

THE CARMEN DE PRODICIONE GUENONIS
TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH, WITH TEXTUAL NOTES

THE second edition of the *Carmen de Prodicione Guenonis* was published by Gaston Paris in the *Romania* of 1882. The text, which appears with notable imperfection in the previous transcription by Francisque Michel, was to a considerable extent restored by Professor Paris and accompanied by a running commentary of great value; but no special emphasis was laid on the mere interpretation of the Latin, and on many of the difficulties which he himself noted his ultimate judgment was not expressed.—By way of preface, it may be stated that exception has here been taken to one or two corrections which M. Paris made in the text itself: *pene* to *fine* in v. 346; the alteration of *haec*, v. 371; *hos tres* to *nostres*, v. 243; and *nunc* to *non*, v. 236. In a few other cases it seems that the corrections suggested are at least debatable. In view of the general stylistic contortion of the poem as a whole, we may justly accept vv. 291 and 322 as they stand, though I have nothing but the wildly subjective to offer for vv. 253-4. Cruces are however so persistently frequent in the poem that a translation of it entire will possibly not be out of place.

HERE BEGINNETH THE PROLOGUE IN THE BATTLE OF
RUNCEVALLE

Herein is made manifest the trickery of Gueno, which he set about for the sake of gifts, and whereby he deceived the Gauls when the gifts he had received.

Here begin verses concerning the battle

King Charles was the shield of the Empire, the defence of the loyal, the disdainer of baseness, the guaranty of justice,—fierce in battle, unequalled in lineage, preeminent in physique, scrupulous in disposition, favored in riches, mighty in credit. Such a man was exalted by the greatest renown, so great a

man by a proper reputation, so wondrous a man by a seemly dignity.¹ Let this be the measure of his merit and his reputation, that his reputation was greater than his merit and his
 10 merit than his reputation² (v. 10). In threat against the Spanish he advanced on their dominions. The same he laid waste with his soldiery.³ Destroying the kingdom, the people of the kingdom the king destroyed by massacre, its camps by battle, its homes by fire.⁴ In seven years the king subjected to himself the kingdoms of the kingdom⁵ and there with many he endured many hardships. Hard on this overthrow, whether by the force or the strategy of the king, Morindia was possessed.

Until the king departed from the city acquired by the might of the king, it was his anxious longing to return to his own
 20 kingdoms (v. 20). Roland in anger restrained him, and said: "Will not to return. Will to change your will. Why are you preparing to return? What are you doing—since nothing has been done? Is not Caesar Augusta still standing? This still King Marsilius holds, managing all things wrongfully, lawfully nothing. Is he not full worthy to be destroyed, since, under him, wars destroy peace, pillage private rights, treachery loyalty? Delegate a legate whom you shall tell to tell him
 30 (v. 30). Or, if you prefer, despatch a despatch by your legate, that the better he be able to be able to believe you."⁶ So the king orders a brief to be made: soon the brief is made. Brief is the sum of the brief: for this is the sum of the brief: "Give your kingdom to Charles. Say "I will": then perhaps you will be able to remain alive; but say "I refuse"—you will be nobody. You will not be exactly nobody because you will be not only nobody but rather less than nobody, if less you can be."

¹ Vv. 7-8: The three accusatives balance the three nouns and adjectives.

² V. 10: *mage* is the alternate form for *magis*; *sit* is attracted to the preceding subjunctive.

³ V. 12: it is remotely possible to render 'despoiled of its soldiery'; or further, on the analogy of the *Armenia vacua* of Tacitus, *evacuare* may have meant 'to subvert the government,' 'make vacant the fief.'

⁴ V. 14: *vi* 'irregular warfare' contrasted with *bello* 'pitched battle,' 'regular warfare.' It is possible to construe *regnum regni* like *regni regna* in v. 15.

⁵ V. 15: *regna*: 'fiefs,' 'dependent duchies': Du Cange, '*corona regalis*.'

⁶ V. 32: *possit posse*: discussed in note to v. 120.

On the nomination of Roland, soon Count Gueno is bidden to bear the brief of the king,⁷ himself therewith a messenger (v. 40). Not on account of hatred did Roland do this, but through a love of love,⁸ but to Gueno this love of love seemed hatred. Heaping threat on threat, Gueno threatens him with many threats, vowing to repay him as he deserves. By so many threats Roland is provoked; by so much insult he is filled with gloom. Under the insults he rages, under the threats he swells with anger.⁹ In vexation he endures the threats and the threatener, and makes ready to annihilate the threats with the threatener. But the king exhorts, and at his prayer the fury, at his admonition the fierceness, at his constraint the wrath, of Roland subside (v. 50). Roland himself makes ready to go as the messenger, ready to bear the brief of the king. His very fury impels him to make his requests.¹⁰ As Gueno sees this, he seems to grow mad, and in his fury one would think him furious. Fury himself,—such fury besets him, so much resentment inflames him, such violent malice impels him to violence.¹¹ Fury urges him to go, Minerva urges him to remain: under the influence of her he cannot heed her. When Fury conquers him, his Minerva is conquered by Fury, for she cannot bend his will with her own (v. 60). Ready to obey the king, the king he addresses. Thus he addresses him: he wishes that the brief be given him. He receives the brief and with the brief he is charged with brief words. He departs in obedience to the king, making ready to execute the things demanded of him.

Hastily the warrior departs, for he is under orders to hasten. Charles's companion is Uprightness, and Gueno has no companion. As the king commands, Gueno rapidly crosses

⁷ V. 39: *consul*: the emperor's counsellor; v. Du Cange, *s. v. Judice*: cf. *Roland*, 204; also 282: "Sur vus Ganelon le jugent Franc."

⁸ Vv. 41-2: *amoris amore* (—*amor*): perhaps 'through a desire for Gueno's affection'; the suggestion of Gaston Paris 'out of love' would require for v. 42 a use of the *causa* construction in the nominative, of which, moreover, we have an interesting example in v. 382, where *causa* is 'desire.'

⁹ V. 46: *hinc* refers to *convicia*, *inde* to *mine*; cf. v. 72.

¹⁰ V. 52: *ut sua vota ferat*: perhaps 'to vote for himself,' as *judex* (v. 39).

¹¹ V. 55: *gravis*: a fine example of *ἀπὸ κοινῶν* from *talis* and *tanta*.

the kingdom of Charles. Leaving these kingdoms, he sets out for distant kingdoms. Led hither by Folly he strays through the deserts of Siria. Not Intelligence but dire Folly guides
 70 him (v. 70). Fear and Folly together lead him this way and that: from Folly he advances with hesitation; from Fear with terror. As he sees the camps of Siria, he fears the traps of the Sirians,¹² and because he fears everything, everything is a fear to him. Meanwhile Gueno sees the city of Marsilius afar off. He prepares to approach, but Terror is in his way. Before now he seems safe;¹³ he is no longer as safe as before—safe at first because far away; no longer safe because near. His fear is strengthened with a new fear, and he fears, and
 80 both fears make him fearful (v. 80). The city and whatever is seen in the city terrifies him. In hesitation he considers whether to proceed or recede. However, uprightness, boldness, manliness, prompt the bold man to go forward. At their prompting he advances; he advances incessantly, for he never ceases advancing.¹⁴ His wrath is a vexation to him, but more so his advancing. He goes up to the city and enters the palace of the king. The king he does not find. He goes out; then goes back again. Then he sees the king idling under a wide-spread-
 90 ing pine. Under its boughs there is a delightful shade (v. 90). To the left of Marsilius he sees the consort whose name was Bramimunda. Her figure shines more than Phoebus when he shines in the morning. She is exalted by virtue and adorned with comeliness. Beautiful enough! This is not enough! But add an enough to this enough; yet this is not enough, nor is every enough enough. The royal consort is robed in a purple robe; and she adorns her robe and her robe her. They are exchanging embraces, exchanging many kisses. And the em-
 100 braces are delightful;—more so the many kisses (v. 100). And he sees twice ten kings celebrating the general court of

¹² V. 73: *castra*: perhaps 'villages'; v. Du C. *Siria* for *Soria*?

¹³ V. 77: the correction *parum* for *paret* is not absolutely necessary. *Paret*, while the tense would be strained and not entirely in accord with Gueno's previous terrors, forms a better connection with *namque procul*, 'he seems safe hitherto because far off.'

¹⁴ Vv. 84-5: *abire*: v. Du C., in just this sense.

the king.¹⁵ These things seen, he is amazed to see the scene. Ten times two thousand¹⁶ of the Saracens are seen. The scene of so many thousands gives him a thousand fears. He marvels, because he sees marvels; for that spectacle was marvelous; marveling he advances and approaches Marsilius.¹⁷ Then he wishes welfare to him who he is unwilling should have welfare. When he has wished the king welfare, he says, having pondered:¹⁸ “Why such honor to you, since you are not worthy
 110 of honor. Not such a king do such kingdoms become! (v. 110). In nothing are you honorable but worthy of repudiation for your dishonorableness; and your dishonorableness affirms that you are dishonorable. Thus Charles to you: “Give to Charles your realms to be ruled!”: and if perchance you decline, you will give them with your life as well. Neither armies, nor valor, nor camps, nor fighting can keep you that he destroy not you and your kingdoms.¹⁹ He will level your cities, plunder your towns, burn your houses. Upon you with many, he will bring many calamities. For who is so able or to whom is such ability given that it is possible for his men to be able
 120 to destroy him²⁰ (v. 120)? To him most kings, to him most kingdoms yield: kings, kingdoms, cities pay tribute to him. The king with these kings will at once advance on your kingdoms. As their companions will come a thousand thousands

¹⁵ V. 101: *festum*: Du C. s. v., 2: “Curia generalis quae . . . cum conviviis publicis celebrari solebat.”

¹⁶ V. 103: cf. *Roland*, v. 410: “Tut entur lui vint milie Sarrazin.”

¹⁷ V. 106: a balanced alliteration even here: m-p, m-p.

¹⁸ V. 108: cf. *Roland*, v. 425: “Guenes se fut bien pourpensez.”

¹⁹ V. 115: *gens* ‘forces’; *probitas* ‘prouesse’ (Du C.). *Castra* possibly in a medieval acceptation: ‘towns.’ In v. 117 there is an apparent contrast between *oppida* ‘walled towns’ and *castra* ‘unprotected villages.’

²⁰ V. 120: *possit posse*: G. Paris observes: “Notez ici et au v. 32 la singulière réunion de *possit* et *posse*.” There is another in v. 172: “Credere ne possit posse latere dolum,” but here *posse* does not depend on *possit*. Is this the situation in the other two cases also, or have we indeed the bizarre not to say stupid succession of “to be able to be able”? Pure redundancies are not lacking in the poem: vv. 74 and 85; in vv. 64 and 244 we have the juxtaposition and interdependence of two forms of *parare*: *jussa parare parans*; *arma parare parant*; but the first *parare* may have a special shade of meaning: “to make ready the things commanded,” hence, “to carry out,” “to execute”; the second may mean “to parry,” or even “to prepare” referring to a stage of the preparation

of knights;²¹ and they will lay waste your lands with soldiery, burn your cities with fire, torment your city-men with starvation. Unless you see about complying, the king will spare you in nothing: if he spare you not now, you will be no one to spare. In a brief time the king your kingdoms is able to
 130 abbreviate: if you refuse to believe this, read the brief (v. 130).
 Unseal the brief that has been sent; read what is written; read to the end,²² and lest you do worse, do what it com-

already prepared for. The sense of v. 32 is repeated apparently in v. 130: "Huic tu si non vis credere, crede brevi"; in the *Roland* also (MS. de Venise), as a verification of the message, Charles says: "Tenez cest brief ki est ensellez." If therefore we accept *credere tibi* as "to believe you," we must recognize the dependence of *posse* on *possit*. It is conceivable that here the *possit* is felt as a sort of potential auxiliary: 'may (be able).'²³—If we admit this, there is no longer any hesitation about v. 120; except that here we have *possit impersonal*, followed by an accusative infinitive (—unless we resort to ellipses, as G. Paris seems to do).

It is possible however to reason along an entirely different line. The use of infinitives as indeclinable nouns in the cases of the singular is frequent in Medieval Latin (v. Du C. s. v. *posse*): and no less so in this poem: v. 22: *flectere velle velis*; (*velle* in the accusative); v. 60: *nequit illa suum flectere velle suo* (*velle* acc. or abl.); v. 164: *jurat-se pro posse suo vota replere sua*; v. 308: *vincere demit ei*; v. 455: *vivere*. The sense is good if we substitute *posse* 'power' in v. 32; 'believe power to you,' 'credit you with power'; this assumes the ellipsis of *esse*, and varies from the sense of the other reading in that it is no longer a question of the accuracy and authenticity of Gueno's message, but of the rhetorical effect of the written threat.—The reading of v. 120 is much simplified as to meaning; but we must either admit a plural declension in the masculine for *posse*, its character influenced, that is, by *homines* or *exercitus*, which I am unable to prove with other citations; or correct the text from *suos* to *suo*: the alternatives here would be then: "Who is so able as to be able to destroy him and his forces"; and "Who is so able as to be able with his forces to destroy him."

I adopt as more conservative the traditional rendering of *posse* in both cases; but we must admit that there is no other such violent grouping of homonyms or synonyms in the poem; and while the balance of evidence in the context favors this in v. 32, the balance of evidence in v. 120 seems to point to *posse* 'forces' with the correction of *suos* to *suo*.

²¹ V. 124: *ducum*: I interpret here as in vv. 208-9. Du C. observes s. v. *Dux*: "eodem titulo—vulgo leguntur Parisienses comites, aut qui regiones vel comitis vel ducis titulo regebant, quod ii praecipuam in regum aula auctoritatem possiderent." Here then almost 'courtier.' It is not clear whether G. Paris distinguishes between the words in vv. 124 and 208-9. At any rate he does not note the analogy between the passages.

²² Vv. 131-3: cf. *Roland* vv. 486-7: "Freint le seel, getet en ad la cire,—Guardet a'l brief, vit la raisun escrite."

mands." He looks into it; he reads the contents, and fears death in consequence; and he is astonished that he can fear to die. He attributes the cause of his wrath to Gueno,²³ and has a wish to kill the messenger in the presence of all. But Gueno, half beast in fury, trusting in his sword, draws his sword²⁴ and it is the desire of this furious one to smite the furious Marsilius. But neither his fury, nor his vociferous railing, nor his
 140 might save him: he is saved by his good looks alone (v. 140). For the queen, when she saw him such and so comely, by his comeliness moved, moved the heart of the king. She thus: "Is not this a gallant man? Ought not his gallantry be approved? By this gallantry he proves what gallantry is his." Thus the king: "If you were dear and beloved to Charles, he had not permitted you to wander through our valleys. Perhaps you were sent at the motion of Roland. Bear deeply in mind what value this same Charles puts upon you." The king comes nearer and gives Gueno to drink, that he may catch him
 150 unawares and beguile him (v. 150). The king urges him to ambush Roland; and he feeds his mind with flattery and his hand with money. With the gift of many gifts, he vows he will give more, and vows to the furious Gueno almost any gift whatever. He gives him gifts, for golden vessels, beautiful garments, swift horses are given him. Now respectful where before violent, now courteous where before uncivil; where full of threats before Gueno ceases to be threatening. Now he increases his gifts more and more, and by so many
 160 mores is his mind more moved (v. 160). Either the king, or his own malice, or the reward, or his avarice, overcomes him; and so there is no glory of merit for him. Gueno, forsworn, thus wrongfully swears to him, in the measure of his powers to fulfil his vows. O wickedness! O malice! O treachery! O avarice blind! Are these things which move all things not to move this man? Gueno explains to the king

²³ V. 135: a condensed line. The author had in mind the idiom: *convertere iram in*, by metonymy, however, making *causas* the object of the verb: "He turns his rage against Gueno as the cause of his anger."

²⁴ V. 137: *cf. Roland*, vv. 443-4: "Quand le vit Guenes, mist la main à l'espee, cuntre dous deiz l'ad de fuerre getee."

the tricks of the ambush, nor does he, though explaining betrayal, betray the king. In his heart he is amazed that he thus dares what he dares. He is amazed that he has been able
 170 to commit such an impious deed (v. 170). The king advises that the riches be hidden, lest King Charles be able to believe that treachery lie hidden in them. He hands him the keys of his realm that he may deliver them to Charles, and under this crime he cloaks the whole crime. So the gifts obtained through his deceit and not through his uprightness, delight the ambassador. Gueno goes and leaves Marsilius, receives the treasures, departs from the city and approaches the pavilions of the king. King Charles is amazed at his return,—amazed
 180 at him returning²⁵ as he did not think he could return (v. 180). The messenger approaches him, enters the tents, and holds out the keys, invents trumpery, and thus speaks: "Marsilius to you:²⁶ May you go in safety; may the whole road be safe to you. Nothing will he do against your will; nothing without your command. He wishes you health, you who are worthy of being wished health. He likewise commands you to command him in all things. He remits to you the keys of all his realms to be held by you; and he commits²⁷ all his realms to be ruled by you." The high, the low, the whole army rejoice; for they
 190 think true all that he reports (v. 190).

The king, in ignorance of the crime, sets out for his kingdom, lowers his tents, orders the troops to go back. Now the companion counts and their companions accompany him, the greater part returning with the king returning. At the sight of so many Gauls, Gaul seems to be seen there. Gaul? But Gaul seemed smaller than those there seen. However he orders that a lookout be kept for traps of Marsilius: the trusty king is loath to put trust in an untrustworthy foe. The king is not yet secure for he is not free from care. And bringing his knights together he advises that the knights should go back
 200 (v. 200), and as the army is without guard, he asks who would

²⁵ *I. e.*, first at the news, then at the actual sight of Gueno himself.

²⁶ V. 183: In the text, insert a colon after *tibi*.

²⁷ V. 188: *committit*, plays on the *con*: 'and with the keys.'

like to go as guard to the army and who to be his own²⁸ corps. Gueno, swelling with rage, nominates Roland to go, for he does not cease being mindful of Roland's nomination. So the king accosts Roland and commands him to take charge of keeping watch. At the command of the king he takes charge. Twice six paladins are his companions. Each of these leads or makes ready to lead a thousand knights with him. And thus a great part of the knights under the leadership of Roland are led back. Part follow the line on horseback, and part on
210 foot (v. 210). Part lay ambushes, part occupy the narrow passes, part scale the cliffs, lest anyone should be able to pass through. The precipitous ridges distress them all, the terrible valleys terrify, and terrible terror holds them back.

Meantime the king is fearing that the knights with their leader Roland have been entrapped in a trap of Gueno.

While Roland is going along and ranging on every hand, he discovers Marsilius and the hosts of Marsilius: he knows he has been entrapped in a trap of Gueno, who had promised
220 to pay him as he deserved (v. 220). As he proceeds, as he sees the strange spectacle, the valley crowded with men seems to pour out men upon him from every hand. Everywhere the enemy is in view. He goes forward and fears not the enemy, for he does not consider the enemy able to harm him. Oliver urges him to blow on his horn that the king should come up

²⁸ Vv. 200-3: The translation of G. Paris seems difficult owing to the wide separation of *tutela phalangis* from *sue* over the conjunction *vel* and the verb *ire* with which *tutela phalangis* would naturally go: this would mean the placing of a noun and its modifying possessive in different clauses. It is not necessarily a question of an advance and a rear guard, but of those who will go with the rear guard and of those who will stay with the army. "He calls a council and advises that the knights go as a rear guard. But this would leave the van without any of the knights. So he asks those who prefer to go as rear guard and those who wish to stay with him," *esse suae (phalangis)*. *Dum—tutela* may also be: 'and as no rear guard has already been appointed.' In the *Roland*, to be sure, v. 748, it is a question of the advance guard; but it had already been told (v. 561) that the function of *éclairneur* was specifically Roland's. The division into advance and rear guard is referred to in the Venetian MS. after v. 814. The position of *tutela phalangis* is due not only to a desire to juxtapose the two *tutela* but also to bring the phrase closer to the first *ire* of which in idea it is the complement. *Vel* at any rate involves an ellipsis.

against the enemy and give aid to him. In reply to this: "Is not this cowardice that you are saying? Is it not baseness? And if not baseness, lo, the shame! What should make me afraid? Not fighting, not wounds, not death, not a hundred
 230 thousands of men, for nothing can" (v. 230). Before he has finished these words, he desires to execute his desires and makes ready, and lo, he hastens before all. He seizes his weapons, brings the troops together, and threatens battle, and himself threatening, he sees everything full of threats. Thus he shouts to all his men: "Victory awaits us all! Now²⁹ there is need of prowess. Nothing but arms is in place. Our best manliness will give us victory not defeat. Is it not a disgrace to be conquered? Is it not a glory to conquer?" And he shows that by far it is preferable and more fitting to be able
 240 to die pursuing than to die pursued (v. 240).³⁰ His companions among the first are Oliver, Gero and Gerinus and the other peers whose names I do not mention. His courage giving courage impelled these three to arms.³¹ They prepare to prepare their weapons³² lest from weapons they perish. That none may go unarmed, each head a helmet protects, each shoulder a shield, each side a sword, each hand a spear.

On the other side, the hiding king in hiding girds on his weapons, thinking to vanquish the hostile forces in hostile battle. The rulers ruling realms under him are girded with
 250 arms. The rulers armed, the army puts on its arms (v. 250), and the nephew of Marsilius vows he will go first... He as one

²⁹ V. 236: the correction of G. Paris, *nunc* to *non* seems to me untenable. These words are addressed not to Oliver but to *omnes*: it is improbable that he should continue the justification of his rashness before the whole army, which had nothing to do with Oliver's suggestion and may not have heard it. These are words of pure exhortation. In the desire to display his own courage and begin the fight, Roland scarcely dwells on Oliver's idea.

³⁰ V. 240: for *mori—mori*, cf. *esse—esse* in the preceding verse.

³¹ V. 243: If, as seems probable, the *animus* is Roland's there are not four as G. Paris' note asserts, but three. Although *reliqui* are referred to, the fact that the three names are given, shows that the author was trying to center attention upon them, after the general exhortation to *omnes*.

³² V. 244: *arma parare parant*: cf. *Roland*, 343: "De guarnemenz se prent a cunreer." *Parare* may mean 'parry.'

of the eleven takes oath against the peers³³ but he is obliged by the king to go as one of twelve. A troop of cavalry and a horde of footmen follow him; but the band of kings remains with the king remaining. The boy, in the first line, rushed first upon Roland, and thinking to conquer him, he is first conquered by Roland.³⁴ Already he lies like a trunk, felled by Roland in arms; already as he dies his threats die with him
 260 (v. 260). Others rush up, but in vain; for he forces them likewise to die in like condition. As he strikes these impetuous men, the surviving throng strikes him, and the furious throng renews the fight against the furious Roland. The whole force of Roland rushes against the whole of the pagan forces. At its onslaught they fall; at its approach they fear. Samson, Turpinus, Oliverus, Gero, Gerinus lay low five men, each his own. Then another five lay low five. So the horde, smaller
 270 in number, wages battle less vigorously (v. 270). Then the French, joyful, press forward more; but a vast division assaults and harasses them, presses on them and blocks their path. As usual, five are soon pursuing and five pursued. Impetuous Mars makes both impetuous in battle. The horror of the calamity compels the surviving pagans to be afraid; impels them to begin their flight. They flee but in vain; for as they flee they fall, either from the might of Roland or from their fear. But Margaretus, fleeing with difficulty, and with difficulty keep-
 280 ing alive, swift and fearful and in danger, departs (v. 280). He is hurried along by the savage enemy, the thought of death, the hacked bodies, and the blood flowing on all sides. The hurrying horse himself snorts, the rider himself is terrified. Soon, out of his mind, he stands in the presence of the king.

³³ Vv. 253-4: *Tercius*, vv. 419-20 means 'one of three'; possibly so *undecimus* here. These verses are doubtless an echo of the scene where the pagan paladins are selected to match the twelve of Charles. In the Roland Aelrot, "I nies Marsilie," is followed by Falsaron his uncle, who is later to attempt revenge for his nephew's death. A likely hypothesis for the missing line seems to be, that Aelrot begs his uncle not to enter the battle, but to remain with the king himself, as one of the eleven leaders can vanquish the French peers (*patricios*); but he is forced by the king to go as one of twelve (*ire duodecimus*); that is, Falsaron is commanded by the king to accompany the division led by their nephew.

³⁴ V. 258: *hysteron proteron*.

Thus he began: "Wondrous things you see, eh! Where is that wondrous power of the army you sent? Where is all that army? Just tell me! See what your army is! Now your army is nothing except not an army! What is your army? What is your nephew? It is nothing! He is nothing!" The king but now threatening greater things grieves and shudders, 290 rages and burns for his army and for his nephew³⁵ (v. 290). The whole army³⁶ divides as a whole into two divisions. The king sends ten brigades ahead and ten he holds in reserve. There is heard the sound of arms and the blast of trumpets, the neighing of horses, almost the whole army in uproar. Although before this attack, the division of Turpin had been safe, it all now begins to be frightened. He begins thus: "Now recall your strength, my men! The first victory is given first to us,³⁷ and the second awaits us! What profit to call back fear? what to tolerate terror?³⁸ what to turn our 300 backs in flight? or what to fear death (v. 300)? Let us press on the enemy!" As they hear these words, they press on. Led up to the enemy they begin marvelous combats; and the men exercise their manly might in battle, and their might grants men victory over men in war. A certain impetuous warrior puts Engelier to flight and strikes him. The wound hinders the wounded man: hurled headlong he dies. Oliver dashes upon the victor and plunges a sword in his side; thus dashing upon him he robs him of victory. Soon another selects Samson for death and soon this horseman has endured 310 the last pangs and is hurled from his horse (v. 310). Is not³⁹ this a crushing loss because he is crushed in battle? Is not the mourning sore crushing because he has perished from this crushing enemy? The cause of his death was Mars and the

³⁵ Vv. 289-90: the *-que* implies that the verbs are not balanced with their objects in pairs, as in vv. 177-78.

³⁶ V. 291-2: *exercitus* is translatable in the nominative; note also the position of *rex* after the conjunction.

³⁷ Vv. 297-8: in the *Roland*, Turpin cries: "Ferez, Franceis: nuls de vus ne s'ublit!—*Cist premiers colps est nostre, Deu mercit!*"

³⁸ V. 299: *dolorem*: metonymy, the result for the cause, *i. e.*, *metum*: a usage already classic.

³⁹ V. 311: *Num* is used in the poem generally with the sense of *nonne*.

wound, and the sword, and crushing Fortune and the crushing enemy. With the death and fall of Samson before his eyes, the conqueror falls conquered by the avenging Roland.⁴⁰ See! An impetuous soldier impetuously harasses Anseus with his blows, and forces him to pay the debts of the flesh. Turpin crushes the victor, and Roland crushes Gradonius, on
 320 account of whom Gero had fled before (v. 320). Bodies, covered with many wounds before they fall, are laid low on all sides. The land of the slaughter loads the merest step with slaughter.⁴¹ Swelling with rage in his heart, inflamed with wrath, bloody with carnage, Roland is more fierce than he was before. He annihilates the officers and then the troops he annihilates. Now that whole army might be called nothing. Few are fleeing and few are fighting, because there are only a few to flee and to fight. In a word, if perchance anyone survives, he flees.

And so Marsilius enters the battle, and he storms with wrath, and because he has lost his army he becomes like one
 330 who has lost his mind (v. 330). The king is astounded that so many and such strong divisions can have been vanquished so easily and that, in so short a time, so many have been able to die. Invisible to the enemy, he comes up to the enemy visible to him. Abismus goes first, bearing the royal standards. What is Turpin doing? He is equipping and arming his horse with mail, that safe may be the horse, the horseman safer. If anyone praises the horse, who can praise the horse's whole appearance, who the separate details? In his praise, the separate details are sufficient. His head was shaggy:⁴² his ear was short, his neck loftily arched; and his sides were
 340 sweeping, his legs straight (v. 340); massive the shank, hollow the foot and expansive the breast. Without the 'hardly,'

⁴⁰ V. 315: the subject of *viso* and *visa* is perhaps Roland: 'when Roland sees the death,' etc.

⁴¹ V. 322: It is impossible to take a single step without encountering a corpse. *Cedis—humus* is the *loca cede referta* of v. 453; *solum*: 'even a single.'

⁴² V. 339: *horridus aspectus*: probably 'shaggy forehead,' thus one the *singula*; possibly however a general summary for introduction: 'his appearance was dreadful.' For *ardua cervix*, cf. the classic *sopracilia ardua*.

it is hardly enough to say: "He is excellent."⁴³ Turpin urges and loosens the reins for him. He, the leading horseman, equals the speedy horses in their speed. As in anger, as one might expect of an enemy, he goes to meet Abismus and without any almost⁴⁴ he inflicts the pain of death upon him. Next to him, Roland enters upon the beginning of the battle:⁴⁵ on all sides he strikes and puts even the fiercest to flight. Not sparing his own life, he refuses to spare anyone. He alone lays
 350 a thousand bodies low on the ground (v. 350). Not like to Mars, but Mars himself in the fight he seems; Mars, grudgingly as an enemy, admits that he should be called Mars. Here, cut off by him and heavily fallen, lie a head, an ear, a foot, a shoulder, arms, shins, hands.

Meantime the French suffer severely, for numerous wounds, unsightly damages, terrible slaughter, they are seen to receive. May not Gaul mourn the loss, and, bereft of so many heroes, for so many heroes weep? Those still alive and attempting to fight are scarcely sixty, and these the fighting, the wounds,
 360 the exertion, equally harass (v. 360).

In the meantime, fear, dread, and fever come over Roland: one oppresses, one disturbs, one burns him. Then first he stands in awe of Mars, then first of Death; but more than at either he is sad at being overcome by fighting.⁴⁶ Now he starts to blow on his horn: thus Oliver to him: "Stop, for shame! Stop, for it is a shame! Will it not be to you and your people an intolerable ignominy, a perpetual dishonor, the greatest shame?" Nevertheless, at the oft-repeated request of Turpin, he blows. Wrath suggests and forces this: at the
 370 same time it is necessary⁴⁷ (v. 370). At the sound, wonder

⁴³ V. 342: *sine vix*: "dici, 'vix satis est' sine vix, vix satis est"; just as in v. 446, *sc.*, *sedet* after *haut*.

⁴⁴ V. 346: I retain the *pene* of the MS., which is quite in the spirit of vv. 95-6, 159-60, especially 342 and 446, and does not affect the metre. As the negro said: "It wa'nt no near killin neither!" We have the current hyperbole: "It almost killed him" of which this is the negation.

⁴⁵ V. 347: *Primordia*: perhaps etymologizing: 'first ranks.'

⁴⁶ V. 364: *Marte vinci*: possibly 'at being surpassed by Mars,' harking back to v. 352.

⁴⁷ V. 370: it is very probable that the author meant to balance the phrases: "*Hoc monet ira; hoc cogit necesse simul*," but this substantive use of *necesse* is new to me.

and astonishment fill all these things:⁴⁸ the mountains, the fields, the forests, the valleys, the waters, the land, the sky. At such great effort the veins of his head are broken, and blood flows simultaneously from each nostril. The king, as he leads, returning to his kingdoms, hears and recognizes the sound, and the cause is known to him. The crime revealed, revealed the trap, Gueno, at the king's command, is loaded with chains. The king storms, rages, faints, and goes back; and his army grieves with the fainting king, returns with the king returning
 380 (v. 380). As they proceed, all fury is in all against all. The desire to know about the matter urges them to go quickly.⁴⁹

Meanwhile the King Marsilius presses his enemies in battle, for he gives them first wounds and then death; and against these heroes he urges his men to use their strength, and his own he uses inciting his own men. Recognizing Roland from his limbs, his weapons, and his movements, he is astonished that he is able to sustain so many combats. Roland, perceived, perceives Marsilius and his son; he rushes upon them both, puts both to flight, and driving them in flight, fills both with
 390 terror (v. 390). In the sight of the father, to the son he gives wounds, gives blows: the man who before was killing his comrades, is killed on his sword. Coming up with the king, he cuts off the king's right hand. The smitten man groans at his wounds, avoids death and begins flight. Now the king, who did not dare remain, is less daring. The army of the king, fleeing, flees with the fugitives. Oliver, striking sidewise, checks, harasses. Agalifus terrifies with his blows, his sword,

⁴⁸ V. 371: *hec* is perfectly admissible, inasmuch as the appositives are so numerous.

⁴⁹ V. 382: *Causa rei scire*: this is of course a parody of the Latin *causa rei sciendi*; but here *causa* is in the nominative, and becomes equivalent to 'desire': we have seen *amor* used almost in the sense of *causa* in vv. 41-2. These passages are an interesting contribution to the semantics of the two words. With *rei* normally in the genitive, *scire* is to be explained like the *parcere* depending on *nullus* in v. 128: 'the cause of the thing to be known.' It is highly improbable that *scire* depends directly upon *causa* used for *amor*, with *rei* a learned *forme à rebours* for *de re*, on the model of *de la causa (chose)* for *causae*. Whatever the medieval twist of construction resorted to by this poet, whose Latin grammar is occasionally elastic enough, the alteration of the gerundive is of course due to the demands of metre.

his threats: Oliver is wounded, and himself first wounded, he wounds his wounder: the man last wounded suffers the first 400 death (v. 400). Full of wounds after so many wounds received, Oliver wounds numberless men in dying. Now as a madman, now as one bereft of sight,⁵⁰ he rushes upon the enemy. His sight grows weak, and his strength is taken from him. Unwittingly he strikes Roland, but hurts him very little;⁵¹ and the blow does not occasion any wound. Struck thus while he stands and fights, he is astonished at the blow. He looks around, and Oliver's face is scarcely known to him. He exclaims: "You are not wounding an enemy as an enemy, as an enemy does an enemy. Nay rather, am I not your friend 410 to you (v. 410)?⁵² Know your Roland, know him! Perhaps you do not know him, to judge from your blows: this the whole matter, this your sword, this your actions prove." At the sound of the voice he is grieved and then asks pardon. Roland pardons, for he sees it is a pardonable act. Soon Oliver has fallen from his horse, prostrate beneath the feet of the horses. Alas, the shame! See! He has fallen! Alas, the grief! See! He perishes! Dreadful the fact; more dreadful the fall; the death more dreadful than either:⁵³ That grief is a grief, and a grief greater than a grief.

Roland now harasses the enemy as one of only three: one of 420 three he attacks, one of three he opposes them (v. 420). Turpin is his companion on the one side; Walterus his companion on the other. The one is ferocious, the other fierce; the one is brave, the other also. They advance on the footmen,⁵⁴ their breasts pierced with darts, and while they are wounding others,

⁵⁰ V. 403: *orbis*: in its late Latin sense, though the classic usually specified with *visu*, etc.

⁵¹ V. 405: *illi* or else *sibi*: cf. vv. 43-4.

⁵² V. 410: better as a question in view of the following imperative: the other alternative would be: "In your eyes I am not your friend," said of course in reproach; but this would repeat vv. 411-412.

⁵³ V. 417: It is difficult to feel the contrast between *res* and the following words (cf. v. 412): perhaps the feeling is: "The general situation is horrible, but it is more so as one sees the details."

⁵⁴ V. 423: *pedites*, possibly nominative: 'they advance on foot,' *i. e.* 'as foot soldiers.' However, Oliver and Roland were apparently still mounted; we have no direct implication of dismounting till vv. 443-50.

javelins are hurled upon them. The javelins give wounds to Walterus; the wounds pain, the pain fear of death,—fears of being cut off from the light.⁵⁵ Still Roland stands and still with his sword he decapitates, with his spear he wounds, keeps off the warriors by fighting.⁵⁶

The pagan host dreads the approach of Charles. It prepares to retreat lest it incur greater loss (v. 430). Fleet-footed they flee as though spurred on in competition.⁵⁷ If anyone there is first, he thinks he is the last.⁵⁸ Perhaps they fear not the king, nor the king's lines,⁵⁹ nor the combats of his warriors. What then?—Death. Whether they flee or not, they go without exception. This alone is the desire of all: to keep up their flight.

So with Turpin, Roland finishes the fighting. With these thus ended, the end of each one is near. A heavy drowsiness then lays a heavy hold on Turpin. He nods and his strength fails with him (v. 440); and at the sight of the dying man, Roland almost dies. He grows faint, and wishes to die with his dying friend. Now pale as death himself, he places Turpin, as it were death-pale, on the grass. And first he cleans the unclean wounds for him. As he lies on the grass, the grass gives coolness to him. He can hardly sit with head erect; not so without the hardly.⁶⁰ Roland, on foot, up to his ankles in gore, goes here and there, once and again turning the bodies. And, gathering from all sides, he brings the bodies of the peers,

⁵⁵ V. 426: *metus*, accusative plural, object of *pena* [dat], coordinate with *metum*.

⁵⁶ Vv. 427-8: grammatically one could render, 'protects the heroes from the fighting'; but Walter is dead; and Turpin fights till the end of the battle (v. 437).

⁵⁷ V. 431: *in certamine* seems to modify not *diffugiunt* but *ducti*: we may freely render the three words by *à l'envi*, but *in certamine* is literal. Figurative meanings of *ducere* are not wanting even in Classic Latin. The semantics here are: "*in certamine præmiis ducti*," or something of the sort. That the author felt the simile is proved by *velut*.

⁵⁸ V. 432: *si*, 'even if.' Cf. this sentence with the familiar French paradox: "Quand il n'y en a plus, il y en a encore."

⁵⁹ Vv. 433-4: *agmina*, 'line operations,' contrasted with *bella*, 'individual fighting.'

⁶⁰ V. 446: see note to v. 342.

450 whose death he laments more than his own fate (v. 450). First Turpin, with his soul about to leave his body, shrives them, then signs them with the cross. Roland views the slaughter, utters groans, leaves the places strewn with dead and goes to die. While, as he dies, he yearned to die more than to live, to die seemed to him sweet, to live seemed sad. Leaning on a rock, he seeks rest after the hardship he has endured, and as a suppliant, with suppliant voice, he asks for the remission of his sins. One and another pagan believes he
 460 is dead, and they both try to seize his horn (v. 460). He sees them, and striking sidewise with his horn, to each dying man he gives death at his own side. While in death agony he is praying, death finishes the time of his life. Now as nobody's, now as no one he lies.⁶¹ Alas! For you were the hope of the Franks, you their glory, their courage, their leader, their ornament, all at once! France lies bereft of you! For of yore, when you were, what was she? The glory of the world! What now? All nothing! Valor is astounded that you are thus killed,—Death herself, that through her you have been
 470 able to die (v. 470). What shall I say? What not? Enough it is to say this alone: "He alone was the glory of the Frank-born race."

Him, the peers, the troops, the foot-soldiers, the king, as he comes along the way, see lying killed in battle. Not for the ones, nor for the others only, but for all at the same time, does the king together with his army weep and at the same time mourn. With what grief does the army mourn for the greatest? With the greatest! With what for the lesser? With a lesser! With what for the least? With the least!

Gueno is brought forward to suffer punishment for his

⁶¹ V. 464: *nullius*, a legal term, "without an owner": for the better intelligence of the passage, may we cite Guerazzi's *Asino* (Guigoni, Milano, 1881, vol. I, p. 15): "I vermini vantano giusto titolo, dacchè i cadaveri sieno cose *nullius*, e di ragione caschino in proprietà del primo occupante." The reference is in both cases to that principle of Roman law which held corpses and tombs outside property rights. They could neither be bought nor sold. The question came up most often in cases of desecration for the sake of valuable marble in tombs. We have such a case in Venice so late as 1610.

treachery. At once he is torn from his horse, and torn to
480 pieces with horses (v. 480). His life is finished as befitted the
discovered treachery.

The matter thus concluded is thus affirmed.

Here it endeth concerning the treachery of Gueno

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