 Plus d'une arbalestée endura li traïns.

53 **L**ICANOR et Filote vont irié par l'estor,  
 Et sont andui li frere armé d'une color,  
 Alixand' reclaiment, le noble empereör :  
 " Ay ! con grant soufrete avons hui de seignor !  
 5 Tholomer et Dancins ! ne savés la dolor  
 Que li baron de Grece suefrent hui en cest jor !  
 Vous venissiés molt bien encor hui au secor ! "  
 Licanor vait ferir .i. des fis Sarator,  
 Le chief sor les espaules en a pris a son tor.  
 10 Es vous Murmigalés desour .i. missoudor ;  
 Sire estoit de Melite et tint Roche menor,  
 Onques en sa contrée n'ot tel sortisseör.  
 Il se fierent de prés o les brans de color,  
 Et poignent avec lui tel mil conbateör  
 15 N'i a .iij. qui ne soient de son fief teneör.  
 Et li sires fu riches et de molt grant valor,  
 En la terre d'Aufrique n'ot tel devineör,  
 Sovent demostre pertes et joies et tristor.  
 Sa lance fu molt fort, il la tint par vigor,  
 20 Et vait ferir Filote en l'escu de color ;  
 A ce que ses cevauls ot trop soffiert le jor,  
 Abat entre ses cuisses le destrier missodor ;  
 Sor la jambe senestre li jut comme .i. tor,  
 Entre lui et la terre le tint tant a sejour  
 25 C'onques du relever ne pot avoir loisor ;  
 De sor lui s'arrestèrent tel mil combateör  
 C'onques mes a nul jor as Griex n'orent amor ;  
 As espées li sont de mort presenteör.

53, 22. missodour. 23. tour. 26. arre. 27. mes] supplied.

52, 15. *en*] V ken. H Que dusqua l. c. 16. HV F. tint (V tret) lespee  
 & fu sor lelme e. 17. H *om. line.* IV Q. (I &) v. m. s. parent .iut] I  
 gist. 18. HV Bonement. 19. *baron*] H vallet ; V uassal. H c. li  
 hustins. 21. H *om. line.* 22. H & li estors c. *le*] V vn. *bruei*] H bos.  
 H des. 24. HV *om. line.*

53, 1. *irie*] H *poignant.* 3. *noble*] H rice ; V maigne. 4. H *om.*  
*line.* IV Ah. *I*] V si. 5. H Clincon. 6. H aront h. icesi i. ; V  
 sufferont h. cest i. 7. *bien*] H tos. I V. i v. b. H ame en mi lestor ; I  
 ains la nuit a lestor ; V eneueis a. s. [I Samenissies o vous secors de rice



- That was of gold inamalit weill,  
 That he baith blude and harnes shed.  
 Sa hard ane pais thair he thame led  
 That he fell deid doun dissaly ;  
 1720 And Phylot, that was neir him by,  
 Regratit his cousine that he slew,  
 And suld him venge, gif he war trew.  
 LYCANOR and Philot alsua,  
 1725 **L**Thay wonder worthie brether tua,  
 All armit weill in ane cullour,  
 Come prickand straitly in the stour.  
 Alexander regratit thay,  
 And said thay had great nede that day  
 Of Daucene and of Tholomere,  
 1730 That wist na wayis how thay were  
 Demanit in that felloun fecht.  
 Lycanor stoutly straik ane knicht,  
 That baith his helme and his heuit  
 Richt by the shoulderis away he reuit.  
 1735 Guy Marmaduke of Affrike,  
 Ane Lord of Spanze, nane him like,  
 Come with ane thousand in leding.  
 He was ane Lord of great halding ;  
 And met Philot sa sturdelly.  
 1740 With that, his hors was sa weary  
 That hors and he to erd doun 3eid ;  
 Vpon his leg sa lay the steid  
 That he on na wayis micht vpryse.  
 Than thay that war his enemeis  
 1745 Assemblit on him ane great men3e.  
 He was in point to perished be,  
 The ensigne of Massidone couth he cry,
- [That
1733. *heuit*] heid.      1735. affrike.      1747. massidone.  
 1734. *reuit*] reid.      1738. L. *lord*.

ator]. 8. H Salator ; V sarratour. 9. *sor les*] V fors des. *son*] H  
 cel. 10. Ginohocet ; V **gimardocet**. H le frere Maumacor. 11. H  
 Milaite ; I Tudel. V S. fu d. midele. *roche*] V riche. H & sen avoit lounor.  
 12. *sa*] H la. V O. e. nule terre. H nen ot malvais signor ; V n. t. deuinour,  
 13. *V om. line.* H D. p. le vet ferir o le b. par irour. 14. H & a. l.  
 josterent. 15. HV N. a cel q. de lui (V nuls de celui) H n. tiegne grant  
 ounour ; V ne soient t. 16. V si out m. g. **henor**. 17. HV sortiseor.  
 18. *demostre*] H *om.* 19. *V om. line.* H *inverts lines 19 and 20.* II &  
 i. vait p. v. 20. HV Cil (V Si) a feru F. H e. l. paint a flor. [H A  
 lestraindre des armes & al fais del contor]. 21. *ses*] H li. *trop*] H tant.  
 22. H Li a. desous lui. 23. *iambe*] H hance. *li iut*] H cei. I se gist  
 sor i. rocor. 24. H loisor (*cp. next line*). 25. H C. de soi aidier ;  
 I C. de remonter ; V Kunques de lui uenger. 26. H *om. lines 26-28*.  
 [IV Sor Filote saretent (V sareste) maint fil de vavator]. 27. I *om. line*.  
 V Ki uers la gent de grece n. unkes a. [IV Contre tere le fierent sor lescu  
 paint (V de sur sun helme) a flor]. V *om. line 28*.

Cil crie " Macedoine ! " que l'entendent plusor ;  
 30 La i porra bien perdre s'il n'a secors des lor.

54 **L**I Grieu oënt l'enseigne Alixand' crier ;  
 Por Filote rescourre i courent .iiij. per,  
 Perdicas et Lïones et Caulus qui fu ber,  
 Emenidus d'Arcage qui tant fait a loër.  
 5 La veïssiés les Griex fierement assambler  
 Et chascier et foïr et guenchir et torner,  
 Assés en pau de terre les peüssiés trover.  
 Au chaple des espées les ont fait remüer.  
 La ot trenchié maint hiaume ains qu'il peüst monter  
 10 Aÿ ! con grant damage que li Grieu sont si cler !  
 A tant d'esfort con orent, les firent remuër.  
 Cil de Gadres s'aïrent quant les virent entrer ;  
 Car il par sont si pau c'on les peüst nombrer.

54, 13. *Car il*] Cil.

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53, 29. H q. loirent p. 30. H Ja li poront aidier se il en ot loisor.  
 54, 2. H P. souscorre F. V poingne li quatre p. 3. H & Lincanors  
 li b. 4. HV q. ne se vot celer. 5. griex] H gens. H entor lui a. ;  
 V belement a. 6. H om. line. V om. lines 6-8. 7. H terme. H l.  
 peust on nonbrer. 8. H places l. 8 after l. 11. H sus en estant lever.  
 9. H La veiscies des brans tant ruste cop doner (cp. 55, 3, reading of H.) ; V  
 M. h. i o. t. anceis kil poit m. [V & meint poin e meint pie i ueisset uoler].  
 10. sz] V trop. 11. H A tel esfort kil o. H relever ; I retourner. 12.  
 entrer] V esteer. H q. le v. monter. 13. *Car il*] I ; V Car tant estoient  
 poi. H En s. petit de terme com durent relever.

That of his feiris hard mony.

He may weill tyne in hy, but he

1750 With succour sone reskewit be.

Q VHAN thay of Grece sa hard him cry  
The Kingis ensigne, that was worthy,  
Agane thay prikkit in that stour  
To help Philot and to succour.

1755 With the formaist came Perdicas

And Lyoun, that sa worthie was,

His brother Lycanor alsua ;

The gude Emynedus came with tha.

Than nicht thay se that had bene by

1760 The knichtis of Grece full sturdely

Assemblit with their fais thair,

Strykand great straikis with brandis bair.

Thair was to-hewin mony hede,

Or Philote rais out of that stede,

1765 And mony knychtis fell vnderfeit,

That had na power to ryse 3it.

Bot, allace, it was mekill sin

That thay of Grece war maid sa thin ;

Thay rushit thair fais sa sturdely,

1770 Bot, thocht thay few war, nocht-for-thy

Thay gart thame remufe furth of that plais ;

And quhan thair fais saw that thair was

Sa great helpe in sa few, that nicht

Counter thame in the felloun ficht,

1775 Thay had thairat sa great dispyte

That thay prysit nocht worth ane myte

Thair strenth nor 3it thair cheualry,

Bot thay thame counterit sa in hy

That thay thair heades tyne ilkane.

[Than

Iriément guenchissent, si vont a euls joster,  
 15 Ja covendra as febles les plus fors endurer,  
 Ou euls couvient morir ou du besoing torner.

55 **P**OR Filote resscore sont li Grieu assamblé,  
 Et li plus esperdus a son sanc recouvré.  
 La ot as brans d'acier maint pesant cop doné,  
 Merveilleus fais i ont li preudome enduré.  
 5 Emenidus d'Arcage a .i. gent poindre outré :  
 L'amiral d'Escalone a si bien encontré  
 Le chief sus les espaules li a du bu sevré.  
 Cil s'arrestent sor lui, qui molt l'orent amé,  
 La ot batuës paumes et maint chevel tiré,  
 10 Maint chapel sebelin desor les cors geté ;  
 Et li Grieu entre tant ne sont mie oublié,  
 Car Filote ont par force el cheval remonté.  
 De vengier son annui a bien le cuer membré ;  
 Ce qu'il fu abatus ert encui comperé.  
 15 Emenidus lait corre le cheval abrievé,  
 Desous les fers en a maint chaillou esgrüé,  
 Et se fiert li gentiex en l'estor aduré.  
 Si con li espriviers qui vole a recelé,  
 Depart les estorneaux qui pasturent el pré,  
 20 Desront Emenidus par vive poësté  
 La force des Gadrains quant il sont assamblé.  
 Cele part ou il torne, sont il molt esfraé ;

## 54, 14. Iriement.

54, 14. H Hastiement ; V Idnelement. *sz*] HV &. 15. H al faible.  
 H le plus fort. HV comparer. [HV **Nel porent li Grijois lonjement endurer**].  
 16. H Vers e. c. guencir o. de **lestor** t.

55, 1. H P. secoure F. 2. HV **om. line.** 3. H L. veiscies des b.  
 tante ruste c. d. (*cp.* 54, 9, *reading of H*). 4. HV **om. line.** 5. *gent*]  
 HV **grant.** 6. H de Calone ; V dascaloine. 7. *li*] H en. HV al  
 blanc. 8. V & c. sunt entour l. 9. *For lines 9-10 HV have one ;*  
**A loi de jentil homme lont plaint & regrete.** 11. V & l. griu sa  
 rescourent. *mie*] H pas. 12. H P. f. ront F. sus e. c. monte ; V  
 F. o. e. c. p. f. releue. 13. H *inverts ll. 13 and 14.* *le*] V son. 14.  
*encui*] H a peu. V ont ml't cher c. 15. *cheual*] V destrér. H E. lasist  
 (? sasist) el destrier a. 16. HV **om. line.** 17. V & si f. li bon quons.  
 18. H Ausi cum lespriviers ; V Issi cum lessperuers. 20. V Depart. *viue*]  
 H fiere. 21. H u mius s. entasse ; V q. i. s. arote.

[H Emenidus darcade qui fu plains de fierte

En sa main tint le branc dont maint cop ot done].

22. *molt*] H tout.

- 1780 Than wraithly on thame ar thay gane,  
 And mony ruid rummill thay gaif ;  
 The wakar sone the war can haif.  
 The Grecianis nicht nocht suffer lang  
 That preis, na that vntholfull thrang,  
 1785 Bot die thame worthit, knaif and knicht,  
 Or at that time eschew the ficht.
- THE folk of Grece assemblit are  
 To help Philot with brandis bare ;  
 Thair geuin was mony sturdy straik.  
 1790 Emynedus ane great shot can make  
 Far by his feiris euerilkane,  
 And thairwithall he met with ane,  
 The Admarall of Eskaloun ;  
 Baith helme and heid, without ransoun,  
 1795 Richt by the shoulder away he share,  
 And left him lyand dede richt thair.  
 Thay menit him and his bountie,  
 As sik ane Lord sould menit be.  
 In the mene tyme Phylot throw fors  
 1800 Was reskewit and set on hors,  
 That thinkis to venge his harmis in hy ;  
 I trow, or euin sum sall it by.
- EMYNEDVS his steid thair straucht,  
 And, as ane man of mekill maucht,  
 1805 He plungit in the stalwart stour ;  
 And as ane Falcoun of hie attour  
 Straik Stirlingis, sa skaillit he  
 Throw his great strenth and his bounte  
 The strenth of the Gaderanis, quhair thay  
 1810 War semblit on thair best array.  
 Thay war abaissit quhair he raid,

[And

1783. *nocht*] not.1791. L. *euerilk ane*.1794. *Baith*] With. *and*] on.1799. L. *Philot*.1809. *gaderanis*.1811. L. *abassit*.



- De conduire son corps a chascuns en pensé.  
 Fo. 29v. Ains qu'isse de l'estor en a .v. mort geté.  
 25 Uns Arrabis le fiert qui derriers l'ot visé,  
 D'une cane molt rade o .i. fer acéré,  
 Le blanc hauberc du dos li a ront et fausé  
 Et le cors du vassal d'outre en outre navré,  
 Si que de l'autre part en a le fer mostré ;  
 30 La cane brise el cors, forment l'a esgené,  
 Il meïsmes l'en tret que molt ot grant fierté,  
 Puis a celui de prés o le branc si hasté  
 Que jusqu'en la chainture l'a fendu et copé ;  
 Puis a de son bliaut tout le pan deschiré,  
 35 Par deseure sa plaie en a son cors bendé,  
 Por le sanc restanchier qui issoit a plenté.  
 De ses conpaignons crient que il sont molt grevé,  
 Mes s'il savoient or de son mal la purté,  
 N'i auroit puis samblant de bien faire mostré,  
 40 Lor termine atendroient, du tout desconforté,  
 Car s'il seus lor defaut, malement ont ovré.
- 56 CIL de Gadres n'ont mie conneüe l'ovraingne  
 Si conme Emenidus d'Arcage les mahaingne,  
 Qui est el cors navrés assés prés de l'entraingne,  
 Fors seul le duc Betis a la chiere grifaingne ;  
 5 Cil vit le cop ferir et la plaie qui saingne.  
 Por ce que sa mesnie la trove si estraingne,  
 Et tous li recouvriers estoit de sa conpaingne ;  
 En fu liés en son cuer, ne cuidiés qu'il s'en plaigne !  
 Vers lui point le cheval, mes ains crie s'ensaingne.  
 10 Et Emenidus sist sus Ferrant de Brehaingne,  
 Ains nus ne vit meillor, ne gascon ne d'Espaingne ;

54, 29. *part*] par.

- 55, 23. *corps*] H cop. *en pense*] H volente. 24. *For line 24* HV have two:  
 Cil qui ancois pooit (V Cil que onkes einz pot) li a cemin livre  
 Au departir dun Turc quil avoit (V lor a) m. jete.  
 25. HV L. f. i. A. V kar de trois. l. v. 26. *rade*] H fort. *i. fer*] H le  
 branc. 27. H L. b. auberc li a. ; V Li a l. b. h. HV ronpu & depane  
 (V desaffre). 28. H & le ceval ausi ; V & l. v. el c. H par mi l. c. n.  
 29. *part*] HV. H a tout l. f. pase. 30. *cane*] H lance. *cors*] HV pis.  
 HV qui mult la e. (H engane). 31. *len*] H la. HV car m. o. g. (H  
 avoit) f. 32. *de pres*] V meisme. *si haste*] H asene. 33. H Desi qui  
 es *espaules* ; V Q. desken l. ceruele. 34. HV D. s. b. hermin (V hermine)  
 a i. (V le) p. d. (V desseure). 35. HV P. encontre ses (V le miliu des)  
 plaies. 36. V estancher. V kin. *issoit*] H *en cort* ; V aloit. 37.  
*que*] V kar. H q. i. ne soient outre. 38. H Quar ; V & *purte*] H *vrete*.  
 39. V avoit. *puis*] H plus. I d. combatre m. 40. *termine*] H fin. V  
 attendoient. 41. H C. se il l. d. ; V C. si il s. l. faut. V erre.  
 56, 1. In V the assonance is in -aine. H N m. li Gadrain. H louvrage.

- And richt grete roume thay to him maid.  
 Sa fell it, as he come agane  
 Fra ane Gaderaine that he had slane,  
 1815 That ane Arraby with ane dart,  
 As Emynedus raid him frauart,  
 Gyrd quyte throw his body out,  
 Bot he, that staluart was and stout,  
 Arraissit it out of his body sone,  
 1820 And syne withoutin langer hone  
 He socht him sa that it him gaif,  
 The heid vnto the schoulderis claif,  
 Syne of his coit ane lap he schare,  
 And band his felloun wound sa sare  
 1825 To stanche the blude that fast out ran,  
 For of his feiris he dred him than,  
 For drede thai sould discumfit be ;  
 Bot, had thai wittin in certante  
 How that it stude than with him thare,  
 1830 Thai suld think on defence na mair,  
 Bot, but comfort, abide thair deid,  
 For, and he faill, thair war na rede.  
**T**HAY of Gaderis knew nocht the case,  
 How gude Emynedus woundit was  
 1835 Throw out the body quyte and clene ;  
 Bot duke Betys the straik hes sene  
 And, for he saw him doughtely  
 Reskew full oft his company  
 And skaith him throw his great bounte,  
 1840 Richt blyth in hart thairof was he,  
 And towart him he straik his steid.  
 Emynedus the gude at neid  
 Sat on Ferrand that weill him bare,

[His

1814. gaderaine ; *that*] L. *thar*.

1815. arraby.

1817. *quyte*] *quyle*.1820. *withoutin*] without.1842. *ye*.1843. *ferrand yat will*.

2. H Comment E. *les*] V se. H a la ciere grifagne (*cp. l. 4*). 3. H Estoit  
 ferus e. c.; V Ki ferus e. e. c. [Ni a nul dez gazereins ki mile garde enpreine].  
 5. H Qui. 6. *la*] HV le. 7. H *om. line*. 8. HV na droit que  
 il s. p. 9. HV & escrie s. [HV & commande sa gent que cele part  
 sestragne]. 10. HV E. seoit (V se s.) H dalemagne; V de bahaigne.  
 11. V Einz ne v. hom m. H & nul m. navoit en icele conpagne.

- En son poing tint s'espée forgie en Alemaingne,  
 Ce jor ne la donast por l'ounor d'Aquitaingne ;  
 Et Betis li descent du pié d'une montaingne,  
 15 Illec s'entr'encontrerent a si dure bargaingne  
 Molt en porra li uns pau prisier sa gâaingne,  
 Qu'ains ne dona tex cox Corostans de Bretaingne,  
 Ne cil, de Durendal, qui fu niés Charlemaingne,  
 Com fait Emenidus, qui mautalent engraingne.  
 20 Betis n'a si fort hiaume dont li aciers ne fraingne,  
 N'il n'a tant de loisir qu'il au cheval se praingne ;  
 Si lons comme il estoit, mesura la champaingne.  
 Qui voit sa contenance ne dit pas qu'il se faingne !  
 Li sans li saut du nés qui son visage baingne,  
 25 Or li avra mestier mires qui sanc restraingne,  
 Car cil l'a encontré qui maint orgueil mahaingne ;  
 Dés hui més est bien drois que cis besoins remaigne.

- 57 **P**OR secorre Betis i sont ses gens venues,  
 .iij. eschieles d'un tertre qui erent descendues,  
 En la menor avoit .v. cens lances molues  
 Et mil canes drecies contre-mont vers les nues.  
 5 Les conpaingnes le roi ont durement ferues,

56, 16. gaingne.

18. Charlemaïne.

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56, 12. H T. lespee e. s. p. ; V Espee t. el p. V forbie. H f. dalemagne.  
 13. *la*] H li. H p. lamor de Sardegne. [HV Ireement **cevauc le val de la**  
**campagne** (V le uauacel dune plaine)]. 14. HV d. chief d. (H de la) m.  
 15. *dure*] H male. V el plein de la chāpaine. 16. H Que m. e. p. luns.  
 H gaagne ; V bargainne (*cp. prec. line*). 17. H Quar ains mius ne feri.  
 H Costentins ; I Forestan ; V dur estal. 19. H *om. line*. 20. HV  
 que entor (V par mi) ne li fregne. 21. *quil*] H que ; V qua. *au*] V son.  
 23. H vist. H n. desist q. s. fagne ; V n. quide q. s. feingne. 24. HV  
 Teus rais. *visage*] H bistire. 25. H Bien. HV aroit. HV m. q. plaie  
 estagne (V estraingne). 26. H *orgueil*] H home. 27. *hui*] HV or.  
*bien*] H il. V Desoremez e. b. d. *besoins*] HV orgius (V orgoil).  
 57, 1. *i sont*] H furent). 2. *d. t. q. e.*] HV q. sunt d. t. 3. H  
 m. l. esmolues. 4. *drecies*] H mult raides. V & portent c. reddes. HV  
 & m. (V granz) **espees** nues.

- 1845 His sword in hand that sharply schare,  
 That he wald nocht haue geuin, that day,  
 For mare gold than I can 3ow say.  
 He raid ane lytill tyme vnder ane hill ;  
 Betys com down the bank him till ;  
 Thair haif thai maid sic ane meting  
 1850 That athir may prys small his winning.  
 Arthour, na Gawane of Britane,  
 Na 3it Rolland, na Charlis the mane,  
 Gaif neuer sa grete dintis, I hecht,  
 As did Emynedus the wicht,  
 1855 For, thocht that Betys helm of steill  
 Was gude and sicker, wit 3e weill  
 He all to-fruscht it with that dint,  
 That stonyit Betys quhill he tint  
 His sterapis and to the erd he 3eid ;  
 1860 His lenth he mesurit in the meid ;  
 At neis and mouth the blude out brast,  
 And at his eris, sa farly fast  
 That all was baithit in to blude.  
 It was Emynedus the gude,  
 1865 That weill couth stanche ane doggit pryde,  
 That sa met with him at that tyde.  
 To stanch his woundis, that fast couth bleid,  
 Of leich I trow he sall haif neid.  
 For to reskew the duke Betys,  
 1870 His men come prekand, that wourthy was.  
 Thre buschmentis in full great hy  
 Come to the stour full sturdely,  
 That in the last was thre thousand,  
 With sword and spere or dart in hand,  
 1875 That in thair cumming full rudely

[Stonyit

1848. L. *come* ; ye.1859. ye erd ; L. *yeerd*.

1855. yat.

1872. ye.

*Minuscule at line 1862.*

Et laidïes forment, et si escombatus  
 Que, ferant, les en mainent, et mates et vaincues,  
 Vers .i. viés chastelet par unes gastes rues.  
 Emenidus d'Arcage ot ses resnes rompues ;  
 10 Au guenchir sor le duc, les ot cortes tenues,  
 Li bouion estendirent, si furent fors issues ;  
 Et Ferrans s'en cort miex par les conbes agues  
 Que faucons montaniers ne vole après les grues.  
 Cil se tint a la serre qui maintes ot veües ;  
 15 Ses oeuvres au besoing n'ierent pas dissolues.  
 De delés unes brueilles menuëment fueillues,  
 La retint son cheval, dont paines ot eües.  
 Ses resnes renoées li avoit Diex rendues ;  
 Or seront as Gadrains dures pomes creües !

58 **P**OR secorre Betis sont ses gens assemblées,  
 .iii. eschieles qui furent d'un tertre devalées,  
 A cheval le r'ont mis, ses armes recouvrées,  
 Son poitral ralaschié, ses resnes renoées.  
 5 Le miex de ses barons et ses gens plus privées  
 En a a une part devers soi apelées,  
 De vengier son anui les a amonestées,  
 Et il les en trova molt bien entalentées.  
 Emenidus d'Arcage a ses resnes noées,  
 10 Et remonte en Ferrant sans nules demorées.  
 Si comme cers de lande et bisses effraées  
 Que li veneör ont o les chiens eslevées,  
 Revient li gentis hom au chaple des espées.  
 Les conpaingnes le roi trova desbaretéés,  
 15 D'aïde et de conseil durement esgarées,

57, 12. sencort.

58, 9. entroua.

57, 7. &] HV om. V mortes. 8. H Les i. viel castieler ; V V i. ueuz  
 chasteler. H vers une vieille rue ; I totes v. grans r. ; V tote v. g. r. 9.  
 H perdues. 10. sor] HV ver (V vers). 11. H bouton ; V bozon.  
 furent] V sen sunt. 12. H le c. ; I senfuit ; V sen ueut. les] H ces.  
 13. HIV Q. li faus (V nuls facons) monteniers (I motardin). ne] V quant.  
 H la grue. 14. V C. s. prent al chauffrein. H C. est pis au cheval que li  
 cors sesvertue. 15. H erent bien conneues. 16. H Dales i. boskeret  
 dont li rain sunt follues. 17. son] V le. 18. H S. r. ambes ii. a iluec  
 retenues ; V Si s. armes a or l. eust D. rendues. 19. H A. G. resunt o ;  
 V A. gazreins reseroient. H paines ; V peines.  
 58, 2. H iiiii. furent] HV sunt. V del. 3. V a. a r. For lines 3 and  
 4 H has one : Li dus monte el c. regnes ot r. 4. V & s. r. nouees. 5.  
 H invertis lines 5 and 6. H Des m. d. sa maison que il ot p. amees. 6.  
 H A u. p. e. a de ses gens a. 8. molt] H tres. 9. a] HV ot. 10.  
 H om. line. V el cheual. nules] V plus de. 11. &] V ou. H S. cum  
 bestes d. bos par buisons e. 12. H toute le jor brisees. 13. H om.  
 line. 14. H places line 14 after line 10. H La mesnie l. r. 15. H  
 D. d. signor ; V & dayder lor seign.



- Stonyit the Kingis company,  
 And ruschit thame ane weill gude way ;  
 Of succour mekill neid had thay.  
 Emynedus mekill debait can ma  
 1880 To tak the duke, or than to sla ;  
 And, to ane turning that he couth mak,  
 The renze of his brydill brak,  
 And Ferrand thair-with held his way,  
 Sa suyft that ferly was to say,  
 1885 Quhill, at ane hill, with mekill pane  
 He restrenzeit his steid agane.  
 He knyt his renze in great hy  
 And syne lap on deliuerly.  
 I trow nane sall him find that day  
 1890 Sa far out of the hard assay.  
 TO succour duke Betys, his men  
 Stoutly to him assemblit than.  
 On hors thai set him haistaly,  
 That for the dynt was richt desy.  
 1895 The maist preuit of his barnye,  
 In full grete ire, in hy callit he.  
 [Him] to reuange great will he had,  
 And fast inducit he thame, and bad ;  
 And thai that war in will to do  
 1900 His will, assentit sone thair-to.  
 Emynedus hes knyt his renze,  
 And in his sterapis can him strenze.  
 As falcone that wald haue fude ful fain  
 Come lansand to the lure agane,  
 1905 Sa come the douchty duke to the fecht.  
 His fallouis fand he than, I hecht,  
 Sa skalit and sa straitly stad

[That

1876,-80,-94, 1904,-05. ye.

1893,-99. yai.

1881,-89,-99, 1903. yat.

1900. yair to.

1883. ferrand yair with.

1906. yan.

1892. L. *assemble* ; yan.1907. *stad*] stand.*Minuscule at line 1892.*

Car plusor s'enfuïrent, les targes adossées,  
 Et ont l'estor guerpi et les lances getées.  
 Lors a li gentix hom grosses larmes plorées,  
 D'aval li sont du cuer el visage montées,  
 20 Si que par mi les iex li furent fors colées.  
 Il lor crie : " Baron, desservés les soudées  
 Qu'Alixand' vous a par maintes fois donées !  
 Mal auroit emploïé ses vins et ses peurées,  
 Ses chars, ses venisons et fresches et salées,  
 25 Ses riches dras de soie et ses porpres roées,  
 Ses biaux hanas d'argent et ces coupes dorées,  
 Et son vair et son gris qu'il nous done a charrées,  
 Et bons chevaus de pris et mules a feutrées,  
 Et doné les honnors quant les a conquêtes  
 30 Se ci ne sont por lui nos proëscs mostrées,  
 Dont porroit il bien dire que mal sont alouées !  
 Por noiënt avés hui tant lor forces doutées  
 Que lor meillors batailles avons tex conraées  
 Toutes sont desrompues, n'ierent més asamblées.  
 35 Gardés bien vos honors, franchises gens honorées !  
 Fines proëscs sont au besoing esprovées !  
 Hui més verrois mes cox et mes pointes doublées ! "

61 **B**ETIS resaut en piés qui ot ire et pesance,  
 Et remonte el cheval sans nule demostrance,  
 Car il estoit des siens la mieudre recovrance  
 N'onques més en estor ne souffri mescheânche.  
 5 Il esgarde les Griex et la lor contenanche,  
 Puis en jure ses diex ou il a sa creânche  
 Se li home Alixand' sont tuit de tel poissance,

58, 27. acharrees.

61, 4. mes] supplied.

58, 16. HV C. (H &) li auquant enfuient (V sen uüt) l. t. endosees. 17. HV Les escus o. guerpis. 19. H Del c. l. s. a mont ; V D. le quor l. s.  
 20. H om. line. V l. resunt hors c. 21. HV Dont sescria (V Lors escria) eu haut. HV deservons. 22. HV Que nos a Alixandres. 23. I M. a. exploitie. 25. H listees. 26. H & s. b. garnimens. 27. For lines  
 27-29 HV have one : & ses beles rikecces que (V kil) nos a presenteas. 30. nos] H ces. 31. HV om. line. 32. HV auons. lor] H nos. V l. f. redotees. 33. IV car. lor] H nos. tex] H li. 34. H vencues & matees. 35. bien] H hui. 36. HV om. line.

'Laisses' 61, 64, and 65, absent in V, occur in HI. The variants not indicated 'I' are those of H.

61, 1. V com hon de grant poissance. 2. s. longe demorance. 4. Onques mais e. e. 6. Si. 7. vaillance.

- That sum of thame all planely fled.  
 He menit thame with greting than,  
 1910 Quhill teiris ouer his cheikis ran.  
 He cryit than, with mekill mane,  
 " Now, gentill Lordis, turne agane,  
 And serue 3our soldis of the King,  
 That geuis sa mony ryall thing  
 1915 To vs, and that sa largely !  
 He had set euill and wickedly  
 His meat, his drink and his clething,  
 His gilt coupes, with the couering  
 And other riches in mony wyse  
 1920 That he hes geuin to us fele syse,  
 And our worship and our bounte  
 Heir for his saik sould shawin be.  
 And thocht our fais hes fast vs socht,  
 Me think forsuith that we sould nocht  
 1925 Dreid thame, for thair best battellis are  
 Skailit and broken heir and thair.  
 The laif ar nocht to dreid greatly.  
 Keip 3our honour, lordis, for-thy ! "  
 With that, thay all assemblit ar  
 1930 To him, and thay that fleand war.  
 QVHAN duke Betys saw the stoutnes  
 Of thame of Grece and the gudnes,  
 That neuer sa qvhein war of sik micht  
 To helpe thame-selfis into ane ficht,  
 1935 He swore hiely be his Goddis then  
 That, gif all Alexanderis men  
 War of sic micht and sic bounte,  
 That nouthar castell nor 3it cittie,  
 Na dukrie, na 3it vther land,

[Na

1912. L. *turn*.1916. *seteuill*.1920. L. *fule*.1927. L. *are*.

- Ou mont n'a nule terre ou truissent contr'estance ;  
 " Ou il ne sevent gueres, ou il le font d'enfance !  
 10 S'or nes fais remuër, molt aurai grant pesance ! "  
 Le destrier esperone qui fu nés d'Abilance,  
 Si feri Licanor qui les autres avance,  
 Devers le costé destre, sor la reconnoissance,  
 Par mi le cors li met le coutel de sa lance.  
 15 Licanor tret le branc qui fu fais a Valance,  
 Et fiert le duc Betis el hiaume de Costance,  
 Si grant cop li dona desor l'archon la lance ;  
 Si navrés comme il ert, en presist la vengeance  
 Quant après le duc poignent tel .m. d'une sequance  
 20 Qui tuit erent si home de la sieue liance.  
 Caulus ont abatu et Aristé d'Ocance,  
 De tex .xxx. Grejois vous i ont fait grevance  
 Dont li rois aura ire et dolor et pesance.  
 La bataille grezesche a ce poindre balance ;  
 25 Il n'i a si hardi qui n'ait de mort doutance.

## 61, 18. prist.

61, 8. Il n. cite el m. o. aient c. [Il le font par orguel ou cou est grans beubance]. 9. seuent] I saiment. denfance] I deffance. 10. aront.  
 11. L. cheval e. de le rue de France. 13. H places line 13 after line 15.  
 14. mist. sa] la. 15. I a œuvre de V. 16. H sor la reconissance (cp. line 13) ; I en lelme sans dotance. 17. HI que sor larcon ladance (I avance). 18. est. presist] H. la] il. 19. Q. a. l. d. ceurent t. m. de sa cointance. 20. H d. l. soie aliance ; I d. foie & daliance. 21. Caunu. H dotrante ; I de Quance. 22. i o. f. desevrance. 23. Cil de Gadres les outrent qui en ont la p. 24. Li compagne des Grius. 25. a] ot. neust d. m. d.

- 1940 Na strenth of men nicht thame ganestand.  
 For he sawe neuer in all his tyde,  
 Him thocht, men of sa mekill pryde,  
 Bot nocht-for-thy he said and suair,  
 Bot gif that he remouit thame thair,
- 1945 He pryssit him nocht worth ane penny.  
 On thame he prikit than in hy,  
 And smot shir Licanor sa fast  
 That baith his sheild and haubrek brast ;  
 And bair him throw the body out.
- 1950 Bot Licanor that was styth and stout,  
 With his brand that was bitter of bit,  
 Duke Betys on the helme he hit  
 Sa great ane rout, he gart him ly  
 Vpon the arsoun dissaly.
- 1955 Als woundit [as] he was, perfay,  
 He had tane vengeance weill that day,  
 Na war that Gaderanis in ane ling  
 Come to thair lordis recouering,  
 That war ane thousand and weil mair.
- 1960 Caulus to erd was borne down thair,  
 And dyueris deid, quhairat the King  
 Maid efter for thame great murning ;  
 And than Gaderanes the folk of Grece  
 Rushit abak ane waill gude space.
- 1965 Was nane sa hardy of that rout  
 That he na than to die had dout.  
 The duke Betis forȝet him nocht  
 To greue the Grecians that he mocht,  
 Or anis he thinkis thame for to leid,
- 1970 Or outhir sall thay all be deid,  
 Or ellis ly in his presoun.

[Sary

1942. samekill.

1970. L. *they*.*Lines 1967-86 are not paralleled in our MSS.*



64

LI Grieu lessent l'estor si se partent atant,  
 Des plusors vous os dire que il s'en vont fuiant,  
 Li Gadrain les enchaucnt ques vont molt jostisant.  
 D'Emenidon vous di qu'il se vait deffendant,  
 5 Grosse lance en son poing derriers contretenant  
 Et le grant fais des lor et la presse endurant,  
 Et de maint chevalier les grans cox enchargant.  
 Qui il encontre bien, a la terre l'estent.  
 Avec lui reguenchissent des autres ne sai quant,  
 10 Li preudome et li per, li chevalier vaillant.  
 Gadifer des Laris i vint esperonant,  
 Si navrés comme il ert, sa lance paumoiant,  
 Grosse l'ot, recovrée o .i. fer bien trenchant,  
 Et s'est bien afichiés el destrier remuänt.  
 15 Miex vuet, ce dit, morir que il s'en aille atant.  
 Quant il s'en partira ne cuide c'uns s'en vant !  
 Emenidus li torne la teste du ferrant,  
 De .ij. meillors chevaus ne vous cont nus ne chant,  
 Et li seignor sont tel con l'en trueve lisant

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64, 1. *se*] *sen*.      2. *os*] I puis.    H De p. oes d.    H quil se v. desfendant ;  
 I qui sentornent f.      3. & les v. damajant.    Emenidus darcade cil sala d.  
 5. L. g. e. s. p. detries c.      6. H *inverts lines 6 and 7*.      7. rechevant.  
 8. lespant.      9. A. l. sunt guenci d. a. ne li auquant.      11. *des*] del.  
 vait.      12. S. n. que i. fu. *sa*] *se*.      13. Roide l. r. a. i. fil damirant.  
 14. *sesz*] est. auferrant.      15. & dist m. v. m. q. de lui voist gabant.  
 16. Mais ains quil se departe n. cuic pas quil s. v.      17. l. cief de  
 lauferrant.      18. n. conte n. n. cant.

- Sary was than Emynedoun  
 Quhen he saw how his feris war  
 Scalit and soupit heir and thair ;  
 1975 He menit thair perplexite,  
 And suith his scheild than braissit he,  
 Far was to seik ane better knycht.  
 His steid he straik with spurris brycht,  
 And plungit in the preis agane ;  
 1980 And with sic vertew and sic mane  
 He smot the douchty Gaudifere,  
 Throw scheild, haubrek and all his gere,  
 That all the pensale of his spere  
 He butlingis in his body can bere.  
 1985 I trow straitly, [thai] that thare play  
 But skaith sall nocht be left that day,  
 THE folk of Grece ourset the stour,  
 And to ane strenth, to get succour,  
 Thame thai with-drew in full grete hy ;  
 1990 To say suth, some fled vtterly.  
 Bot sickerly Emynedoun  
 Ay behind can him abandon,  
 Defendand his that had mister.  
 Ane grete rude spere and schairp to schere  
 1995 He had recouerit in his hand ;  
 Agane his dynt had nane warand.  
 Gaudifere com than in ane lyng,  
 And waindit nocht for his wounding,  
 Vpon ane nobill bay prekand.  
 2000 Emynedus straucht to him Ferrand.  
 Tua better stedis, perfay,  
 I trow thair can na man say,  
 And the knychtis war sa wourthy

[That

1972. emynedoun.

1975, 2002. yair.

1976. yan.

1978. spurrus.

1979,-80,-83. ye.

1985,-86. yat.

1989. *Thame*] That ; yai.

2000. ferrand.

2001. *L. steidis.*

20 Qu'ains dui meillor ne furent en cest siecle vivant.  
 Li .i. ot gros le cuer, li autres fier talent,  
 Entreferir se vont sus es blasons devant,  
 N'i arrestent li fer ne qu'en .i. troé gant,  
 Mes li hauberc estoient et serré et tenant,  
 25 Et li vassal molt preu et li ceval corant.  
 Ne vont pas d'ambleüre, mes d'eslais ravinant,  
 Si affichié se truevent n'en i ot .i. ploiant,  
 Des escus s'entrehurtent si fort en trespassant  
 Que les boucles en froissent qui sont d'or reluisant ;  
 30 Tous les genous s'escorchent, si prés se vont rasant.  
 Brisent naseaus et cercles a or resplendissant  
 Et rompent les poitraus comme .i. viés bougerant,  
 Les mailles vont la char et le cuir detrenchant  
 Qu'a tot jors lor est mës a lor viës parant.  
 35 Tout li mains estonnés ot le chief si pesant  
 Qu'a val torne li coing du hiaume en souclinant,  
 N'i ot si fort ceval qui remaigne en estant ;  
 Et il tout estordi sont par terre gisant,  
 N'i a celui qui riens son compaignon demant.

65 **M**OLT se furent mal mis li vassal aïrous,  
 Mespris de mautalent et de pris convoitous,  
 Mes nus de tel chëoir ne doit estre hontous,  
 Qu'il erent li plus preu et li mains päourous  
 5 Qui fussent en cel ost, c'os bien dire d'euls dous  
 Il n'i ot .i. seul Griefu de fuïr si coitous  
 Tost ne soit reguenchis frés et chevalerous,  
 La ou cil ert chëois qui n'est pas orgueilleous,  
 Mes frans et debonaires et dous et amorous  
 10 Et met son cors por euls en besoing perillous.  
 Et li Gadrain repoignent qui cuident a estrous  
 Que mort soit Gadifer li vassaus aïrous.  
 Assés i ot de ceuls qui ont les ieux plorons  
 Et les cuers esfreés, pensis et dolerous.  
 15 La peüssiés vëoir mainte lance pertrous  
 Et maint bon chevalier gesir, l'iaume terrous.  
 Ferrant et son seignor ont li Griefu bien rescous  
 Et remis a cheval, dont il ert desirous.  
 Tout desfendant l'enmainent par mi .i. val herbous,  
 20 La traient a garant as destrois encombrous  
 N'en i veüssiés .i. de bien faire oublions.

66 **M**ONTÉS est Gadifer, mes il est molt bleciés  
 .iij. fois est si cheüs tous en est con brisiés,  
 Mes li siens grans corages n'est point asouploiés

- 2005 That thai the best war vterly  
That leuand war in this world braid.  
Great hatrent ather at vther had ;  
Togidder thay smot quhill thair blasounis  
Thay thirlit, bot thair habersounis  
War sikker, stark and held richt weill.  
2010 Thair speiris war frushit euerilk deill.  
With bodyis, shulderis and sheildis braid,  
Sa outrageous hurkling than thay maid  
That thay that war by nicht haue sene  
Thir four ly flatlingis on the grene ;  
2015 And sa stoneist at eard thay lay  
That thay wist nather of nicht nor day.  
Quhan thay of Grece hes sene thame fall,  
But dout, great radnes had thay all.  
Emynedus regratit thay,  
2020 For thay wist, and he war away,  
That thay of deid had na warrand.  
Than thay that sorrowfull wer fleand,  
In full great hy turnit agane  
For to reskew thair capitane.  
2025 Emynedus the gude at neid  
Was first vp and syne asked his steid,  
And thay him brocht to him in hy,  
And he lap on richt haistely.  
Than war thay glaid, I tak on hand,  
2030 Quhan that thay saw thay had warrand.  
**G**AVDIFEIR horsit was alsua.  
His woundis bled that did him wa,  
Bot he thame band full straitly,  
And hint ane speir full sturdely,  
2035 And swore hiely be all that was

[He sould

2004. *thai*] than.2015. *L. card.*

64, 20. Que. 21. H *om. line.* 22. sor les b. d. 23. iluec  
ne tant ne quant. 24. *estoiens*] sunt *fort.* 25. *molt*] sunt. 26.  
lambleur. H m. leslais r. ; I m. a eslais poignant. 27. S. a. sen vont  
quil ni o. i. t. [Por cou froisent les lances que les fais orent grant]. 29.  
Q. l. b. froisierent q. s. dos dolifant. 30. T. lor g. escorcent. 31. *a or*]  
dor fin. 32. & r. li frontel si com v. b. 33. *la char*] H le cuir ; I les  
bras. H & l. car descirant. 34. Qui t. i. de l. vies l. sera mesparant.  
35. estordis. *ot*] a. 36. Que a v. sunt l. quin des elmes enclinant. 37.  
N. a c. s. f. 38. *par*] a. 39. rien.  
65, 3. M. n. d. ces ii. ci. 4. Qui. 5. H *om. line.* 6. d. ferir  
convoitous. 7. N. s. tous r. fiers & c. 8. *ert*] est. 10. es  
destrois p. 12. vigherous. 13. *ieux*] I vis. H q. en orent paours. 17.  
H ont l. Grijois r. 18. H *om. line.* I & lui m. a. c. 19. H *om. lines* 19-21.  
66, 1. V *om. lines* 1-7. *est*] H fu. 3. H n. mie afebloies.

- Ençois vorroit miex estre as Grejois r'apuiés.  
 5 Par lui n'en ert .i. seus autrement maneciés,  
 Mes ses brans, se lui loist, i ert si emploiés  
 Que tous ert en ceruele et en sanc touilliés.  
 Ci refu li estors fierement conmenchiés,  
 Molt i a des Gadrains malmis et empiriés,  
 10 Si les a a .i. poindre fierement angoissiés  
 Que, ferant, les enmaine tres qu'a .i. brueil plessiés.  
 Emenidus se r'est es estriers affichiés,  
 Tous premerains recuevre, sous l'escu enbuciés,  
 En sa main une lance dont le fust n'est pas viés.  
 15 .J. chevalier de Gadres feri tous desploiés  
 Qu'ambe .ij. les estriers li a tolu des piés,

66, 4. rapuis.

- 
- 66, 4. H Ancois volra mult e. a G. acointies. 5. H a. enpiries; I a. araisnies. 6. *se lui loist*] H s. il puet. 8. HV Cel jor fu l. besoins.  
 9. a] HV ot. HV Grijois. 10. HV Cil de Gadres les outrent (V huent)  
*se sont si* (V sis ci) esmaies. 11. HV emmainent. H desi que as  
 plaisies; I jusqua deus bos foillies; V ieske un broillez pleisez. [V M't les  
 vnt a cel poindre forment estoteez (*cp. l. 10*)]. 12. *For lines 12 and 13*  
 HIV *have one*: E. recuevre sor l. (I en lestor) e. 14. *sa*] V la. H E. s. m.  
 tint le branc. HV d. l. fiers nert p. v. 15. H vet ferir eslaisies; V f. tot  
 des prees. 16. H Que ans ij. l. e.



- He sould gar Gretians leif the place.  
 To thame the steid than strekit he,  
 And ane Gretian of great bounte  
 He smot sa stoutly that all dede  
 2040 He fellit [him] flatlingis in that steid.  
 And quhan Emynedus that had sene,  
 He woxe thairat in spreit all tene  
 That Gaudifeir was sa cruell.  
 His gude steid steirit he out of stail,  
 2045 And slew ane Gaderane with his speir.  
 Quha had bene thare nicht haue sene neir  
 Ane richt great battell sikkerly.  
 King Alexanderis cumpany  
 Straik great straikis with brandis bair,  
 2050 Bot thay war nocht euin bodin thair,  
 Thay of Gaderis war ten tymes ma,  
 Thairfoir on bak behuiffit thame ga.  
**T**HE bargane, suthly for to say,  
 2055 Was stoutly begunin without affray.  
 The folk of Grece into great thrang  
 War set, for thay sa on thame dang,  
 And preissit thame sa outrageously,  
 That to ane shaw, was neir thairby,  
 And maugre thairis, thay thame dang.  
 2060 Thay nicht na wayis indure it lang,  
 That hard assay, for thay war thair  
 Stonyit, and that richt wonder sair.  
 Emynedus, at that mischeif hes sene  
 And sone enbraissit his sheild sa shene,  
 2065 Ane stith spere into hand had he ;  
 Ane knicht of Gaderis of great bounte  
 He smot, till he his steropis tynt ;

[He

- Li agus de son hiaume est en terre fichiés ;  
 Et li Grieu lor guenchissent, les bruns elmes laciés.  
 Aridés de Valestre vait par l'estor iriés,  
 20 De la mort as Grejois li prist molt grans pitiés,  
 Si feri .i. Gadrain dont il fu apriviés  
 Que par desus le foie est li pignons baigniés ;  
 Mes .iij. contes le fierent de lor trenchans espiés,  
 Li dui en son escu et en l'auberc li tiers,  
 25 Sor l'archon daërrain en est tous enbrunciés.  
 Li chevaus s'agenoille, tant fu des cox chargiés ;  
 Mes par molt grant vertu s'est li vassaus dreciés,  
 O l'espée qu'il tint s'est si d'euls esmouchiés  
 Qu'il n'i ot si hardi ne li soit eslongiés.  
 30 De .ij. espiés tranchans fu si el cors plaiés

## 66, 25. derrain.

66, 17. HV e. ens el (V en un) pre f. 18. H & l. G. reguencirent.  
*bruns*] H vers. V Chascun des greus gwenchist de prouesce afiches. [V Cil  
 de gazres se tenent ki les ont acointe]. HV La peuiscies veir (V Ilokes  
 ueissez) tant fors escuz perciez & tant elmes fauser tant hauberc defroisies  
 (V & tant halbers faussez & tant ealmes brisez). Des mors & des navres est  
 li chemins joncies]. 19. H Aristes. H vint. 20. V om. line. H  
 fu mult forment iries (*cp. prec. line*). 21. Si] V &. H i. G. vet ferir. fu]  
 H est. HV aprocies. 22. H e. li poumons trancies. 24. H en son  
 hauberc l. t. 25. H de la siele; V deireint. H e. e. t. enbuscies; I est  
 li fers e. 26. des] V de. H car del fier f. c.; I t. f. del cos c. 27.  
*vertu*] H corage. sest] H est. I est l. ber redrecie; V s. li quons redrescez.  
 28. H est daus s. eslongies (*cp. next line*); IV s. s. d. acointies. 29. ot]  
 H a. Hi qui nen fust esmaies. 30. fu si] V estoit. H Porquant s. est  
 e. c. d. iii. espius p.

He fellit him deid down with that dint.  
 With that, all haill his cumpany  
 2070 Turnit agane full sturdely,  
 And thay of Gaderis weill thame met,  
 That mony ane straik was sadly set,  
 And mony ane haubrek thirlit was.  
 With deid and woundit all the place  
 2075 Was strout, that it was pitie  
 That mekill martirdome to sie.

**H**EIR Arreste throw sare praying,  
 Went to warne Alexander the King.

Throw out the preis Areste raid,  
 And grete melle about him maid,  
 And of his fais ane smot thair,  
 2080 That he his leuer in shunder share,  
 Sa that his speir in shunder brast  
 And he fell deid down, bledand fast.  
 Bot thre earlis of great bounte  
 Attanis shot on Arreste.  
 2085 The tane him shot on the blasoun,  
 The tother tua on his habersoun,  
 And, thocht he stout was and hardy,  
 Vpone his arsoun thay gart him ly.  
 His hors sa chargit was with the straik  
 2090 That neir ane douncome can he maik,  
 Bot, throw his fors, with mekill pane,  
 Thay baith recouerit sone agane.  
 With his sword that sharpe was of steill,  
 Arreste him defendit weill,  
 2095 That the best all abaissit was.  
 He was woundit in sindry place.

[The

Des Grejois entour lui li prist molt grant pitiés ;  
 Bien voit, s'il n'ont secors, lor termes est jugiés.  
 Par lui ert Alixand' li mesages nonciés ;  
 De la presse se part qu'ains n'i out pris congiés,  
 35 Sovent pleure sous l'elme quant les siens a lessiés.  
 Cil de Gadres le voient, tienent s'a engingniés  
 Qui chaut que ja par home ne sera mes bailliés.

66, 36. saengingnies.

*Lines 31-37 are not rendered in the Scots.*

66, 30. [H Par desous lui estoient ses cevaus estancies  
 De iii. canes mult roides ot les troncons ficies  
 El crepon trait la siele dont mult fu corecies  
 Et ses escus meismes estoit tous depecies  
 Ens avoit v. troncons de iii. brans estecies  
 Les meures sunt el pis dont forment fu blecies  
 Sans bien voires enseignes nest de lui camp widies].

31. H li est pris grans p. 32. H B, set H sor nes socort a la mort ert j.  
 33. H *places line 33 after line 37.* V *inverts lines 33 and 34.* 34. H D.  
 lestor s. parti. H quant fu p. li c.; V corescos & irez. 35. H S. p. des  
 ious; V Forment p. sor l. a] HV ot. 36. H t. por engignies; V t. soi  
 en gingnez. 37. H Que tant quant il per homme. V n. ateinz ne b.

- The gude Emynedus can sie  
 How douchtelly that Arreste,  
 With suord of steill, as douchty knicht,  
 2100 Stonyit his fais into the ficht.  
 He sawe him bathit all in blude,  
 That stremand fra his woundis zude.  
 Throwout the preis to him com he,  
 And said, " A ! A ! gude Arreste,  
 2105 Thir folk hes set vs hard this day,  
 And ze haue fundin be assay ;  
 In sindre place woundit ar ze,  
 All is bot blude that I can se.  
 Mene, gentill knicht, vpon zour hecht,  
 2110 And se quhat way throw hard fecht  
 That all zour feiris demanit ar,  
 That sum ar deid, sum woundit sair,  
 And, duell the King, it may nocht fall  
 That ane eschaip quick, of vs all.  
 2115 Thairfoir, shir, for zour great bounte,  
 Haif of thir folk reuth and pitie !  
 Ze beir sik takinnis that the King  
 Sall se that it is na lesing,  
 Na ze sall neuer blamit be.  
 2120 Nane laser mair to carpe haue we.  
 Bot speid zow in all that ze may ! "  
 Arreste said, " I sall, perfay,  
 For zow, and for the nobill King,  
 And for the point of perishing  
 2125 I sie my fallowis halely,  
 This message perfurneis will I,  
 Gif God thairto will gif me grace,"  
 And with that word he left the place.

[Hilles

2103. Throwont.

2117. yat.

2107. *place*] places.2126. *will*] weill will.2113. *nocht*] not.*Lines 2097-2127 are not paralleled in our MSS.*



Par mi une montaigne s'en vait tous eslessiés,  
 Au devaler d'un tertre s'est en .i. val plongiés,  
 40 Tres qu'au treif Alixand' ne fu ses frains sachiés.  
 Ja dira tel parole dont li rois ert iriés.

67 LI rois et Tholomer et Danclins sont venu  
 LD'un assaut merveilheux qu'a Tyr orent tenu,  
 Mes cil de la cité se sont bien deffendu.  
 Li rois devant son tref vit le més descendu ;  
 5 Molt resamble bien home de felon lieu issu ;  
 Vit sa lance froissie et percié son escu  
 Et son hiaume quassé, enbarré et fendu,  
 Et le vassal el cors outre en outre feru ;  
 Sous l'iaume le regarde, si l'a reconneü  
 10 Il le dut bien connoistre, c'uns des .xij. pers fu.  
 Il li a demandé : " Arides, dont viens tu ? "  
 Et cil li respont : " Sire, mal nous est avenü ;  
 Car secorés vos homes a force et a vertu !  
 El val de Josafaille sont tuit mort et vaincu.  
 15 Li dus Betis de Gadres nous a cest plet meü. .  
 A bien .xxx. mil homes, nous sont devant venu.  
 Sanson le neveu Daire nous i ont mort rendu,

67, 8. *outre en*] tout outre en.

14. Josofaille.

66, 38. H senfuit.

[H Mult resamble bien homme qui destor soit cacies  
 Quar se lance est brisee & li brans enoscies  
 Et li vasaus meismes par mi le cort plaies].

39. *dun*] V del. H Par mi un pendant t. *sest*] H est. 40. H L. c. u il  
 sist ; V L. c. ki lemporte. H a desronpu s. g. 41. H Jusqual t. A. H  
 nest s. regnes s. ; V nert mes s. f. s. 42. V *om. line.* H d. l. r. nest p. l.  
 67, 1. V T. & D. & l. r. s. v. 2. *tenu*] H eu ; V rendu. 3. H  
*om. line. la cite*] V laienz. 5. H *om. line. resamble* V li semble. *issu*]  
 V uenu. 6. H S. l. avoit brisie ; V V. s. l. brisee. H & mal mis s. e.  
 [H Son escu detrancie & son hauberc ronpu]. 7. H Son elme detrancie  
 si la bien conneu ; V & s. hauberc fause & son elme fendu. 8. H *om.*  
*lines 8 and 9.* V & l. v. meime par mi le c. f. 9. V Sor sun elme  
 lesgarde. 10. *cuns*] H car. *des*] V de. 11. HV & li rois l. d. H  
**Ariste.** 12. HV & c. l. respondi. H sans nul autre seu. 13. HV  
 Rois cor souscor tes h. 15. H a c. p. esmeu. 16. *A bien*] H Quar  
 a. V Ou trente mile homes. H n. s. seure couru.

- Hillis na valeyis sparit he nane,  
2130 The narrest way to the King hes tane.  
His hors forbure he in na thing,  
Bot prikkit ay into ane ling,  
Richt to the Kingis pauillioun.  
Be he haue shewit his ressoun,  
2135 The King and all his barnie  
Sall of thir tydingis sory be.
- THE King, Daucene and Tholomere  
Fra ane great melly cummin were,  
That thay forout the 3et had maid ;  
2140 Bot lytill winning thair thay had.  
The King hes first sene Arreste.  
Him semit weill ane man to be  
That cummin was of ane felloun plais ;  
His gude sheild all to-frushit was,  
2145 His haubrek and his helme alsua,  
And he bled fra the top to ta ;  
He was woundit in the body,  
That wit 3e weill, full cruelly,  
And his hors hurt in sindrie place,  
2150 That couerit with blude and sweat all was.  
The King knew it was Arreste,  
“ Quhence come 3ow, Arreste ? ” said he,  
“ Schir, fra the vale of Iosaphas,  
Quhairin 3our folk ane felloun cais  
2155 Is fallin thame, for the duke Betys,  
With xxx thousand men of prys,  
Hes us assail3eit thus to-day,  
And set 3our folk in sic affray  
That thay Sampson and Sabalor  
2160 Hes slane, and woundit Lycanor,

[And

- Et Licanor navré et Filote abatu,  
 Emenidon d'Arcage par mi le cors feru,  
 20 Pirrum mort son neveu, qui pau aura vescu,  
 Mes avant que je aie mon blanc hauberc tolu,  
 S'aurai je conme il sont en ce champ maintenu !  
 " Cil en fait bien a croire ! " dit Daucilins, " qu'il i fu."  
 " Voire," dist Tholomer, " il i a bien paru ! "  
 25 Lors regretent le conte Aristé et Caulu,  
 Et de Sanson de Perse sont forment irascu,  
 Et li rois Alixand' d'Emenidon son dru :  
 " Par foi," ce dit li rois, " or ai je molt perdu ! "  
 Il escrie : Montés ! trop avons atendu.  
 30 Gardés que n'i remaigne ne jone ne chenu ! "  
 Aridés les en maine par mi .i. val herbu  
 Et par une montaingne dont li pui sont agu.

67, 26. *formement*] molt.

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67, 18. *Filote*] H Calnu. 19. HV om. lines 19 and 20. 21. HV  
 M. ancois q. j. a. cest b. (H mien) h. t. 22. H S. i com lor est. HV en  
 lestour m. (H *avenu*). 23. H Cis f. auques a c. IV qui la f. 24.  
*i!]* HV mult. *i]* V li. 25. *le conte*] H li Griu; V li quons. *Ariste*] H  
*Perdicas*. 26. HV *invert lines 26 and 27*. H s. grain & i.; IV s.  
 forment i. 27. HV Emenidus. 28. V P. f. d. alix. *molt perdu*] H  
 trop vescu. 29. V Puis. *montes*] H sensegne. H aves. V quauom nous  
 a. 30. H G. q. tout me suient li i. & li c. 31. *en maine*] V enguie.  
 H A. l. enmaine qui sist el bai crenu. 32. HV *El val de Josafas* (V  
 iosafalle) par mi i. pre herbu (V delez un broil foillu).

- And Philot fellit and vther ma.  
 Bot it is pitie of tha tua,  
 And great dule to thair freindis ilkane,  
 For thay war nobill men of mane.  
 2165 Succour thame sharpely, gentill King,  
 Or thay be all brocht to ending !  
 Speid 3ow, thairfoir, all that 3e may,  
 For or my habersoun, perfay,  
 Or ony harnes, of me beis tane,  
 2170 I sall wit how the gle is gane  
 With thame into that great melle ! "  
 Than quod Daucene, " sa God me se,  
 Be great ensin3e it may be sene  
 That thow hes at the bargane bene ! "  
 2175 " It is suith ! " said Tholomere.  
 Than menit thay on great manere  
 Perdicas, Caulus and Festoun ;  
 And the gude duke Emynedoun  
 Than thay menit full tenderly ;  
 2180 For Sampson war thay all sory.  
 The King than smartly hes gart cry  
 That all sould fare delyuerly,  
 And on thair hors all hale lap thay ;  
 And Arreste led thame on the way,  
 2185 Towart the vale of Iosaphas.  
 Thair men3e than sa stoutly was  
 At outrageous mischeif fechtand  
 That thay withdrew thame to warrand  
 Ay quhan thair fais thame preissit sa  
 2190 That thay na great fechting nicht ma,  
 Bot alwayis gude Emynedoun  
 To all perrell can him bandoun,

[His

2165. *L. scharpely.*2179. *Than*] *That. L. they.**Lines 2186-2209 are not paralleled in our MSS.*

Fo. 31v. Ençois que cil de Gadres se soient perceü,  
 Lor sordent li Grejois qui molt sont irascu.  
 35 Tex a son escu sain, par tans l'aura fendu !

68 QUANT li Grejois connurent Alixand' d'Alier  
 Et la force des lor qui lor viennent aidier,  
 Il n'i ot si mauvés ne s'afiche el estrier.  
 A une part du champ se traient li forrier  
 5 Et virent lor bataille durement laidoier.  
 Quatre des .xij. pers virent deschevauchier,  
 Caulum et Aristé et Liône le fier,  
 Antigonon de Grece qui molt fist a prisier.  
 Lor sont empris .j. poindre por lor gent rehetier.  
 10 La fist Emenidus a loi de boin guerrier  
 Que par mi lor effort vait les lor detrenchier,  
 Ses conpaingnons delivre qui molt l'avoient chier.  
 Tost furent a cheval li .iij. prisonnier,  
 Molt bien entalenté de lor anui vengier.  
 15 Li dus Betis regarde vers les puis de Gibier,  
 Vit la force des Griex contre lui chevauchier.

67, 33. HV E. q. li Gadrain s. aperceu. 34. H L. salent l. G. parmi  
 i. pre herbu. 35. *par tans*] HV qui ja.

68 [*In H, line 1 is preceded by 44 lines: 'Quant li rois ot oi parler le  
 mesagier' . . . 'Que nen sot mot Betis quant les vit desrengier' (Michelant,  
 p. 152, l. 7—p. 153, l. 13): Alexander harangues his Knights, and vainly  
 begs Aristé to remain behind because of his wounds).*]

1. V Q. l. gazrein alix. c. daabiler. 2. HV & le souscors d l. (H  
 lost). H q. l. venoit a. 3. *ot*] Va. H Puis n. o. s. malade. HV destrier.  
 [HV & sounerent lors cors (V Lors sonerent un grelle) **por lor gent rallier**.  
 4. *se traient*] H estoient. 5. H V. l. conpaingnons. HV forment estoutoier.  
 6. HV **retenir** & loier (V lier). 7. *Aristé*] H Lincanor. 8. *molt fist*]  
 H tant fait. 9. *sont empris*] H L. enprisent i. p.; V Lors l. donent i. p.  
 HV p. l. pris essaucier (V enhaucer). 10. HV *om. ll.* 10-14. 15. H  
 esgarde. V v. l. plains dalier.



- His body and his nobill steid,  
 To help his feiris in that neid ;  
 2195 Delyuerit thame oft doughtely,  
 And comfort thame oft hardely,  
 To help quhan that he mister saw.  
 Bot thay behuffit thame withdraw  
 Quhen thai war preissit attour nicht ;  
 2200 In this wise thai contenit the ficht  
 Ay quhill thai saw the nobill King  
 That sped him in thare succouring.  
 Richt weill him gydit Arreste,  
 And led him out throw ane vaillie  
 2205 Sa that, or thay persaut war,  
 Thai to thare fais cummin ar.  
 Quha had ane scheild hale, may fall  
 That sone sall be to-fruschit all !  
 2210 **Q**VHEN thai of Grece hes sene the King  
 Cum sa stoutly in thare helping,  
 And saw thare succouris was sa neir,  
 Sa greatly than thai comfort war  
 That the worst of thare company  
 Strenzeit in sterapis sturdely.  
 2215 To reill thame ane horne thai blew,  
 And syne into ane sop thai drew.  
 Thare rout that tyme sa stonait was  
 That tane was hardy Perdicas,  
 Caulus and Lyonell alsua.  
 2220 A point than peirtly can thai ma,  
 And sarely thare fais socht,  
 For thai wald venge thame gif thai mocht.  
 Betys beheld, and by ane hill  
 He saw than sturdely cum him till

[Alexander

2212,-20,-22 (*bis*). yai.2215. *reill*] reull.

2218. predicas.

2220. *A point*] Apoint.

2221. yare.

2222. yame.

2224. yan.

Alixand' meïsme ses batailles rengier,  
 L'enseigne desploïe venir el front premier.  
 Il a dit a ses homes : " Esgardés, chevalier !  
 20 Ce est l'ost Alixand' que veés aprochier,  
 Encui pense li rois molt forment gäaignier.  
 Gardés qu'a cest besoing soion felon et fier,  
 Et maintenons le chaple as espées d'acier,  
 Car ains mes ne trovames tel gent a acointier ! "

69 MIEUS vaut amis en voie que argens ne fins ors,  
 Bone chevalerie est molt riche tresors ;  
 Quant Alixand' vint, grans mestiers en ert lors.  
 Emenidus d'Arcage estoit ferus el cors,  
 5 Et Filote abatus, et navrés Licanors,  
 Et Caulus retenus, Aristés et Salors,  
 Et Sanses mors getés et li cuens Sabilors.  
 N'issoient mes du pas bruns ne baucens ne sors ;  
 S'auques targast li rois, ja preïst si mal mors  
 10 Que de lor .vij. cent homes n'en fussent .x. estors.  
 Lors josterent li Griu as Gadrains et as Mors.

68, 17. meïsmes.

21. En cui ; gaignier.

68, 17. *meïsme*] H : V meïme. V sa bataille renger. 18. *front*] H cieſ.  
 [HV Ains (V Vnc) puis ni ot parle de tenir prisonnier]. 19. H & a d.  
 as Gadrains e. mi princier. 20. HV Ves la gent A. H contre nous  
 cevaucier ; V pres de nos a. 21. H sor nous a gaegner ; V f. a gaangner.  
 22. *qua*] HV quar. V soiez. 23. H & gardons bien l. camp. 24.  
*Car ains*] H Onques ; V Conkes. V trouassent.

69, 1. *amis*] V argent. *voie*] HV coite. HV n. or mïer (*In HV this line  
 figures as the last of the preceding 'laisse' (68).* 2. V om. line. 3. HV  
 Q li rois v. as Grius. H g. besoins estoit l. 4. *ferus*] HV navres. 6.  
 H & C. ensement. 7. H Abilors. 8. *mes*] H pas. 9. H pris i  
 eust tel m. 10. *lor*] H nos. H nen fust gaires e. ; V ni eust dis e.  
 11. H L. regretent l. G. le roi & ses esfors.

- 2225 Alexander and his barnie,  
 Him-self serryand his menȝe,  
 The baners in the front before,  
 That ay approched more and more.  
 Was nane of Gaderis than sa bald  
 2230 That euer tuke tent presoner to hald.  
 " Lordingis," he said, " now may ȝe se  
 Alexander, with his barnie,  
 Cummin is to succour his furriouris,  
 And thinkis the worst part sall be ouris.  
 2235 Bot luke ȝe stout and hardy be  
 For to mentene this great melle,  
 That we of purpose gar him fail ! "  
 With that, approchit the great battaill.  
 2240 **Q**VHAN the King come, without weir,  
 The furriouris hes full great mister,  
 For Lycanor, that was sa stout,  
 Was woundit throw the body out,  
 And the gude duke Emynedus  
 Woundit, and takin was Caulus,  
 2245 And Sampsoun and Sabalor was slane ;  
 Lyoun and Perdicas als was tane,  
 And the riche duke Arreste  
 Was sair woundit with speiris thre,  
 As heir befor to ȝow said I,  
 2250 And all thair hors was [sa] weary  
 That few micht of ane pais gang.  
 Had the gude king duelt ocht lang,  
 Of seuin hundreth knichtis, perfay,  
 Thair sould nocht ten haue gane away.  
 2255 With that, assemblit halelie  
 Of Grece and Gaderis the cheualry.

[Quhen

2226. *serryand*] ferryand and.  
 2227. *front*] brout.

2252. *L. King.*

- 70 **I**LLEC ou li Grejois sont as Gadrains josté,  
 Veïssiés .i. estor molt felon et douté.  
 Durement i perdirent li coart desarmé.  
 Li rois point le cheval qui li cort de son gré,  
 5 Et mist lance sor feutre, s'a premerains josté.  
 Fiert Calot de Nubie, que il a encontré,  
 Entre les bras des boucles sont li escu troé,  
 Calot brise sa lance qu'iert de fresne plané,  
 Et li rois le fiert si que l'auberc a faussé,  
 10 Fer et fust et enseigne par mi le cors passé,  
 Et l'archon daärrain de la sele quassé.  
 Toute plaine sa lance, l'abat en mi le pré  
 Si que par mi le cors l'en a outre enserré,  
 Puis crîe " Macedoine ! " s'a le branc recouvré,  
 15 Et feri Galion, .i. duc de Gelboé,  
 Par desous la mamele li a le pis copé.  
 Li dus Betis l'esgarde, si a le chief crollé,  
 Et dit : " Se cist vit longues, malement ai erré ! "  
 Il et .v. chevalier sont cele part torné,  
 20 Et li .iiij. le fierent en s'on escu bouclé,  
 Et li quins de sor l'iaume, que tot l'ot estonné ;  
 Par desor Bucifal ont le roi enversé.  
 A la rescousse poingnent Danclins et Tholomé,  
 Et ont en lor compaignie maint chevalier armé.  
 25 La veïssiés des brans maint pesant cop doné ;  
 Au chaple des espées sont li Grejois outré.  
 Cil de Gadres s'esmaient et sont tuit reüsé.

70, 8. *quieri*] qui ert.10. *le*] li.

70, 1. *grejois*] V gazrein. *Gadrains*] V grezois. H melle. 2. *molt felon*] H perilleus. 3. H Forment i ont perdu ; V D. i feroient. HV l. hardi d. 4. HV L. r. p. *Bucifal*. H des *esporons* dore. 5. H met. V & m. la l. el feutre. H si a premiers i. ; V s. as primes i. 6. H Colas. H qui li fu e. ; V si cū la e. 7. V Quentre. H Si que parmi le boucle. H tece. [V & li cheual sor els detres a q'trone]. 8. H Colas brisa s. l. H o le f. p. ; V kert d. f. p. 9. H Mais l. r. l. feri qui l. a f. 10. H Fust & f. & pignon. H bonte. 11. V *om. line*. H & l. d. l. s. par deriere troe. 12. H lenporte. 13. *Si que*] H & tres. H a le tiere est ale ; V la en tere e. 14. H entese. 15. V calion. *Gelboe*] V baloe. H & va ferir Galafre i. d. d. grant fierte. 16. V desuz. H Desi que es espauls la fendu & e. 17. H le voit. 18. H ouvre. 19. H ale. 20. HV L. iiij. l. ferirent. H desur lescu b. 21. V & l. q. s. son helme. *lot*] HV la. 22. H Deseure B. ; V Que d B. *ont*] V a. 23. HV Es vous a l. r. Clincon (V cliscon) & T. 24. *maint*] H m. H chevaliers. 25. H *veist on*. HV m. (H tant) ruste c. d. [H Tant paig & tante teste de chevalier cope]. 26. H *om. lines 26 and 27*. 27. V reu'se.

- QVHAN thay of Grece assemblit ware,  
 Ane fell fechtig might men sie thair,  
 And armit men that war hardy  
 2260 The bargane all to deir sal by.  
 The King with spurris smait Burssiuell,  
 And sturdely, befoir his battell  
 Sa hard he smot Caliot of Nuby  
 That top our taill he gart him ly,  
 2265 Woundit throw-out the body quite,  
 His haubrek helpit him nocht ane myte.  
 Than " Massidone ! " loud can he cry,  
 And drew his sword delyuerly,  
 And smot sa sturdelly Caleoun,  
 2270 That to the breist he share him down.  
 The duke Betys the King hes sene,  
 And shuke his heid for proper tene,  
 And said, " gif 3on King leifis ocht lang,  
 He sall me set in mekill thrang ! "  
 2275 With that word, he and knichtis fyue  
 Rushit vpone the King belyue ;  
 Four on the sheild him smot stoutly,  
 And tua on the helme full besily.  
 He held him-selfe vpone Bursiuell.  
 2280 With that, dicht in thair apparell,  
 The gude Daucleme come and Tholomeir,  
 And mony douchty bachleir  
 Come to reskew the nobill King.  
 Thair men nicht sie [ane] fell fechtig,  
 2285 And mony dintis baith geuin and tane,  
 And gude knichtis to ground be gane.  
 The Gretians faucht sa feill thare  
 That thay of Gaderis rushit ware,

[And

2258,-84. *fell*] fele.2259. *Ana*] All.2260. *sal by*] salby.2265. *L. throwout.*2279. *bursiuell.*



Li dus vit le meschief, si a son frain tiré.

72

EL chief de la montaigne s'arrestent li Gadrain.  
Li tertre furent haut, li vassal sont soutain,  
Ne crient fors de hors a l'entrée d'un plain.

Fo. 32.

5

Illeques s'arrestèrent ; li meillor premerain  
Devant vausissent estre, tel furent daärrain ;  
Tés i va por joster qui change son lorain.

10

As dars et as sajetes i traient li conmain,  
Si perdent li Grejois qui de joster ont fain,  
Des chevaux et des vies i perdent li prochain  
Durement se combatent el val de Josafain ;  
Onques ne esgardastes cerf ne chevreil ne dain  
Si tost corut par lande con Dancilins fait par plain,  
Fiert Nasel de Saloie de la terre au soutain,  
Merveilleux cox se donent, car il murent lointain,

15

Li escu de lor cox ne lor valent .i. pain,  
Par mi toutes lor armes fausserent li clavain.  
Dancilins brise sa lance, le trons tint en sa main,  
Au torner de sa joust ne sembla pas villain,  
Si grant cop li dona desus son hiaume a plain

20

Sour l'arçon l'adenta, tout estordi et vain,  
De joste lui s'acoste, sel saisi par le frain,  
Autresi pris l'enmaine con l'ostoirs fait l'aubain,  
Et dit a Alixand' : " Cest prison vous amain ! "  
Li rois de Macedoine le prist par le chanfrain,  
Aprés le comanda Medor et Galëain,  
A .ij. barons de Grece qui sont frere germain.

73

A MOLT grant seürtance torna li dus Betis  
Quant en tel fermeté se sont entré et mis  
Ou ja ne perdront gaires par home qui soit vis,  
Mes de Nasal le conte sont dolent, qui fu pris,  
Et s'il quite l'enmainent, il n'est pas ses amis.  
Il point le vair destrier, si s'est fors au plain mis,  
Et vit en sa bataille tex .iiij. cens de pris

72, 2. *li*] & li.5. *darrain*.20. *dadenta*.73, 1. *A molt*] Molt.

70, 28. H L. d. Betis l. v. s. a s. chief crole (*cp. line 17*) [H Por cou quil le vit sen fu forment aire].

72. 'Laisses' 72, 73, 74, and 76, absent in V, occur in H, with the following variants ; 1. *de la*] dune. monterent. 2. H *om. line*. 3. N. c. que

devant. 4. I. aresterent tout l. plus daerain. 5. H *om. line*. 6.

*ua*] muet. 7. A. ars a. sajetaires que cil t. certain. 8. Perdirent l. G.

q. d. j. sunt vain. 9. Les c. & les v. perdirent l. p. 10. *Iosafain*] de

jouste Ain. 11. Mais o. n. veistes. 12. *corut*] corre. Clincons. 13.

H *om. line*. 14. *il*] mult. 15. *lor cox*] son col. n. li valu i. p. 16.

*lor*] les. lorain. 17. Clincons. 18. H *om. line*. 19. sor lelme

- And thame withdrew with great affray ;  
 2290 Bot at ane hill recouerit thay.  
 THE duke, with mony gude Gaderane  
 At ane hill syde he turnit agane.  
 The best hindmaist ay abaid  
 To stint thair fais that formest raid.  
 2295 The folk of Grece that formest ware,  
 Than with arrowis war woundit sair,  
 Sa that thay tint at that preking,  
 Sum hors, [and] sum weill darrar thing.  
 Than Daucene, that was gude at neid,  
 2300 Come prekand on ane staluart steid ;  
 And sa straitly struke Arundale,  
 That of the dukes hoist all hale  
 Was constabill and cheif ledere,  
 That on him he brak his spere  
 2305 And sa stoneist him with that strake  
 That in that stede he can him take,  
 And he taucht him thair to the King.  
 The King him gaif into keping  
 To tua barrounis of Grece richt thar,  
 2310 That of great strenth and worship war.  
 AT ane strenth thus turnis Betys,  
 With mony men of mekill pryse,  
 And thinkis to defend him sa  
 That he nouthar skaith sall do nor sa.  
 2315 Bot of his Constabill that was  
 Takin, in hart richt wa he was,  
 And thocht to get him sone agane ;  
 Bot all that wening was in vane.  
 With that, he prekkit furth in the preis,  
 2320 And couerit with his sheild he was ;

[His

2295. L. *were.* 2296. *Than*] *Thar.* 2309. *thar*] *than.* 2310. *war*] *wan.*

Castelain. 20. Que trestout ladenta sor larcon premerain. 21. D. j.  
 sacosta & met la main au f. 22. c. li ostoirs l. 23. H *om. line.* 24.  
*li prist*] ne rent. 25. *For lines 25-26 H has :*

Alixandre le balle i. chevalier Glarain  
 & cil li done ostage de m. mars el demain.

73, 1. A grande s. 2. Cor e. t. seurte est il hui entremis. 3. Hui  
 mais n. perdera por h. q. s. v. 4. H *places line 4 after line 8.* Vasart.  
*sont*] fu. kil. 5. H *om. line.* 6. *Il*] & *sest*] est. 7. & ot e. s.  
 compagne. *cens*] m.

N'en i a .i. tout seul ne soit d'armes penis.  
 Et li dus vait devant, de bien faire pensis,  
 10 Molt gentiment l'emporte li vairs destriers de pris.  
 Assés en petit d'eure sera de lui eschis  
 Par .i. baron de Grece fu puis le jor conquis,  
 Tholomer l'en mena, ses morteus anemis,  
 S'en abati le duc, voiant .vij. mile Gris  
 15 Que ses hiaumes a or en fu en terre mis,  
 Et ses escus bouclés empiriés et malmis,  
 Et hurterent en terre toutes les flors de lis,  
 Puis l'en mena o lui en maint lontan paijs.  
 Li rois de Macedoine l'ot le jor, ce m'est vis,  
 20 Que il fist la bataille ou Porus fu ocis.

74 MOLT fu grans la bataille par les plains d'Orius,  
 Et li estors molt fiers ou li dus fu cheüs.  
 Bilas .i. cuens de Perse point, et Eliagus,  
 Mades li orgueilleus et Quarrans de Lenrus,  
 5 Gadifer des Laris li vassaus cogneüs.  
 Desus lui s'arrestèrent et traient lor brans nus,  
 Por le duc redrecier i ot maint cop ferus,  
 Mes ains qu'il puist monter, fu si forment batus.  
 Par le champ vint poignant Aristés et Caulus,  
 10 Dui des barons de Grece qu'il ot le jor tenus,  
 Des chevaux le hurterent si qu'il n'est abatus.  
 De sor lui fu li chaples as brans d'acier molus,  
 Les espées tentissent sor les elmes agus.  
 A force est remontés, mes les las ot rompus.  
 15 Mirmigales d'Aufrique lor a dit tex salus :  
 " Or penst chascuns de soi que li chans est vaincus !  
 Au poindre premerain cherra nostre vertus !  
 Certes je vorroie estre en ma maison tous nus ! "  
 Et li dus li respont, qui molt fu irascus :

73, 10. *lemporte*] le reporte.14. *mile*] mil.

73, 8. Que bien i a i. s. n. s. d. eslis. 9. L. d. Betis envait. 10. Mult jentilment lenporte l. v. cevaus braidis. 11. A. e. poi d. terme s. d. l. partis. 12. f. il cel j. c. 14. & fier l. d. Betis v. ijm. G.

[Que del ceval lemporte sa les arcons guerpis  
 Tant roidement labat en mi le plaiseis.]

15. *en terre mis*] tous entieris. 16. H *om. line.* 17. & cairent a val l. blances f. d. l. [Par les regnes a or fu li cevaus saisis.] 18. *Puis*] & maint] i. 20. En icelle b. [& apries le donna Dans Calnu Menalis.]

74, 1. M. f. g. li estors ens es cans Dorius. 2. *molt fiers*] mortes. 3. Dalis i. c. d. P. i p. tous irascus. 4. & Natans lorguillous & Carans d. Lilus. 5. *In place of line 5 H has :*

Que li nies au roi Daire qui ot non Calebrus  
 & ot en lor compagne bien iijm. escus.

6. Deseure l. arestens & t. les b. n. 7. P. l. d. retenir i fu mains cos f. 8. M. ne pot remonter car trop estoit b.

- His staluart speir he stithly straucht,  
 As man that was of mekill maucht.  
 Aganes him lansit Tholomeir,  
 Full sturdelly streikand his speir.  
 2325 Thay smot togidder as tempest,  
 The dukes speir in shunder brast,  
 Bot Tholomeir hes hit him sua  
 That to the ground he gart him ga,  
 All desy of that heauy dint ;  
 2330 Syne by the renze he hes him hint,  
 And, efter, in mony seir countre,  
 That nobill steid with him had he.  
 The King was horsit on him that day  
 Quhilk Porrus slew, as I hard say.  
 2335 **T**HE fecht was fell, and great the preis  
 Quhair the duke Betys fallin wes.  
 The Gretianis preissit him fast to ta,  
 Bot he defendit with sword sa  
 That he, throw great help of his men,  
 2340 Was reskewit and helpit then ;  
 Bot that was with full mekill pane,  
 For he had fele folk him agane.  
 Guy Marmaduke of Affrike  
 Said him, " certis this is weill like  
 2345 That all the war sall ouris be !  
 I wald be naked in my countre  
 And all wer tint that heir haue I !  
 Alexander and his cumpany  
 Heir I forsaiik for euermair ! "  
 2350 The duke, that was bauld as bair,  
 Said to him with ane wraith sembland,  
 " Thow art war nor recryand,

[Na

2352. *nor*] L. *not*.

[De troncons &amp; despees que tous en fu confus

i. ceval li amaine qui fu baucans crenus

Li dus se prent au frain al ceval est venus

Mais ancois quil i monte li sera cier vendus.]

9. P. lestor vait p. A. &amp; Caunus.

10. *Grece*] lost. que li rois aime plus.

[&amp; ki le jor avoient le duc pris &amp; tenu.]

11. Del ceval l. h. s. q. lont

abatu.

12. D. s. le duc Betis f. l. c. tenus.

13. Branc dacier

retentissent s. ces e. a.

14. H *om. line.*

15. Ginohoces d. l. rendi t. s.

[Dont tous li plus hardis fu mas &amp; esperdus.]

16. *que*] car.

17. As

premeraines joustes cairont ja nos v.

18. H *om. line.*

19. q. ne f.

mie mus.

20. *For line 20 H has two:*

Ja Damel Deu ne place que en soies c.

Certes vus estes pire que en camp recreus



20 " Jamés en boine court ne dois estre creüs ! "

- 76 **G**ADIFER vit les Griex et le roi engramir  
Et d'euls torner de place durement aâtir.  
Or lor veulent a force la montaigne tolor,  
Mes ja tant conme il puist les destrois maintenir,  
5 N'a talent qu'il s'en voist, que molt het le foïr.  
Clitons li fis Caduit, qui les rens fait fremir,  
Vit devant tous les autres a esperon venir.  
Li chevaus desous lui fait le champ retentir,  
Et pierres et chailleux de cler feu resplendir.  
10 Gadifer, qui bien sot .i. chevalier ferir,  
Se lesse sormonter et lui outre bruïr,  
Et quant le vit en forme qu'il ne s'en pot partir,  
Dont li lesse cheval, lance et escu guenchir,  
Devers destre le prent qu'il ne volt pas norrir ;  
15 Or sera molt dolens se lui covient faillir.  
Le blanc hauberc du dos fait rompre et desartir,  
Entre le gros des costes fait fer et fust sentir,  
Du bon cheval le porte jus par si grant aïr  
Que l'eaume hurte en terre qu'il l'a fait rebondir,  
20 Tost li tolt le parler, le vëoir et l'oïr  
Et fait le sanc par nés et par bouche saillir.  
Entr'eus vait le cheval parfondement saisir,  
Onques ne volt sa lance ne geter ne guerpir,  
La resne mist el brach, si' s'en vait a loisir,  
25 Car li Grieu s'arrestèrent, qui getent maint sopir  
Et cudent de Cliton que il doie fenir.  
Parole li revient, les ieus prist a ouvrir ;  
Tholomer, qui ploroit si qu'il l'estut tenir,  
Li demande : " Conpains, em porrois vous garir ? "  
30 Cil fu de grant corage, ne se volt asouplir

76, 5. senuoist.

15. *sa lui*] celui.

76, 1. *les Griex & le roi*] l. r. & l. G. 2. & detorner de p. 3. Bien  
l. quident par f. l. grant **plagne** t. 4. *conme*] que. le destroit. 5. Nen  
partira sil puet car t. h. l. f. 6. Calduit. 7. *tous les autres*] l. Grijois.  
esporons. 8. f. la tiere tentir. 9. Des c. & des p. le c. f. r. 11.  
Le. *bruïr*] bondir. 12. *vil*] voit. que n. p. pas guencir. 13. Lors.  
guerpir. 14. ne vot p. mesfalir. 15. Ains s. condolant sil nel puet  
consiuir. [Tant com li bais lemporte ala Clincon ferir.] 16. Que lauberc  
de son d. 17. Desous le grose coste fuste & acier s. 18. Q. del c.  
lenporte p. s. tres g. a. 19. Q. le quin de son elme fait en tiere ferir.  
21. & p. b. & p. n. li f. l. s. salir. 22. *cheual*] destrier. 23. H *inverts*  
*lines 23 and 24.* O. ni v. escu n. le l. saisir. 24. Les regnes met es bras.  
25. q. si font grant sospir. 26. Por Clincon quil quidoient **qui lues** deust f.  
27. H *places line 27 after line 29.* 28. Tholomes fet tel noise que il l. t.  
29. & l. a dit c. pores vus ent g. 30. Il est d. fier c.



Na 3e aucht neuer in court to be  
Honorit, for the great mauite."

- 2355 **G**AVDIFEIR saw the nobill King  
Preis his men throw hard fechting  
To put duke Betys to the plane,  
And, throw force of thare mekill mane,  
To reif him the strenth of the hill,  
2360 Bot sickerly he hes na will  
For dout of deid to leif the feild,  
Quhill he him on his hors nicht weild.  
Before his feris he saw prekand  
Dauclyne stoutly, with spere in hand,  
2365 And Gaudifere, that was witty,  
Leit him sydlingis pas him by ;  
And quhen he saw his point that tyde,  
He socht vpon him at ane syde.  
He bare him down with sa great nicht  
2370 That he baith tint hearing and sicht,  
At neis and mouth out dushit the blude.  
The staluart steid that by him stude,  
Be the gilt ren3e hint Gaudifeir,  
Bot he kest nocht away his speir ;  
2375 The ren3e on his arme can sleif,  
Syne went agane withouttin leif.  
He was not preissit than greatly,  
For thay of Grece affrayitly  
Arestit thame with siching sair.  
2380 Thay wenit Dauclyne sould die richt thair.  
Bot strenth come to him sone agane ;  
He lukit vp with mekill pane,  
For he was of full great courage,  
He wald na wise that the barnage

[Of

Le roi ne ses barons por soi faire amornir :  
 "Amenés moi cheval," fait il, "que molt desir  
 A encontre celui qui ci m'a fait gesir,  
 Ains de moi, se Diex plaist, verrois autre morir !"

- 78 **L**i dus vit Alixand' qui a lui s'est mellés,  
 Il en a plus de .vij. par terre craventés,  
 Les grans presses desront que de ce ert fiertés,  
 Il ne fiert chevalier qui molt ne soit grevés.  
 5 Il en a ses barons doucement apelés,  
 Si lor a dit : "Seignors, .i. petit m'entendés !  
 Je vous ai tous norris et chierement amés,  
 Et mes avoires promis et volentiers donnés  
 Grans biens, fais au besoing, doit estre reprovés.  
 10 Se preudons le reçoit, tost est guerredonés.  
 D'un afaire vous pri qu'a raison entendés :  
 Cis noviaus rois de Grece nous cuide avoir trovés !  
 Au samblant que il fait est il fols ou dervés  
 Ou trop outrecuidiés, si com vëoir poés !  
 15 De mes homes qu'a mors, sui forment adolés.  
 Dire puet c'or lor sui trop mauvés avoés ;  
 Je serai mors de duel s'il n'est bien rencontrés !  
 Certes, miex en voel estre par mi le cors navrés,  
 Ou pris ou retenus ou du tout affolés,  
 20 C'or ne soit atendus de tant d'ommes armés  
 Que il soit mors ou pris, tant soit bien rencontrés.  
 En tant riches besoins ai esté esprouvés  
 Ne partirai de l'ost, si ere o lui jostés.  
 S'il est ore a cest poindre .i. petit reboutés,  
 25 Tost nous cherroit, ce cuit, .i. point plus en nos dés,  
 Et reseroit li vers en autre fueil tournés,  
 Car puis qu'en fais s'esmaie, a paine est retornés.  
 Fo. 33. Plus dout je les fourriers que les autres assés,

78, 23. *lost*] cest ost.

76, 31. Ne n. vot les b. p. lui plus engramir [Ains sescria en haut por les Grius esbaudir]. 32. Ramenes mon c. f. i. q. d. trop d. 33. C. ai encontre q. si m. f. jesir. 34. S. Deu plect a. d. m. veres autrui finir.

[i. ceval li amainent bien se pot aatir  
 Que il not plus isnel en lempire de Tyr  
 V cil i monta tost qui fera son cair  
 Cierement comparer ains quil doie anutir.]

78, 1. Betis v. A. q. as siens est m. 2. Ja. *par*] a. 3. Le grant prese desronpre a son branc acere. 4. *Il*] &. q. n. soit afoles. 5. H *om. line.* 6. Signor ce d. Betis. 7. servis & ounores. 8. & p. m. a. & ricement d. 9. Ens bienfais a. b. 11. que r. esgardes. 13. *ou*] &. 14. & est o. & trop desmesures [Par force quide avoir & castiaus & cites]. 15. aires. 16. D. pueent ce s. 17. Ja erent m. d. d. se

- 2385 Of Grece for him annoyit ware.  
 On fute sone is he gottin thare,  
 And asked hors in full great hy,  
 For he said he had great inuy  
 To mete him that him fellit hade,  
 2390 And thay him horsit but mair abade.  
**T**HE duke hes sene the nobill King  
 Enforce him sa in the fechting  
 That he bair doun weill aucht or ma.  
 The thik preis he out thirlit sa  
 2395 He met na knicht that he ouer-take,  
 Na he all desy can him make.  
**T**HE gude duke callit his men preuie,  
 And said, " Lordingis, now may 3e sie  
 That 3on proud King wenes richt weill  
 2400 To ding vs all to deid ilk deill.  
 He fairis as he war fule or wode,  
 Or ellis our succodrous in mode.  
 He slayis my men throw strenth of hand.  
 Thay may say I am euill warrand  
 2405 To thame that he defoullis sua,  
 Bot I die with dule and wa,  
 Bot he stoutly contraryed be !  
 Micht we him rusche, 3e suld sone se,  
 Abak a lytill, at the dys  
 2410 Suld changit be on vther wys  
 For, fra ane child be ston[a]yit,  
 He sal be thairof sa mismayit  
 That all his gude deid sal be done,  
 For 3oung pryde is stanshit sone.  
 2415 I dout the furriouris far mair  
 Than all the laif that leuand air,

[For

2394. thirlir.  
 2395. *nā*] ane.

2409. *Abak*] Ane bak.  
 2412. *mismayit*] mispayit.  
*For*] *The catch-word is absent.*

2412,-13. salbe.

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b. n. e. 18. *en voel*] volroie. 19. *ou* (ter)] &. [Que li fius Felippon  
 soit de nous si doutes.] 20. *domes*] rices. 21. *H om. line.* 23.  
 Ains que par ce deceus serai o. l. j. 24. reuses. 25. T. n. c. as autres  
 plus de poins e. i. d. 26. & r. l. jus e. a. point t. 27. P. que *enfes*  
 s. a p. ert r. [De i. *jouenes orgius ert tos anientes.*]

- Car c'est la flor de Grece et de tous les miex nés,  
 30 Des plus eslis par armes, des miex enparentés ;  
 Et cil Emenidus qui les a amenés,  
 Il n'est outrecuidiés ne trop desmesurés,  
 Mes francs et deboinaires et molt bien atemprés,  
 Et chevaliers si bons, com vous bien le savés,  
 35 Se nous ne le disons, sel savons nous assés !  
 Tex .xx. mil homes a ses nons espoëntés  
 C'onques ne fu encor de lor ieus esgardés.  
 Ne m'aime pas, ce sai ; mes par moi n'ert blasnés,  
 Car chevaliers ver lui ne doit estre loés.  
 40 Ains quel voiés conquis, ert si chier conperés  
 Que lonc tans en sera li damages plorés ;  
 Mes ce me reconforte qu'il est molt esgenés.  
 Par merveilheus esfors est ses escus portés.  
 Sachiés que de haut cuer li vient si grant bontés !"  
 45 Atant broche li dus et vient tous desreés,  
 Envers le duc s'adrece, sous son elme enclinés.  
 Tholomer vint après qui molt est redoutés,  
 Et Danclins ses conpains, qui du roi est amés,  
 Et li baron de l'ost qu'Alixand' ot chasés.  
 50 La ot maint confanon desploijé et mostrés  
 Et blans haubers treslis menuëment safrés,  
 Et mains elmes brunis diversement semés,  
 Chieres reconnaissances et pignonciaus fresés.  
 Bien viennent comme gens plaine de grans fiertés,  
 55 De toutes pars du roi s'acoste li barnés,  
 Mes or sache Alixand', et si est verités,  
 Qu'il n'iert mie a cest poindre des Gadraïns refusés !  
 Li dus r'est de ses homes molt bien assetirés  
 Ja ne fuïront por mort .iiij. piés mesurés  
 60 S'il ençois ne lor dit, teux est lor volentés,  
 Qu'a garison se traie, quar trop est agrevés ;  
 S'il primes ne s'en vait, ja n'en ert dos tornés.  
 Ains les encontre bien, qu'il n'ert pas esfraés,  
 Tous les vit de bien faire garnis et aprestés.  
 65 Au soleil resplendist des armes la clartés,  
 Es vous les .ij. orguels illec entre-hurtés !  
 Ains n'i fu chevaliers par autre araisonés,  
 Par bouche maneciés, ne d'ome ramprosnés.  
 Entre-ferir se vont, nus n'i est arrestés.  
 70 Que d'une part que d'autre, en i ot de versés ;  
 Tex i chei le jor, puis n'en fu relevés.  
 Qui vit en cel estor les grans cops presentés,  
 Et les escus perciés et les haubers faussés,  
 Et les heaumes trenchiés et les escus troés,  
 75 Et les brans nus hoschiés et tous ensanglentés,  
 Et chevaliers plaijés et tous esboülés,  
 Et par terre gesir les mors et les navrés,  
 Bien pot dire por voir qui en fu eschapés,  
 Que, ains puis icele heure que Adam fu formés,  
 80 Ne fu fais tex encontres, ne dis, ne racontés !

78, 37. en cor.

51. *Et blans*] Blans.

59. fuieront.

78, 29. *Grece*] lost. sacies par verite. 30. H *om. line.* 32. *ne*] &. 33. M. mult f. & mult prous. 34. & sest b. c. c. veïr l. poes. 35. H



- For thay of Grece ar haill the flour,  
 And maist prysit of hie honour,  
 And 3on Emynedus thair ledar,  
 2420 That is weill tempered in peax and war,  
 And sa gude knicht, as 3e ma se—  
 Thocht we na wald, sa will it be—  
 He hes stonyit sic vii. thousand  
 That saw him neuer, I tak on hand.  
 2425 He luifis me nocht, that wele I wait ;  
 Bot I may tak him be na gait.  
 Thair is na knicht may be his peir.”  
 With that, the King and Tholomeir  
 War reddy for to do vassalage,  
 2430 And Daucene and the great barnage  
 Of Grece com prikkand in great hy,  
 And Betys met thame sturdely  
 In gude couen with his men3e  
 To do worship throw thair bounte.  
 2435 Agane the Sone thair sheildis shane,  
 Manance nor flyting was thair nane,  
 Bot with speiris and brand[i]s bair  
 Sa fast thay frushit ilkane thair  
 That fele war feld with rashes, 3it  
 2440 Men nicht sie thair ly vnder-feit  
 Of dede and woundit grit plentie.  
 Quha had sene in that great melle  
 The heuy dintis to gif and taik,  
 Scheildis to frushe and shaftis to shaik,  
 2445 And pryde stoutly counter pryde,  
 Men nicht say suirly at that tyde  
 Thair was ane felloun fechting thair,  
 And ay enforsit mair and mair.

[Emynedvs

2429. *vasselage*] vasselege.2442. *L. grit.*2443. *heuy*] *L. hany.* The letter is broken ; it might be read as a or e.

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*om. lines 35-37.* 38. Encor n. nous art il ja p. nous n. b. 39. Quar  
 n. d. c. e. avant l. l. 40. Ancois quil soit c. sera s. c. 41. Q.  
 lonjement e. iert. 42. Ce nest mie merveille sil e. auques doutes. 44.  
 fiertes [Sil est dun roit espiel parmi le cors navres]. 45. A. es vus le roi  
 venu t. d. 46. Lescu par les enarmes en lauberc aclines. 47. *For*  
*lines 47 and 48 H has one:* & T. a. & Clincon desrees. 49. & tous les  
 autres Grioux que li rois o. cases. 50. *of* fu. 51. & mains aubers  
 doubliers [& mains rices escus dor & dargent listes]. 52. menueent  
 iesmes [*H intercalates here its version of line 75*]. 53. fremes. 54. H  
*om. line.* 55. *li*] ses. 56. li rois. *si*] ce. 57. *niert*] nest. 58.  
 Betis est d. s. h. 59. Cuns nen fuira de camp. 60. Se cou e. la  
 verites. 61. traient. que t. soient greves. 62. H *om. lines 62-65*.  
 66. a i. caple ajoustes [Des escus & de (? des) armes i fu grande clartes].  
 67. La ne f. c. p. a. ranprones (*cp. next line*). 68. ne dautrui desfies.  
 69. *|| om. lines 69-71.* 72. Mains rices c. i fu ferus & p. 73. *les*  
 (bis)] mains. 74. H *om. line.* 75. & mains b. enocies & frais &  
 troncones (*occurs also as extra line after line 52*). 76. H *om. line.* 77.  
**Li cemin sunt joncie** des m. & des. n. 78. D. peust p. v. q. fast  
 diluec tornes. 79. Conques p. icel jor. 80. N. f. si biaux e. veus  
 ni esgardes.



- 79 **E**MENIDUS esgarde le grant enconbrement  
 Que Betis lor a fait si très hardiement,  
 Vit la force des Griex qui si bruit et destent,  
 Et se fierent entr'eus sans espoëtement.
- 5 Alixand' premiers qui ne vint mie lent,  
 Et Tholomer après qui bien quite li rent,  
 Et Danclins et li autres i fierent durement.  
 Nus n'i pot cop donner n'i reçoive ensemment,  
 Car Betis les encontre, qui ne vient faintement.
- 10 Ains n'i oï fait samblant de nul faintissement,  
 Entre-ferir se vont sans nul arrestement ;  
 Que d'une part que d'autre, chient espesement.  
 Liés fu Emenidus, si s'en rit bonement  
 Por ice que Betis ainsi bien se desfent,
- 15 Car or sauront li Grieu auques de lor covent !  
 Hui les orent tenus a destroit jugement  
 Quant il vers l'ost de Grece quierent desfendement.  
 Et meïsmes li rois se contient fierement,  
 Ses conpaignons apele, si lor dit doucement :
- 20 " Molt avés hui soffert de paine et de torment.  
 Vous estes tuit navré, chascuns grant dolor sent,  
 Mes cil pert son bien fait qu'a la fin se repent.

79, 10. *fait*] supplied.

- 
- |  |   |                                      |
|--|---|--------------------------------------|
| 79, 1. <i>grant</i> ] fier.            | 2. <i>si tres</i> ] isi.                      | 3. <i>Vit</i> ] & q. se b. & estent. |
| 4. Tout s. f. en aus.                  | 5. Li rois tous premerains. <i>vint</i> ] va. | 6. H                                 |
| <i>places line 6 after line 10.</i>    | q. ne va mie lent ( <i>cp. prec. line</i> ).  | 7. Clincons                          |
| & tous l. a.                           | 8. Mais nus n. done cos ne recoit e.          | 9. mult aireement.                   |
| 10. & n. a fait s.                     | 11. <i>Hom. line.</i>                         | 12. <i>Que</i> (bis)] &              |
| darcade en a vis (? ris) b.            | 14. isi b. les enprent.                       | 15. [Si fissent as                   |
| fourriers itel acointement].           | 16. Quant l. o. enclos al d. j.               | 17.                                  |
| Encontre l. d. G. qui est esforcement. | 18. encontre durement.                        | 19.                                  |
| boinement.                             | 20. & este en t.                              | 21. <i>Vous</i> ] &                  |
| bienfait qui en f. s. r.               |   | 22. C. p. tout s.                    |

- 2450 E MYNEDVS hes sene Betys,  
 With his gude men greatly to prys,  
 Sa hardely counter the King  
 And make him cruell ganestanding,  
 As he stude of thame lytill aw.  
 The enforce of Grece he saw  
 2455 Geuand and takand mony rout,  
 The King befor thame, that was stout,  
 Daucene and Tholomeir him by.  
 Thar straik nane, wit 3e witterly,  
 That he na agane can straikis ta.  
 2460 Betys hes thame incounterit sa,  
 For he was douchty at deuyse,  
 And na semblance maid of cowardyse.  
 Sa fast ather on vther dang  
 That mony ane to eard can gang.  
 2465 Emynedus than leuch blythly,  
 For that Betys sa manfully  
 Ressauit the King in his cumming.  
 Now man 3e wit of thair trowing  
 Quhidder the furriouris that day  
 2470 War oft set on hard assay,  
 Quhan thay agane the Kingis micht  
 Makis defence into the ficht,  
 And metis him sa hardelly.  
 Than to his feiris he said in hy,  
 2475 " This day richt far 3e trauellit are,  
 And ar weary and woundit sair,  
 Bot he tynes his mekill prys  
 That at the end dois fantys.  
 Quha dois best at the ending,  
 2480 Thay haue pryse and maist louing.

[Bot

S'or ne vous contenés devant ceux vivement  
 Qui sont venu tuit frés de lor embuschement  
 25 Ne sevent le covine de nostre asablement,  
 A euls treront le pris del envaïssement.  
 Qui daärrains fait bien, si l'emporte sovent,  
 Mes au partir verrons, se Dieus le nous consent,  
 Li quel tenroient miex .i. dur tornoiement :  
 30 Ou nous ou li novel qui viennent freschement ?  
 Tholomer n'a encor le pelichon sanglent,  
 Ne li chevaus Cliton de corre .i. poil sullet !  
 Enque nuit en prés vin, si diroit coiement  
 Qu'il nous ont tous resqueus de mort et de torment,  
 35 Et de nostre bien faire n'iert parlé de noient !  
 Se ainsi lor soufrons, nous en serons dolent.  
 Et je lor ferai ja certain connoissement  
 Fo. 33v. Que sui Emenidus, qui toute l'ost apent  
 A mener et a duire desor estrange gent  
 40 Si que j'en ai du roi don et otroiement.  
 Ensi porroit l'en dire mauvestié me sorprenent.  
 Ja m'ame au darrain jor n'ait bien, ne sauvement,  
 Ne la joie du ciel que maint preudons atent,  
 Se je ne lor fai ja si bel demostrement  
 45 Cognoistre me porront sans autre enseignement !  
 Ha ! Ferrant ! qu'en ferois ? J'en ai si bon talent !  
 Envie de bien faire et fierté m'en sorprenent.  
 Molt vous ai hui pené, ains ne vous trovai lent !  
 Se vous or me failliés, molt aurai mal talent !"  
 50 Lors embrace l'escu par l'enarme le prent,  
 Des esperons le hurte, cil tressaut durement,  
 De terre le trescort en poi d'eure .i. arpent.  
 Ne se tenist a lui li bruns de Bonivent  
 Que Tholomer prisoit .c. mile mars d'argent.  
 55 Ja i fera tel chose par le mien escient,  
 Et l'estoire le dit se la letre ne ment,  
 Dont il auront envie plus de mil et .vij. cent.  
 Betis et li Gadrain harront molt son present !

79, 27. darrains.

50. len arme.

55. mile] mil.

79, 23. S. n. nos maintenons d. aus v. 25. H om. line. 27. B. f.  
 au daerain cil enporta s. 28. Mais nos veromes ja. 30. q. ci sunt en  
 present. 31. E. n. T. son p. s. 32. n. voi jou pas s. 33. &  
 dirons auques tuit apres v. erranment. 35. Ne d. n. bien fait ne  
 parleront n. 36. S. jou a. li suefre Dame] Dex me cravent. 37. Se  
 jou ne l. fac hui plus lonc arestement. 38. Jou. qui] u. 39. A m.  
 en conduit d. estrangement. 40. ien] jou. 41. H om. lines 41-45.  
 46. E. F. oor le fai jou en a. b. t. 47. de] del. enprent. 48. hui  
 pene] esprove. 49. S. ci m. f. o. vus me feris dolent. 50. Il.

- Bot we contene vs manly,  
 As gude knichtis and hardy,  
 Befoir thame that ar freshly heir  
 Cummin now, wit 3e but weir  
 2485 All our gude sall turne to shame,  
 And, efter win, now sone at hame  
 Thay sall perchance ruse thame, and sa  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 For 3it, or all the gaming ga,  
 I sall thame mak sic ane shawing  
 2490 That I am he to quhome the King  
 Hes geuin hallely his oist to leid.  
 My saull cum neuer in haly steid,  
 I sall set sum in hard affray !  
 It sall be sone sene at assay  
 2495 Quhidder we or thay that cummin ar heir,  
 Now freshest flowand in thair geir,  
 Sall better demane the felloun ficht  
 And stint thair fais with strenth and micht.  
 Thay sall nocht scorne me, gif I may !  
 2500 A ! gude Ferrand, quhat will I say ?  
 I haue assayit the oft-syse,  
 And I fand neuer in the fantyse,  
 For me now thow sall be in thra ! ”  
 With that, endlang his sydis tua,  
 2505 With spurris he brocht him in hy,  
 And he lansit delyuerly.  
 I trow he sall sone do sum thing,  
 Bot gif the story mak gabbing,  
 That ane thousand sall haue invy  
 2510 Richt at his douchty cheualry,  
 That duke Betys, at myne intent,  
 Sall nocht pryse greatly that present.

[Felloun

2483. *freshly*] frely.2487. *Two lines, corresponding to lines 34-36 of the French, appear to have been dropped.*2499. *nocht*] not.2509. *invy*] in hy.2511. *L. Duke.**Minuscule at line 2484.*

lenarme. 51. *tressaut*] li saut. 52. Ases e. p. de terme cort d. t. i. a.  
 53. *a lui*] au cors. 54. ses xv. pois d. 55. *i*] lor. dont mult erent  
 dolent. 56. *H invertis lines 56 and 57.* Cor li lettre l. d. s. lestore n. m.  
 57. S. e. aront e. 58. & meismes B. hara m. s. p. [Mult li fist de  
 laidure ains lor desoivrement].

- 80 LI estors fu molt grans et merveilheus et fier,  
 Et la noise molt grans as lances abessier.  
 Li rois et Tholomer et Clins jostent premier,  
 Et li baron de Grece qui tuit sont costumier  
 5 De ruistes os derompre et de gens damagier,  
 Mes ains nuit porront dire, et je l'os afichier,  
 Ne vorroient lor armes vendre ne engagier.  
 Cil de Gadres se tindrent, qui ne daignent plorer,  
 Ains lor vinrent si tost con puënt chevauchier.  
 10 La peüssiés vëoir .ij. orgueils acointier,  
 Onques n'i ot parole de nului empirier  
 Par bouce manecie, ne vers home tenchier,  
 Ains ont tout lor afaire atorné a lancier.  
 Entreferir se vont sans nului aresnier,  
 15 Molt se painent li .i. des autres damagier.  
 La veüssiés des lances par escus esclicier,  
 Les blans haubers fausser, derompre et desmaillier,  
 Et ces elmes quasser et les cercles trenchier,  
 Et ces espées trere et fraindre et enhochier  
 20 De maint cop traversain, et plusor droiturier  
 Dont par terre gisoient maint cors de chevalier.  
 A une part du champ furent tret li forrier,  
 Ne queüssent huimés a estor aprochier,  
 Mes il redoutent honte, et vilain reprovier,  
 25 Et le franc connestable ques a a enseignier.

80, 25. aenseignier.

80, 1. Estout furent li renc & perillous & f. 3. & Clincons tout p.  
 4. tuit] en. 5. D. grans meles f. & estors commencer. 6. M. il  
 nel porent d. & i. l. tesmognier. 7. Quil n. volrent l. a. ne v. n. cangier.  
 8. tient. quil n. voelent plaiser. 9. vient. 10. dure gens a.  
 11. Ni oisies parler d. n. ensigner. 12. H om. lines 12-14. 15.  
 paine. de lautre d. 16. des] ces. en ces e. ficier. 17. For lines 17-18  
 H has one: & ces obers f. & ces. c. t. 19. trere] fendre. & tordre & e.  
 20. & tant c. t. maint autre d. 22. tret] tout. [Por lor cors reposer & por  
 aus refroidier]. 23. cuidioient. lestor.

[Quar conbatu estoient li xx. as xx. milliers  
 Non por quant il deusent lor armes despoullier.]

24. i/] tant.

25. q. ot a justicier.



2515 Felloun and stout was the fechtig,  
 The noyis was great of speiris breking,  
 The King, Daucene and Tholomere  
 In the fore-front fechtand were.  
 The folk of Grece that thair wes  
 Schawit stoutly thair douchtines,  
 Bot sikkerly, I dar weill say,  
 2520 Was nane of thame that wald that day,  
 Haue sauld nor wedset his arming  
 For scarlot furrir with riche furring,  
 For thay of Gaderis fellounly faucht,  
 Na for the King and all his maucht  
 2525 Thay dedenȝit nocht on bak to ga.  
 Thair men nicht se thame vndera  
 Stoutnes, and strenth encounterit pryde.  
 Thay faucht fast on ather syde,  
 Thair was na flyting, wit ȝe weill,  
 2530 Bot with wapons staluart of steill,  
 Thay dang on vther with all thair nicht,  
 That mony ane sheild that shynit bricht,  
 And mony ane helme, to-hewin ware,  
 And swordis oft brokin in shunder thare,  
 2535 And at eird lay mony ane knicht,  
 That for to help thame had na nicht,  
 And with hard dintis sheildis clouin,  
 And knichtis lyand in blude be dosin.  
 2540 **T**HE furriouris out at ane syde  
 Togidder relyit was that tyde,  
 That had na mister, suth to say,  
 To gang to fechtig mare that day ;  
 Bot thay reprufe dred mair nor deid,  
 And he that had thame for to leid,

[That

- Por ce, s'il n'ont hauberc ne garnement entier,  
 Si iront il encor lor proësce assaier.  
 Dont brochent tuit ensamble o lor confanonnier,  
 Emenidus lait corre tout le fons d'un sentier  
 30 Ferrant qui bien le porte, ne tieng mie a lanier,  
 Car tuit le plus isnel sont vers lui eschacier !  
 Par dedevant les ieus Alixand' d'Alïer,  
 Ala ferir Betis que il n'ot gueres chier.  
 N'oïstes por .i. coup escu si esmiër !  
 35 Il li trenche le cuir, et fait les ais percier  
 Et les mailles estendre du blanc hauberc doblïer,  
 Endroit les maïstres costes li fist le sanc raier,  
 Et tout aval le cors filer jusqu'au braier.  
 Tant roïdement le porte a terre du destrier  
 40 Le heaume a or en fait en la terre fichier,  
 En piece ne peüst par lui seul redrechier,  
 Et lait en mi le champ Betis tout estrahier.  
 Pris le peüst avoir, mes a grant desirier  
 Corut Emenidus acoler et baisier,  
 45 Puis li dit en oïant, ne volt pas conseilïier :  
 " Li pains soit benëois que vous daïgniës mengier !  
 Car molt avës proësce et bonté, sans dangier !

80, 33. A la.

- 
- |  |   |                         |
|--|---|-------------------------|
| 80, 26. <i>ce</i> ] quant.                 | 27. S. revont i. ensamble por p. a.         | 28. Lors                |
| poignent t. asamble o le c.                | 29. <i>le fons dun</i> ] aval i.            | 30. F. q. si            |
| lenporte n. tenes a l.                     | 31. <i>vers</i> ] a.                        | 32. Tres.               |
| navoit g. c.                               | 35. I. l. t. les las & lescu f. p.          | 33. Ala. quil           |
| Desous le grose coste.                     | 38. & le cauce de fier & lesporon moullier. | 36. <i>blanc</i> ] bon. |
| 39. <i>le porte</i> ] labat.               | 40. Que l. quin de son elme f. e. t. f.     | 37.                     |
| [Alisandres lesgarde sel couru enbracier]. | 43. por loisir & liier.                     | 41.                     |
| & o. tous l. dist n. li vot c.             | 46. B. s. l. p. q. v. deves m.              | 45.                     |
|  | 47. <i>molt</i> ] <b>vus.</b>               |                         |

- 2545 That was Emynedus the douchty,  
Admoneist thame sa worthely,  
And, thocht he had na armour hale,  
3it wald he as gude vassale  
His hie worship stoutly assay ;  
2550 Than to the fecht all prekit thay.  
Emynedus than straucht his steid,  
And he him bare wale gude speid ;  
He was forsuth greatly to pryse,  
That ran than on sik ane wyse  
2555 Efter that he sa trauellit was.  
He plungit in the thickest preis,  
And, richt befor the nobill King,  
He smot Betys in his cuming,  
Sa that 3e saw neuer [sic] ane strake,  
2560 And his sheild in sunders brake ;  
The mail3eis of his habersoun  
He persit, and his gude actoun.  
Amang the rybbes of his syde,  
The blude rushand he gart out glyde,  
2565 That ran doun stremand fra his wound.  
He was sa stoutly laid to ground  
That his helme stikkit in the grene.  
King Alexander that straik hes sene  
And leit Betys ly still alane.  
2570 Men sayis he micht him weill haue tane,  
Bot he raid with great 3arning  
To mak Emynedus welcuming,  
And said to him, lauchand, " the mete  
Mot blissit be euin that thow eate,  
2575 For thow hes worship and bounte,  
Winning with wit and with lautie !

[Hard

- Ains nus ne vous trova vilain ne novelier,  
 Ne ne vosistes jor servir de losengier.  
 50 Dés hui matin avés soffert cest enconbrier,  
 Et estes conbatus dessi qu'a l'anuitier,  
 Ferus par mi le cors, demanois, sans lancier,  
 Et or peüstes si cele lance apuier  
 Il n'a home en cest mont ne s'en puist merveillier  
 55 Qui vous a de mesnie, molt s'en doit rehetier,  
 Que nus ne se porroit a vous apareillier !  
 Vous et Ferrant ne faites mie a desconpaignier ;  
 Diex vous garrisse andeus, qui tout a a jugier,  
 Et me doint vëoir l'eure que vous puisse vengier !  
 60 Se perdu vous avoie, qui me porroit hetier ?  
 N'auroie mes talent, ce cuit, d'armes baillier ! ”  
 A icest mot, desrengent li .c. et li millier,  
 Desor le duc Betis ont fait maint paönnier.  
 De bones gens vëoir doit l'en bien essaucier ;  
 65 Ce parut sor le duc a l'estor conmenchier.  
 La veïssiés .ij. gens fierement angoissier,  
 Les uns por retenir, les autres calengier.  
 Assés en poi de terme font mains archons vuidier,  
 Maint fils de france mere en vermeil sanc baignier,  
 70 <sup>Fo. 34.</sup> Maint riche branc d'espée en cervel tœoillier.  
 Qui qu'en doie estre liés ou auques corroucier,  
 Bien furent li Gadrain a cel estor guerrier  
 Et vassal et preudome, por lor seignor aidier ;

80, 66. angoissies.

68. terre.

- 
- |  |                                       |                          |     |
|--|---------------------------------------|--------------------------|-----|
| 80, 48. nus] hom.                        | 49. N. ainc j. n. v.                  | 51. H om. line.          | 52. |
| F. estes el c. jou vus voi bien sainier. |                                       | 53. apuier] employer.    | 54. |
| Que i. n. sou siel h.                    | 55. a] va. bien se d. r.              | 56. Quar n. miudres      |     |
| de v. ne puet lance brisier.             | 57. mie] pas.                         | 58. D. v. puist garandir |     |
| q. t. puet justicier.                    | 59. & m. laist v. l.                  | 60. porroit] feroit.     | 61. |
| mes] plus. jou c. de dosnoier.           | 62. A cel m. se d.                    | 63. Desous.              |     |
| 64. se puet on rehaitier.                | 66. L. v. les os si forment a.        | 67. por] poi.            |     |
| 68. terme] H. f. main arcon v.           | 69. fils] fil. mere] dame.            | 70.                      |     |
| H. om. line.                             | 72. B. le font l. G. a c. e. premier. | 73. V. sunt & p.         |     |

- Hard neuer man that maid melling  
 With lossingery and taill-telling.  
 Sen this day at the Sone rying,  
 2580 Thow hes contenit this fell fechtng  
 Quhill now that nicht is cumin neir ;  
 And is woundit in places seir.  
 Now micht thow stryke sa stout ane straik,  
 Is nane on lyfe, I vndertake,  
 2585 Na he sould thairof haue ferly.  
 Quha hes the in his cumpany,  
 He aucht in hart Ioyfull to be,  
 For nane that leiffis, peir is to the !  
 God saue the and Ferrand alsua,  
 2590 For weill assemblit ar 3e tua !  
 I sould na will have to conquer,  
 And thow war deid, na armes beir.”  
 With that, baith hunders and thousandis  
 War about Betys with burneist brandis,  
 2595 And faucht felly, I vnderta,  
 Sum him to help, sum him to sla.  
 To nureis gude men and worthy  
 Men sould thame preis ay idantly,  
 For it is proffeit and honour ;  
 2600 And that was sene weill at that stour,  
 For thay of Gaderis with all thair micht  
 Abandoned thame into the ficht,  
 For to reskew thair lord Betys.  
 Thair men micht sie on many wys  
 2605 Men fecht with force and with na threat,  
 And mony ane bathit in blude and sueat,  
 And mony ane fair body sone ly dead.  
 The Gaderanes faucht sa in that stead

[That



- A cheval le r'ont mis, qui qu'en doie anuier.  
 75 Cort en ont deservie s'en droit lor vuet jugier,  
 Car por pâour de mort ne l'i vorrent lessier,  
 Que comme lor seignor l'aiment et tienent chier.
- 81 **G**ADIFER fu dolens, et ce li fu molt maus  
 Du duc qui cheüs ert, ses sires naturaüs :  
 Il broche le destrier, qui plus tost cort par vaus  
 Et par tertres agus que autres paringaus.  
 5 Tholomer point le brun, qui en lui ert bien saus,  
 Si grans cops s'entredonnent es escus a esmaus  
 Que les boucles enfraignent, s'en vole li cristaus.  
 Li oil lor estincelent, si froissent les nazaus,  
 Tous les vis se despiecent et rompent les frontaus,  
 10 Lor cengles sont rompues, desnoés les poitraus ;  
 Estriers ne frains ne arme n'i vaut .i. denier faus !
- 82 **I**LLEC ou li vassal sont a terre cheü,  
 Veïssiés .i. estor par force maintenu.  
 La ot maint cop de lance et d'espée feru,  
 Et maint hauberc faussé, et percié maint escu,  
 5 Et maint heaume enbarré, et reönt et agu,  
 Et maint brach tout entier a cevalier tolu,  
 Mainte teste trencie et sevrée du bu.  
 Gadifer ont li sien fierement secouru,

81, 11. *ne frains*] frains. *The words ne arme appear to have been inserted by a later hand.*

82, 5. *en barre.*

80, 74. H *places line 74 after the two extra lines* = l. 77. 75. H *om.*  
*line.* 77. *In place of line 77 H has two:*

Gadifiers point & broce qui ne si vot targier  
 Il & si compaignon por le duc redrecier.

81, 1. G. *ot grant ire & li ples f. m. m.* 2. *cheüs ert*] fu caus. 3.  
 & point l. *vair d. cort*] va. 4. *autres bestes lingaus.* 5. & T. l.  
 b. q. li fait les grans s. 6. *as e. as e.*

[Que desous les blasons trancierent les cendaus  
 Ja tornast a grant perte a lor amis carnaus  
 & fust a quelque fust cele joste mortaus  
 Quant les lances pecoient ensamble communaus  
 Si fort sunt encontre lun lautre des vasaus].

7. Q. li escus pecoient senvolent l. c. 8. & rompent lor n. 9. *For*  
*lines 9 and 10 H has one:* L. arcon pecoierent sen rompent l. p. 11. *Par*  
 les crupes volerent ambedoi des cevaus.

82, 1. La u l. doi v. 2. fierement m.

[& oisies tel noise & tel cri & tel hu  
 Quar dune part & dautre furent li lor venu].

3. L. *veiscies par* ire m. *pesant c. feru.* 4. *For lines 4-9 H has:*  
 & tant elme enbare & tant Turc porfendu  
 & maint bon chevalier de la siele abatu  
 Li home Gadifer ne sunt pas malostru  
 Ains lont mult vistement a lestor souscoru.

- That thay of Grece for na thing micht  
2610 Arest duke Betys into ficht.  
Thay haue seruit landis but dreid,  
For thair na radnes micht thame leid,  
Na strenth of men, to fle the preis  
Quhill thair lord at myscheif was.
- 2615 **G**AVDIFEIR sorrowfull was and wa  
That duke Betys was fallin sa.  
With spurris he straik the steid of pryde,  
On better hors micht na man ryde ;  
And Tholomeir raid him agane  
2620 Full michtely as man of mane.  
Sik straikis thay gaue to thair blasounis  
Thay thirlit all thair habersounis.  
That cours had turnit to great skaith  
To thame and to thair freindis baith,  
2625 Na war thair speiris in shunder brast.  
With sheildis met thay sa fast  
That sadill, renze, girth and patrall  
At that grit bir war brokin all.  
Thay fell baith flatlingis on the grene ;  
2630 Sa hard ane cours was seindill sene.  
**Q**VHAIR thir tua knichtis fallin ware,  
The fecht vox ay mare and mare.  
With sindrie waponis mony ane strake  
Amang thame can thay giue and take,  
2635 And mony helme to-hewin was,  
And knichtis fell deid in that place,  
Heidis fra bodyis quyte and clene  
War strukin, tumbland on the grene.  
The Gaderanes, that war wicht in weir,  
2640 Wichtly reskewit thay Gaudifeir.

[And

- Et traistrent de l'estor ; son escu a fendu ;  
 10 Et ont son bon cheval a force retenu,  
 Et remise tel sele dont li pris molt grant fu,  
 Car li archon en erent tout a fin or batu.  
 Estordi le remontent et auques esperdu,  
 Car ne sevent sans lui la monte d'un festu.  
 15 Corages li revint, s'a vers euls entendu,  
 Dont s'afiche es estriers et sache le branc nu ;  
 Ja nel tenront huimés li Grejois por lor dru !  
 Tout droit a Tholomer sont li sien acoru,  
 Sel troverent gisant laidement abatu ;  
 20 Il ot toutes les jambes et le cors estendu ;  
 A molt grant paine i ont point de vie sentu.  
 Envers lui se sont tret quant l'ont aperceü,  
 La pleurent et regretent li grant et li menu.  
 Parole li revint, s'a le cri entendu ;  
 25 Comme ains pot, se redrece, que trop i ot jeü,  
 Si lor a dit : " Taisiés, que tous sui en vertu !  
 Amenés moi cheval, ou sans crin ou crenu !  
 Por ce nel blasmeroie se l'en l'avoit tondü ! "  
 Alixand' meïsmes li a le brun rendu,  
 30 Il i monte, et Danclins li a l'estrier tenu ;  
 Si resont as Gadraïns dui anemi creü !
- 83 **M**OLT se furent maumis li vassal au joster,  
 Ains mes n'oïstes plus .ij. homes estonner ;  
 Ains eüssiés loisir d'une tretie aler  
 C'onques nés .i. seus d'euls se peüst acesmer.  
 5 Gadifer se recuevre premerains comme ber,  
 Envers les mestres rens commence a raviner,

82, 14. lamonte.

82, 9. Fors d. l. lont mis a son col s. e. 10. a] par. 11. Remis lont  
 en la s. qui bele & rice f. 12. erent] sunt. trestout a o. b. 13. Estordis  
 fu li ber del cop cot receu. 14. seuent] valent. For lines 15 and 16 H has :

Se de lui seul defalent li autre sunt vencu  
 Sor le destrier safice sa le mestier veu  
 & le besoig quil ont de lui reconneu  
 Quar li plusior en vont de bienfait esmeu  
 Que il le quidoient mort & fors del sens iscu  
 Mais li bons chevaliers au corage cremu  
 Se fiert en aus plus joins dun fauconcel ramu  
 Dire & de lui vengier plus enbrases de fu  
 En ses armes sestraint & clot en son escu  
 De ferir saparelle & trait le branc molu.

17. Hui mais ne le t. [Tout abat & ronpi caus ca aconseu]. 18. Deseure  
 T. s. l. Griu arestu. 19. Si le trueue g. l. estendu (cp. next line).  
 20. H om. line. 21. E. g. piece ni o. p. d. v. veu. 22. H om. line.  
 23. Lors p. tenrement. 24. le cri] vers aus. [Grant joie orent de lui

- And hes him drawen out of the preis ;  
 His gude stede als reskewit was,  
 And sadeled new, for his arsoun  
 Was brokin, as he was borne down.  
 2645 Dissy on hors thay haue him brocht,  
 For better him helpe couth thay nocht,  
 For he recouerit sone in hy,  
 That hard the straikes and the cry.  
 Courage him walknit and hardiment,  
 2650 In steropis stith he him stent.  
 The folk of Grece I trow, perfay,  
 Sall find him for na freind that day.

- ON Tholomere, that 3it lyand  
 At eard streikit baith fute and hand,  
 2655 The folk of Grece arested are,  
 And him reskewit with fechtng sare.  
 Vneis in him the lyfe thay fand,  
 Bot, sone as he can vnderstand  
 The noyis, the slauchter and the cry,  
 2660 On fute he start delyuerly  
 And asked horsing, and the King  
 Him-selſe ane broun can to him bring,  
 And he lap on delyuerly,  
 Thinkand to venge him haistelly.  
 2665 At that iusting tha knichtis tua  
 To-frushit war and stonyed sua  
 That men nicht gang ane weill gude space  
 Or ony of them wist quhair he wes.  
 Bot first recovered Gaudifeir,  
 2670 As ane knicht that was wicht in weir ;  
 Richt to the maister renk he raid.

[His

2641. *him*] thame.  
 2643. *new*] him new.

2653. *ON*] OF.

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quant sunt aperçu]. 25. Com a. p. saut en pies car t. i a j. 26.  
*Sz*] &. car plains s. de v. 27. Ramenes mon c. ni soies arestu. 28.  
 sel trovoie tendu. 29. M. A. *brun*] bai. [i. des bons con trovast  
 dusquas bones Arcu]. 30. Cil i m. & Clincons. 31. Cil restorne a.  
 G. a lor anui venu.  
 83. 1. fuscent. *au ioster*] adure. 2. H *om. line.* 3. H me fisent ;  
 I queusies. H traistie ; I traicie. 4. H Que li uns ne li autres s. p.  
 relever ; Ne se peut li un dels en nul sens racesmer. 5. *recuevre*] redrece.  
 6. commenca a aler.

- Le branc nu en sa main commence a trestorner,  
 En .i. escu le fiert, sel brise au trespasser ;  
 Mes il fu plus aidans que ne vous puis conter,  
 10 A .i. Griefu tolt sa lance, ne li daigna rouver,  
 Si li trait fors des mains le cuir en fist voler.  
 Son compaignon meisme la fist tost conperer,  
 Durement le feri, tant con pot raviner,  
 Par mi le cors l'en fist une toise passer,  
 15 Si l'abat des archons qu'ains ne pot mot soner.  
 Tholomer fu dolens quant le vit soviner ;  
 Il ert de sa meisnie, sel pooit molt amer.  
 Por Gadifer sorprendre, commence a traverser  
 Et les rens en droit soi vers destre a sormonter.  
 20 Cil ert sages et preus, duis de guerre mener ;  
 Bien se sot au besoing et conduire et garder ;  
 Tout a un fais li lait le cheval trestourner,  
 C'or le vorra de lance et d'escu encontrer,  
 Mes ne fait nul samblant quel voille refuser,  
 25 Ains le fiert comme cil qui vosist mort geter,  
 Ou de membre ou de cors, s'il peüst, afoler.  
 Par la penne devant li fait le fer outrer,  
 Mes la lance ne pot le grant fais endurer,  
 La force du cheval ne du vassal porter,  
 30 Au broier sor l'auberc li covint a quasser.  
 Et cil li vait .i. cop a damage donner  
 Par deseure l'escu, ou double du coler,  
 Que la teste o tout l'eaume li fist aval couler  
 Et au fais du hauberc jusqu'a terre verser ;  
 35 Par le resne de soie vait le cheval couvrer.  
 Dandlins vint au travers por calenge mostrer,  
 Sel feri de sa lance de tant con pot aler,  
 Que bien haut en a fait les esclices voler,

83, 12. meismes.

20. est.

- 83, 7. que bel savoit porter. 8. Une cane reprist quil b. a. t. 9. Car plus preu & a. n. peust on trover. 10. i. gars tint une l. qui ne li vot donner. 11. mains] puins. l. c. li f. crever. 12. For lines 12 and 13 H has one: i. chevalier f. quant kil p. randonner. 14. len fist] li fait. 15. Mort l. d. a. ains n. li lut parler. [Si quil ne pot a Deu la merci demander]. 17. Espris de lui vengier prist a esporoner. 18. commença a outrer. 19. & l. r. entor lui sor d. s. 20. H om. line. 21. Trop s. set b. aidier & c. & guier. 23. Quar. 24. Mes] & quil. 25. quil voloit m. j. 26. & descu & d. membres s. pooit a. 27. En. l. p. d l. f. lescu quaser (cp. l. 30). 29. For lines 29 and 30 H has one: Iluec sor le hauberc li convint endurer. 31. & c. l. fait i. c. de lespee d. 32. P. son le cercle dor del d. capeler. 33. fet contre val cliner. 34. & a fait dusquen tiere le blanc auberc couler. 35. P. les regnes a or v. l. c. conbrer. 36. Clincon pert a. t. p. sen pooir m. 37. Si le fiert d. l. l. con] I quil. 38. H om. line.



- His bricht brand in his hand he had,  
Thair-with he payit that he met,  
And in hede harnis oft it bet.
- 2675 Syne fra ane Greciane reft ane spere,  
(He was help-lyke in great manere)  
Ane knicht of Grece thair-with straik he,  
Throw out the body quyte and fre,  
And him deid fra the sadill draif.
- 2680 Syne straik with straucht arme on the laif.  
Quhen Tholomere hes sene him sua  
Difoull his folk, he was full wa.  
To venge him he had gude will.  
The steid he steris than tit him till,
- 2685 And Gaudifere the gude at neid  
In hy to him he steris his steid.  
Tholomere him sa stoutly straik  
That he his harnes can all to schaik.  
He wint weill to haif slane him thare,
- 2690 Bot the speir was grete and square,  
It micht nocht thole the staluart straik  
That it nocht all to schounderis brak,  
And Gaudifere sic ane rout him rocht  
That soudainly to erd he socht.
- 2695 The helm in erd it stikkit sua  
That neir the nekbane 3eid in tua.  
The gude hors grippit Gaudifere,  
Bot Daucline, that was wicht in weir,  
Trauissit challenge for to maik,
- 2700 And with the staluart spere him straik,  
That it to-fruschit with great pane,  
Bot Gaudifere sat as man of mane,  
That nouthar arsoun na sterapis tynt,

[Na

- Mes onques de ce cop nel pot desconraër  
 40 N'il n'en lait, por Cliton, le cheval amener.  
 Fo. 34v. Tholomer cuidast prendre s'il peüst arrester,  
 Mes il vit son seignor laidement demener,  
 As piés de maint cheval contre terre fouler,  
 Et quant il se redrece, sel font des pis hurter,  
 45 Et d'une part et d'autre tout estendu voler.  
 La se trest Gadifer por le duc delivrer,  
 En la grant presse fait le bon cheval entrër,  
 Il i rechut maint cop por son seignor sauver,  
 A cheval le remist, qui qu'en doie peser.  
 50 Sor le brun Tholomer a fait Betis monter,  
 Molt est bons a son oes por richement ouvrer,  
 Assés vaut miex du vair, et miex s'i pot fier.  
 S'or se vuet de la presse partir ne dessevrer  
 Et li chevaus ne chiet, bien porra eschaper !

- 84 MOLT ot bien Gadifer son seignor delivré,  
 Et remis a cheval que molt ot désiré,  
 Mes il se sent blecié et forment esgené,  
 De radement chëoir a le cors estonné,  
 5 Ne cuide mes tenir ne chastel ne cité.  
 Il a dit a ses homes : " Trop i avons esté ! "

---

83, 39. *nel*] ne. 40. Ne ne l. p. Clincon. 41. quidoit pooit. H  
 adestrer ; I aresner. 42. voit. 43. laidement defouler (*cp. prec. line*).  
 44. fait. *pis*] pies. 45. I estordi. 46. releuer. [Le ceval ot en  
 destre qui tant fist a loer]. 47. Ens e. l. grignor p. f. son c. e. 48.  
 Il i] Iluec. 49. *remist*] ra mis. 50. qui tant fait a loer. [Sil ne fust  
 si laidis bien le puis afier]. 51. Quil sist sor bon ceval por son cemin  
 errer. 52. A. v. m. del sien & m. puet endurer. 53. S. s. puet d.  
 lestor p. & d. 54. *H om. line*.  
 84, 1. *of*] a. 2. qui quen doie peser. 3. & durement navre. 5.  
 N. c. m. venir a c. na c. 6. *I*] & aves.

- Na 3it remouit nocht for the dynt ;  
 2705 For Dauclyne, leit he nocht to lede  
 Throw out the preis the staluart steid.  
 He saw his lord, the duke Betys,  
 At erd amang his enemyis,  
 Wnder hors fute defoullit sa  
 2710 That, ay [quhan] he on hand wald ta  
 To get on fute, thay that war by  
 Wald beir him down deliuerly.  
 The gude Gaudifere hidder raid,  
 Throw strenth of his steid, but abaid.  
 2715 He plungit in the thickest preis  
 To help his lord that lyand was.  
 Mony ane straik there hes he tane,  
 Bot, maugre thairis of Grece ilkane,  
 On Tholomeris steid hes he  
 2720 Horssit his lord throw his bounte.  
 War nocht the duke now douning sa,  
 He hes ane hors, I vndirta,  
 Of grete bounte quhair-on he may  
 Richt weill his hardement assay.  
 2725 Likit him than to leif the fecht,  
 Maugre his fais I trow he micht  
 His gait richt weill to Gaderis ga,  
 All-thocht thay chaissit him neuer sa.  
 2730 **G**AVDIFERE weill delyuerit hes  
 His lord, that at great mischeif was,  
 And horssit him sa richly.  
 Bot he felt him sa fellowly  
 Hurt and to-frushit with the fall  
 That his body was to-stonyit all.  
 2735 Than to his men in hy said he,

[“Heir

2705. dauclyne.  
 2712. *him*] thame.

2719. tholomeris.

Barons, alons nous ent, tuit rengié et serré,  
 Si deffende chascuns sa vie et sa santé !  
 Car li rois nous het tout de molt grant cruauté,  
 10 Et li forrier se sont avec lui ahurté,  
 Et cil nous heënt tant ne ert mes acordé.  
 Mes une rien vous os dire por verité :  
 Puis que li forrier sont avec euls asamblé,  
 N'i poëns demorer a nule sauveté  
 15 Ja ne fussons de champ par les autres geté.  
 "Sire," dist Gadifer, "vous dites verité !  
 Trop sont icil forrier chevalier aduré.  
 Preu sont et prou s'esmaient, ja tant n'erent grevé  
 Ne ja lor connestable ne verrois esfraé !"  
 20 A cest mot a chascuns son escu adossé,  
 Ses esperons n'i volt nus avoir oublié,  
 Droit vers Gadres s'en vont fuiant acheminé,  
 Mes ençois qu'il i viengnent, seront de prés hasté !

85 DOLENS s'en vait li dus, corrouciés et iriés,  
 Car onques ne fu jor de nul besoing chaciés,  
 Ne ne vint en estor d'armes apareilliés  
 Que siens n'en fust li champs, tant par est resoigniés,  
 5 S'iert de bons conpaignons et d'amis enforciés.

85, 5. Si ert.

- 84, 7. B. tornes vus e. t. estroit & s. 8. S. garise c. son cors & s. s.  
 9. C. l. r. Alixandres n. a. quelli e. h. 10. & lor f. resunt. a l. ajoste.  
 11. For line 11 H has :

Lor sire Emenidus qui tant a de fierte  
 Il & si conpagnon qui tant sunt adure  
 Ont laidement men cors laidengie et foule  
 A c. & m. diables soient il commande.

12. U. r. v. dirai par fine v. [Ne fuscent l. f. qui o e. s. jousté (cp. line 13).  
 13. H places lines 13-14 after line 15. 14. en n. seurte. 15. J. n.  
 fuscies del c. p. l. a. sevre. 16. al partir mult men he. 17. H om.  
 line. 18. Prou (bis)] peu. quant plus sunt agreve. 21. For lines  
 21-22 H has one : Au plus tos que il porent torment vers lors regne. 22.  
 viengnent] soient. s. il plus hurte.

- 85, 1. sen] en. 2. ior] V mes. H C. onques mais n. f. d. n. estor c.  
 3. HV Nil n. v. a e. (H lestor). 4. nen] HV ne. par est] H estoit ; V  
 p. ert. 5. Siert] HV &. damis] H armes.

- " Heir Is na bute langer to be.  
 Ilk man defend his auin heill !  
 The King is angry with to deill,  
 And syne the furriours ar  
 2740 All knyt with him, baith les and mare,  
 That dedely haitis vs ilkane,  
 And thocht thay do, ferly is nane.  
 Bot ane thing suithly say I dar :  
 War nocht the furriouris, that ar  
 2745 With thame aganis vs fechtand,  
 We suld nocht for the remanand  
 Be drawin to-day fra the battalle."  
 Quod Gaudifere, " for-outin fail,  
 That is all certane that 3e say,  
 2750 For thay haue preuit weill to-day,  
 And ar assemblit for na mischeif."  
 And, with that word, baith caucht thair leif,  
 Turnit thair brydillis and to-ga.  
 I trow that thair was sum of tha,  
 2755 To sell thare spurris that tyme na wald.  
 Touart Gaderis thair way thay hald,  
 Bot, or thay all be cummin thare,  
 The sydis of sum may sowe full sair.  
 2760 **T**HE duke held sorowfull his way,  
 For neuer his lif-tyme to that day  
 Was he chaissit out of ane stour,  
 Bot in all tyme the hie honour  
 Be left with him, as I hard tell,  
 All-thocht the fecht was neuer sa fell,  
 2765 For enforcit richt wele was he  
 Of freindis and kyn of great bounte.  
 Now of his mischeif was he wa,

[And

2741. L. *deidly*.2745. *aganis*] agains.2754. *ya*.2759. L. *sorrowfull*.



- Or s'en vait desconfis, s'est malement plaiés ;  
 S'il li torne a anui, ne vous en merveilliés,  
 Car ses mieudres conpains Gadifer n'ert pas liés,  
 Mes plus dolans assés qu'oiseaus desaniés,  
 10 Ne hom desherités ne a tort forjugiés.  
 Mes ne fait nul samblant que il soit esmaiés,  
 Ne ne se contient mie comme hom estoutoiés,  
 Par derriere s'est mis, as estriers afichiés,  
 D'orgueil et de fierté sor l'escu enbuchiés,  
 15 Rade lance en son poing dont li fers n'ert ploiés.  
 La retorne sovent ou il ert aprochiés,  
 Ses conpaignons delivre quant les vit trop chargiés.  
 Li champs est après lui des abatus jonchiés,  
 De sa lance est le fust radement paumoiés.  
 20 Cil en est bien ferus ou il est adrechiés,  
 Maint en lait après lui de la mort acoisiés,  
 De frois et de pasmé et de trop enseigniés,  
 Con cil qui ne doute estre de nului blastengiés,  
 Se n'est d'aucun musart de mal dire aguisiés  
 25 Et de folie plus que de sens empreigniés.  
 Corineüs li crie, qui vint tous eslessiés :

85 [HV Or aire mult grant car el cors fu (V sest el cors ml't) blecies.]  
 6. V om. line. H & si senfuit vers Gadres dolans & courecies. 7. HV n.  
 vus esmervillies. 8. Car] H &. nert] H nest. 9. HV M. a. p. d.  
 H que oisiaus desnecies ; V quoisals des aeirez. [V La color li mua car el cors  
 fu plaiez.] 11. Mes] H &. HV quil en s. e. 12. H om. line. V  
 Nil. 13. HV D. tous s. m. as] HV es. 14. lescu] HV son elme.  
 HV embroncies (V enbruchez). 15. H Grose. HV d. l. f. n. nest pas  
 (H om.) v. 16. HV trestorne. ert] H fu. 17. H q. il l. v. c. ; V  
 ker t. l. ueit c. 18. HV om. line. 19. paumoies] H enpugnies. 20.  
 est] V sest. For line 20 H has two :

Sacies que li premiers qui li est aprocies

Que il est de son cors malement enpiries.

21. V empres. H Plusiors e. l. aler. HIV d. l. m. (H malement) angouscies.  
 22. frois] V mors. HIV & d. bien essonnies (H ensames ; ? ensaines).  
 23. doute] V doit. H Si nen doit Gadifiers e. pas avillies. 24. H d.  
 mesdire avancies ; I d. mals dis ensegnies ; V d. folie angouisses. 25. V  
 & dautre chose p. q. d. s. e. sens] H bien.

[HIV Mais par homme (IV œvre) destore deust (V de mort) estre essaucies]

[HV Si ja nus (V iames) p bien faire doit bien (V nus) estre prisies].

26. HV escrie.

[HV Vasal cor (V ca) trestornes (V retournez) por coi vus avillies (V car  
 ml't uus auilez)

Laidement en ales car del vo i laies (V quant lez uos i leissez)].

- And he was woundit sair alsua.  
 Thocht he had Ire, was na ferly,  
 2770 And Gaudifeir was mair sory  
 Than man that war with strenth and micht  
 Dampned, or disherist, aganes richt.  
 He maid na semblance 3it for-thy.  
 To be abaissit greatumly.  
 2775 Behind his feiris he abade,  
 Ane staluart speir in hand he hade ;  
 Enbrushed vnder his helme he wes,  
 Fulfilled of pryde and of stoutnes.  
 He met thame oft with hardy cheir  
 2780 That come approchand to him neir.  
 His fellowis oft delyuerit he  
 Quhan that he saw thame chargit be ;  
 Richt rudely brandist he his speir ;  
 Oft-syse, wit 3e weill, thay war  
 2785 Strikken richt rudly that he met,  
 And he all haillely him set  
 For to defend all the flearis,  
 And for to stony the chaissaris ;  
 Mony ane left he efter him deid.  
 2790 He turnit oft his steidis heid  
 To thame that he saw neir chaissand,  
 To helpe his freindis and warrand.  
 Gif ony man sould louit be  
 For douchty dede, I trow that he  
 2795 Sould prysit be, and that trewlie.  
 With that, Corneus in hy  
 Cryit, " vassale, turne the to me !  
 To greatly thow defoulles the,  
 That fleis and leiffis thy folke lyand !  
 [Supprysit

2774. greatumly.

2777. L. *Embrushed*.

- " Hui nous avés sovent de molt prés enchauciés !  
 Or estes, ce m'est vis, aucaites refroidiés,  
 Et vostre pris dechiet quant si vous enfuiés !  
 30 N'avés droit en la manche dont si vous cointoiés ! "  
 Gadifer le regarde, qui molt fu corrouciés,  
 Et dist par mautalent : " Ja fust cis mos vengiés  
 Se je ne fusse d'autre que de vous enchauciés !  
 Por quant mes mautalens m'en est si engrangiés  
 35 Ja en ferai tel chose dont ne fusse äaisiés ! "  
 A .i. fais li trestorne, de bien faire tous liés,  
 Et cil revient molt tost, sous l'escu embuchiés,  
 Qui ert cointes et preus et molt outrecuidiés,  
 Et chevaliers molt bons et molt bien afaitiés ;  
 40 Se tant ne parlast d'armes, trop fust bien enseigniés.  
 Entreferir se vont, les confanons bessiés,  
 Et par mi les haubers ont les blasons perciés.  
 De la lance au Grejois est li fus peçoiés,  
 Cil que Gadifer tint ne n'est tors ne brisiés,  
 45 Que la hanste estoit roide ; et il fu molt iriés,  
 Par tel vertu l'empaint, si con vint eslessiés ;  
 Que si roidement est li siens cops emploïés  
 Que tous en est vermaus li confanons frangiés,  
 Le foie est entamés et li pomons perciés,  
 50 Et li fers d'autre part en est outre lanciés,  
 Li cors du chevalier par terre trebuchiés,  
 Et de l'ame et du sanc est, a ce cop, vuidiés.  
 Puis li dit par contraire : " Frere, .i. pou vous targiés !  
 Fo. 35. Pour Dieu vous voil proier que ne me ledengiés !  
 55 Hom qui trop est grevés est molt contraliés.

85, 27. Huis.

28. auques.

- 85, 27. *Hui*] V. *enchauciés*] V *essaiez*. H *Hui* n. a. d. p. laidement e.  
 28. HV *aucaites* (V *auketres*) r. ; I un petit r. 29. H V. p. est ceus por  
 coi v. e. 31. H si sest m. airies. 32. [HV & cis dis orgillous fierement  
 calengies]. 33. HV S. n. f. dautrui. V ke d. v. soul choiciez. 35.  
 HIV T. c. f. ja d. preu (I poi) niere aisies (V *aieisez*).  
 [HV Ciertes la joste ares (V *Mes la ioste en aurez*) se vus ne mi (V *me*) fallies]  
 [H Ja sera tout a i. se ne mi guencissies.]  
 36. *fais*] H tour. V Vers lui point le cheual. *tous liés*] H *haities* ; V *afeitez*.  
 37. H & c. li r. t. ; V & c. encontre lui. *sous*] H en. V *enbruschez*. 38.  
*ert*] H est. *cointes*] V *curtois*. HV & m. bien enseignez (H *afaities* ; *cp. next*  
*line*). 39. *bons*] H *prous*. H & mult *outrequidies* ; V de *prouesce* *afichez*.  
 40. *tant*] H trop. *tröp*] H mult. V *affaitez*. [V *Mes de co ne doit estre par*  
*nul home proisez*.] 41. H *lacies*. 42. V Ke. *haubers*] HV *blasons*.  
*blasons*] HV *aubers*. 44. H *nest mus ne arcoies* ; I n. ne *ros ne ployes*.  
 [V *Einz est tut droit el cors del cheualier plungez*]. 45. H *om. lines 45*  
*and 46*. V *om. lines 45-47*. 47. HI *Ains est s. vistement l. espiaus envoies*  
 (I en el cors *emplongies*). 48. H *ses c. roies*. [H & li cors del *vasal*

- 2800      Supprysit thow hes vs all neir-hand,  
             Bot thow art culit now ane party !  
             Thy pryde the failzeis foullely,  
             That passis fleand fra the ficht !  
             Of that ilk sleif thow hes na richt
- 2805      That I vpon thy helme se ;  
             Scho set it euill that gaif it the ! ”
- G**AVDIFEIR him beheld wraithly,  
             And said sumdele dispittously,  
             “ War I chargit with nane bot the,  
 2810      Thy wordis sould thow sone lat be !  
             Bot nocht-for-thy, fall as it may,  
             The iusting sall thow haue, perfay,  
             Bot gif the failzeing fall in the ! ”
- With that, in hy to him turnit he,  
 2815      And he, that wicht was and hardy,  
             Agane him come full sturdely,  
             For he was of richt great bounte.  
             Bot all to succodrous was he ;  
             Had he nocht spokin so greatly,
- 2820      In armes he had bene worthy.  
             Togidder thay smot, quhill thair blasounis  
             Thay thirlit, and thair habersounis.  
             Corneus on him brak his speir,  
             Bot sa hard smot him Gaudifeir
- 2825      That his speir and his gunfioun  
             Was bludy to the hand all down ;  
             Baith leuer and lungis in shunder he share,  
             And dede down to the erd him bare.  
             Than Gaudifeir said him in scorning,
- 2830      “ Thair lyis pryse in defoulling !  
             Men that ar wraith will nocht weill ta

[In thank

doutre en outre percies].

froisies (V tranchez).

est del cheual chaue &amp; trebuchez.

alme e. li cors a c. c. v.

sire en pais v. taisies.

49. HV L. fiel (V Li foies) entames &amp; l. p.

50. H om. line. V esse 'uez.

52. lame] H larme. est] fu. V &amp; del

53. V om. lines 53 and 54. H P. l. a dit en bas

54. ledengies] corecies.

55. molt] V tost.

Ce seult dire la gent : sorparler est pechiés.  
 Por moi et por les autres en estes engingniés,  
 Car molt estîés preus se parliers ne fussiés !  
 D'ui cest jor en avant, cest passage guetiés  
 60 Et prendrois le travers quant foire ert ou marciés.  
 Por quan qui vous afiere, ja trop n'i bargingniés,  
 Assés aurois en pou quant ainsi gäaingniés.  
 Vostre anemis morteus s'est a vous acointiés,  
 Gadifer des Laris ; ne sai sel cognissiés ?  
 65 Par vous n'en ert huimés mes foïrs reprochiés,  
 Ains m'en irai a Gadres delivres et hetiés  
 Se par mieudres de vous ne sui deschevachiés ! "

86 **O**R s'en vait Gadifer, qui les Gadrains en maine,  
 Por son lige seignor est entrés en grant paine ;  
 Bien li puet sovenir de dolente semaine.  
 De tel baron haster est la mort trop vilaine,  
 5 Qui or s'en va tous sains et ja n'a tel estraine  
 Qu'ele le claime tout por sien lige demaine,  
 Ne ses sens ne muet pas de mauvese fontaine,  
 Ne li sans de son cors de perecheuse vaine,  
 Car il est plus seürs qu'en une tour hautaine.  
 10 Assés miex se desfent et de meillor alaine  
 Que ne fait as broöns ors betés en chäaine,  
 Et cil qui encachoient la valée soutaine  
 Truevent des abatus la route toute plaine.  
 Alixand' meïsmes vint poignant par l'araine,  
 15 Lance roide sor feutre son confanon engraine.

85, 62. gaingnies.

86, 5. senua.

11. Qui.

14. la raine.

85, 56. V seuent. 57. H Par cest & par l. a. ; V Par uostre sorparler.  
 V e. uous e. 58. *molt*] H trop. V M. par estoiez p. H *sorgillous* n. f. ;  
 V s. uantant n. f. 59. HV De. *cest passage*] H le p. 60. H Sen  
 prendes l. treu. V Si coillez l. t. *quant*] H si. *ert*] H V est. 61. H  
*om. line.* V *om. lines* 61 and 62. 62. H gaegnies. 63. *sest*] H est.  
*a*] V de. 64. *des*] H del ; V de. 65. H Por. *nen*] V ni. H li  
 fuirs r. 66. V Vers G. m. i. HV d. ce sacies. 67. *ne*] H ni.  
 86, 2. *grant*] H tel. 3. V pot. 4. *baron*] V home. *la mort trop*]  
 H t. l. m. 5. *ia na*] V ora. H Quar or sen va fuiant & sen a t. e.  
*For lines* 5-7 V *has* :

Kar la char de li ert de grant bonte si pleine  
 Ke ml't ē grant damage quant ele nest tote seine  
 Mes co ne put pas estre eue a mal estreine.

6. H Quil laissera trestout. 7. H Mais s. s. n. vient mie d. dolante f.  
 8. H Mais de corage entir & de natural v. ; V Si que li sanz est eissu tres  
 parmi meinte v. [V Ore oiez grant prouesce cū il sa gent ēmeine.] 9.  
 H S. e. com sil fust en la grant t. autaine. V Nert mie enclos entre eus com  
 escharlate engreine. 10. V Ein aloit derere eus co est chose certaine (*cp.*  
*l.* 20). 11. V *om. lines* 11-27. *as*] H a. HI brohons. H ces breteis e. c. ;  
 I hours com bete en c. 12. H C. q. le baron cacent. 13. *route*] H voie.  
 14. H laraine. 15. H Devant tous les barons de Grese Macidaine.



- In thank to be defoulit sa !  
 That hes thow feld in sum party !  
 Had thow nocht proud bene, sikkerly  
 2835 Thow had bene of great vassalage,  
 Now mon thow keip heir this passage,  
 And quhan marcat or fair sal be,  
 To thame that may pertene to me  
 Luke thow with thame na bargane ma !  
 2840 Gaudifeir de Laris, thy fa,  
 Hes heir acquaintit him with the.  
 To-day my fleing sall not be  
 Lattit for the, I vnderta !  
 All quick to Gaderis sall I ga,  
 2845 Bot gif that I vnhorsit be  
 With ane better all out na the ! ”  
 NOW gangis gude Gaudifeir his way.  
 He hes him set in hard assay  
 For his gude Lordis saik, Betys.  
 2850 The deid all out to villanes is.  
 He him defendit doughtely,  
 And oft he turned appartly,  
 Richt as it war ane bairtit bair,  
 Quhan the houndis byte sould him sair,  
 2855 Garres thame fle on far him fra.  
 With the chaisseris he did richt sa,  
 For sum he fellit and sum he slew,  
 And vther sum-deill thame withdrew ;  
 And thay that efter him come chaissand,  
 2860 Of felled folk thay fand lyand  
 The feild [all] spred ; and than the King  
 That had thame all in gouerning,  
 Ane stalwart speir into his hand,

[On

2835. *vassalage*] vassalege.

2837. salbe.

2840. *delaris* ; L. *declaris*.

- Bucifal esperonne quant la joste ot prochaine,  
 Et fiert sor Gadifer con sor une quintaine,  
 De son escu li trenche la penne premeraine,  
 La lance vole en pieces au fort roi macedaine.  
 20 Li haubers fu si fors, ce est chose certaine,  
 C'onques ne li forfist vaillant une chastaine ;  
 Ains recuevre une lance, grosse et roide d'albaine,  
 Et encontre en son tour une route conmaine,  
 Le seignor en ocist et mist a terre plaine,  
 25 Et abat delés lui .i. fis de chastelaine,  
 Puis s'en vait les galos sor le bauchant demaine.  
 Li gentiex chevaliers a la proësce humaine,  
 Qui n'a lasche le cuer ne la pensée vaine,  
 La trestorne sovent ou force le sormaine ;  
 30 Qui il encontre bien, de son orgueil le saine ;  
 Tout le plus esfraé de l'enchaucier refraine.

- 87 BIEN s'en alast sans perte Gadifer, ce cuidons,  
 BA ce qu'il ert si preus et ses chevaus trop bons,  
 S'il vosist o les autres ferir des esperons ;  
 Mes autresi encharge trestous ses conpaignons  
 5 Con la beste sauvage se met por ses faöns,  
 Estre cuide, et voirs est, la lor desfentions,  
 Et s'il est mors ou pris, si faut lor garisons.  
 N'a mie por fuïr si tornés les talons

86, 20. cest.

86, 16. H dont l. i. est p. 18. *li trenche*] H abat. 19. H qui nert  
 mie lontaine. [H Mais dun frasne plane si kil brisa a paine.] 20. *fu*] H  
 est. H cou est c. c. 21. H C. n. lenpira. 22. HI Ne ne mut le  
 cheval de la siele Gadraine (I grifaine). 23. H Ains e. a s. t. 25. H  
 & abati les l. H fil. 26. H apres le gent aubaine. 27. H Gadifiers  
 l. g. 28. H Q. ainc not l. c. ; V Kil nout malueis l. c. *pensee*] I proece.  
 29. H Le. V Einz. *ou*] V quant. H formaine. 31. H Que li p.  
 desrees ; V T. l. p. desirans. HV d. l. safraine (V resteine). [H Bien ait  
 teus chevaliers qui ensi se demaine.]

87, 1. H B. en a. a Gadres G. c. savons. 2. V Pour. *ert*] H est.  
*trop*] HV si. 3. H Cil. *ferir*] H fuir. 4. V M. a. **defent** tout soul  
 s. c. 5. HV C. fait b. s. por les leus (V quant lou ueit) s. f. 8. V  
 Nauoit pas p. f.

- 2865 On Bursiuell come fast prekan,  
 And smot sa hard on Gaudifeir  
 That all to flenders brak his speir,  
 Bot he brist not his habersoun,  
 Na Gaudifeir tint na arsoun ;  
 And quhan the King was passit by,  
 2870 He smot ane knicht sa sturdely  
 That gruffingis to the ground he glaid,  
 And he furth on his wayis raid,  
 And oft quhan thay him preissit neir,  
 He turned with ane sturdy cheir,  
 2875 And stintit mony ane sturdy pryde ;  
 And thay that chaissit at that tyde,  
 That war hardy, of mekill mane,  
 He gart arrest thair hors agane.  
 2880 **M**EN knew it weill that Gaudifeir,  
 Be this that he was wicht in weir  
 And sat vpone ane nobill steid,  
 That nane micht better be in neid,  
 To Gaderis micht haue gane his way  
 Gif that he wald haue fled that day  
 2885 As did his feiris in ane ling ;  
 Bot he embraissit to great ane thing.  
 Bot as ane beist hir birth will driue  
 Fra the wolf that wald them riue,  
 His fellowis sa defendit he  
 2890 He trowit, throw his great bounte,  
 For to be thair defence that day,  
 And sa he was, the suth to say ;  
 For, war he outhertane or deid,  
 To help thame couth thay na remeid.  
 2895 He turnit nocht his back to fle,

[Bot

2881. *And*] He.2886. L. *imbraissit*.

- Que sovent ne lor soit trestornés ses blasons,  
 10 Menuëment trestorne, que bien en est saisons  
 Que la proësce pere dont tiex est li renons.  
 A l'un trenche le cuer, l'autre part li pomons,  
 Dont dit a soi meïsme : " N'i perdrai hui archons  
 Par nul que je en voie, tant soit grans ses renons,  
 15 Ains m'en irai a Gadres maugré tous les gloutons  
 Se par celui ne chie qui n'est pas des gachons,  
 A l'escu de sinople, a or est li lions,  
 Et ses chevaus Ferrans, qui tous vaut les Gascons,  
 Ne seroit esligiés per .c. mile mangons.  
 20 Ja nel ruis encontrer, desproie ne semons.  
 Jehui m'a fait gesir .iij. fois a ventrillons,  
 Autresi estendu comme por oroisons !  
 Onques tiex chevaliers ne gousta de poissons ;  
 Il trenche par mi fer, os et ners et braöns !

87, 10. *trestorne*] se trestorne.14. enuoie ; *ses*] *supplied*.

87, 9. H retornes ; IV reguencis. 10. H Meitement retorne car il e. e.  
 s. For lines 10-11 V has :

A ceus ke pres li erent mostrout gius felons  
 Kil estoit proz & fiers ce uos pruis par resons  
 E en contre gazeroins estoit bon cōpainons  
 & a la gent de grece ert cruels & felons.

11. *dont*] H u. [HI Des Grijois entor lui lor a fait tes poons (I peons).]  
 12. *cuer*] H fie. V As uns t. les quors. H a l. le rognon ; V as autres les p.  
 13. H & d. a sa mesnie h. n. perdra a. ; V & d. entre ses denz ni uodrai a.  
 14. H *om. line.* 15. [H Par aus ne perderai vallant ii. esporons].  
 16. H S. n. cest p. c. HV garcons. 17. HI u poins (I dor fin) e. l. l.  
 V Ses escuz ē a o. & uermels ses leons. 18. H & au ceval corant. HV  
 q. t. va de (V les) randons. 19. H *om. lines 19 and 20.* 20. V *om.*  
*line.* 21. H Il m. hui f. jesir. V Hui me fist del cheual gisir auentreisons.  
 22. H [Cou est Emenidus connoistre le devons]. [HIV Lui ne ruis (IV voel)  
 encontrer desproies ne somons.] 23. V Car unke tel cheual. 24.  
 ners] V char.

- Bot that, quhen he was preissit to be,  
He turnit stoutly his vissage,  
For, sen the nobill vassalage  
Of him that had sik renounie  
2900 War shewit in dede as in bountie,  
Sa did he thair, without gabbing.  
He maid mony ane fare turning,  
And mony ane straik he sadly set ;  
Held nane on hors that euer he met,  
2905 For with the spere that sharply share  
Mony ane fey he fellit thare ;  
And syne vnto him-self said he,  
“ For nane, certis, that I heir sie,  
All be he neuer of sic renoun,  
2910 Sall I neuer tyne sterop na arsoun,  
Bot I sall quyte to Gaderis ga,  
Maugre the chaissaris, thocht thay war ma,  
Bot gif it happin me to faill  
Throw him, is maist to drede of all.  
2915 His sheild of gold is fair and fyne,  
With ane read Lyoun that is thairin,  
And Ferrand is his nobill steid,  
May na man better haue at neid.  
This day thris, withoutin wein,  
2920 He hes me measured on the grein,  
Lyand as into orisounis.  
Nouthur for prayers na sermounis.  
Think I to mete [him], gif that I may,  
He is our all in hard assay.  
2925 His straik thair may withstand nathing,  
Brane, nor bane, na 3it arming.  
The King that hes him in men3e

[Aucht



- 25 Bien en doit li rois faire seignor de ses maisons ;  
Par lui tout seul est ce que nous le champ vuidons."

- 88 **E**N parler bonement puet l'en bien gäaignier  
Car maint home en voit on sovent monteplioier,  
Ne ja por dire orgueil n'aura nus hom loier,  
Ains en a sovent honte et perte et recovrier.  
5 Je di por Gadifer le noble guerrier  
De toutes bones teches n'ot en lui qu'enseignier.  
Il fu loiaus et simples et dous a acointier,  
Larges et frans de cuer et si fu biau parlier.  
Onques nel pot amer traître losengier ;  
10 La ou il sot preudome, bien le volt avanchier,  
Ses bienfais met avant por lui avanchier,\*  
Ne nus hom par nule ire ne l'oï ledengier  
Franc home de parole, ne en cort forjugier.  
Bien ot oï li rois parler et desresnier  
15 Et le gentil baron sor tous de bien proisier,  
En son cuer l'aime et prise et molt plus l'en a chier,  
Bonement prie a Dieu qui tout puet justicier  
Qu'il desfende son cors de mortel enconbrier,  
Qu'il ne autre nel puisse par armes damagier,  
20 Fo. 35v. Car grans doels en seroit de tel home empirier.  
Se il vif le puet prendre, n'en fera prisonnier  
Por quel voille servir n'a amor souploier.  
Lui et Emenidon vorroit acompaignier ;  
Jamés ne conquerroient la monte d'un denier

88, 2. *sovent*] bien.

23. a compaignier.

24. lamonte.

\* The line does not scan ; avanchier is probably repeated inadvertently from preceding line.

87, 25. H s. d. sa maison. 26. H Que p. l. s. e. c. V Car p. celi e. c.  
H q. n. nos enfuion. 'Laisses' 88 and 89, absent in V, occur in H with the following variants :

88, 1. E. bielement p. 2. sovent. 3. orgueil] outrage. aura on  
louier. 4. Ancois e. a s. & h & r. 5. Jel. 7. H om. line.  
8. Fins fu d. c. & l. sot en lui bon guerrier. 9. pot] vot. 10. H om.  
lines 10-12. 13. Ne f. h. blamer. [Onques ne vot oir vanteor novelier.]  
14. ot] lot. & p. & rainier. 15. deseure t. p. [Que jeui lavoit fait a tiere  
trebucier.] 16. & m. le tient p. c. 17. as Diex. q. t. ont a baillier.  
[Jupiter & Pallas vus en voel jou prier  
& toi dame Juno qui sor tous as dangier.]  
18. Que garises s. c. d. mort & denconbrier. 19. Jou n. autres n. puist.  
20. Quar ce s. dolor. 21. S. jou v. l. puis p. nel tenrai p. 22. ne a  
moi s. 23. ferai acompaignier. 24. Ja n. conquerrai mais vallisant  
l. d.

- Aucht wele to hald him in dainte,  
 For throw him alanerly it is  
 2930 That we the feild leif on this wys."  
 I N fair speche lyis oft winning,  
 And in dispyte oft distrubling.  
 Be the this Gaudifere, say I,  
 That into weir was sa wourthy,  
 2935 And gude wertewis in him had he,  
 For large of hart he was and fre,  
 And thair-with sueit and debonare,  
 Of courtis speking and of fare,  
 For he luffit neuer na lossingere,  
 2940 Bot prysit thame that wourthy were ;  
 Neuer in speche for melancoly  
 Defoulet he gude man na wourthy.  
 Alexander the nobill King  
 Had hard all haill his carping,  
 2945 How he to gude Emynedoun,  
 Our all, gaif wourship and renoun.  
 He praisit him in his hart greatly,  
 And prayit to God Intentifly  
 That he sould saif him fra cumring,  
 2950 That day, fra deid and fra menzeing,  
 For him thocht great syn and pitie  
 That sic ane suld encumerit be.  
 He thocht, and he him takin be,  
 And he wald serue him in laute,  
 2955 That he sould weill mak company  
 Of gude Emynedus the douchty  
 And of him, and neuer in his lyfe  
 Conquere [the] valour of ane syue,  
 That thairof na thing baith he and he

[Suld

- 25 Dont ne soient andui seignor et parchonnier.  
 Devant trestous les autres, le tret a .i. archier,  
 Le siut li maines rois qui le corage ot fier.  
 Bucifal cort plus tost que chevreus par ramier  
 Ne fuit devant les chiens quant les voit aprocier.
- 30 Le champ fait retentir, l'erbe fresche trenchier,  
 Les chailloux par mi fendre et les cox esclerier,  
 Les fers des piés voler et trestous esrachier.  
 Gadifer le regarde quant l'oï aprochier ;  
 A l'escu de sinople, et au lyon d'or mier
- 35 Que il vit el chantel par devant flamboier,  
 Sot bien que ce estoit Alixand' d'Alïer.  
 A .i. fais li guenchist quel volt contralïer,  
 Tout en oïant li dist : " Ne vous chaut si coitier,  
 Que ja trop longuement ne vous estuet proier
- 40 Que bien ne vous atende s'a moi volés plaidier !  
 Ceste terre est le duc ; je la voil calengier " !  
 Entre-ferir se vont sans autre manecier,  
 Les chevaus et les armes ont fait si adrecier  
 Que les lances de fresne ou li fer sont d'acier
- 45 Ont fait sor les escus par tronchons debrisiër.  
 Li vassal furent fort et rade li destrier ;  
 Ne furent mie ombrage, ains sont fin droiturier ;  
 Que d'escus et de cors hurtent li chevalier,  
 Les boucles de fin or font toutes despiciër,
- 50 Ens el champ sont volées, et li dui chandelier.  
 Les heaumes covint fraindre et les nassaus froissier,  
 Tous les vis se debrisent, n'i remest cuir entier,  
 Trés par mi les ventailles font le cler sanc raier

88, 34. dormier.

38. vous] vou.

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88, 25. Q. nen s. a. larjement parcognier. 27. L. s. Alixandres.  
 28. cort] va. 29. Qui. 30. & l. fait t. 31. H om. line. 32.  
 & l. claus esragier. 33. lor] il lot. 34. For lines 34-36 H has :  
 & a jure ses Dex a cui doit souploier  
 Ne le refusera nescun autre princier.  
 37. guenchist] trestorne. por lui c. 38. Oiant Grijois l. d. n. v. caut  
 acointier. 39. Quar si t. l. n. v. estut p. 40. bien] je. 41. Cou  
 e. t. l. d. si le v. c. 42. & va ferir le roi por lencaut detriier. [Li rois  
 fait vers lui corre Bucifal le legier.] 43. fait si] s. f. 44. Que &  
 ou] dont. 45. & fraindre & depecier. 47. mie] pas. fin] si. 48.  
 Q. des escus se h. si l. doi c. 49. de] a. en ont fait pecoier. 50.  
 & s. e. c. vole par deseure li erbier. 51. For lines 51 and 52 H has :  
 Les esclices ont fait les vasaus damagier. 53. T. p. l. entralles fisent l. s. r.

- 2960 Suld parsonalis and lordis be.  
Forow thame all that chaisсанд weir.  
The King follout ane bow-dracht neir ;  
And Burssiuale richt fast him bair,  
His feit he sparit na thing thair,  
2965 The erd dintit, he raid sa fast,  
And fyre out of the flint[is] brast.  
Gaudifere saw him cummand neir,  
And be the scheild of Syper cleir,  
Quhairin he saw an Egill stand  
2970 In-to the cantell of gold gletand,  
He knew thairby it was the King ;  
And than, withoutin mare letting,  
His hors to him he turnit in hy,  
And, lauchand, said him courtesly,  
2975 " 3ow nedis nocht sa fast to ryde,  
For I sall 3ou richt heir abyde.  
Gif that 3ow lykis to iust with me,  
This land the dukis suld be all fre,  
And I will challange it to-day."  
2980 With that, withoutin mare delay,  
Thai dressit thame for thair Iusting,  
And on thair scheilds at thair meting  
Thare speris all to schunder brast.  
Thare hors war stark and hyt fast,  
2985 And thai war baith stout and hardy.  
With thair bodyis, as thai raid by,  
Thai hurkillit, and with scheildis, sa  
That goldin buckillis brak in tua,  
Helmis and mail3eis to-fruschit ar ;  
2990 And baith thair visage hurt richt thair,  
Till throw the ventale ran the blude,

[That

- Et corre tout aval dessi qu'ens el braier.  
 55 Gadifer des Laris ou croissent li paumier  
 Par desor Bucifal qui le cuer ot legier  
 Tout envers sor la crupe fait le roi si ploier  
 Que li archons darrains covint s'i esmier,  
 Sor le pis du cheval derompre le poitrier.  
 60 Tout estordi le lait, n'i volt plus detrier  
 Ains s'en vait les galos sous frain tout .i. sentier.  
 Tholomer et Danclins i vinrent tout premier  
 Por lor lige seignor et secourre et aidier,  
 En la sele dorée le font tost redrechier.  
 65 D'estordissons revint, prist soi a afichier,  
 Son cheval fist restraindre, son poitral relaschier,  
 Lance roide demande, que encor vuet chacier.  
 "Sire," dist Tholomer, "je vous voi molt saignier !  
 Molt par estes bleciés, molt nous doit anuier.  
 70 Fierement se vint or cil a vous acontier,  
 Gadifer des Laris ne vous sot manadier !  
 Or savés comme il set cop de lance employer.  
 Molt i a cruël home et felon pautonnier.  
 Se vif le poés prendre, ce vous voil conseilher :  
 75 Tous li ors de cest mont nel devroit respitier."  
 Quant l'entendi li rois, si se prist a irier :  
 "Puis qu'avés tel talent de mon anui vengier,  
 S'un petit le volés plus de prés enchaucier,

- 88, 54. H *om. line.* 55. G. del L. qui tant fist a prisiér. 56. H  
*om. line.* 57. T. de trauers le c. a f. l. r. p. 58. Q. larcon daerrain  
 li ont fait e. 59. & les caingles d. salongent li estrier. [La siele entre  
 ses cuises fist le roi trebucier.] 60. En mi le camp l. laise ne si v. detrier.  
 61. *sen*] en. sor son corant destrier. 62. T. & Clincons v. corant p.  
 63. *For lines* 63-66 H *has* :  
 Luns met main au ceval lautres au roi aidier  
 Alixandres saut sus ni ot que courechier  
 La siele li ont mise sor Bucifal arrier  
 Tholomes & Clincons li ont tenu lestrier  
 & quant fu remontes prist soi a avancier.  
 67. L. mise sor feutre car e. vot c. 69. H *om. line.* 70. *vint*] vient.  
 71. *des*] del. n. v. vot espargnier. 72. *employer*] paier. 73. H *om.*  
*line.* 74. ce v. v. jou prier. 75. ne li doit r.  
 [Que ne le face prendre u tout vif escorcier  
 U en i. fu ardant le faites graellier.]  
 76. Q. l. r. l. ni ot que courechier  
 [De cou que il soi ensi contraloier  
 & li a respondu qui ni vot atargier  
 Tholomes saves vus que je vous voel priier.]  
 77. Por coi aves t. d. moi contraliier. [Je ne vus voi pas prest de mon honte  
 vengier.] 78. Se vus l. volies d. p. pres e.



- That stremand to thare sadillis 3eid ;  
 And Gaudifere him preissit sa  
 That he the King gart bakuart ga  
 2995 Our the leyndis of Burssiuale.  
 Baith arsoun, girth and patrale  
 Brak in schunder, withoutin wene,  
 And he fell bakuart on the grene.  
 Than Gaudifere maid thair na baid,  
 3000 Bot wallapand his wayis raid.  
 First to the King come Tholomere,  
 And Daucline als, that was his pere,  
 To help thair lord in full gude will.  
 His hors richt sone thay brocht him till,  
 3005 And on his sadill thai him set,  
 And it that was to beit thai bet.  
 He askit, quhen he horssit was,  
 Ane speir, for 3it wald he mare chais.  
 " 3e are stonyit," said Tholomere,  
 3010 " I se 3ow bleid on seir manere.  
 Now wait 3e weill how Gaudifere  
 Can stoutly set ane straik with spere.  
 He is richt cruell and felloun.  
 And he war tane, suld na ransoun  
 3015 Saif him na he suld hangit be,  
 Or els sum euill dede he sould de.  
 To saif his lyfe thair micht na wis  
 Honour na proffit to 3ow ris."

- 3020 **T**HE King beheld him irously,  
 And said, " sen thow hes sic inuy  
 To venge my harm, gif that thow will,

[Thow

2992. yare.

2995. burssiuale.

3001,-09. tholomere.

3002. daucline.

3013. *richt*] wicht.3020. *thow*] 3ow.

- Bon loisir en aurois, ce cuit, ains l'anuitier !  
 80 Por quant vous ne l'avés or mie a essayer.  
 Du brun qu'amïés tant, vous a fait senestrier.  
 Voiant moi, vous en fist la sele a or vuidier  
 Et le coing de ce heaume en la terre fichier.  
 Bien puis dire por voir, ja celer nel vous quier,  
 85 De lui a recontrer n'avés nul desirier.  
 De dire tel parole vous devriés targier,  
 Qu'il n'est mïe de ceus qui servent de noisier,  
 Ains set bien .i. estor fornir et conmenchier,  
 Si s'en set bien partir quant il en a mestier,  
 90 Et, s'il en voit son lieu, faire .i. biau recovrier.  
 Ne lait mïe ses gens trop de prés angoissier,  
 Ains les delivre bien quant les voit trop chargier.  
 Maint poindre bien empris a hui fait a corcier,  
 Et a tous nos meillors frains tenir et sachier.  
 95 Je n'en voi c'un tout seul envers lui eslessier  
 Qu'il ne faice a la terre tout estendu couchier.  
 Jehui l'en ai veü tex .iij. deschevauchier  
 Li pires le cuidast tous seus prendre et loier.

88, 90. enuoit.

94. *sachier*] hachier.

88, 79. *cuit*] crois. 80. *vous ne laues or mie*] n. l. v. m. o. 81. Cor  
 Tholomes le b. que v. aves si chier. 82. de l. s. widier. 83. *For lines*  
 83 and 84 H has :

Que tout en vic ne rons vo ver elme dacier  
 Quidai que fuscies mort voloie vus vengier  
 Mais on ne puet a lui mie trop gaegnier  
 De dire tel parole vus deusies gaitier.

85. H *inverts lines 85 and 86.* Quar d. l. encontre n. pas d. 86. v.  
 deusies gaitier. 87. Il. 89. Mult bel s. s. p. 90. H *om. line.*  
 91. N. l. m. se gent d. t. p. encaucier. 92. H *om. line.* 94. &  
 t. n. m. f. & tirer & sacier. 95. J. ne vois nul de vus e. l. aprocier.  
 96. Que. [Ne il ne se meut mie premerains hebregier.] 97. H *om. lines*  
 97-103.

- Thow may haue laisere sone thair-till !  
 And, nocht-for-thy, I dar weill say  
 Thow hes him nocht now to assay.  
 3025 Of the broune that thow luffit sa  
 To erd bakuard he gart the ga,  
 Quhen the cantell of thi helm sa cleir  
 Stikkit in the erd on sic manere,  
 For thi nekbane was neir bristing !  
 3030 And I may weill say but lesing  
 That thow to meit him hes na will.  
 Of sic speche nicht thow weill be still,  
 For I knaw he is nane of thay  
 That mekill noyis and bost will may,  
 3035 For he can weill begin ane stour,  
 And end it als, weill with honour,  
 And, Quhen he seis he hes mister,  
 Part thair-fra on fair maner,  
 And mak mony ane fare recouering ;  
 3040 Quhen he preissit is ony thing,  
 He lettis nocht, withoutin weir,  
 His fallowis chaissit be to neir,  
 Bot thame with speir or [brand] all bare,  
 Deliuieris thame, quhen chaissit are.  
 3045 Mony fare point, throw his bounte,  
 Fele syis that day recouerit hes he,  
 And our best men and maist of mane  
 He gart oft hald thair hors agane.  
 Is nane that dar him neir assay  
 3050 Than flatlingis to the erd gang thay.  
 This day I saw him fell sic thre  
 That the worst wint, throw his bounte,

[To

- Diex li volt ces armes cortoisement baillier,  
 100 Ains d'escu ne de lance ne vi mais si manier.  
 Miex prise son fuïr que tout nostre chacier.  
 Cil qui l'a de mesnie se doit bien rehetier,  
 Car nul meillor de lui ne puet dame besier.  
 Ains se leroit detraire a queue de sommier  
 105 Qu'il feïst por pāour dont eüst reprovier."

- 89 **M**OLT a bien Gadifer son encontre emploié  
 Quant il le roi meïsme a si estoutoié  
 Que tuit si meillor home en furent esmoié.  
 Il n'i a .i. tout seul tant l'eüst manechié  
 5 FO. 36. Qui de lui enchaucier ait nule convoitié.  
 Cil de Gadres en furent durement rehetié,  
 Avec lui se resont tel quarante apuié  
 Qui tuit estoient d'armes cremu et essaucié.  
 Li forrier se resont ensamble ralié  
 10 A une part du champ, con gent bien enseignié.  
 Emenidus d'Arcage lor a molt biau prié

88, 99. *The line is one syllable short.*

89, 2. *meïsmes.*

- 88, 99. *Après a dit li rois a Dex quel cevalier.* 100. *mais]* nul.  
 101. *H inverts lines 101 and 102.* Quar plus p. s. f. q. ne fac no c.  
 [Com je li voi ses armes a mon talent baillier]. 102. *le d. b. avoir cier.*  
 103. *Ne miudres chevaliers ne pot escu percier.*

[Fors seul Emenidus qui fait les rens ploier  
 Mult aroie grande joie daus ii. aconpagnier  
 Sire dist Tholome se jel puis exploitier  
 Le ver quil enmena le quic jou vendre cier  
 Cou Lairis dont il est u croisent li paumier  
 Peuist il asses mius i. ceval bargignier  
 Caiele dist li rois laies votre plaidier  
 Ne le trovastes pas de ferir esclenkier  
 De lui seul a seur vus loi jou atargier.]

104. *H places lines 104 and 105 after the extra line following l. 96.* 105.  
*reprovier]* reprocier.  
 89, 1. *son]* cest. 3. *Si q. li m. G. e. f. esmaie.* 4. *Nil nen i a*  
 i. s. t. lait estoutoiét. 5. *encontrer. nule]* mie. 6. *furent]* vont.  
*rehetie]* corecier. 7. *H om. lines 7 and 8.* 9. & l. f. en sont.  
 10. *comme b. e.* 11. *biau]* bien.

To tak him allane and to bynd.  
 Se how he bydis his feris behind,  
 3055 Lord, how he delis at his lyking  
 Baith with his hors and his arming !  
 I saw neuer man, my lyftyme ere,  
 Sa cleynly daill with scheild and spere.  
 I prais far mair his fleyng  
 3060 Than I do all our follouing.  
 The lord that hes him of menȝe  
 Richt Ioyful in hart may he be,  
 For ane worthiar knicht na he,  
 I trow thair may nane fundin be,  
 3065 For he had leuer to be slane,  
 Or hangit, or with hors be drawin,  
 Than he for radnes suld do sic thing  
 That nicht him turne to repreuing."

3070 **G**AVDIFIR hes this encountering  
 Set woundir weill, quhen he the King  
 Sa stoutly to the erd doun bare  
 That his best men abaissit ware.  
 The proudest that amang thame was  
 Had na great ȝarning him to chais ;  
 3075 And thay of Gaderis war richt blyth,  
 And Gaudifeir thair-to alsuyth  
 Ane houndreth heir assemblit ar,  
 That in armis richt wourthy war.  
 The furriours than saw thame reill,  
 3080 That held thame ay in company weill,  
 With Emynedus thair ledere,  
 That he renounit bachilere.

[Quhen



- Que il de bien ferir soient bien porcuidié,  
 Et il li ont trestuit bonement otroié  
 Que, por perdre les vies, ne feront mauvestié.  
 15 Dont brochent tuit ensamble et serré et rengié,  
 La peussiés vëoir maint cheval eslessié  
 Et, por plus tost aler, des esperons touchié.  
 La ou s'entr'encontrerent n'ot onques manecié,  
 As lances et as brans ont tel jeu conmenchié  
 20 Dont maint cors de vassal jurent mort et blecié,  
 Des cevaus et des armes ont tout le champ jonchié.  
 Cil de Gadres s'en tignent qu'il n'i ont delaié,  
 Tel .xiiij. des lor i sont deschevauchié  
 Qui tuit gisent el champ, ocis et detrenchié.  
 25 A esperon s'en vont delés .i. brueil plessié,  
 La peüst l'en vëoir maint confanon baissié  
 Et a terre gesir maint escu vernicié,  
 Maint bon cheval de pris suant et estanchié.  
 Gadifer des Laris n'en a pas le cuer lié,  
 30 De ses conpaignons crient que il sont molt cargié.  
 Bien set, se il lor faut, que mal ont exploitié,  
 Car tuit cil qui pris erent seront mal herbergié ;  
 Mes il a de bien faire si le cuer empraignié  
 Qu'il ne fait nul samblant d'ome contralié.  
 35 Sa lance avoit perdue, si a le branc sachié,  
 Por ces gens garandir a tel fait embracié

89, 15. en samble.

22. sentornent.

- 
- 89, 12. Qu'il s. a b. faire prest & aparilliet. 13. *trestuit*] ensamble.  
 14. Q. p. prendre leur v. 15. Lors poignent t. ensamble quil ni ot  
 detriiet. 16. La peuist on v. 17. H *om. lines 17 and 18.* 19.  
*ieu*] hu. 20. *maint*] tant. ont m. & trebuciet. 22. senfuient. que  
 n. ot detrier. 23. *xiiij.*] xl. 24. *gisent*] furent. 25. *sen*] en.  
 fuiant vers i. plaisiet. 26. *maint*] tant. 27. & jeür a l. t. m. e.  
 vermilliet. 28. & tant c. d. p. 29. G. del L. not mie l. c. l. 30.  
 q. forment s. c. 31. *lor faut*] lui perdent. 32. T. c. ki seront  
 p. s. m. h. 33. l. c. s. empregniet. 35. *perdue*] brisie. *si a*] & tint.  
 36. P. sa gent g. a t. fais encargiet.

3085 Quhen he that had thame in leding  
 Had maid thame fair admonising  
 That at the ending thay suld weill do,  
 And thay assentit weill thair-to,  
 Ane poynt apertly than thay maid ;  
 And Gaudifeir thame weill abaid.  
 3090 Than men mycht se sic glew begin  
 That to the erd 3eid mare and min.  
 Bot manassing, thay mony straik,  
 Great routis can thay gif and tak,  
 And sa lang war thay thair fechtand  
 That Gaderains had the wakar hand ;  
 3095 And quhen thai saw na better rede,  
 In full great hy thay left the steid ;  
 Bot sixty of thair men of mane  
 At that assay thare left thay slane.  
 Strikand with spurris, thay fled in hy.  
 3100 Thare mycht men se that had bene by  
 The chaissaris streik mony ane spere,  
 And mony ane hors that sweaty war,  
 And at the erd mony ane scheild  
 Weill vernist strouit in the feild.

3105 **G**AVDIFEIR de Laris he was wa  
 When he his men saw chargit sa,  
 Bot he to do weill had sic will  
 That he na semblance maid of ill.  
 His spere was tint, bot he his brand  
 3110 Had nakit drawin in his hand.  
 For to delyuer all his men3e,  
 Sa great thing vndertane hes he

[That

- Dont tuit cil qui le voient se sont esmerveillié.  
 Autresi les enmaine con li vilains a pié  
 Enchace devant lui ses bestes au marchié.  
 40 La retorne sovent ou il sont aprochié ;  
 Ci endroit n'a il mie de son escu pitié,  
 Tant le mist en present, si li ont detrenchié,  
 Que il en a perdu bien prés de la moitié.  
 En tant conme il enporte estoient ens fichié  
 45 Tel .vij. tronchon de lance en chascun ot lancié  
 Confanon de cendal ou pignoncel frangié.  
 Bien s'en alast sans perte, mes si l'ont angoissié  
 Licanor et Filote, li dui frere proisié  
 Et Caulus Menalis qui avoit enchaucié,  
 50 Que chascuns tint le fer de son trenchant espié  
 En l'auberc par derriere, si l'en ont enbrunchié  
 Sor l'archon dāarrain que tout l'ont defroissié.  
 Molt fu fors li haubers quant maille n'en rompié.  
 Li vassaus se redrece que li fust sont brisié,  
 55 O l'espée qui tint, si bien se desfendié  
 C'onques nus por le prendre le main n'i estendié,  
 Ains s'en vait tous delivres, maugré eus l'ont lessié.
- 90 **N**E porent li Gadrain l'estor plus maintenir ;  
 Ou il voillent ou non, lor covient a guerpir.  
 Li forrier les en virent tous desconfis partir,  
 Lor cheval furent las de longuement soffrir,  
 5 Por quant de l'enchaucier ne se porent tenir,  
 A esperon les siuent, convoiteus de ferir,

89, 52. darrain.

57. senuait.

- 89, 37. *en*] se. 39. Va cacant d. l. *ses*] les. 40. H *om. line.*  
 41. La e. nont i. m. 42. Quar t. lont mis e. prise tout li o. detailliet.  
 43. Si quil e. ont p. plus d. lune m. 44. E. cel t. kil e. e. enficiet.  
 45. H *om. line.* 46. P. & c. & confanon fregiet. [Dusqua iiij. de caus  
 ki lorent aprociat.] 47. *sans perte*] a. Gadres. *si*] il. 48. doit freres  
 mult p. 49. *For lines 49-51* H *has only*: Sor son escu a or que tout lont e.  
 52. H *om. lines 52-53.* 54. *que*] quant. 55. A l. quil tient. 56.  
 Que n. daus p. lui p. n. a l. m. tendie. 57. H *om. line.*  
 90, 1. *lestor plus*] V p. l. 2. H voient. a] H il. V estot le champ g.  
 3. HV & l. Griu l. e. fisent (V ueient). *partir*] H fuir. 4. H del grant  
 estor s.; V d. l. fuir. 5. *porrent*] H voient; V uoldrent. 6. *de*] H  
 des; V del.

- That all the warld suld ferly haue.  
 Before him all his folk he draif,  
 3115 Richt as the husband driuis his fee,  
 To sell at markat or at Citie.  
 Thare mony fare turning he maid,  
 For to help his that mister had.  
 Thare it was sene richt weill that he  
 3120 Had of his gilt scheild na pitie,  
 For he abandonit to thame sa  
 That the tane half was neir in tua,  
 And in the laif was thair truncheonis  
 Of speris, strekand weill thare pennonis.  
 3125 Men sayis he had to Gaderis gane  
 Maugre the chaissaris euerilkane,  
 Na war Philot and Licanor  
 And Caulus, that come him before.  
 With speris on him thai straik al thre,  
 3130 Quhill on his arsoun dinit he.  
 With the suord, throw his bounte,  
 Sa manfully him defendit he  
 That nane his hand straucht him to ta ;  
 Maugre thame all, he went thame fra.

- 3135 **T**HE gude Gaderanis that with him war  
 Micht nocht endure the stour na mair.  
 The fourriours that chaissit thame na,  
 All discumfit hes sene thame fla,  
 Quhill all thair hors wor sa wery,  
 3140 For thay war trauelit gretumly,  
 Thay micht nocht hald thame fra chaissing,  
 Bot follouit thame efter in ane lyng.

[Emynedus

3124. L. *thair*.3127. *philot*.3129. L. *all*.3135. *gaderanis*.3138. *fla*] *sla*.

- Emenidus devant, qui les rens fait fremir  
 Et la pierre esgruner et la terre bondir,  
 Gadifer a consult, dont avoit grant desir,  
 10 Et cil s'est regardés qui l'oï tost venir,  
 Puis dist : " Haute chose est de preudome obeïr.  
 Qui faire ne le vuet, bien s'en doit repentir.  
 Cist seus en oseroit .iiij. mil envaïr,  
 Non por quant tant resent mon cuer de grant aïr  
 15 Que bien os mon escu contre le sien guenchir.  
 Maint fil de france dame nous a hui fait fenir,  
 Les meres n'en seront a piece sans soupïr.  
 Nostre grant joie a fait en grant duel revertir.  
 Ne sai qu'en avendra, ou doloir ou joïr.  
 20 Il covient l'un de nous envers l'autre escremir.  
 Miex voil metre mon cors du tout el covenir  
 Que faire por päour dont me doie honnir.  
 Plus criem et redout honte que je ne fais morir ! "

91 **G**ADIFER fu molt preus, d'un arrabi lignage  
 En Berri fu norris, et cil de son parage

90, 8. H **Pieres** esquarterel & l. t. tentir. 9. HV a i. destroit (V plein pour) iscir ; I a ceval a loisir. 10. V a conuit. H & c. le regarda. H q. t. l. v. ; I quant il l. v. ; V kil oi t. v. 11. H *Puis*] H &. *obeir*] H **norir** ; I cerir ; V servir. 12. HV & q. f. nel viut (V uolt). *sen*] H se. 13. V C. s. oseient hui. HV bien (V *om.*) .x. m. e. 14. HV *om. lines* 14 and 15. 16. *france dame*] H **castelain**. 17. V L. m. ne serroient. 18. Il a f. ml't de gent. H a dolor r. ; V a g. d. r. [H Jou ne voi que lui seul encontre moi venir]. 19. HIV & (V ne) Deu uert a (I ne quert a Dex) plaisir. [HV **Ne li quels se deura** ou doleir ou ioir (*cp. prec. line*)]. 20. *escremir*] H guencir. 21. *el*] H al ; V a. 22. H Q. jou face tel cose. *honnir*] H hair.

91, 1. *preus*] fiers. V **corage**. 2. *fu*] V ert. H Al Lairis f. n. *parage*] HV lignage.



- Emynedus before thame raid,  
 Ane staluart spere in hand he had.  
 3145 Sa fast Ferrand than gart he ga  
 That stanis and flagmontis flaw him fra.  
 He had our-tane gude Gaudifeir,  
 And he, that hard on sic maneir  
 Him sa stoutly follow his trais,  
 3150 He lukit and knew weill quhat he was.  
 Syne sais, " it is gude thing, suthlie,  
 To nurris gude men and wourthy,  
 And he that negaitis do na will,  
 He sall repent him, as is skill.  
 3155 This knicht allane durst tak on hand  
 For to assay thretty thousand.  
 Mony fair lordis sonnes to-day  
 He hes put to our hard assay,  
 That the motheris that thame bare  
 3160 Sall haue lang tyme thare hartis sare.  
 Our mekill Ioy to-day hes he  
 Gart to our mekill dule turnit be.  
 I wait nocht quhat thairof may fall,  
 Na quhilk of vs that tyne sall,  
 3165 Bot that our departing beis wa.  
 Bot me had leuer, how euer it ga,  
 To all perellis put my body  
 Than for radnes do velany.  
 Thare sall na kin dout me leid,  
 3170 For I dout schame weill mare na deid."
- G**AVDIFEIR was full douchty,  
 Of hie worship and cheualry,  
 And great courage of hart alsua ;

[And

- Par proësce entreprenent sa perte et son damage.  
 N'en prist mîe conseil a son droit seignorage.  
 5 Se Betis le veïst, il le tenist a rage  
 D'un seul home vers lui atornast a outrage  
 Ne guenchist mie a loi de fol vilain ombrage,  
 Mes, la lance bessie, a .i. fer de Cartage,  
 Et tant con li chevaus puet venir par l'erbage.  
 10 Ferrans qui fu norris en riche pasturage,  
 Recort assés plus tost d'un esprevier marage.  
 Molt sont prés de joster, qui que tort a folage,  
 Ja n'en seront donné ne plege ne ostage,  
 Ne fianche rompue, ne deguerpi homage,  
 15 *FO. 36v.* Ains cuit bien qu'au partir i lera li uns gage.

- 92 **F**IER furent li vassal et de grant estoutie,  
 Proësce et mautalens et fiertés les envie  
 Et semont et esmuet de grant chevalerie.  
 L'uns lait corre vers l'autre qu'autrement ne deffie,  
 5 Car il n'avoit entr'eus amor ne druërie.  
 Gadifer vint molt tost, qu'il n'a talent qu'il rie,  
 En son bras ot lachie une manche s'amie,  
 Qui n'estoit mîe garce ne povrement norrie,  
 Mes riche damoisele, fille au roi de Nubie.

91, 7. *a loi*] *supplied*; *ombrage*] ne ombrage.  
 12. sont *is written twice*.

91, 3. *sa perte*] H son *honte*; I tel p. &] V de. 4. V *om. line.* 5. H Sor le seust B.; V Si cheitif li v. *a rage*] H al r.; V aerage. 6. *home*] V griu. *uers*] I envers. H D. h. Gadifer. *atornast*] H tenist il; I le tenist. *outrage*] V uiltage.

[Mais li rois Alixandres le vit a son barnage  
 Gadifer del Lairis u mult ot vaselage.]

7. HIV N. g. (V gwenchent) m. a lui (IV loi) d. f. v. o. 8. *a i.*] H u ot; V en out. [HV En lescu embuscies (V *Enbrûchez soz lescu*) plains de grant vaselage.] 9. H T. c. li bais cevaus. HV pot (V put) corre p. l. [V I let coure al essperon cō home de fier courage.] 10. *en*] H au. 11. H Revint. V Ke uet corrant p. t. HV ramage (V rainage). 12. *pres*] H prest; I lie. H damage. I par lor grant vaselage. V Gadifer fu p. d. j. ki kel tenge a f. 13. V ne serroit. 15. V Einz c. b. ki lerra l. un lautre sun g.

92, 1. I estormie. 2. H Orgius. I P. & hardemans m. & e. 3. HV & e. & s. 4. HV q. (H autrement) nel d. 5. V Si kil n. e. namour n. d. 6. H qui mautalent aigrie. 7. H *om. lines* 7-9. 9. *Nubie*] V percie.

- And shame, that distrenzeit sa,  
3175 His great skaith hes vndertane.  
At Betys counsall tuik he nane,  
For he wald hald it great foly  
That ony ane manis body  
3180 Sould put him-selfe in sik bandoun  
Agane the duke Emynedoun.  
Bot he had nocht this counsall than,  
Trauersit his hors as mighty man ;  
He turnit nocht abasitly,  
Bot, with speir straucht full sturdelly,  
3185 Enbushit vnderneath his sheild,  
With helme embroshit, endlang the feild  
He draue agane Emynedoun,  
That come prikand in ane randoun  
On Ferrand, that richt fast him bare.  
3190 To the iusting richt neir thay ware ;  
I trow thair sall na peace be maid,  
Na 3it plunging be na baid  
Betuix thame, quhill the tane haue skaith.  
Now at the semble ar thay baith.  
3195 Thay war baith stout and hardy,  
And full of hie, great cheualry,  
For ire, matelent and stoutnes  
Summond thame to do proues.  
Ather agane vther raid,  
3200 Bot na kin mannance was thair maid.  
Gaudifeir come first richt stoutly.  
Vpon his gilt helme, for drowrie,  
Was put the sleif of ane lady,  
The Kingis dochter of Nuby.

[Emynedus

- 10 Si fiert Emenidon en la targe florie,  
Desous la boucle a or li a frete et croissie,  
De tel vertu l'empaint et de tel estoutie  
La guige en est rompue et l'enarme faillie,  
En mi le champ le porte sor l'erbe qui verdie.
- 15 Por quant Emenidus ne se muet ne ne plie,  
Ains a la sieue lance droite voie choisie,  
Par dedevant la targe a or encoulorie  
Le feri sor la broigne an deus doubles sarcie,  
La maille en a trenchié la ou li aciers brie,
- 20 El cors li fait sentir le fust de Romenie  
Que assés prés de cuer est la lance croissie,  
Cil chiet du cop mortel, s'a la sele guerpie.  
Ses chevaus ert si bons, ne sai que vous en die,  
Onques si bons n'issi du regne de Persie.
- 25 Emenidus en a la resne a or saisie,  
De lui et de Ferrant fera la compaignie.  
Alixand' cachoit devers destre partie,  
Vit le cop du baron et la joustie furnie,  
Vers lui est trestornés, hautement li escrie :
- 30 " Vous en doing je le pris et emport garantie !  
Par vous est desconfite la pute gent haïe.  
Ne vous puënt soffrir ne la vostre envaïe,  
Car enprés vostre cop ne done entres aïe.  
Que cil garisse mes, je ne creroie mie ! "
- 35 Et cil jut a la terre en qui n'a point d'envie,  
La plaignent li Grejois lui et sa baronnie  
Et la tresgrant proësse qu'il avoit acueillie.

92, 13. len arme.

14. sor] desus.

18. feri] fri.

- 92, 10. Si] H &. en] HV sor. 11. V om. lines 11-13. H quasie.  
12. H Par grant v. l. & par grant baronie. 13. H places the line after  
line 11. L. g. e. derompue & lenarme f. 14. H E. m. l. pre. HV  
l'emporte. HV sor (V sur). 16. lance] V hanste. HI droitement envoie  
(I acoillie). [V Que de souz la bocle a or li a freite & croissie.] 17. HV  
Tres (V Que) p. devant l. t. V ki est a or burnie. 18. H L. fiert desor  
l. b. ; V L. feri en l. b. V kest en d. s. 19. H om. line. V Les mailles  
entr'ncha a icele enuaie. 20. V om. lines 20-25. H fist. fust] H fier.  
21. H Si quases p. d. c. 22. H om. line. I s. sa s. widie. 23. H  
om. lines 23-25. 26. HV D. l. & del bon bai sen va (V seura) l. c. 29.  
est] V sest. H devers l. se torna a hautes (? haute) vois l. crie. 30. le  
pris] H lounor. H & porte g. 32. HV Que (V Kil) n. pooit (V poent)  
s. v. chevalerie. 33. cop] V mein. H n. d. entresaie ; V na nuls entrez a.  
34. H Se c. garist jamais. H il avera bon mie ; I mult ora signorie ; V ico  
n. quid io m. [H A Gadifier areste des Grius une partie.] 35. a la terre]  
V estenduz. na] V nout. H Por cou que mort le quident & lame departie.  
36. V cōpainie. H Le p. & regretent ne se targierent mie. 37. H Son  
cors & sa p. V que cil out a.

- 3205 Emynedus in the sheild him straik  
 Quhill he in sheuers can it shaik,  
 He panit him with ane great micht,  
 Till of the sheild that shynit bricht  
 The brais and buklis brast in tua,  
 3210 And bare it in the feild him fra ;  
 Bot, nocht-for-thy, Eminatedoun  
 Tint na sterop na arsoun,  
 Bot smot him with sa mekill micht  
 Vpone the birnie that was bricht,  
 3215 Befoir the targe that he couth beir,  
 Neir in his hart he bare the speir ;  
 And he fell with that deidly dint.  
 Emynedus the hors hes hint,  
 That was sa guid that nane micht be  
 3220 Ane better steid in na cuntre.  
 Now may he weill mak cumpany  
 Of him and Ferrand, the lufly.  
**T**HE King neir by the chais can mak  
 And sawe richt weill the staluart straik ;  
 3225 And towart him he come in hy,  
 And said, “ shir, of this cheualry  
 I gif 3ow halely all the prys.  
 Thir folk throw 3ow discumfit is.  
 Thay micht nocht thole 3our assail3eing.  
 3230 Aganes 3our dint helpis na thing.  
 The man is deid, withouttin wene.”  
 And he lay strekit on the grene.  
 The knichtis of Grece grittumly,  
 [Menit] him and his cheif cheualry,  
 3235 His worship and his great bounte.

[Emynedus



- Emenidus meïsmes de l'enfoïr les prie,  
 Que laidement ne soit sa bele char perie :  
 40 "Doels est de sa proësce qui si tost est finie !  
 Par .i. pou ne m'en poise (se Diex me beneïe !)  
 Mes tel chose m'a faite qui molt me contralie !"  
 Et li rois est venus, qui l'uevre a esjoïe,  
 Rit soi de la parole quant il l'a bien oïe,  
 45 Puis a dit : "Bien est voirs que frans cuers s'umelie.  
 Bien sai c'uns autres hon cest mot ne deïst mie,  
 Mes molt estes vaillans et plains de cortoisie !"
- 93 CIL ot feru grant cop qui donei en ot maint.  
 Pou est nus hon el siecle qui refuser nel daint.  
 Qui il encontre bien, en sele ne remaint,  
 Petit dure es archons quant par force l'empaint,  
 5 Jus le covient aler se la sele ne fraint.  
 Au sanc qu'il ot perdu et au chaut quel destraint,  
 Sor Ferrant s'est pasmés, que travaus le sorvaint,  
 Et li rois l'aperchoit que joie dont sorfraint  
 Ses .ij. poins fiert ensamble et durement se plaint :  
 10 "Gentiex, se vous morés, bien me tieng por ataint !  
 Onques mieudres de vous ne porta escu paint

92, 43. *Et li*] Li.

- 92, 38. *les*] H len. 39. V Q. n. s. l. H la soie cars p.  
 [H Puis le plaint & regrete ne puet muer ne die  
 A gentius chevaliers plains de grant signorie  
 Gens cuers haute proecce proudons ciere hardie  
 Ja de millor de vus ne nert lance brisie  
 Ne fors escus saisis ne banieri lacie.]
40. H De la votre p. *qui*] V quant. 41. *men*] V me. H Est dex &  
 grans pecies. 42. H & saves fait t. c dont m. m. c.  
 [H Non porquant si me poise se Dex me beneïe (*cp. line 41*)  
 Quar de votre valor nest mes hom avouie.]
43. V & l. *For lines 43 and 44* H *has*: Alixandres l. r. a l. p. o. 44. V  
*om. line.*  
 [H Cele part vint corant tint lespee sacie  
 De sanc & de cerviele fu rouge & empalie  
 & a dit a ses homes en qui forment safie  
 Oies de Gadifier ne puis muer nen rie  
 Que Gadifier regrait ja nest cou druerie  
 Que Pirrus de Monflor qui tenoit Alenie  
 A hui fet mort souffrir a itele hascie.]
45. *bien*] H cou. 46. *hō*] I cuers. H B. s. que i. vilains n. le d. m. ; V  
 B. s. dun felon home kil nel d. m. 47. HV *om. line.*
- 93, 1. HV C. ont f. (H done) maint c. H & recut e. ont m. 2. V Ou  
 e. n. h. tant fiers. H Na sou ciel chevalier. H que il r. d. ; I que deviser  
 le d. 3. H *places line 3 after line 1.* V Kar sil lencontre b. 4. H *om.*  
*line.* V kil p. f. enpeint. 5. *le*] V len. *sele*] HV lance. V si lance n.  
 lui f. 7. H Se pasma .iiii. fois ; V Pasma est as arcons. HV car anuis  
 (V li chaut) l. s. 8. *laperchoit*] V le percut. *que*] H qui. V li. H d. i.

- Emynedus prayit 3it that he suld be  
 Erdit, that his fare flesch na ware  
 Reuin with beistis, hede nor hare :  
 “ Heir of his dede I haue pitie,  
 3240 Bot he sa greatly chaissit me,  
 Quhen that he slew Pirrus the gude,  
 That he than mingit all my mude.  
 3it me forthinkis that he is slane,  
 With all my mude and all my mane.”  
 3245 The King weill hard him mak his mane,  
 And to him said, lauchand, on ane,  
 “ It is suith exemplair thay say,  
 That wourthy hartis it makis ay.  
 I wait it, without lesing,  
 3250 Sum vther wald nocht say sic thing.  
 He that sydis hes gart sow sair,  
 Ane sturdy straik he hes striken thair,  
 And sa sturdy, forsuith, it is,  
 This day was nane sic strikin, I wis.  
 3255 Attour all sould he louit be,  
 That nane attendit to his bounte ! ”  
 Bot the great blude that he hes bled,  
 And the heit als, sa hard him led  
 That he suouned richt on his steid.  
 3260 The King it sawe, and sair can dreid  
 That he sould die thair in that place.  
 Than menit he him, and said, “ allace,  
 Gif that thow deis, gentill knicht,  
 The flour is done of all my micht.  
 3265 I trow neuer mair ioyous sall I be  
 Into my hart, gif I tyne the,

[Na

3241. pirrus.

3263. knicct.

H soufrait ; V suffreient.

9. V ducement. se] IV le. V stops here.

*Except when preceded by 'I,' the following variants are those of H.* 10.  
 bien] je.

[Jou ne quic que jamais mes cuers joie demaint.]

[I par trestote la tere coceanus ataint.]

11. O teus chevaliers.

Ne ne trencha de lance vernis ne autre taint ! ”  
 Et li Grieu s'i assamblent, n'i a celui ne l'aint ;  
 La mainent tel dolor que la chace remaint.  
 15 Et Betis se garisse, qui d'aler ne se faint.  
 Li rois son meillor mire rueve c'on li amaint  
 Si tost con li chevaus d'aigre süeur le baint ;  
 Cil savoit tant de plaie n'estuet c'on li ensaint,  
 Leve le bonement et atorne et restraint,  
 20 D'une bende de porpre par mi le pis le chaint.  
 Molt li poise du roi qui se dolose et plaint,  
 Ne vuet qu'il se gramisse ne sire li engraint,  
 Ains li fait bien entendre tous est fis qu'il le saint.

94 **S**OR une coutepointe de paile et d'auqueton  
 Esspessement forrée et plaine de coton,  
 Quant l'orent desarmé et faissié environ,  
 Couchierent li Grejois le preu Emenidon,  
 5 Licanor delés lui, son gentil conpaignon,  
 Qui li fu aportés, pasmés, sor .i. blason,  
 Car Betis l'ot feru d'une lance a bandon ;  
 Devers le costé destre cognurent le pomon.  
 Li rois fist desus euls tendre son paveillon,  
 10 Li mires du garir i mist grant espison,  
 Qu'ains .xx. jors les rendi si sains comme poisson.  
 Par tans porront porter chascuns son confanon  
 Et ferir chevalier d'eslais et de randon,  
 Mar en ert pris hostages, se de la teste non.

93, 23. les aint.

94, 2. Esspessement.

7. abandon.

93, 12. *autre*] escu. 13. L. G. s. asanlerent. *celui*] i. seul. 14.  
 H *places line after the second of the extra lines following* 15. *La*] I &. H Ici  
 grant dol demaine. 15. garist.

[**Bien puet venir a Gadres se en lui ne demaint**

Ancois que li Griu laient conseau ne ataint.]

16. *son*] le. *rueue*] H rouva ; I prie. 17. 9] que. *daigre*] H en guef  
 (? grief) ; I en grant. *le*] se. [& cil i vint corant qui le quida ataint.] 18.  
 & il sest t. deploie. I nest nus qui l. e. 19. H Si la oint dongement &  
 bende & r. ; I Lave la b. essue & r. 20. D. fasce porprine p. m. les flans  
 lataint. 21. Apres a dit au r. que caitif ne se claint. 22. Que voel  
 q. face dol ne secort l. e. 23. A tous la f. e. bien e. drois q. le saint.

94, 1. fourree d. 2. H *places line 2 after line 4.* Menuement ouvree de  
 soie & d. c. 3. H *om. line.* 4. A fait li rois coucier. 5. *For*  
*line 5* H *has two :*

&amp; Gadifier o lui s. gentil c.

&amp; L. o l. qui cuer ot de lion.

6. *li*] I la. H Li Griu lorent trove p. s. le sablon. 8. D. d. lot pris si  
 con vit l. p. 9. L. r. a fait sor aus t. le p.

[Dont tout furent a or li pan & li gieron  
 & les cordes de soie & dor fin li paissou.]

10. H prist une livrison ; I met grant extension. H *interpolates here 28 lines.*

- Na I trow neuer to conquer  
 Castell, citie, na land of weir ! ”  
 The Grecians menit him halely,  
 3270 For all thay luffit him tenderly.  
 Sa great ane dule amang thame was  
 That thay haue left all hail the chais,  
 For thay wenit that the knicht of prys  
 Sould thare haue endit his gentrys ;  
 3275 And Betys raid sa spedely  
 That he to Gaderis come in hy,  
 Sory of his discomfiting,  
 And Alexander, the nobill King,  
 Efter his maister leich hes sent,  
 3280 And he come sone at commandment,  
 That at his bidding boun was ay  
 To wirk his will baith nicht and day,  
 And tentit Emynedus and the wound,  
 And said richt sone he sould be sound.  
 3285 Vpon ane cod punzeid of cottoun,  
 Was thikker than ane actoun,  
 Thay laid Emynedus softly ;  
 And Lycanor, his feir, him by.  
 In suouning Lycanor thidder brocht,  
 3290 For Betys sic ane rout him rocht  
 That men nicht weill his longis se.  
 The King gart our thame stentit be  
 His Pauilloun in full great hy,  
 And the leich trauelled bisselly  
 3295 To hail thame tua that woundit were,  
 And said thay sould be hail and fere  
 Maid within ane lytill space.

[The

[De tous iii. a garir mes li mors li diston . . . Le roi a fiancie a la clere facon (Michelant, p. 189, lines 3-30): *Gadifer, dying, bids farewell to Emynedus, and is mourned by Alexander and his knights.* 11. H Que il le rendera plus sain que i. p. ; I Ains .xx. j. le rendra tous s. c. i. p.

[Par erbe & par enplastre & par bone puisson  
 & se il cou ne fait ja nen ait garison.]

12. H places lines 12 and 13 after line 14. porra.  
 troncon.

14. Ne nen soit p. ostages.

13. de lance & d.

- 15      Tel joie en ont par l'ost tout oublient Sanson  
Et Pirrus de Monflor o la gente faichon,  
Car li grans desconfors ert par Emenidon.  
Lors se firent logier li Grieu par contenchon,  
Assés en poi de terme fichierent maint pesson,  
20 Fo. 37. Qui n'ot tente ne tref, de rains fist sa meson ;  
Icele nuit passerent a poi de livroison.

---

94, 16. *gente*] clere.      17. Quar tous l. d. estoit demenidon.

[Alixandres li rois lor a dit tel licon

Les mors laisies as mors & as vis se tenge on.]

18. La veiscies le soir tendu tant pavillon.      19. *H om. line.*      20. *not*]  
vot. si en ot a fuison. [Li plusior se dormoient sans noise & sans tencon.]



3300

The folk of Grece sa ioyfull was  
 Of this, that thay forȝet Sampson,  
 And of Mountflour alsua Pyrroun.  
 Than all thay ludgit thame, I hecht,  
 Quha had na tent, ane ludge hes dicht  
 Of branchis, that micht gottin be ;  
 That nicht thay passit with lytill le.

¶ Heir endis the first part of the buke  
 of the most noble and vailȝeand  
 Conquerour, Alexander  
 the great. Callit the  
 Forray of Ga-  
 deris.

\* \*  
 \*



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