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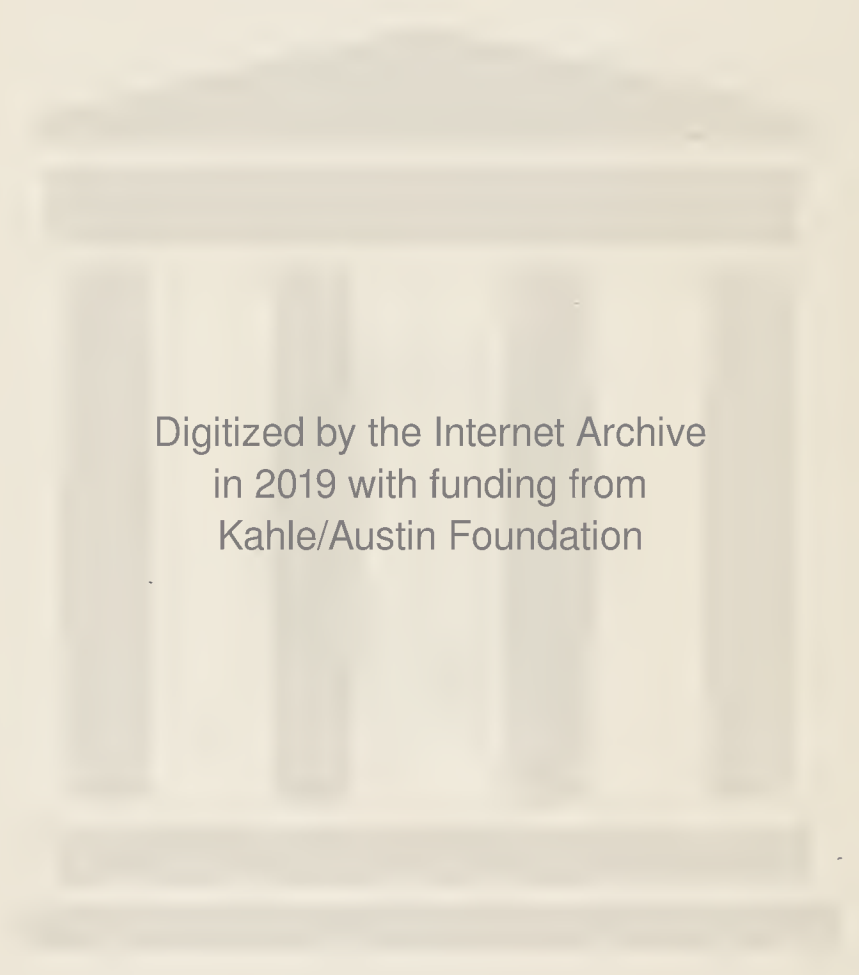
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Gabháltas Serluis Mhóir  
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ḡabháltas searluis móir



THE  
CONQUESTS OF CHARLEMAGNE

EDITED FROM  
THE BOOK OF LISMORE AND THREE OTHER VELLUM MSS.

BY  
DOUGLAS HYDE, LL.D., D.LITT., M.R.I.A.

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## PREFACE.

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THE early Irish were well acquainted with Charlemagne and his career.<sup>1</sup> His life, in fact, and his court and his ambitions had their due effect upon the Irish kings. Hence it is not very surprising that in later times such a text as the present should have become popular, not only for its own sake—and as a piece of literature it is quite well written, and the death of Roland really pathetic—but also because it **must** have appealed to a people who, with their innumerable houses and foundations on the Continent, could hardly have wholly forgotten their lettered ancestors who had once adorned the French court.

The following text is one of a number of allied pieces of literature translated into Late-Middle or Early-Modern Irish in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, at a time when the English power in Ireland was reduced to a minimum and the Norman invaders had become gaelicised. The present story is taken direct from a Latin original, but others were translated from French and others again from Middle English. The texts are preserved in vellum MSS. of the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries and have certain traits in common. Thus our text resembles very much in style and vocabulary the translation of the French story *Fierebras* contained in a fifteenth century vellum, and also the Early-English story of *Bevis of Hampton*, the fragmentary *Queste del Saint Graal*, the *History of the Lombards* and *Maundeville's Travels*. This last is the only one of these pieces that we can date with any certainty, and it was written in 1475, as *Fingin O'Mahony* the translator tells us in his interesting preface. I shall try to show that our present text must have been written

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1. Charlemagne knew Ireland too, and sent fifty shekels of silver as a present to the community at Clonmacnois. His favourite Alcuin was educated there. *Dungal* wrote letters and poems to him. *Scotus Eriu-gena* (i.e. the Irish-born) resided for a time in the palace of Charlemagne's grandson, Charles the Bald. Professor Mac Neill has sustained the thesis that Charlemagne's career consciously influenced later Irish kings.

in or about 1400.<sup>1</sup> If before this date, it could not have been long before, for it is almost as much an Early-Modern as a Late-Middle Irish text.

### THE LATIN ORIGINAL.

The Latin original from which the text was made is ascribed to Turpin, Archbishop of Rheims, a contemporary of Charlemagne, and he professes in the text to be the author of certain chapters. His authorship was not questioned when the book was first printed in 1566 by S. Scardius of Frankfort-on-Main in a tome called "*Germanicarum rerum quatuor celebriores vetustiores-que chronographi*," nor yet by his next editor. Both accepted it as the genuine work of Turpin, who was a real character and flourished from about 753 to 800, and was known to the Germans as Tylpinus.

Gaston Paris however proves in his Latin treatise *De Pseudo Turpino* what other scholars had long suspected, that the chronicle is not Turpin's at all, but the work of different people writing at different times between the beginning of the eleventh and the middle of the twelfth century, that is from 1020 to about 1150. Some of the work is built upon old French *Chansons de Geste*, for certain of the names such as Aigolandus, Marsile, etc., are found only in the *Chansons*. The bulk of the book from Chapter VI. to Chapter XXXII., with the prologue, was probably written by a monk of St. Andrew's at Vienne with some alterations by a monk of St. Denis any time between 1109 and 1119. The first five chapters are the oldest part of the work, and were obviously written by a monk of Compostella. There is no pretence in these earlier chapters that Turpin is the author, and as for Roland, whose name later on dominates the entire legend in every country, he is not even mentioned; the only object of the worthy writer

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1. It is probably nearly a hundred years older than the Maundeville, which abounds in foreign words, as *mainer* manner, *maindser* manger, *potu* pot, *prelaitt* prelate, *pudar* dust, *raibher* river, *rostad* roast, *statuid* statute, *taibhern* tavern, *tumba* tomb, *uindimint* ointment, *carbuncla* carbuncle, *clima* clime, *cursa* a course, *fersa* a verse, *fisice* a physician, *graibel* gravel, *halla* a hall, *lampa* a lamp, *offrail* offering, *mitall* mettle, *perse* a perch, *titul* title, *tristeil* trestles, *deithjer* difference, *jundamint* foundation, etc.

being to urge the faithful to visit the tomb of St. James at Santiago de Compostella.

This chronicle soon became very popular. No less than five translations were made of it into Old French at the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century. A splendid Welsh translation in which it is woven into the *Roman d'Otuel*, and part of the *Chanson de Roland*, was made not later than 1275.

The chronicle was first published in 1566, at Frankfort, and eighteen years later at the same place by Reuber. Subsequent editions appeared at Florence and Brussels and finally an accurate edition from seven vellum MSS. at Montpellier was published by M. Castets in 1880, the best of the vellums being of the twelfth or thirteenth century. "Si ce n'est pas," says Castets, "le Turpin primitif, c'est bien celui qui de bonne heure a été le Turpin officiel, c'est celui qu' on n'a cessé de lire de traduire et d'imiter au Moyen-Age et que les romanciers italiens depuis Nicolas de Padoue jusqu' à Arioste ont accepté comme le chroniqueur en titre des hauts faits de Charlemagne et de Roland."<sup>2</sup> I have made use of the Frankfort text of 1584<sup>3</sup> (Fr.), and also of this text of Castets (C.), and compared the Irish carefully with both of them. These texts do not always agree with one another nor does the Irish text wholly agree with either of them, but now with one now with the other, and occasionally with neither.

#### HOW THE IRISH VERSIONS DIFFER FROM THE LATIN.

The following are the principal differences : all the Irish MSS. except the fragment in the King's Inns Library omit the prefatory epistle ascribed to Turpin which the published Latin texts contain, but which the Welsh also omits. It is a brief letter

1. Under the title of the "Ystorya de Carolo Magno" from the Red Book of Hergest, see "Y Cymmador" of 1883 for the text, and of 1907 for the translation and notes by Rev. Robert Williams. The Turpin chronicle amounts to not much more than a third of the Welsh text, the rest being taken from the *Roman d'Otuel* and the *Chanson de Roland*. 2. It is the text "dont s'est servi Ciampi . . . de dixhuit manuscrits à Paris, et de sept de Montpellier."

3. Entitled "veterum scriptorum qui Caesarum et imperatorum Germanicorum res per aliquot secula gestas literis mandaverunt."



addressed to Leoprandus of Aix la Chapelle giving Turpin's reasons for writing the book, stating that he records events of which he had been an eye-witness,<sup>1</sup> and that he writes these doings of Charlemagne because they are not all found in the chronicle of St. Denis.<sup>2</sup>

The Irish translator in accordance with the Frankfort text [Fr.] omits the greater part of Chapter III. which Castets gives. This contains a list of the "*urbes et majores villae*" which Charles had conquered, and is evidently the work of some Spanish monk, for no Frenchman could have known them. These names with those of "*insulae et telures*" number about one hundred and sixteen. The Irish translator may have had the list before him, but if so he preferred not to encumber his pages with a mass of names that could have had no significance for his readers. He omits, probably for the same reason, many of the countries and kings mentioned in Chapter IX. of the Latin. He very wisely passes by without notice the constant and tedious Latin exclamations "*O virum laudabilem*" ! etc., and the tiresome and constantly recurring "*quid plura*" ! His translation gains much by this restraint.

We see further traces of what I take to be a desire to avoid tediousness in the omission of the long-winded and obviously intercalated chapter "*De septem artibus quas Karolus depingi fecit in palatio suo,*" namely, grammar, music, dialectic, rhetoric, geometry, arithmetic, and astrology. This chapter is also missing in the Frankfort text. The Irish also omits the short chapter on St. Denys, which is Chapter XXX. in Castets edition and XXIX. in the Frankfort text. The names of the seven bishops who consecrated the graveyards at Arles and Bordeaux are omitted with the names of their sees, probably as being of small interest to the Irish reader, and also, no doubt for the same reason, the chapter and a half containing the names of those buried at Blaye and Arles does not appear. The text in the Book of Lismore

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1. Quae propriis oculis intuitus sum quatuordecim annos perambulans Hispaniam et Galediam una cum eo [Carolo Magno] et exercitibus suis.

2. "in Sancti Dionysii cronica regali."



and the King's Inns Library text apparently with the same intention—i.e., to make the story more concise and readable—avoid all mention of chapters.<sup>1</sup>

There is no attempt made—and this is to be regretted—to turn any of the occasional Latin verses into poetry.

### THE IRISH MSS. THAT CONTAIN THE TEXT.

The Irish text is found in full in three vellum MSS. all probably of the fifteenth century, and in part in two other vellums of probably a like date. The copy I have taken for the basis of this text is that contained in the Book of Lismore (*Lis.*), compiled in the latter half of the fifteenth century. The original being in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire I have used a careful transcript made by O'Longan, the transcriber for the Royal Irish Academy of the *Lebor na h-Uidhre*, the Book of Leinster, etc. This copy belonged to Lord Roden and is now in my possession; it is written line for line and word for word from the original.<sup>2</sup>

The second MS. I have used is another fifteenth or sixteenth century vellum (F.) in the library of the Franciscan Convent, Merchants' Quay, Dublin, to which the courtesy of the Librarian allowed me access. This MS. contains forty-four pages in all. The page is about ten inches by six and a-half, and it is written in double columns. Our text fills sixteen pages. I deduce that it is not as old as the Book of Lismore from the following circumstance. In the Book of Lismore is contained a life of St. Finnochua at the end of which is this note, "The Friar O'Buagachain wrote this life from the Book of Monasterboice."<sup>3</sup> On looking over the Augustinian MS. I found that it also contains a life of St. Finnochua with this colophon, "and he [Finnochua] wrote all in the book of Monasterboice *muc Bronuidh*, so that the friar O Buadhachain

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1. I have given the arrangement into chapters from the other three MSS.  
 2. There is another copy of the Book of Lismore by O'Longan in the Royal Irish Academy, I have not used it but my own copy. There is an occasional variation of an accent or dot between them, but nothing of any importance. My friend Mr. Best who transcribed a text from O'Longan's Academy copy afterwards comparing it with a photograph of the original MS. found the copy to be marvellously exact.

3. "In braithair O Buagachain  
 roscribh an *betha* so as *Leabhar Mainestrech Buiti.*"

wrote out of (?) that book of [Monaster]boice into his own short Book, that is the Short Book of O Buadhchain."<sup>1</sup> From this it would appear that while the Friar actually wrote this part of the Book of Lismore, the Augustinian manuscript was only transcribed from an earlier book which *had* been written by the friar, and consequently is likely to be of a later date.<sup>2</sup>

The third MS. I have used is Egerton, 1781 (E.), in the British Museum, of which Miss Hull most kindly transmitted to me a rotifer photograph. It is a neat copy of a fifteenth (?) century MS. and is complete.<sup>3</sup>

The fourth MS. I used (H.) was unfortunately imperfect. It is in Trinity College but is not separately mentioned in the catalogue of the MSS., where it will be sought in vain. It will be found however under the heading H.2.12, the number in the catalogue is 1304. This MS. contains the "Invencio ste crucis," and was transcribed by Teig O Riordain in 1475.<sup>4</sup> In the middle of the long "invencio crucis," after the first ten folios, are four (not two) loose vellum leaves to which Nettlau first called attention, apparently in the same handwriting, and these contain part of

1. Ocus ro sgrib [Finnochua] uile a lebar Mainistreach Buithe mic Bronuidh gur sgrib in brathair h Ua Buadhachain isin lebur sin Buithi in a lebur gerr fein .i. lebur gerr I Buadhachain. 2. Unless indeed Stokes and O'Grady are mistaken in calling O'Buagachain one of the scribes of the Book of Lecan (Lives of the Saints from the Book of Lismore, p. vi.), as they would be if the scribe were only stating that O'Buagachain wrote what he was copying. 3. It was written mostly by Diaruidh bacach Mac Finghin mheic Pharrtholain in M' Gaurans country in 1487, says O'Grady, Gadelica, vol. i., p. ix. 4. The colophon to the Invencio sanctae crucis runs thus, "is seadh ba slan do Iosa ac scribadh na sdaire so .i. nuile bliadhan (sic) ocus cethri ced bliadhan, ocus .u. bliadhna décc ocus tri .xx. cosa sanais so do cuaid tort ocus dia na sanaisi ocus aidhqi na heisergi ar aenlith. Tadg ua Rigbardain qui scripsit," i.e. "at the writing of this history Jesus had completed one thousand and four hundred years and fifteen and three score, up to last Annunciation, and the day of the Annunciation and the night of the Resurrection are one festival: Teig O Riordan, who wrote [this]" I found another fragment on eight folios in the same collection of pieces, i.e. H.2.12. It is on Bible history and was written by the same Teig O'Riordan. I am nearly sure the hand-writing is the same as in the Turpin fragment. The pages are of the same size and seem to have once belonged to the same book. The colophon runs "Tadg Uarigbardain qui scripsit ocus cach oen leighfeas tabradh bennacht co paidir for a anmaim ocus isedh do bo slan don Tighearna an tan so nuile bliadhna ocus cethri .c. ocus cethri bl. x. ocus tri xx. gus an sanais so cugaind ocus an sanais ocus ind esergi ar oen lith in bl. sin. This makes the date of the Biblical fragment, 1474, and if the Turpin fragment belongs to the same book its date is probably the same

our text, namely a portion of Chapter IV., and Chapters V. to VIII. both inclusive, and Chapters X. to XV. both inclusive, and part of Chapter XVI. These last two chapters however are not in all places legible. The following folio was cut away by some vandal leaving only some of the letters showing on the margin. This MS. is in a fine bold script with each chapter beginning with a capital letter in red, and contains a text that varies from the other three much more than the other three do among themselves. It is a pity that it is not entire.

The only other MS. which I know to contain a fragment of the text is that marked No. 10 in the King's Inns Library, Dublin, to which my friend Mr. R. I. Best called my attention.<sup>1</sup> It contains part of the cognate story of Fortibras in the first eight folios, and the ninth folio begins the story of Charlemagne. It is very interesting to find that it starts with a version of Turpin's epistle to Leoprundus which none of the other MSS. even alluded to, and which the Welsh version also omits.<sup>2</sup>

### THE DATE OF THE TRANSLATION.

It is difficult to date the Irish translation with any exactitude. I think it is older than would appear at first sight. The vellums that contain the story are probably late fifteenth century MSS. But the divergences in the text which they contain are so considerable that they show that a long time must have elapsed and very many copies been made from the original translation before they were themselves written. The Trinity College MS. differs far more from the Book of Lismore than either the Franciscan MS. or Egerton, 1781; this latter is a conflate text, the writer

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1. It is from it he edited the fragment of *Betha Patraic* in *Anecdota* from Irish MSS., vol. iii., p. 29. 2. I discovered this MS. too late to make use of it in comparing the text, but I have examined it in the appendix. 3. The Book of Lismore was, as we have seen, made in the latter half of the fifteenth century. Stokes, who uses the Egerton MS. for his *Gaelic Maundeville*, says that part of it was written probably in Breffny not later than 1482. Mr. Best dates the King's Inns MS., the part of it he worked from, .c. 1500, but this is in different hand and may be older. If the Trinity College loose folios are of the same date as the *invencio crucis* amid whose leaves they are found it must have been written about 1475.

apparently piling up his adjectives and descriptive epithets without any discrimination from two or more copies which may have lain before him, and the King's Inns MS. differs in places from all.

I thought at one time that two independent translations had been made from the Latin by different translators, and that the divergences could be thus accounted for. But I soon abandoned this supposition for the following reasons: (1) In Roland's endeavours to explain the nature of the Trinity to Feracutus he mentions that there are three things in the wheel of a cart, but—though his argument requires it—he does not mention what they are. In the Latin the three things are given as the “*medius*” (the old Frankfort edition reads “*modius*”), “*brachia et circulus*,” or as we would say nave, spokes and tyre (or fellies). The original translator must have omitted these three things by accident after mentioning the wheel, or else he translated from a Latin MS. which had itself by accident omitted them. But had there been two independent translators from two Latin MSS. the words in the Latin text would surely have survived in some of the Irish MSS. (2) When Feracutus professes himself unable to understand how Christ could have gone down into hell and afterwards gone up into heaven, Roland plies him with the analogy of the mill-wheel and others of the same sort, but all the Irish texts omit the Latin “*avis volans in aere quantum descendit tantum ascendit*.” The original translator either omitted this by accident or translated from a MS. that had omitted it, and this omission is reproduced in all the Irish MSS. (3) In the battle which Turpin calls the Battle of the Larvae or Masks, the striking fact that the standard set upon the wagon around which the Saracens rallied was a *red* flag would never have been omitted in *all* our copies had the original translator translated it. It is most unlikely that two translators would have omitted it. Hence it is not unreasonable to suppose that all our texts, at least our three full texts, spring from one and the same translation. This translation was made from the Latin and not from French or English, as is shown by the use of the Latin oblique cases for the nominative, as



"Tighearnas Nauorrorum oculus Basclorum," adjectives like "Cinomanensis," "Compostilanensis," forms like "ri Cornubiae," etc., and almost all the proper names retain their Latin forms. Indeed it seems very curious that no attempt to shorten them in accordance with the genius of the Irish language was made by the translator. Occasionally he does not quite understand or give the sense of the Latin, as when on page thirty he translates "portus Ciserios" by "an sruth re n-abar Ciserios," though in other cases he uses the Latin abbreviated to "port."<sup>1</sup> In modern Irish "port" is used for the bank of a stream and he was probably led away by this. Nor does he seem to grasp the meaning of "tradidisset" used in the sense of "betray," for he translates it by "do thinnlaic cuigi," p. 100, nor did he understand "pertica" in the sentence, "perticis verberando perimuntur" which he translates "slain by the weapons which are called pertica," p. 80, though when the same word occurs in the sense of pole or flag-staff he (perhaps not understanding it) gives it an Irish turn and makes it "peirsi," p. 66. Upon the whole, however, he gave his contemporaries a good lucid satisfactory version of the Latin, and he must have known something about Charlemagne, for he translates Roland's uncle (avunculus), i.e. Charles, by "Roland's mother's brother," which is the true relationship.<sup>2</sup>

The deviations of the Irish texts from what I have tried to show must have been a single original, point to a considerable period having elapsed between the writing of that original and their own transcription. I do not think that from seventy to a hundred years can be too much to allow for such discrepancies. As our MSS. appear to date from before 1500, the translation may have been made about 1400. Modern Irish so far from beginning with Keating, as many people suppose, really goes back for something like a couple of centuries before his time.

The influence of either French or early English is seen in the form Serlus for Carolus, and we find side by side and on the same page such forms as Cicerei and Siserei, p. 78,

1. Port—"défilé dans les montagnes, et par extension les montagnes elles memes." It also means a harbour. 2. Not like the Fierebras story which speaks of "Rolandus mac mic do Serlus Mhór" !

Runcia and Runsie, which shows that the translator was accustomed to pronounce C as S in certain foreign and non-Irish words. Did he get this habit from people who spoke French or from people who spoke English? I cannot point out any *certain* French influence, but the form *San Sem* or *Sin Sem* is clearly due to English,<sup>1</sup> and once we find in one MS. the form *Seumas*.

An interesting side light on the translator's time is found in his rendering of "omnes servi qui sub malis consuetudinibus pravorum dominorum religati tenebantur"<sup>2</sup> by "every person who was under '*biadhtachas*' and under slavery," p. 28, i.e. every person who held under that tenure. By "*biadhtachas*" I understand the obligation which many of the clansmen were under to supply food to or support and entertain their overlord with a certain number of his followers for so many days in the year, when it pleased the overlord to quarter himself upon them. This form of tenancy which the English used to denounce under the name of "coyne and livery" must have been obnoxious to the translator's circle or contemporaries, otherwise he would hardly have so translated.

Our text contains many military terms, and it is remarkable that they are all purely Irish and not borrowed from the Normans.<sup>3</sup>

I have always silently extended S. and Rol. to Serlus and Rolandus. The genitive of the latter is written once in full in

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1. San may be French. We find in the Fierebras story the form "Sin Dinis" for Saint Denis. But Sém must be the English James. 2. "All slaves who were held bound under the evil customs of bad masters." 3. As for example the following: *Osadh a truce*, ag coimét a ndeiridh *guarding their rear*, suidhe timchioll cathrach *to besiege a city*, do thinnlaic an chathair *he surrendered the city*, an chathair do chonnmhail *to hold the city*, cathair do ghabhail *to take a city*, múr doclaite *an impregnable rampart*, láthair an chatha *the battlefield*, bhi da chois *he was on foot*, fogair cath do [also "ar"] *to challenge to battle*, tosach the battle front, "acies," cloidhmedh *to put to the sword*, dibhracadh soiget *shooting arrows*, foslongport a camp, torann a charge (?) brataigh G. brataighi *a standard*, corughadh catha [or simply corughadh] *a division of an army*, madhúigh *break through, rout*, tucadar ucht ar a cheli *they faced one another*, do innsaigh *he he attacked him*, claitcoir *a victor*, do thinoil a shluagh *he assembled his army*, suaichentas *ensign*, do leith a ndroma *in their rear*, do dhoirt 'na cenn *he burst upon them*, sáidh *pitch a tent*, do dhluthaigh (?) chuige *he closed with him*, misider *a herald or emissary*. It will be observed how very pure this language is, and that not one of these terms except the last is borrowed from a foreign speech.

the Book of Lismore, 'Rolanduis,' and following this example I have made the *us* of all proper names end in *uis* in the genitive except where they were written full and ended in *us* in the MSS. The word for "and" is not once written in full in the MSS. I have extended it to "ocus," but perhaps this gives the text a more antique appearance than it should bear.

I have allowed the place-names to stand for the most part as in the Irish, though this sometimes means giving Latin oblique cases for nominatives, as though one were to translate *abhainn na Bóinne* by the river "Boinne" in English. These place names have undergone the wildest variations: witness *Runti Uallis* or *Rutinalis* or *Gleann Runsia* or *Remencia* or *glenn re n-abar Runcia* or *Ruinsia*, for *Roncesvalles*, *Uehyn* for the *Rhine* (p. 107), the land of the Castles for *Castile*, etc.

Of the three full copies at my disposal the copy in the Book of Lismore was made by the most literate, and the Egerton copy by the most illiterate of the scribes. It is amusing to find the *Mac* in *Macometus* (*Mahomet*) and *Macabeus* treated once or twice as the Irish *mac*, and the genitive made *Micametus* and *Mic Abeus*. The Egerton scribe makes *Jonathan* weep over *Absolom* (p. 96), and writes *Ogh ri Barsa* for the Lismore *Hoc ri Basan*.

Various other points concerning the text and its contents I have discussed in the appendix.

DUBUGLAS DE N-IOE.

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1. We meet even in English also very various forms of this name, *Roncesvalles* (the Spanish form), *Ronceval* *Roncevaux*, etc.





ἡδὺς αἰὲς σεβῶνς μοῖρ.



THE CONQUESTS OF  
CHARLEMAGNE.

## ΣΑΒΑΛΤΑΣ ΣΕΡΛΟΥΙΣ ΜΟΙΡ.



Capitulum primum .i. ar ndul d'esbuluibh ocus do deiscipluibh *Crist* a rannuibh in domuin, mar innister, do chuaid in t-esbal glormhar<sup>1</sup> .i. San *Sem* ar tus isin *Gailinnsi* ocus do rindi senmora innti. Ocus ar na chur cum baiss ag Iruat iarsin do ghoideadar a dheiscibail fein a chorp isin oighthi, ocus do chuiretar a luing he. Ocus do treoraiged iat ó'n aingel chum na *Gailinnsi* ocus do shiladur briathra Dé ar a fot. Ocus na dhiaigh sin do chuiretar lucht na *Gailinnsi* an creidium coir ar cul. Ocus do batar anaghaidh in chreidmhe cu haimsir Sherluis mhoir. Ocus iar bhfhaghail shaethair moir don tSerlus so a tiribh<sup>2</sup> imdha in domhain do ghabh moran dibh. Ocus asiad so iat,<sup>3</sup> .i. Saxa ocus in *Fhraingc* ocus in *Almain* ocus in *Baigine*<sup>4</sup> ocus *Lochlan*<sup>4</sup> ocus in *Burguin* ocus an *Etaille* ocus in *Britaine* ocus moran do thirthaibh<sup>5</sup> eli nach ainmnightheas annso<sup>6</sup> gu n-imat cathrach o muir cu muir, ar na ndin<sup>7</sup> o furtacht Dé mailli re láimh laidir do-claithi aigi fein do shaer iat o lamhuibh na Seirristineach ocus do chuir fa chuing na *Crisdaighi* iat. Ocus fuair se in meit sin do shaethar<sup>8</sup> ar cur a allais amach, innus gur theilg se<sup>9</sup> beith a cumsanad gan cathughadh do dhénamh as sin suas. Ocus a cedoir na dhiaigh sin do chonnaic se slighi retlainne<sup>10</sup> isin firmamint ac tinnscaint o mhuir *Frisie* ocus ac dul idir in *Almain* ocus in *Etailli* ocus idir in *Fraingc* ocus in

1. Co ndechaidh in timpir glordha E. 2. Culaib E. & F. 3. a n-anmanna E. 4. in Bagine loclannda E. 5. riechtaib F. righechtaibh ocus do flaithemnasaibh ele E. 6. o hoin amach F. & E. 7. Ar na din o foirighthin Dia E. & F. 8. E adds "ocus do doccumul," and reads "gur chuir." 9. cur smuain se beith na comnaidhe co sadhail gan, etc. E. 10. retlainne F.

# THE CONQUESTS OF CHARLEMAGNE.

[From the BOOK OF LISMORE AND OTHER VELLUM MSS.]

## FIRST CHAPTER.

WHEN the apostles and disciples of Christ had gone into the various divisions of the word, as we are told, the glorious apostle Saint James went first into Galicia and preached<sup>a</sup> sermons in it. And when, after that, he was put to death by Herod his own disciples stole his body in the night and placed it on board a ship. And they were guided by the angel to Galicia and they sowed the words of God throughout it. But,<sup>b</sup> after that, the people of Galicia drove out the true faith. And they were against the faith until the time of Charles the Great. And after this [King] Charles had endured<sup>c</sup> much labour in many countries of the world, he took many of them. Here they are: Saxony<sup>d</sup> and France and Germany and the Baigine [Bavaria ?] and Denmark and Burgundy and Italy and Bretagne and many other countries that are not named here with many cities from sea to sea,<sup>e</sup> [and] being protected by the help of God together with a strong insuperable hand of his own he saved them from the hands of the Saracens and placed them under the yoke of the Christians. And he endured all that labour in the sweat of his brow<sup>f</sup> so that he renounced [?] a life of rest [a life passed] without fighting, from that out.

And soon after that he beheld the path of a star in the firmament, beginning from the sea of Frisia and passing exactly between Germany and Italy and between France and Gascony, and between

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<sup>a</sup> *Lit.* "made."      <sup>b</sup> *Lit.* "and."      <sup>c</sup> *Lit.* "found."      <sup>d</sup> Angliam scilicet Galliam Theutonicam Baioariam Lothoringiam Burgundiam Italiam Britanniam ceterasque regiones.      <sup>e</sup> I translate as if "ar n-a dhín," Latin: "divinis subsidiis munitus."      <sup>f</sup> *Lit.* "Putting out his sweat," but the Latin is different: "Gravi labore ac tanto sudore fatigatus ne amplius bellum iniret & ut requiem sibi daret proposuit," *Fr.*

*Gasquine*<sup>1</sup> co *direach* agus *idir* an n*Gasquin* agus *Nauarra* agus in *Spain* co sin n*Gailinnsi*<sup>2</sup> mar a raibí *corp* *San Sem* cu *foluigtheach*<sup>3</sup> in uair sin. Ocus do *cidh* *Serlus* in *tslighi* *remhraitte* sin *gach* n-*oighthi* agus do *smuain* co *meinic* *cret* fa *ciall* don ní sin. Ocus ar *mbeith* ar na *smuaintightibh* sin do,<sup>4</sup> do *faillsighedh* do a *cumsanad* na *hoighthi* *macam* in *oglaigh* co *ngnuis* *ndeallraithig* aga *rádh* ris “A *mheic*<sup>5</sup> *cret* do ní.”? Do *freguir* *Serlus* hé agus *adubhairt*:<sup>6</sup> “A *thigearna* *cia* *thu*.”? “As *misi*,” ar sé “*Semus Esbal*, *dalta Crist mac Sebedeus*<sup>7</sup> *brathair Eoin* *suibhsgéal* do *chuir* *mu* *thigearna* do *shenmoir maille* na *grásaibh* *mora* *dona* *popluib* agus is *me* do *mharbh Iruath* do *chlaidiumh* agus *asé* *mu* *corp* *ata* a *cumsanad* *isin* *Ghailinnsi*<sup>8</sup> *fo* *dhaeirsi* ag na *Seiris-dinibh*. Ocus is *ingnad* *lim* cu *mor* *nar* *saerai*-*si* *mo* *thir* o *nert* na *Seirisdineach* agus *gur* *ghabuis* *morán* do *cathrachaibh* agus do *thirthaibh* *ele*, agus<sup>9</sup> *foillsighim*-*si* *duit* *mar* *tuc* *Dia* *nert* agus *cumachta* *duit* os *cinn* *righ* in *talman*. Is *mar* sin do *thagh* sé *thu* *idir* in *uili* *dhuine* do *thabhairt* *coróine*<sup>10</sup> *marthanaighi* *duit*, *innus* cu *soertha* *mu* *thír*-*si* agus *mu* *thalamh* o *lamhaib* na n-*ain-Cristaidhi*. Ocus in *tslighi* ad *chonncas* *isin* *aier* as *comurtha* sin cu *ragha-sa*<sup>11</sup> *maille* *re* *sluaghaib* *móra* do *chathughadh* ris na *cinéadhuibh* *padhanda* agus do *shaeradh* *mu* *thíre* agus *mo* *thalman* agus d’*fisrughadh* an *inaidh* ar *cuireadh* *mu* *chorp* ó *imeal* na *crichi* so *gusin* n*Gailinnsi*, agus *ticedh*<sup>12</sup> ad *diaig* an *uili* *phobal* *chum* *oiltri* o *muir* cu *muir*, *isin* *inad* sin d’*fhaghail logaid*<sup>13</sup> an a *phecadh* o *Dhia* agus ag *innisin* *admolta* in *tigearna* agus na *subalche*<sup>14</sup> agus na *mirbuiledh* do *rinne* se o *aimsir* do *betha-sa* cu *deredh* in *domain*. Ocus ar an *adhbhar* sin *mar* as *luaithi* *fhétfas* *tussa* *ceimnig*<sup>15</sup> *mar* *adubhart-sa*. Or *biat-sa* am *fhurtachtaigh* *agat* in *gach* *uile* *inadh*. Ocus ar *son* do *shaethar* agus do *ghuasachta*<sup>16</sup> *gnoaighfet-sa*<sup>17</sup> *coroin* a *flaithimhnuis* *neamhdha* om *thigearna* *duit*, agus *biaidh* *h-ainm* *molta* *gus* in *lá* *deighenach*.” Ocus *mar* sin do<sup>18</sup> *San Sem*, ar na *fhoillsiughad fein* *tri* *huairi*<sup>19</sup> do *Sherlus*.

1. *gaine* F. & E. 2. F. omits last twelve words. 3. a *folach* F  
4. ar na *faicsin* do co *minic* F. 5. E. omits “a *mheic*.” 6. E reads, evidently wrongly, “do *fegair* in *tigearna* he agus *adubhairt* ris ce *thu* *fen*.” 7. *sipidei* E. *sabedeus* F. 8. E. adds “*noch* *ata* *fos*,” F. merely “*fos*,” 9. E. adds “ar a *son* sin,” 10. na *coroine*, E. 11. Co *racair-se* F. & E. 12. *tiucfaid* F. 13. *loghaidh* F. 14. *subalta* F. & E. 15. *ceimnidh* F. & E. 16. The last three words and the first “*ocus*” inserted from E. 17. *gnoideochadsa* F. & E. 18. F. omits the “do.” 19. *cuarta* F. & E. The “*fein*” I insert from E.

Gascony and Navarre and Spain, on to Galicia,<sup>a</sup> where the body of Saint James was hidden at that time. And Charles beholds that above-mentioned path [of the star] every night, and he often pondered as to what was the meaning of that thing. And as he was having these thoughts there was revealed to him in the peacefulness of the night a youthful warrior<sup>b</sup> with a shining countenance who said to him, "My son, what doest thou"? Charles answered him and said, "Lord, who art thou"? "I," said he "am James the apostle, pupil<sup>c</sup> of Christ, son of Zebedee, brother of John the Evangelist, whom my Lord sent to preach with great grace to the various peoples; and it is I whom Herod killed with a sword, and it is my body that is resting in Galicia in bondage at the hands of the Saracens. And I wonder greatly that thou hast not delivered my country from the power of the Saracens, seeing<sup>d</sup> that thou hast taken many other cities and countries, and I reveal to thee how God hath given strength and power to thee above the kings of the earth. Even so has He chosen thee above all other-men to give thee an everlasting crown, so that thou mightest save my country and my land from the hands of the unbelievers.<sup>e</sup> And the path which thou sawest in the air, that is a sign that thou shalt go with great hosts to fight with the Pagan peoples and to save my country and my land, and to visit the place where my body was buried, from the border of this country to Galicia; and let every people come after thee on pilgrimage from sea to sea, to that place, to get remission of their sin from God, and to tell the praises of the Lord and the virtues and the miracles which He performed [and shall perform] from the period of thine own life to the end of the world. And for that cause as speedily as ever thou shalt be able, proceed as I have said. For I shall be a helper to thee in every place. And on account of thy labours and thy peril I shall win thee a crown from my Lord in the heavenly kingdom, and thy name shall be praised till the last day." Thus far Saint James; having revealed himself three times to Charles.

<sup>a</sup> "a mari Frisiae et tendentem inter Theutonicam et Ytaliā inter Galliam et Aquitoniam, rectissime transeuntem per Gasconiam Basclamque et Navarram et Hispaniam usque ad Galeciam." <sup>b</sup> "heros quidem."

<sup>c</sup> "Alu[m]pnus."

<sup>d</sup> *Lit.*

"and."

<sup>e</sup> *Literally* "unchristians," Latin

Moabitarum.



Ar n-eistecht<sup>1</sup> briathar an esbail do 'n impir airmhech soin do chuir sloigh mora ar aein-shlighidh ocus do chuaidh isin Spáin do dhibirt na Paganach.

## AN DARA SGEL ANN SO. [F.]

CAPITULUM SECUNDUM.<sup>2</sup>

In ched chathair cum a ndechaidh Serlus da gabhail .i. Pampilonia; ocus ase fedh do bhi na timchill tri mí ocus nír fhét a gabháil or do batar múir do-claiti na timcheall. Is ann sin do rinne Serlus urnaighthi chum a dhia féin, ocus a dubhairt "A tighearna a Iosa<sup>3</sup> Crist, o's ar son do chreidim thanag is na crichibh so do clai in chinidh Padhanta, tabhair do chumhachta dam-sa do clai na cathrach so, gu mba molad ocus anoir dot hainm<sup>4</sup> hé." Ocus adubhairt aris, "a San Sem ma's fhir gur fhoillsighis tu fein dam tabhair nert ocus cumhachta dhamh do ghabhail na cathrach so." Ocus tainic do thoil Dé ocus do ghuigi<sup>5</sup> San Sem cor thuitset muir na cathrach co huili. Ocus na Serrisdínigh do bi san cathair ler ail baisted<sup>6</sup> do ghabhail cuca do baisted<sup>7</sup> iat, ocus in drong leis nar ail, do urail Serlus a ndichennadh.

Ar cloisdin na mirbaili sin do umlaigetar<sup>7</sup> na Seirristínigh iat fein do Serlus da gach taebh, ocus do beirtis tabhartais<sup>8</sup> imdha do, innus gur chuir sé in talamh sin uili fo chis do fein. Ocus mar do connatar an cineadh Padhanda pobal na Gailinnsi ar na n-eitiudh co maith ocus aighthi<sup>9</sup> sochraide acu, on claechladh rechta sin, is anorach sidhcanda do ghabhdais cuca iat, ocus do leiceadar a cin[n] da<sup>10</sup> n-armaibh. Ocus na dhiaigh sin do cuaidh Serlus cu Patrona<sup>11</sup> d'fisirgadh adlaicti San Sem, ocus

1. ar na cloistin sin do Shearlus .i. espaloit do gelladh do E. F. turns the sentence differently but also has "o do gheallad an esbaloid do." 2. "in 2 sgel" E. 3. aysa F., aisa E. 4. do Dia F. dot ainm ocus dod miorbuilibh e E. 5. d'urnaighthi San Sem ocus do guidhi Serluis E., F. omits. 6. baistig F. 7. tucatar iad fen E. 8. Taisi imdha do legaibh loghmara ocus do rogha gacha seda mbuadha arcena E. 9. aithche E. 10. E. also reads "cin" F. is in this passage too faint to be sure of the reading. 11. Patron E.

As soon as that renowned emperor had harkened to the words of the apostle, he collected together great armies,<sup>a</sup> and went into Spain to banish the Pagans.

## SECOND CHAPTER.<sup>b</sup>

THE first city which Charles went to take was Pampilonia.<sup>c</sup> And the length of time that he encamped<sup>d</sup> round about it was three months, and he could not take it for there were impregnable ramparts round it. Thereupon Charles made prayer to his own God and said, "O Lord Jesus Christ since it is for the sake of thy religion that I have come into these parts to overthrow the Pagan race, grant me thy power to overthrow this city so that it may be praise and honour to thy name." And again he said, "O Saint James, if it is true that thou didst reveal thyself to me, grant me strength and power to take this city." And it came to pass by the will of God and the prayer of Saint James, that the walls of the city fell utterly.<sup>e</sup> And the Saracens who were in the city who were willing to accept baptism were baptized, and those who were not willing, Charles ordered them to be beheaded.

On hearing of that miracle the Saracens submitted themselves to Charles upon every side and they used to bring him many gifts, so that he placed all that land under tribute to himself. And as soon as the Pagan tribes saw the people of Galicia well clad and with joyous faces,<sup>f</sup> from that change of law,<sup>g</sup> they used to accept them [the Christians] honourably and peaceably and then put off the heads [?] of their weapons.<sup>h</sup> And after that Charles went to Patrona<sup>i</sup> to visit the burial-place of Saint James, and he thrust

<sup>a</sup> *coadunatis sibi exercitibus multis*. The Irish is literally "put on one road," a common idiom in these texts. <sup>b</sup> *Literally* Story. Lismore MS.

makes no division of the text into chapters. <sup>c</sup> *i.e.*, Pampeluna.

<sup>d</sup> *Lit.* "was." Latin *sedit*. <sup>e</sup> "funditus corruerunt." <sup>f</sup> *bene indutam et facie elegantem*.

<sup>g</sup> "Recht" is frequently used for "religion" as well as "law." <sup>h</sup> *armis etiam rejectis*.

<sup>i</sup> "ad petronum," which Gaston Paris explains thus "Petronum vero illam petram vocabant cui ratis allegata fuerat quae Sancti Jacobi corpus Iriam advexerat, et ab hac voce sumpsit Iria Flavia nomen novum El Pedron, quod nunc paulo mutatum El Padron sonat." *De Pseudo Turpino*.

do shaidh a shleagh isin muir agus *ruc* a buidi re Dia agus re San Sem a dhul *conuigi* sin,<sup>1</sup> or nir fhet dul ann co sin. Agus pobal na Gailinnsi do impo *cum* an creidimh padanta a ndiaigh shenmóra San Sem agus a deiscibal, ler ail<sup>2</sup> impod<sup>3</sup> chum creidimh, do ghabhadar baistedh cuca do laimh airdesbaic Roim .i. Turpinus ; agus in drong leis nar ail,<sup>2</sup> do urail Serlus a claidhmedh.<sup>4</sup>

Tainic Serlus na dhiaigh sin ar fud na Spaine co huilidhe.

#### AN TREAS SGEL ANN SO [F.]<sup>5</sup>

Cuid d'anmannaibh na cathrach do ghabh Serlus isin Spain leicim thoram iat ar *deacracht* na n-anmann mbarbardha do radh. Do ghabh se drong dona cathrachaibh sin gan cathughadh agus dro[ng] eli maille cathughadh. Do bhi cathair isin ccrich sin dar ainm Lucerna isin gleann uaine<sup>6</sup> agus nir eidir leis a gabhail no gu tainic fo *deredh* agus do shuid 'na bun agus do bhi gu cenn *cethra* mís na timcheall. Agus o nar fhet a gabhail maille cathughadh do rindi se urnaighthi dhichra co Dia agus co San Sem agus do thoiteadar muir na cathrach uatha fein, agus ata si 'na fasach o sin anuas, ata sruth<sup>7</sup> ar a lar a mbi<sup>8</sup> moran d'iasgaib duba.

Moran do na cathrachaibh so do ghabh Serlus Mor do ghabhadar righa<sup>9</sup> ele don Frainge agus impiredha<sup>9</sup> don Almain iat roim Serlus agus do impoideadar aris cum na h-irse Padanta. Asiat so na righa<sup>9</sup> Cristaighi don Frainc do ghabh cuid<sup>10</sup> don Sbain ar tus .i. Clodionius agus Clotarius<sup>11</sup> agus Pipinus agus Serlus agus Marsellus<sup>12</sup> agus Serlus Mael agus Lobais. Gidheadh cena do chuir

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1. *ruc* *conuigi* sin e E.    2. b'aíl F. & E.    3. *impog* F.    4. *cloidmed* F. a ndichennadh.    5. "in 3 *scel* do cogadh na Spaine" E.    6. illegible in F.    7. gne srotha F. & E.    8. in a faghtar E. fadhtar F.    9. righthi—*impirigh* E.    10. in Spáin E.    11. *Clotonidus* agus *Clotoridus* E. *Cloton* agus *Clotorius* (?) F.    12. *Marsealus* agus *Pipinus* E



his spear into the sea and gave thanks to God and to Saint James that he had gone so far, for he had been unable to go there until then.<sup>a</sup> And the people of Galicia who had turned to the Pagan faith after the preaching of Saint James and his disciples and were willing [now] to turn to the [Christian] faith, they received baptism at the hand of the Archbishop of Rheims, Turpin, and those who were not willing, Charles ordered them to be put to the sword.

Charles passed through the whole of Spain after that.

### THIRD CHAPTER.<sup>b</sup>

SOME of the names of the cities which Charles took in Spain we pass by on account of the difficulty of pronouncing the barbarous names. He took some of those cities without fighting and some of them by fighting. There was a city in that land whose name was Lucerna in the Green Valley,<sup>c</sup> and he could not take it until he came at last and encamped round about it and he was round about it till the end of four months. And since he could not take it with fighting he made earnest prayers to God and to Saint James, and the walls of the city fell of their own accord, and it has been a wilderness ever since. There is a stream running through its midst in the which there are many black fish.

Many of these cities which Charles the Great took, other kings of France and emperors of Germany had taken them before Charles, but they turned again to the Pagan faith. These are the Christian kings of France who first took part of Spain, Clodovius<sup>d</sup> and Clotarius and Pipinus and Charles and Marcellus and Charles

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<sup>a</sup> *dicens quia in antea ire non poterat.* In the language of the Pseudo Turpin "in antea" seems always to mean "before, previously." But *Fr.* reads "qui tamen antea ire non poterat." <sup>b</sup> The Frankfurt edition has not got the chapter which is Castel's third chapter, "de nominibus civitatum Hispaniae." The Irish leaves out over one hundred names but gives the last quarter or so of the chapter. <sup>c</sup> "in valle viridi." <sup>d</sup> "Clodoveus namque primus rex Francorum christianus, Clotarius, Dagobertus, Pipinus, Karolus Martellus, Karolus Calvus, Lodovicus et Karolomagnus, partim Hispaniam acquisiverunt, partim dimiserunt." C.

in Serlus mor so in *Sbáin* co himlán fo chuing na *Cristaigi*.

Ac so na cathracha do mhallai<sup>1</sup> Serlus ar a mhéd do saethar ocus do guasacht fuair aga ngabhail, [agus do eascain San Sem iad E.] ocus ar son na h-eascaine sin atait o shoin gan aitiug<sup>2</sup> *hadh* .i. Lucerna ocus Uentosa ocus Taparra ocus Adama.

#### AN .IIII. SGEL ANN SO. [F.]<sup>2</sup>

Ocus na dhiaigh sin do chuaidh Serlus ar tud na Spaine ocus na dee bodhra balbha ocus na hidbarta diablaidhi d'a n-adhraitis na *Padanaigh* do scrís iat co huilidhi *acht* amhain in dee dar ainm *Macametus* do bhi a talmhain *Auladaluph*<sup>3</sup> re n-abarthai *Salarcadis*.<sup>4</sup> As inann<sup>5</sup> *Cadis* re radh isin *tengaid* *Araipig* ocus deos *tre Laidin*.<sup>6</sup> Ocus aithrisid na *Seirrisdínigh* in tan do bhi in *Macametus* so na bethaid co nderna se obair ro-dhaingen do fein a n-imeal na mara maille diablaideacht ro-mhoir, ocus aderuit cu roibhe in meit sin do nirt isin Dee sin indus nar bh'eid<sup>7</sup> le nech san doman a briseadh na didbáil do dhenamh d<sup>7</sup>. Ocus in uair do thicedh *Crisdaighi* a comhfhocus<sup>8</sup> do, ní ro imthighedh<sup>9</sup> se gan bas no gan guasacht mhor d'fághail on dee sin. Ocus in tan do thicedh *Seirrisdínéach* da adhrad no da guighi do imthighedh<sup>10</sup> imshlán uadha. Ocus in tan do toirrlengad<sup>11</sup> en ar an ndee sin do gheibhedh bás a céadoir. Ocus is amlaidh ata in dee sin a n-imeal in mara ar na oibriugad cu ro-maith d'obair phaganda, ar na shuidhiugadh ar an talmhain. Ocus as amhlaidh atá sí lethan cetharuilleach this, ocus cumang<sup>12</sup> ro-árd thuas innus co mad deacair d'fhiach no<sup>13</sup> d'en arrachta ele dul a comh-ard ria a n-aer. Ocus ata imaighi<sup>14</sup> in dee sin ar na denam dh'or roghlan, ocus si<sup>15</sup> ar na suidhiugadh a n-uachtar na hoibre sin, a bhfighair dhuine, ocus si<sup>15</sup> na sesamh ar a cosaibh co direach, ocus a h-aghaidh

1. do marb F. & E. 2. In 4 sgel do cogadh na Spaine, don Dee re n-abar *Macametus* E. F. also has the last five words. 3. *Auladalap* E. F. omits. 4. *Salann cadiss* E. & F. 5. Thus E. and F. Lismore text has "ocus arrian." 6. ocus dia tre Gaedhailg E. 7. E. and F. omit last five words. 8. comgairi F. & E. 9. ternaighedh E. 10. imidhi F. ingidh E. 11. thus E. F. omits fourteen words here. Lis. has "turadh" with a stroke over the r. 12. co cumang E. & F. 13. naden E. 14. ymaigh F. imaigh na dee sin E. 15. hi E. & F.

the Bald and Lobais. However this Charles the Great put Spain in its entirety under the yoke of the Christians.

Here are the cities which Charles cursed on account of the amount of labour and of peril he endured<sup>a</sup> in the taking of them [and St. James cursed them]; and on account of that malediction they are ever since uninhabited, namely Lucerna<sup>b</sup> and Ventosa and Taparra and Adama.

#### FOURTH CHAPTER.

AND after that Charles went throughout Spain, and the deaf and dumb Gods and the devilish offerings which the Pagans used to adore, he destroyed them utterly except only the god whose name was Macametus [*i.e.* Mahomet] which was in the land of Guadaloupe<sup>c</sup> which used to be called Salacadis. Cadis in the Arabian tongue is the same as to say Deos in Latin. And the Saracens relate that when this Macametus was alive he made a very firm structure for himself on the brink of the sea, by very great deviltry, and they say that there was so much strength in that god that nobody in the world could break it or do it harm. And whensoever a Christian used to come near him he might not escape without death or without enduring great peril from that god. And whenever a Saracen used to come to worship him or to pray to him, he used to go safe and sound from him. And whenever a bird would descend on that god it used to die instantly. And this is how that god is, on the border of the sea, wrought exceeding well of Pagan workmanship, [and] set upon the ground. And this is the way of it, broad and four-square below, and narrow and very high overhead, so that it would be difficult for a raven or other powerful bird to go so high as it in the air. And the image of that god is made of very pure gold and the image is set upon the top of the structure, in the figure of a man, and is standing straight upon its feet, and its face towards the mid day, and

<sup>a</sup> *Lit.* "found."      <sup>b</sup> "Lucerna ventosa, Cappara, Adamia," C., but Ventosa is probably a separate town as the Irish makes it, not an adjective.      <sup>c</sup> "in terra Alandaluf quod vocatur Salam Cadis. Cadis dicitur locus proprie in quo est; Salam in lingua Arabica Deus dicitur. C. Cadis dicitur proprie locus in quo est Isalam, in lingua arabica Deus dicitur. *Fr.*"

ar in<sup>1</sup>medon lai,<sup>1</sup> agus eocair aice aga connmail na laimh dheis, agus ase adbar na h-eocrach sin do réir na Seirrisdineach, an uair do thuitfedh an eochair sin cu ticfadh rí dona Frangccachaibh do gebludh in Spain co h-imlan an bliadain sin, agus do cuirfedh hi fo chuing agus fo iris na Cristaighi. Ocus mar aireochait<sup>2</sup> na Seirrisdinigh in eochair sin do thuitim al-laim in dee sin, teithfit agus facbait an tír.

Ocus ar gclai na Seirrisdineach do Sherlus agus ar cur na Spaine fa chuing na Cristaighi do thidhlaicedar righa agus prinnsadha<sup>3</sup> na Sbáine or agus aircet cu do-airmhe dhó. Ocus do bhi se tri bliadhna 'na chomhnaidhe isin Sbáin, agus do rinne se tempall ro-anorach les in or sin, agus leis in n-aircet, a n-anoir San Sem, agus ase ord do chuir se isin tempall sin ord cananach do reir uird agus riagla<sup>4</sup> esbuig naemtha .i. Isidurus, agus do mhedaigh<sup>5</sup> se hi<sup>6</sup>cu mor do clochaibh<sup>5</sup> agus do leabhraibh<sup>5</sup> agus do bratuibh, maille moran do neithibh deadh-mhaiseacha ele, nach urusa d'airimh.<sup>6</sup>

Ocus a haithli na h-oibri-sin do chrichnughadh do Sherlus, in fuigheall<sup>7</sup> do bhi aigi don innmhus do-airmhe fuair o na Seirrisdineachaibh do chumdaigh se imat reilg<sup>8</sup> leis, agus as iat so a n-anmanna<sup>9</sup> .i. Tempall Anacis Granis a n-anoir Muire Bain-tighearna,<sup>10</sup> agus tempall a n-anoir San Sem isin cathair re n-abar Uiterinis Sensium<sup>11</sup> agus tempall eile do San Sem isin cathair re n-abar Tolusum<sup>12</sup> agus eclas San Sem isin cathair ren-abar Pairis ata idir an inadh re n-abar Secanum agus sliabh na Mairtireach ; agus aibdhineachta do-airmhe do rinn se ar fud in domhain o sin amach.

Ar n-impodh<sup>13</sup> do Sherlus isin Fhraingc do chuaidh ri Padhanda Athfraiceach dar ainm Agiollandus mailli re sluaghaibh do-airmhe annsa Sbáin tar eis<sup>14</sup> Serluis moir agus do ghabh i co himlán ar

1. ar in grein a medhon lae F. & E. 2. cidfid E. 3. righthi na Spaine E.  
4. uird riagulta F. u'riaghla E. 5. leagaibh E. clogaib agus do legaib F.  
6. d'innisin F. & E. 7. fuighill F. & E. 8. eglasa imdha E. egalsa imda F.  
9. anmanna E. & F. annmunaibh Lis. 10. F. omits this word.  
11. Buter nicencium F. putir insensium E. 12. Talosum E. Tolosum F.  
13. ninntogh F. & E. 14. deis E. & F.



a key held by it in its right hand, and the cause of that key [is this], according to the Saracens, [who say that] whenever that key should fall, there would come a king of the Franks who would take Spain completely in that year, and place it under the yoke and the faith of the Christians. And whenever the Saracens shall hear that that key has fallen from the hand of that god they will fly and leave the country.

And<sup>a</sup> on Charles's overcoming the Saracens and placing Spain under the yoke of the Christians, the kings and princes of Spain gave him innumerable presents of gold and silver. And he was abiding in Spain for three years, and he built a very noble<sup>b</sup> temple with that gold and silver in honour of St. James. And the Order which he placed in that temple was the Order of Canons according to the Order and Rule of the holy bishop Isidore, and he increased it greatly with [precious] stones and books<sup>c</sup> and vestments, together with many other fair things not easy to enumerate.

And after Charles finishing that work, the remainder that he had of the innumerable treasures which he got from the Saracens, he built many churches<sup>d</sup> with it, and here are their names, the Church of Anacis Granis [*i.e.* Aix-la-chapelle<sup>e</sup>] in the honour of Mary [our] lady, and a church in honour of Saint James in the city which is called Uiterinis Sensium, and another church to Saint James in the city which is called Tolusum<sup>f</sup> [Toulouse], and a church of Saint James in a city which is called Paris which is between the place which is called Secanum and the Martyrs Mount.<sup>g</sup> And abbotships innumerable did he make throughout the world from that out.

And,<sup>h</sup> on Charles returning into France, an African Pagan king whose name was Agiolandus<sup>i</sup> went with innumerable hosts into Spain after Charles the Great, and took it completely, having

<sup>a</sup> The 5th chapter begins here in the Latin texts. <sup>b</sup> *Lit.* "honourable."

<sup>c</sup> The Franciscan text reads "bells and gems." The Latin has "eamque tintinnabulis pallisque libris ceterisque ornamentis decenter ornavit."

<sup>d</sup> In this text "roilig" sometimes translates "ecclesia." <sup>e</sup> "quae est apud Aquisgranum."

<sup>f</sup> "ecclesiam Sancti Jacobi quae est apud urbem Buerrensiem apud Tolosam, C. *Fr.* omits "urbem Buerrensiem."

<sup>g</sup> Apud urbem Parisios enter Sequanam fluvium et montem Martyrum, *i.e.* the Seine and Montmartre?

<sup>h</sup> The 6th chapter in both the Latin texts begins here. <sup>i</sup> "Aigolandus" in the Latin texts.

n-innarbadh agus ar marbadh na Cristaigh do na cathrachaibh agus do na fearannuibh ar fhacoib Serlus iat aga coimet.<sup>1</sup> Agus ar na cloisidin sin do Sherlus do impa<sup>2</sup> tar ais isin Sbain aris maille na shluagh fein,<sup>3</sup> agus do rinne comnaidhi isin chathair re n-abar Bagionum.<sup>4</sup> Agus do gallraigheadh ridiri uasal do mhuintir Serluis dar ainm Romaruicus.<sup>5</sup> Agus a n-aimsir a bhais do ghabh se faisidin agus aithreachas agus corp Crist. Agus adubhairt re brathair do bhi 'na fhochair a each do reic agus a luach<sup>6</sup> do thabhairt do cleirchibh agus do bochtaibh do raith<sup>7</sup> a anma. Agus ar tesdadh<sup>8</sup> don ridiri sin do ghabh sainnt brathair an ridiri agus do rec<sup>9</sup> an t-each ar *cet* scillin do fein agus do chaith sin re biadh agus re digh agus re h-edach. Agus is gar dona droch-ghnimhuibh<sup>10</sup> dighultas De<sup>11</sup> co minic. A cinn *deich* la *fichet* na dhiaigh sin don nech sin do rec an t-ech do foillsiged dó in ridiri thra aghuidh<sup>12</sup> ann, agus ised adubhairt ris "tre mar tucus-sa mh' airneis duit da tabhairt mar déirc d'fuascaladh mh'anma, bidh<sup>13</sup> a fhis agat gur mhaith Dia mo phecadh dhamh-sa, agus o dho chonnmhais-si co lecoir mu dheirc acud, tuic gur chonnmhuis mhisi XXX la a pein, agus bidh a fhis agat ar a shon sin cu racair fein amarach a n-ithsren agus co rac<sup>14</sup>-sa a Parthus. Agus do imthig in nech marbh a haithli in comraidh sin agus do ghabh eglá mor in nech beo agus nir coduil<sup>15</sup> gu tainic in la agus do indis se sin ar na mharach. Agus ar rochtuin in sceoil sin fo na sluaghaib do chualatar gotha adhuachmara isin aier os a cinn mar ghothaibh leoman *no* mactire *no* ainmilted mbruidighi<sup>16</sup> ele. Agus nir chian na dhiaigh sin gur thogbhatar na diabail in nech slán beo sin al-lar na sluagh amach ann san fhirnamint suas. Agus o do connatar na sluaigh sin do chuireadar coisighe agus marcsluagh d'iarraidh in fir sin a ngleannuibh agus a cnocaibh agus ní fhuaratar he. Agus a cinn da lá dhech na dhiaigh sin do bhatar na sluaigh sin Serluis ac siubhal in fhasaigh re n-abar Nauarorum agus

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1. innti E. a coiméd in talmhan F. 2. innto E. inntogh F. 3. Maille na shluaghaibh mora cedna E. 4. Bagionam F. 5. Ruaricus F. Ruaidhricus E. 6. luaigh F. 7. ar gràdh F. & E. 8. testail F. & E. 9. reac F. & E. 10. gnimarta E. 11. Dia F. & E. 12. adci F. do techt cuigi ann E. 13. bith F. & E. 14. rachsa F. racsa E. 15. codlaigh F. 16. ainminnti mbruidemel F. Ainminntibh bruidemil E.

slain or driven out<sup>a</sup> the Christians from the cities and from the lands where Charles had left them in charge. And, when Charles heard that, he returned back again into Spain with his own army, and he rested in the city which is called Bayonne.<sup>b</sup> And<sup>c</sup> a noble knight of Charles's people took ill, whose name was Romaruicus.<sup>d</sup> And at the time of his death he made confession and repentance and [took] the body of Christ. And he desired a brother that he had with him to sell his steed, and to give the price of it to clerics and poor people for the grace of his soul. But when this knight died, covetousness took possession of the knight's brother, and he sold the steed for one hundred shillings for himself, and he spent that on food and drink and clothes. But often the vengeance of God follows close on<sup>e</sup> evil deeds. To him who had sold the steed, at the end of thirty days after that, the knight [who had died] was revealed in the night time, and this is how he spake to him: "because I gave my equipment to thee to give it as alms to release my soul, be it known to thee that God has forgiven me my sin. And since thou hast unjustly kept back my alms to thyself, understand that thou hast kept me thirty days in pain, and be it known to thee that for that reason thou thyself shalt go to-morrow into hell, and that I shall go into Paradise." And the dead man departed after that discourse. And great fear seized the living man, and he slept not until day came. And he told that [story] on the morrow. And after that story had reached the army they heard dreadful voices in the air over their heads, as it were the voices of lions or wolves or other brute animals. And it was not long after that until the devils lifted that sound man, alive, out of the midst of the hosts, up into the firmament. And, when the army saw that, they sent foot soldiers and horse soldiers to look for that man, in valleys and on hills, and they found him not. And, at the end of twelve days after that, those hosts of Charles were marching through the wilderness which is

<sup>a</sup> *Lit.* "driven out and slain."

<sup>b</sup> The last ten words are in neither of the Latin texts which read instead "et erat cum eo dux exercituum Milo de Angleris."

<sup>c</sup> The 7th chapter of the Latin texts begins here.

<sup>d</sup> "Romaricus" C. & Fr.

<sup>e</sup> *Lit.* "is close to," "malis factis divini iudicis vindicta proxima esse solet."

fuatarar corp in fir<sup>1</sup> sin gan anmuin ocus se ar na coimbrised, ocus ase inadh a raibhi in corp sin a mbarr ailli mara. ocus asi airdi<sup>2</sup> a roibi in benn sin os cinn in mara tri lege,<sup>3</sup> ocus ase fad do bi an t-inad sin o'n cathair adubhramar uidhi .IIII. la ; ocus do b'iat an diabail do chuir in corp sin ann sin, ocus ruc a anum a n-iffrenn. Ar a shon sin bidh<sup>4</sup> a fhis aguibh gach aen aga fhuicfe duine marbh deirc do denamh ar a anmain, muna tuca<sup>5</sup> an deirc sin uadha co bhfhuil se fein damnaighthe.<sup>6</sup>

## AN V SGEL ANN SO [F.]

Ocus na diaigh sin do gluais Serlus mor ocus Meiler<sup>7</sup> maille na sluaghaib ar fut na Spaine d'iaraid in righ Phadhandas sin do gabh in Sbáin da n-eis ocus ase inadh a bhfuadarar he isin talam re n-abar De<sup>8</sup> Campis ocus ar an sruth re n-abar Tegia ocus a muighibh ocus a n-inadaib reidhi in a nderna Serlus na dhiaigh sin tempall anorach a n-ainm na mairtireach uasal .i. Facundi ocus Primitui<sup>9</sup> ocus atait a cuirp osin anuas a cumhsanad san inad sin.

Ocus ar ndul do Sherlus cona shluaghuibh a bhfogus don inad a raibhi Agiolandus do fhuacair se<sup>10</sup> cath ar Serlus, fa thoil Serluis<sup>11</sup> .i. XX anaghaidh XX<sup>et</sup>, no da XX<sup>it</sup> anaghaidh da XX<sup>it</sup>, no cét anaghaidh cét no mili anaghaidh mili no dias inaghaidh dheisi, no duine anaghaidh duini. Ocus ar na cluinsin<sup>12</sup> sin do Sherlus do cuir se cét ridiri cristaighi uadha inaghaidh cét ridiri paganta, ocus do marbhadh na paganaigh co h-uilidhi.

Do chuir Agiolandus cét ele uaidh ocus do marbhadh iat mar in cétna. Do cuir dhá chét anaghaidh dhá chét ocus do marbhadh na Paganaigh. Do cuir iaram da mhíle anaghaidh da mhíle ocus

1. oclaigh F. & E. 2. Thus F. & E. *Lis.* has "airm." 3. legha F. lega E. 4. bith F. bi E. 5. tugad F. E. reads "tucair," turning the sentence into the 2nd pers. sing. and reading "aen duine" for "gach aen." 6. damuinti ar a son F. damanta ar a son co brach ocus iar mbrach E. 7. F. & E. omit "Meiler." 8. F. omits the De. E. & H. read "decampis." 9. Facumeni ocus Primitui F. Faccunni ocus Primitia E. & H. 10. an paganach sin F. & E. & H. 11. tSerluis F. 12. cluisdin F. cloistin E.



called Navarre,<sup>a</sup> and they came upon the body of that man without life and it all broken. And the place where that body lay<sup>b</sup> was on the top of a cliff by the sea. And the place where that peak was, was above the sea three leagues. And the distance that that place was from the city which we have mentioned was a journey of four days. And it was the devils who placed that body there and brought his soul to hell. For that reason be it known to you that each one to whom a dead man shall leave [goods] to give [as] alms for his soul, unless he give that alms he is himself damned.

### FIFTH CHAPTER.<sup>c</sup>

AND, after that, Charles the Great and Meiler marched with their armies throughout Spain to seek that Pagan king who had occupied Spain after them, and the place where they found him was in the land which is called De Campis, and by the stream which is called Tegia,<sup>d</sup> and in plains and smooth places in which Charles afterwards built an honourable church in the name of the noble martyrs Facundus and Primitius,<sup>e</sup> and their bodies are ever since at rest in that place.

And on Charles with his armies coming near to the place where Agiolandus was, he challenged Charles to battle,<sup>f</sup> [with], as Charles might choose,<sup>g</sup> twenty men against twenty, or forty against forty, or a hundred against a hundred, or a thousand against a thousand, or two against two, or man against man. And, when Charles heard that, he sent forth a hundred Christian knights against a hundred Pagan knights, and the Pagans were all slain.

Agiolandus sent forth another hundred, and they were slain in like manner. He sent two hundred against two hundred and the Pagans were [again] slain. He sent after that two thousand

<sup>a</sup> "per deserta telluris Navarrorum et Alavarum [Laruarum *Fr.*] peragrasset"

<sup>b</sup> *Lit.* "was." <sup>c</sup> 8th chapter in the Latin. <sup>d</sup> Ceia C. Cera *Fr.* <sup>e</sup> "Primitivus" in the Latin texts. <sup>f</sup> *Lit.* "proclaimed battle on Charles." *Lat.*

"mandavit Karolo bellum." <sup>g</sup> *Lit.* "at Charles's will," "secundum velle suum."

do marbhadh mar an cétna iat d'urmor<sup>1</sup> agus do theith in chuid nar marbhadh díibh. In treas la na dhiaigh sin do connaic Agiolandus mar do tuiteadar a mhuindter, agus do rinne se crann-char piseogach agus da reir sin do aithin se da tugad cath imlán do Sherlus cona muinntir gu ndingnadh dith<sup>2</sup> mhor doibh; agus ar a shon sin do chuir tecta d'fogra catha imlain ar Serlus cona muinntir ar na mharach. Agus do chetuigh Serlus in cath do thabhairt. Agus in aghaidh roim in cath do bhi Serlus cona muinntir a foslongport laim ris in sruth<sup>3</sup> remraiti agus do shaidhetar cuid da muinntir a ngaithi is na muighibh<sup>4</sup> i rabhatar na comnuidhi agus ar n-eirghi doibh ar na mharach fuaradar a ngaithi lan do croicenn agus do blath dedhmhaiseach orro. Agus ba biat lucht na ngaethe sin do mairtiredh a tus in catha ar na mharach ar son creidmhe Crist. Agus ní is mo ina mar as eidir a indisi do bhatar na sluaigh sin ag<sup>5</sup> ingantas ar met na mirbail sin do roine Dia. Agus do gerradh<sup>6</sup> na gaitli sin comhard<sup>7</sup> re talmhain agus do fhasatar croinn mhora a premhaibh na ngaithi sin gur bho pháirc mor,<sup>8</sup> agus atait o sin isin inad sin gan losgad gan mhilledh. Agus a ngne fhuinnseog atait,<sup>9</sup> agus in 1et ingantach so gidh do bhi se na dhidbail do na corpuibh do bo mhor a ghairdiughadh<sup>10</sup> dona h-anmannaibh. Agus do cuired in cath gu cruaidh agus co calma in la sin, idir na sluaghaib. Agus do martrad Milo .i. athair Rolannduis isin cath sin faris in ndroing agar fhas blath ar a ngaethibh. Agus do thuitset da fhicit míle do na Cristaighibh in la sin leis na Padhanchaibh. Agus do marbhadh ech Serluis móir fein<sup>11</sup> isin cath sin, agus do bhi Serlus da chois agus da mhíle<sup>12</sup> dona Cristaighibh faris. Agus do nocht Serlus a claidheamh ann sin dar ainm Gaudiosa<sup>13</sup> agus do ling ar lar na

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1. anurmor F. & E. & H. 2. digbail F. & H. dibhail E. 3. re taeb an srotha sin H. 4. is na hinadaib H. 5. aga F. E. reads "ag ingantas med." H. "acindisin." 6. gearradar sit F. do gearradar siat. E. H. rightly omits "siat." 7. gonaird re F. 8. mar do bheith páirc mor F. E. omits this. 9. agus a ngne agus andath acosmailius fuinnseoc E. fuindsind H. 10. E. adds "agus in subalta." "an tarba" H. 11. "moir fein" omitted in Lis. 12. da .XX. m. H. & E. 13. E. omits last eleven words, and after "do ling" adds "le buile catha," which H. has also.

against two thousand and they were likewise slain—the greater part of them—and those who were not slain fled. The third day, after that, Agiolandus saw how his people had fallen, and he made divination<sup>a</sup> with spells, and according to it he knew that if he were to give full battle to Charles and his people he would do them great damage. And for that reason he sent messengers to challenge Charles and his people to a full battle<sup>b</sup> on the morrow. And Charles consented to give battle. And the night before the battle Charles with his people was in camp beside the aforementioned stream, and some of his people stuck their spears in the plain<sup>c</sup> where they were stationed, and when they arose in the morning they found their spears covered with<sup>d</sup> bark and fair blossoms on them. And it was the owners of those spears who were martyred at the outset of the battle on the morrow, for the sake of Christ's religion. And the hosts were wondering more than it is possible to tell at the greatness of the miracles which God performed. And those spears were cut on a level with the ground, and there grew great trees from the roots of those spears, so that it was a great field [of trees],<sup>e</sup> and they are ever since in that place without burning or destruction. And of the nature of ash they are. And this wondrous thing, although it was a hurt to their<sup>f</sup> bodies, it was a great rejoicing to their<sup>f</sup> souls. And the battle was fought hardily and valiantly that day between the armies. And Milo, that was Roland's father, was martyred in that battle, along with the band upon whose spears blossoms had grown. And there fell forty thousand of the Christians on that day at the hands of the Paynims. And Charles's steed was killed in that battle, and Charles was on foot, and two thousand of the Christians along with him. And Charles bared his sword then, whose name was Gaudiosa,<sup>g</sup> and he sprang into the middle of

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<sup>a</sup> Literally "a charmed casting of lots," "ejecit sortes secrete." This shows an early use of the word "piscóg," very common now in the sense of charm or spell or superstitious rite.

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "proclaimed a complete battle on," "pugnam plenariam."

<sup>c</sup> Lit. "plains," "in pratis."

<sup>d</sup> Lit. "full of."

<sup>e</sup> or "a great park."

<sup>f</sup> Lit. "the," "magnumque animabus proficuum, ingensque corporibus detrimentum."

<sup>g</sup> "evaginavit spatam suam nomine Gaudiosam, et trucidavit multos Sarracenos per medium."

*Seirrisdineach* agus do gherradh in *Seirrisdineach* ar dhó,<sup>1</sup> agus do rindi se didh**bháil** mhor doibh amlaidh sin.<sup>2</sup> Ocus ar tect don esbartain da n-innsaigid do chuaid gach sluagh dhibh d'a arus fein.<sup>3</sup>

Tancatar *umorro* cethrar do thighearnuibh mora a himeal na hEtaili do chabhair do Sherlus maille cethra míle do shluagh**ai**b arntha eidighthe. Ocus mar do chuala Agiolandus in sluagh sin do thecht do chabhair do Sherlus do elo<sup>4</sup> roime as in crích sin, agus chuaidh a crích Legionensibus. Ocus do chuaidh Serlus cona shluagh isin *Frainge* da eisi sin.

Ocus as intuicthi as na comharthaibh sin in drong do thuit isin cath sin gu fuaradar slainti anma. Ocus mar do ullmhaighedar ridiredha Serluis a n-airm<sup>5</sup> cum cathaighthe as mar sin as dliged duinne air n-airm fein d' ullmhughad chum cathaighthi .i. subhal**chai**<sup>6</sup> maithi do cur anaghaidh na locht.<sup>7</sup> Ocus gach nech ler bh'aíl in cathughad so do denumh bidh creidium daingen aige anaghaidh na heiriticeachta<sup>8</sup> agus grádh anaghaidh in fhuatha agus tabhartas<sup>9</sup> anaghaidh na sainnti agus umla<sup>10</sup> in aghaidh in dimais<sup>11</sup> agus genmnaideacht anaghaidh na druise agus urnaighthi dicra anaghaidh aiberseorachta in diabail agus silens anaghaidh na fergi agus umhla anaghaidh leisce in cuirp.<sup>12</sup> Ocus gibe do ghen a na nethi so biaidh blath deadhmhaiseach<sup>13</sup> a lo in bhreit-imnuis air. Or is conaigh toirtrech anum claidhthe na pecadh<sup>14</sup> agus budh<sup>15</sup> mor a bláth a flaitheamhnus De<sup>16</sup> ar chathughadh a talmain anaghaidh na pecadh. Ocus mar fuaradar muinnter Serluis bas ar son creidimh Crist is mar sin dlighmit-ne bas do thabhairt d'ar lochtuibh agus beith marthanach an ar subhal**chai**bh,<sup>17</sup> innus co bfaghmais coroin blathmhar a flaitheas De do buaidh ar cathaighthi.

1. ar a do F. & E. 2. E. adds *noch* is dotuaraschbala re innsin. 3. E. omits last fifteen words. 4. do elód H. do elogh se gan fis E. 5. iat fein cona narmaibh F. 6. subaltai F. H. is illegible. 7. an ancreidim H. na nancr—ocus na heirisi p.a. E. 8. aincreidim E. 9. barantas F. & H. baranntas E. 10. umhlacht E. & F. 11. uabhair E. & F. & H. 12. na colla E & H. F. omits. 13. E. & F. add "ar a gha." 14. F. has "as conaid tortach anam cluicin (sic) na pecadh." 15. "umor" F. 16. E. & E. *Neamhdha*. 17. sic Lis. & H. F. & E. subaltaibh.



the Saracens and he used to cut the Saracen [whom he would smite] in two, and he caused them a great loss in that wise. And when evening time approached<sup>a</sup> each army of them went to its own camp for that night.

There came moreover four great lords<sup>b</sup> from the confines of Italy to help Charles with four thousand troops in arms and armour. And when Agiolandus heard of that host's coming to help Charles, he stole away out of that district, and went into the district Legionenses.<sup>c</sup> And Charles with his army went into France after that.

And it is to be understood from those signs that the band who fell in that battle found health of soul [*i.e.* salvation]. And as Charles's knights prepared their weapons to fight, in such wise ought we to prepare our own arms to fight, namely good virtues to set against faults. And every person who desires to make this fight let him have a firm faith to oppose to heresy, and love to oppose to<sup>d</sup> hatred, and giving to oppose to covetousness, and humility to oppose to pride, and chastity to uncleanness, and fervent prayer to the opposition of the devil, and silence to anger, and humility to sloth [*sic*] of body. And whoever shall do these things there shall be a fair blossom upon him in the day of judgment. For it is fruitful wealth for a soul to overthrow sin, [?] and great shall its blossom be in the heaven of God for warring on earth against sins. And as Charles's people died for the religion of Christ, so ought we to inflict death upon our faults, and become everlasting in our virtues, so that we may gain a blossoming crown in the heaven of God through the victory of our battling.

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<sup>a</sup> "die advesperascente" C., "advesperante" *Fr.*    <sup>b</sup> "Marquisii."    <sup>c</sup> "in Legionensibus oris secessit" C., "in Legionenses oras secessit" *Fr.*    <sup>d</sup> The Latin is a little more diffuse; "quisquis enim vel fidem contra haeticam pravitatem, vel caritatem contra odium, vel largitatem contra avariciam, vel humiliatam contra superbiam, vel castitatem contra libidinem, vel orationem assiduam contra demoniacam tentationem, vel perseverantiam contra instabilitatem, vel silentium contra iurgia, vel obedientiam contra carnalem animum ponit, hasta ejus florida et victrix in die iudicii Dei erit" C. *Fr.* differs slightly.

AN SEISIUGADH SGEL ANN SO. F.<sup>1</sup>

Ocus na dhiaigh sin do thinoil Agiolandus cinedha imdha .i. Seirrisdíneacha ocus Mauri ocus Moabite<sup>2</sup> ocus fir gorma ocus Parti ocus Africani ocus Parce<sup>3</sup> ocus ri na hAraibi ocus ri Alaxandria ocus ri Bugie ocus ri Agabia ocus ri Barbarie<sup>4</sup> ocus ri Cornubie ocus rig<sup>5</sup>ha imdha o sin amach.

Tainic Agiolandus mailleis na righuibh sin cona sluaghuibh cum na cathrach darub ainm Agiam ocus do ghabh hi. Ocus na dhiaigh sin do fhogair se do Sherlus techt co sidhchanda maille began do mhaithibh a ridireadh da innsaigid, ocus do gheall co tибhreadh<sup>6</sup> or ocus aircet [ocus sed mbuadha. E. & H.] do cu mor do chinn creidmhe dho fein ocus d'a dhéibh. Ocus is e adbar fá dubhairt se sin cu mbeith aithne<sup>7</sup> Serluis aigi, chum a mharbhtha isin céd cath aris. Ocus ar na tuicsin sin do Sherlus do cuaidh maille da mhili do shluagh ro arrachta uidi cethra mille<sup>8</sup> on n-inad a raibhi Agiolandus, ocus do fhacuib<sup>9</sup> iat a bhfalach<sup>10</sup> ann sin, ocus do chuaidh fein maille re tri fichit ridiri [do maithibh a muinntire, E. & H.] cus in<sup>11</sup> sliabh do bhi laimh ris in cathair in a roibhi Agiolandus innus co facatar in cathair uatha. Facbas Serlus a mhuinntir ann sin, ocus do claeachlo na hedighi uaisle<sup>12</sup> do bhi uime, ocus do chuaidh gan gai gan arm ele acht<sup>13</sup> a sciath tarrsna ar a dhruim, mar<sup>14</sup> is gnath ag na misidearuibh a n-aimsir catha, ocus aen ridiri [amain F.] na fharrad. Ocus do chuadar cum na cathrach [mar a roibhe an paganach .i. Agiolandus E.] ocus mar rancatar in chathair tarla cuidechta dhoibh ocus do fhiafraighetar scela<sup>15</sup> dibh. “Misideir sinn,” ar siat, “ar n-ar cur o Sherlus Mhor cum bhar righi-si, cum Agiolanduis. Ocus ar na cluinsin sin do mhuinntir Agiolanduis [do gabh luathghaire mor iat ocus E. & H.] rucadur leo iat isin cathair mar a roibhi Agiolandus. Ocus adubratar na misideir, “Serlus<sup>16</sup> do chuir sinne chugat-sa da inisin<sup>17</sup> duit cu

1. E. reads “in 6 sgel do cogad na Spàine. H. An ui sc. 2. Mabete F. Mabite E. 3. F. omits from Parce to Cornubie. 4. barbardha E. 5. moran do cineduibh ad.h.mara, o hoin amach F. E. reads ri Cornabia ocus moran do rightibh eile. 6. tiubhradh F., H. & E. 7. iul E. & H. 8. Mile E. & F. & H. 9. fag E. & F. 10. F., H. & E. have folach. 11. F. always reads “conuig in” for “cusin.” conuige E. conuici H. 12. do athraigh na hedigh ro maithe onoracha E. 13. ocus E. & F. 14. mar paganach ag na m. E. mar fa gnath ac na misiderachaibh H. 15. cad do b’aíl leo E. & H. 16. Serlus fein E. & H. 17. foillsiughadh E. & F.



## SIXTH CHAPTER.

AND, after that, Agiolandus gathered many tribes, Saracens and Moors and Moabites and Negroes<sup>a</sup> and Parthians and Africans and Parce,<sup>b</sup> and the king of Arabia and the king of Alexandria, and the king of Bugia and the king of Agabia and the king of Barbary and the king of Cornubia, and many other kings as well.<sup>c</sup>

Agiolandus came with those kings together with their hosts to the city which is called Agiam<sup>d</sup> and took it. And after that he sent a proclamation to Charles bidding him come peaceably to him with a few chiefs of his knights, and he promised that he would give him gold and silver and precious gems in plenty if he would believe in himself and his gods. And the reason he said that was that he might be able to recognize Charles, and so slay him in the next battle. And, as soon as Charles understood that, he went with two thousand of his host, very valiant ones, a journey to within four miles of the place where Agiolandus was, and left them in hiding there, and he himself went with three score knights of the princes of his people to the mountain which was beside the city in which was Agiolandus, so that they saw the city in the distance.<sup>e</sup> Charles left his people there, and he changed the nobleman's clothes that were on him, and he went without a spear or other weapon except his shield across his back, as is the custom of ambassadors in time of battle, and only one knight with him, and they went to the city where the pagan, Agiolandus, was. And so soon as they reached the city a company met them and asked tidings of them, "We are ambassadors,"<sup>f</sup> say they, "who are sent from Charles the Great to your king, to Agiolandus. And so soon as the people of Agiolandus heard that, they rejoiced much, and they brought them with them into the city where Agiolandus was. And the ambassadors said, "It is Charles who has sent us to thee to tell thee that Charles has come with three

<sup>a</sup> *Lit.* "blue men" as the Irish called blacks. Aethiopes, *Lat.* <sup>b</sup> Persas, *aliter* Pierses. <sup>c</sup> *Lit.* from that out. <sup>d</sup> Agenni C. Agomam *Fr.* The Latin texts mention other kings and countries which the Irish texts omit.

<sup>e</sup> *Lit.* "from them." <sup>f</sup> Nuncii.

tainic Serlus maille tri fichit fer mar adubartais<sup>1</sup> ris, ocus do b'ail leis bheith na oglach acat-sa,<sup>2</sup> da comaili<sup>3</sup> tu gach ní do gheallais<sup>4</sup> do, ocus [ar an adbar sin F. & E.] eirigh-se, in mhéad sin do mhaithibh do mhuindtíri, na choinne, ocus labhair ris co sidh-chanta."<sup>5</sup> Ocus [ahaithle in comraid sin do denam doibh E. & H.] adubhairt Agiolandus riu-san intheacht cum Serluis ocus a rád ris fuireach ris, or nir aithin Agiolandus gur b'e Serlus do bhi ag comhradh ris, ocus do aithin Serlus eisium cu maith. Ocus do chuartaigh<sup>6</sup> in chathair ocus do fhec ga taebh as ar bh'usa a gabhail. Ocus do imthigh clum a *thri fichet* ridiri [tar a ais F. & H.] ocus do ghuaisetar cùm in inaid ar fhacbhatar in da mhíle ridiri, ocus do lean Agiolandus iat secht míle ridiri armtha eidighthe.<sup>7</sup> Do b'ail leis Serlus do marbhadh. Ocus ar na aithne sin<sup>8</sup> do Sherlus ní hanmain do rindi no gu rainic isin<sup>9</sup> Fraingc. Ocus do thnoil sluagha mhora ocus do chuaidh cum na cathrach re n-abar Agenne [do b'ail leis a gabhail F. & E.] ocus do shuidh na timceall, ocus do bhi ann co cenn sé mis. Ocus annsa sechtmad mhí ar ndenam chaislen crainn ocus mhorain do shasaibh ele do Sherlus, do elo Agiolandus gu cealgach mailleis na righuibh ocus ris na tigearnadibh do bhi 'na fhochair tre chamradhuib ocus tre pholluibh na cathrach amach, ocus tar in sruth<sup>10</sup> darab ainm Gaurona, ocus is mar sin do shechain se cumhachta Serluis. Ocus do chuaidh Serlus [impir na crodhachta ocus in gaisgid E.] ar n-a mharach<sup>11</sup> maille cathughadh mor ann sa cathraigh ocus do thuit moran dona Seirrisdineachaibh le harmaibh, ocus do chuaidh moran dibh maille guasacht mor tar in sruth adubhramar. Ocus as e lín do thuit isin cathair<sup>12</sup> dibh fiche míle.<sup>13</sup>

AN SEACHTMADH SGEL ANN SO. F.<sup>14</sup>

Do chuaidh Agiolandus iarsin cus in cathraigh dar ainm Sconnas<sup>15</sup> or do bhi si in tan sin fa chumachtaibh na Seirrisdineach

1. mararobuis F. mar dubartaisi E. & H. 2. F. omits. 3. coimilir F. comilir E. & H. 4. F. omits. 5. co muinnteara sichanta E. 6. braith F. 7. E. & H. add incomluinn. 8. E. & H. read "na mailisi ocus na ceilgi sin." H. "na mailisi." 9. annsa E. 10. abaind gaurona E. 11. F. omits last three words. 12. cath Lis. cathraid H. cathair F. & E. 13. X. mili E. & F. I.X. Mile H. 14. E. adds "do chogad na Spáine. 15. Scondas E. & H.

score men as thou badest him, and he would gladly be a vassal of thine if thou fulfillest everything that thou hast promised him; go thou therefore with the same number of the nobles of thy people to meet him and speak to him peaceably." And after they had held that discourse Agiolandus bade them go to Charles and tell him to wait for him. For Agiolandus did not recognize that it was Charles who was conversing with him. But Charles recognized him well, and he went through<sup>a</sup> the city and saw from what side it would be easiest to take it. And he went back to his three score knights, and they marched to the place where they had left the two thousand knights, and Agiolandus followed them with seven thousand knights in arms and armour. He desired to slay Charles. And so soon as Charles recognized that, he made no halt<sup>b</sup> until he arrived in France. And [there] he collected great hosts and went to the city which is called Agenne,<sup>c</sup> which he desired to take, and camped round about it. And he was there to the end of six months. And in the seventh month after Charles having made a castle of wood and many other engines, Agiolandus stole away secretly with the kings and lords who were along with him out through the sewers and holes of the city,<sup>d</sup> and across the river whose name is the Garonne, and it was in this way that he avoided Charles's power. And Charles, the emperor of valour and heroism, went on the morrow, with great fighting,<sup>e</sup> into the city, and many of the Saracens fell by weapons, and many of them went with great peril across the river we have spoken of. And the number of them who fell in the city was twenty thousand.<sup>f</sup>

## SEVENTH CHAPTER.

AGIOLANDUS went thereafter to the city which is called Sconnas<sup>g</sup> for it was at that time under the power of the Saracens, and he himself and his people abode in it. And as soon as Charles heard

<sup>a</sup> *Lit.* "searched," "visited." *Lat.* exploravit.

<sup>b</sup> *Lit.* It was not a stopping

he made. <sup>c</sup> Agenni C. Agennum. Fr.

<sup>d</sup> Per latrinas et foramina.

<sup>e</sup> Magno triumpho. <sup>f</sup> Both the Latin texts read 10,000. So do the Franciscan

MS. and Egerton. <sup>g</sup> Santonas. C. Sanctonas. *Fr.*, i.e., Xaintonge.

ocus do an fein cona mhuinntir inniti. Ocus ar na cloisdin<sup>1</sup> sin do Sherlus do lean he ocus do fhocair dho in cathair do thabhairt uadha. Ocus adubhairt sin nach tибhredh,<sup>2</sup> ocus adubhairt co tибhredh<sup>2</sup> cath do Sherlus ar cunnradh airithi, ocus gebe aga mbeith<sup>3</sup> buaidh in catha in chathair do bheith aigi. Ocus do aemh Serlus [an cunnradh E. & H.] sin. Ocus in aghaidh roim in cath sin do chur, ar mbeith do Sherlus cona shluaghaib ar machairibh mora idir in caisléan darab ainm Talaburgus ocus in cathair laimh ris in sruth darub ainm Tarannta,<sup>4</sup> do cuireadar cuideachta do mhuinntir Sherluis a ngaithi na sesam a talmhain ocus fuaradar fa croiceann ocus fa bláth ar na mharach iat, ocus bu iat sin do bhi cum a martra a tus in catha ar na mharach.<sup>5</sup> Ocus ar bhfeicsin na mirbuile sin [do rinne Dia doibh F. & E.] do bhi gairdeachus mor orro ocus do ghearradar a ngaieithi<sup>6</sup> o thalmhain suas ocus do chuatar [fo na Paganachaibh F.] a tus in catha<sup>7</sup> ar na mharach, ocus do mharbhatar moran dona Padhanachaibh ocus fuaratar fein a martra.<sup>8</sup> Ocus ase lin sluaigh do bhi Serlus ann sin, .iiii. míle. Ocus do marbhadh a each isin cath sin, ocus ar mbeith do fein ar na mhuchadh d'imat na Padanach do ghuigh se in t-aein-dia uili-chúmhachtach um a<sup>9</sup> fhurtacht, ocus ar bhfaghail brighi ocus neirt o Dhia dho [ge do bhi fein da cois E.] do mharbh moran dona Padanachaibh, ocus o nar tualuing<sup>10</sup> iat cuthach Serluis d'fulang, do theitetar cum na cathrach ocus do len Serlus iat cusin cathraigh, ocus do bhris hi gacha taebha, acht in chuid do bhi laimh ris in sruth di. Agus an aghaidh na dhiaigh sin do thinnscain Agiolandus cona sluaghaib eludh<sup>11</sup> tar an sruth. Ocus ar na tuicsin<sup>12</sup> sin do Sherlus do lean he, ocus do mharbh ri na hAraibi ocus ri Frigie<sup>13</sup> ocus moran do Padhanachaibh ele co .IIII. míle.

## AN T-OCHTMAD SGEL. F.

Ocus ar ndithughadh na Padanach cu uile<sup>14</sup> do Sherlus do theith Agiolandus gus an port re n-abar Cisereos,<sup>15</sup> ocus tainic co Pampilonia ocus do fhuagair do Sherlus cath do tabhairt do. Ar

1. clos F. & H. 2. tiubhrad F., H. & E. 3. gameith F. 4. Taranda F., H. & E. 5. F., H. & E. omit the last sixteen words. 6. Lismore reads "ghearudar a ngaithi." 7. E. omits last four words. 8. a martired H. "do mairtiredh iat fein" F. 9. um F. da E. 10. beidir F., E. & H. 11. "elód" H. "elogh do denam" F. & E. 12. faicsin F. & E. 13. haraipi F., which omits Frigie. H. reads ri brighe. 14. mór E. & F. 15. sicereos F.



that, he pursued him and sent him word to give up the city. He said he would not, and that he would give battle to Charles on certain conditions—that whoever gained the victory in the battle should have the city. And Charles accepted that agreement. And the night before fighting that battle as Charles with his hosts was on the great plains between the castle whose name is Telaburgus<sup>a</sup> and the city beside the stream whose name is Taranta<sup>b</sup> some of Charles' people set their spears standing in the ground, and found them covered with bark and with blossoms on the morrow. And those were they who were to be martyred in the forefront of the battle on the morrow. And when they beheld those miracles that God had performed for them they rejoiced greatly, and they cut off their spears on a level with the ground<sup>c</sup> and they went in amongst the Pagañs in the forefront of the battle on the morrow, and they killed many of the Pagans and found their own martyrdom. And the number of Charles' host there was four thousand. And his steed was slain in that battle. And as he was being smothered by the multitude of Paynims he besought the One-God, all-powerful for help, and receiving strength and power from God, although he was on foot, he slew many of the Paynims; and as they were not able to endure the fury of Charles they fled to the city, and Charles followed them into the city and breached it on every side, except that portion of it which bordered the river. And, the night after that, Agiolandus with his troops began to steal away across the river. And as soon as Charles understood this he pursued him and he killed the King of Arabia<sup>d</sup> and the King of Frigie<sup>e</sup> and many of the other Paynims, to the number of four thousand.

## EIGHTH CHAPTER.

AND after Charles' utterly defeating the Paynims, Agiolandus fled to the pass<sup>f</sup> called Cisereos, and he came to Pampilonia and he sent word<sup>g</sup> to Charles to give him battle. And when Charles heard that

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<sup>a</sup> Talaburgus.      <sup>b</sup> Charantam C. Caranta *Fr.* = Carenton.      <sup>c</sup> *Lit.* from the ground up. "de terra."      <sup>d</sup> Agabiae C. Algabiae *Fr.*, *i.e.* Algarve.  
<sup>e</sup> or "Frigia." Both Latin texts read Bugiae.      <sup>f</sup> or port "transmeavit portus Cisereos" C. Aserros *Fr.*, *i.e.* passes of the Pyrenees.      <sup>g</sup> *Lit.* "proclaimed"



na *cloisdin* sin do Sherlus do chuaidh isin *Fraingce* agus do thionoil cu *forlethan* a shluagh do fhreagra catha anaghaidh namad in chreidim chatholaice.<sup>1</sup> Agus do *ordaigh* se gach uili duine do bhi fa bhiadhtachas agus fa dhaeirsi ar fud na *Fraingce* a mbeith saer agus a sil na ndiaigh ar<sup>2</sup> dhul leis anaghaidh namat in creidim catholaici. Agus [an a cend sin F. & E.] a roibhi a cuibrighibh agus a prisunaibh do urail a scailedh agus a leicen amach. Agus in mhéid do bhochtuib fuair, do shaidhbhrigh iat, agus do éidigh na noicht agus do rinne sidhchain ris na treghtuiribh,<sup>3</sup> agus do thog gach neach cum a eigreachta<sup>4</sup> agus cum a athardha dilsí; agus gach neach do bhi clisdi ar sciath<sup>5</sup> d'imchur agus ar cathughadh do denumh, *tuc* beirt ridirí<sup>6</sup> dhoibh, agus gach neach do dhealaigh sé<sup>7</sup> ris roime sin le na gcintuibh<sup>8</sup> fein *tuc* cuigi iat gu cairdeamuil. Agus ní hiat sin amhain acht in méid do chairdibh agus do náimdeb do b'eidir leis dhfhaghail do dheisigh iat do dul leis isin Spain. Agus gach meit de dainibh do ullinthaigh Serlus leis cum cathaighthe anaghaidh in chineda Padanta *tuc* Turpin airdesboc<sup>9</sup> Remmdis<sup>9</sup> esbaloid agus logad<sup>10</sup> a pecadh doibh.

Ar tinol a shluaigh do Sherlus .i. c. agus xxx. míle<sup>11</sup> fer armtha eidighthe a n-ecmais coisighi agus lucht airm dh'imchar nar eidir<sup>12</sup> d'airium, do chuaigh se isin Sbain anaghaidh Agiolanduis. Agus as iat so anmanna na bfer is mó do chuaidh le Serlus isin Sbain, .i. Turpinus in t-airdesbog naemtha do urail<sup>13</sup> ar in popal Crisdaighi dul do chathughadh ris na Padanachaibh agus do cuireadh anum isin pobal ac tabhairt esbuloidí dhoibh [na pecadhaibh F.] in tan do theigtis cum cathaighthe. [Agus ní hedh amhain ach F.] gach neach do na Seirrisdineachaibh do chreidedh do baistedh iat, agus gach neach nach creidedh do chathuigheadh na n-aghaidh. Agus Rolandus diuic Commanensis<sup>14</sup> agus tighearna na Blauini<sup>15</sup> mac

1. catholica E. 2. do cind dul leis do riadhughadh F. H. "do métughadh onora Dia." E. reads as F., but the last word is doubtful. 3. F. seems to read *treigertachuibh*. H. omits. 4. oidhreachta F. & E. 5. sgeith F. 6. arm gaiscidh E. 7. E. adds *no do lom sc.* 8. cinntaib F. H. omits this passage. 9. airdeasboc Roin E. F. omits. H. seems to read Roma. 10. lobad F. 11. .c. agus .x. m. xx. F. E. & H. have x mile xx ar. c. 12. H. reads "ind ecmais daeine ndímaeínech." E. turns this passage differently and adds "nachar b'eidir d'airim na do cur a suim o soin amach." 13. E. adds "agus do guidh." H. omits most of this passage. 14. diuic sluaigh Serluis F. E. & H. read "Comomanensis" for "Serluis." 15. H. "Blavii." "E. seems to read "blastacht."

he went into France and he gathered together his host from all sides<sup>a</sup> to join battle against the enemies of the Catholic Faith. And he ordered that every person whatsoever who was under *biadhthachas*<sup>b</sup> or in slavery throughout France, was to become free and their seed after them on condition of their going with him against the enemies of the Catholic Faith. And, in addition to that, all who were in bonds and in prisons he ordered to be loosed and let go. And all the poor whom he found he enriched, and he clothed the naked, and he made peace with the traitors,<sup>c</sup> and he raised<sup>d</sup> every person to his inheritance and lawful patrimony. And every person who was expert at bearing shield and fighting he gave them the equipment of knights. And all the persons he had separated from himself through their own misdeeds before that, he received them [now] in a friendly manner. And not them only but all the friends and enemies he was able to get, he made them ready to go with him into Spain. And all the hosts of people whom Charles prepared [to go] with him to war against the Pagan race, Turpin,<sup>e</sup> Archbishop of Rheims, gave them absolution and remission of their sins.

When Charles had collected his host, namely a hundred and thirty thousand men armed and equipped, not to speak of foot-soldiers and armour bearers whom it was impossible to number, he passed into Spain to meet Agiolandus. And here are the names of the chiefest men who went with Charles into Spain : Turpin,<sup>f</sup> the holy archbishop who ordered Christian people to go and battle with the Paynims, and who used to put heart<sup>g</sup> into the people giving them absolution for their sins when they used to go to fight, and not that only, but every one of the Saracens who might believe, he used to baptize them, and every one who would not believe he used to fight against him ; and Roland,<sup>h</sup> Duke of Commane<sup>i</sup> and Lord of the Blavini, sisters son to Charles, and son of

<sup>a</sup> *Lit.* "widely." <sup>b</sup> *i.e.* "who had to supply food," "who held on that tenure." ? *Latin* ut omnes servi qui sub malis consuetudinibus pravorum dominorum religati tenebantur. "Malevilos pacificavit." <sup>d</sup> *relevabit*, *Lis.* reads "togh." <sup>e</sup> *Ego Turpinus.* <sup>f</sup> *ego Turpinus qui.* <sup>g</sup> *populum animatum reddebam.* <sup>h</sup> The *Latin* MSS. give this name in many different spellings, Rotholandus, Rotolandus, Rothlandus, Rolandus, from which last form comes Orlando. <sup>i</sup> Comes Cenomannensis, Blavii dominus=Count of Mans and lord of Guienne ?

derbhshetar do Sherlus, ocus mac do Diuic Milo Dengleris,<sup>1</sup> fer mor do meit, ocus crodha do laimh, maille *re cethra míle* fer n-armach;<sup>2</sup> ocus Oluerus taiseach na sluagh, ridiri cruaidh ar na derbad co meinic a cathaib, ro chumhachtach ar ghai ocus ar claideamh,<sup>3</sup> Iarla Gebinensis,<sup>4</sup> maille *re trí míle* fer in-chatha; ocus Arasdandus ri no diuic<sup>5</sup> na Britaine<sup>6</sup> maille *secht míle*; ocus Engelerus<sup>7</sup> diuic na Giane, maille *re cethra míle* [fer n-incatha F. & E.] Ocus do batar so uili clisdi ar armuibh, ocus co h-airithi ar dibhracad soiget;<sup>8</sup> ocus Gaferus ri Burdugalensis maille *secht<sup>9</sup> míle*, ocus Gandebolldus ri Frisie maille *secht míle*;<sup>10</sup> ocus Othgherus<sup>11</sup> ri Lochlann maille *deich míle*; ocus Consantinus Prefectus Romanus maille *deich míle*; ocus moran do righuibh ocus do dhiuicibh ocus do Tighearnaib ele cona sluaghaib nach airimhtear ann so. Ocus do bi nuimhir sluaigh Serluis ann sin da fhichit míle ridiri armtha eidighthi, ocus ni roibhi nuimhir na aireamh ar a coisighibh; ocus na fir remraitti sin do b'uasal iat ocus do chathuigheadur a hucht creidimh Crist. Amhuil mar do ghab Crist, maille na esbulaibh in doman le saethar mor, is mar sin do ghab Serlus ri na Frangcach ocus impir na Romanach mailleis an ndroing-si adubhramar in Spain co huilidhi a n-anoir Isu Crist.

#### A[N] NAEMADH SGEL ANN SO. F.

Do tinoileadh<sup>12</sup> iarum na sluaigh sin Serluis laimh re Burdius ocus do chuinti foghar ocus mongur na sluagh sin uidhi dha mili dhech o'n inad a rabhtar. Ocus 'na dhiaigh sin do druit Serlus cona shluaghaib laimh ris in cathair a raibhi Agiolandus .i. Pampilonia. Ocus do bhi ridiri uasal dar<sup>13</sup> ainm Arnalldus De Bellanda a bhfochair Serluis, ocus do chuaidh se tar an sruth re n-abar Ciserios, ocus do lean Iarla he dar<sup>13</sup> ainm Estultus cona shluagh

1. de angleris E. & H. E. adds "ocus do Burta .i. siur do S." H. reads do uerta .i. siur S. 2. F. omits the last twenty-four words. 3. F. omits last fifteen words, H. omits the last seven, and E. seems to read "ar laimh." 4. Gebensis E., H. & F. 5. These two words are written in Lis. above the line. 6. Lis. reads "bri." 7. F. omits. 8. ar boghaibh ocus ar soigdiibh F. & E. H. omits. 9. .IIII. m. E. & H. 10. F. omits last fifteen words. E. reads "gandeboldus," and gives him .X. m. fer. 11. Ogerus E. & F. Oghus H. 12. E. adds as before to the title of the chapter the words "do cogadh na Spaine," and begins "Mar do tinoileadh." H. forgets to number this chapter or the figures have been cut away. Lis. reads "tinoil." 13. darb F. darab E. darba H.

Duke Milo Dengleris, a man great of size and valiant of hand, together with four thousand armed men ; and Oliver, captain of the hosts, a hardy knight, proved often in battles, right powerful for spear or sword, the Earl of Gebinense<sup>a</sup> [?] with three thousand men fit for battle ; and Arastandus, King (or Duke)<sup>b</sup> of Bretagne, with seven thousand ; and Engelerus, Duke of Giane,<sup>c</sup> with four thousand men of war. And all these men were expert at weapons, and especially at shooting arrows ; and Gaferus,<sup>d</sup> the King of Burdugale (?) with seven thousand, and Gandeboldus, King of Frisie, with seven thousand, and Othgerus,<sup>e</sup> King of Lochlann, with ten thousand ; and Consantinus, the Roman Prefect, with ten<sup>f</sup> thousand ; and many other kings and dukes and lords with their hosts who are not enumerated here.<sup>g</sup> And the number of Charles' troops there was forty thousand knights in arms and armour, and the foot soldiers were not to be reckoned or counted ! And the afore-mentioned men were all noble, and they fought for the sake of the Faith of Christ. Just as Christ with his disciples took the world with great labour, so did Charles, king of the Franks and emperor of the Romans, with this band that we have spoken of, take the whole of Spain, in honour of Jesus Christ.

## NINTH CHAPTER.

AFTERWARDS those hosts of Charles were gathered close by Burdus,<sup>h</sup> and the noise and murmur of those hosts might be heard a distance<sup>i</sup> of twelve miles from the place in which they were. And after that Charles with his armies moved close to the city where Agiolandus was, namely Pampilonia. And there was a noble knight whose name was Arnaldus De Bellanda along with Charles, and he crossed the river which is called Ciserios,<sup>j</sup> and an

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<sup>a</sup> Comes Gebennensis. C. It is not in the *Fr.* text.      <sup>b</sup> The words "or duke" are written above the line in *Lis.* as a variant, both Latin texts read Rex Britannorum.      <sup>c</sup> Dux Aquitaniae.      <sup>d</sup> Both Latin texts have Gaiferus, rex Burdigalensis, *i.e.*, of Bordeaux.      <sup>e</sup> Ogerius rex Daciae. <sup>f</sup> Viginti. C.      <sup>g</sup> The Latin texts give many more names but they do not agree with one another.      <sup>h</sup> in landis burdigalensibus. C.      <sup>i</sup> Literally "journey."      <sup>j</sup> transmeavit portus Ciserios. C. Asereos. *Fr.*



cusin cathraigh cédna, agus na dhiaigh sin do chuaidh Serlus agus Rolandus<sup>1</sup> maille moran do shluaghaib ele na dhiaigh. Agus do bhí dh' imat a sluagh innus gur fhoilghitar in talamh o sruth Ruibicus in sliabh do bhí trí leuic<sup>2</sup> .i. na míle on chathair a roibh Agiolandus, ar sligidh San Sem. Agus do bhatar fedh ocht la ag dul tar an sruth adubhramar cum na cathrach. Agus do fhoguir Serlus do Agiolandus in cathair do thabhairt do no a fhresdal um<sup>3</sup> chath. Do connaic Agiolandus nach ba eidir leis in chathair do conmbail<sup>4</sup> d'imad na sluagh do bhí na aghaidh, agus as i comhairle do rinne dul<sup>5</sup> tar cathair amach do thabhairt in chatha, ar eglabais an-uasail d'fhagail isin cathair. Agus do chuir se techta chum Serluis d'fhagail osaidh uadha no go tised<sup>6</sup> cona shluagh tar an cathraigh amach do thabhairt catha do, agus cum labhartharís. Oí ba h-aigliusach le hAgiolandus Serlus d'feicsin ar<sup>7</sup> cu mad aithne do he.

#### AN DEACMAD SGEL ANN SO. F.<sup>8</sup>

Do cheduigh Serlus an t-osadh sin [do siredh air]<sup>9</sup> agus do chuaidh Agiolandus cona shluagh tar in cathraigh amach, agus do fhacuib a shluagh laim risin cathair, agus do chuaidh fein, agus da fhichit do na dainibh is uaisli do bhí na fhochair cum Serluis [mar a roib se a fochuir a shluagh.]<sup>10</sup> Agus do bhí sluagh Serluis agus sluagh Agiolanduis ar machaire moir reidh do bhí itir in cathair agus slighi San Sem, agus do b'é fad<sup>11</sup> do bhí etorra sin se mhíle. Adubhairt Serlus, "as tusa Agiolandus<sup>12</sup> do ben mu thighearnus dim gu h-ecoir .i. in Spain agus in Gasguin do ghabhas maille cumhachtaibh De, agus do chuiris<sup>13</sup> fo recht agus fo cuing na Cristaighe. Agus ar n-impodh dhamh tar ais<sup>14</sup> cum na Fraingce

1. Both *Lis.* and *E.* read here rather awkwardly "R. cona sluaghaibh maille" etc. I have followed *F.* here. 2. Thus *H.* *Lis.* reads *ocus*, for .i. *F.* omits, and *E.* reads "do bi .xx. míle." 3. *F.* omits last three words. *E.* reads "no cath" in place of them. 4. an cath do thabhairt *F.* & *H.* *E.* combines both sentences. 5. tar an sruth no tar an cathair *E.* & *F.* 6. roithigh fein *F.* soidheadh *E.* co dol dó *H.* 7. *E.* omits *ar*, and adds "aris" after "he." 8. *E.* has "in .x. seel do chogadh na Spaine." 9. Added from *E.* & *F.* 10. Added from *E.* & *F.* 11. fedh *H.* in *leadh* *E.* 12. a Agilanduis *E.* 13. Thus *E.* & *F.* *Lis.* has "chuirset." 14. m'ais *F.* & *E.*



Earl who was called Estultus followed him with his host to the same city ; and after that Charles and Roland marched together with many other armies following him. And so great was the multitude of their hosts that they covered the ground from the stream of Ruibi<sup>a</sup> to the mountain that was three leagues (that is nine miles) from the city where Agiolandus was, on the road of Saint James.<sup>b</sup> And they were for eight days going across the river<sup>c</sup> we have mentioned towards the city. And Charles sent word to Agiolandus to give him up the city or to meet him in battle. Agiolandus saw that it would not be possible for him to hold the city, by reason of the number of the hosts that were against him ; and the counsel he resolved on was to go out beyond the city to give battle, for fear of meeting an ignoble death<sup>d</sup> in the city. And he sent messengers to Charles to obtain a truce from him until he should come out beyond the city with his army to give him battle, and to speak to him. For Agiolandus was most-desirous to see Charles that he might recognize him.

## TENTH CHAPTER.

CHARLES consented to that truce which was desired of him, and Agiolandus went out with his host past the city, and he left his army beside the city, and he went himself with two score<sup>e</sup> of the most noble who were with him to Charles to where he was along with his army. And the army of Agiolandus and Charles's army were on a great level plain that lay between the city and Saint James' road. And the distance that was between them was six miles. Said Charles, "You are Agiolandus who have taken my lordship from me unlawfully, namely Spain and Gascony, which I had taken with God's power, and which I put under the law and yoke of the Christians. And as soon as I had turned back

<sup>a</sup> Runae. Rume.

*Lat.* texts.

<sup>d</sup> turpiter mori.

<sup>b</sup> via iacobitana.

<sup>e</sup> *Lat.* sexaginta.

<sup>c</sup> *Lat.* portus.

do mharbhuis a bhfhuaruis do *Christaighibh* annsa *Sbáin* agus do scrísais a cathracha agus a caislein agus do loiscis in tír co himlán, agus ar na hadbhuraibh sin as mor m' agra ort anois."<sup>1</sup>

Mar do chualaidh Agiolandus tenga na *Seirrisdineach*<sup>2</sup> ag Serlus do bhi ingantus mor aigi uime. Or in tan do bhi Serlus 'na mhacamh og do bhi se seal d'a aimsir idir na *Padanachaibh* isin cathair re n-abar Toletum, agus do fhoghlaim se tenga na *Seirrisdineach* isin cathair sin.

Adubhairt Agiolandus re Serlus "Guigim<sup>3</sup> thu um<sup>4</sup> a innisin damh cred fa rucais on chineadh da bhfuilmit-ne in ferunn nach benann riut fein do dhlige<sup>d</sup> oighreachta, na red' th'athair, na red' shen-athair, na red' cenel romut." ?

Adubhairt Serlus, "Ase adbhar fa rucas uatha<sup>5</sup> he or do thagh an Tighearna nemhdha, do chruthaigh neamh agus talamh, ar cinedh-ne .i. *Cristaighi*, tar chinedhuibh in domhain; agus do ordaigh se nert agus cumachta dhoibh orro, agus ar a shon sin do chuires-sa in cinedh *Padanta* fa n-ar ndlige<sup>d</sup> fein, in mhéd do fhédus."

Adubhairt Agiolandus "As mór is anuasal in dlige<sup>d</sup> do chuirfedh ar cinedh-ne fa bhar<sup>6</sup> cinedh-si. Or is ferr ar ndlige<sup>d</sup>-ni ina bar ndlige<sup>d</sup>-si. As e a adhbhar sin coimhétmait-ne aithinta *Macametuis*<sup>7</sup> do chuir Dia mar thechtairi chucainn. Or atait dée cumachtacha againn do beir rigdacht agus flaithemhnus dúinn agus fhoillsighes duinn na neithi bhis ac teact ar urailedh *Macametuis*.

Adubhairt Serlus "ac sin arrait<sup>8</sup> acat, or adubhrais gur fherr bar ndlige<sup>d</sup> fein ina ar ndlige<sup>d</sup>-ne, o choimhédtaí aithinta *Macametuis*, agus," adubhairt Serlus, "creidmit-ne agus adhramait Dia .i. in t-Athair agus in Mac agus in *Spirut* naemh, agus creidti-si agus adharthai in diabal a n-idbartaibh balbha dímhaine, agus ar son in chreidim chondaimmit-ne,<sup>9</sup> tar eis bhais d'fhaghail duin rachait ar n-anmanna isin bethaid marthanaigh a *Parthus*. Bur

1. Last word omitted in *Lis.*, which reads mh' for m' in m'agra. "Macra" H  
2. E. adds "annsa cathair." 3. Guidim E. & F. H. omits. 4. ma  
E. & F. 5. Thus F. *Lis.* & H. have uaibh. E. buaibh. 6. "nar" F.,  
"u" with a smaller u over it, E., but both read "bar" in the next line.  
H. reads "ar" for "bhar" in both lines. 7. F. inflecting mac as if it  
were an Irish word, writes in full Micametus. 8. ariud E. araid F.  
aruid H. 9. Congmadmait-ne H.

into France you slew all you found of Christians in Spain, and destroyed their cities and castles and burnt the country completely, and for those reasons great are my complaints<sup>a</sup> against you."

When Agiolandus heard the Saracens language from Charles he marvelled at it greatly.<sup>b</sup> For when Charles was a youth he had been for a part of the time amongst the Paynims in the city which is called Toletum,<sup>c</sup> and he had learnt the language of the Saracens in that city.

Said Agiolandus to Charles, "I pray you tell me why have you taken from the race to which we belong, the land that did not pertain to yourself by law of heredity, nor to your father, nor to your grandfather, nor to your race before you"?

Said Charles, "the reason why I took it from them is that the heavenly lord who created heaven and earth has chosen our race, namely the Christians, beyond all the races of the world, and has ordained strength and power for the Christians over them, and for that reason I have placed the Pagan race under our own law, in so far as I have been able."

Said Agiolandus, "exceedingly ignoble<sup>d</sup> is the law which would place our race under your race, for better is our law than your law. The reason of that is that we keep the commandments of Mahomet whom God sent as a messenger to us. For we have powerful Gods who give kingship and sovereignty to us, and manifest to us the things that are coming at the bidding of Mahomet."

Said Charles, "that is an error you are in, for you said that your own law was better than our law since ye keep the commandments of Mahomet, and," said Charles, "we believe in and adore God the Father the Son and the Holy Spirit,<sup>e</sup> and ye believe in and worship the devil in dumb and vain offerings, and for the sake of the Faith which we keep, after death, our souls shall go into eternal life in Paradise; your souls, however, they shall

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<sup>a</sup> multum conqueror.    <sup>b</sup> The Latin texts add "et gavisus est."    <sup>c</sup> *Fr.* reads Coletum.    <sup>d</sup> valde indignum est.    <sup>e</sup> The Latin texts add "quos colimus, per quos vivimus et regnamus."

n-anmanna-si *iomorro* a n-ifern rachait. Maseadh<sup>1</sup> as ferr ar ndligned-ne ina bhar ndligned-si, agus o nach aitheantai cruth-uightheoir na ndul agus nach ail libh a aithne do bheith aguibh, ni dlighthi<sup>2</sup> oighrecht do bheith acuibh a nim na a talam, *acht* biaidh bur rann agus bur sealbh a bhfhocair an diabail agus Macametuis .i. bar ndia fein, agus ar an adbhar sin gab-sa agus do chinedh baistedh cucaibh agus bethi beo, no tar<sup>3</sup> amac[h] am aghaidh-si chum cathaighthi gu bhfagha tu<sup>4</sup> bás anuasal."

Adubhairt Agiolandus "nír ordaigh mu dhia-sa sin, acht caitheochat-sa agus mu chinedh ad aghaidh-si, agus anaghaidh do chinidh ar an cunnrad-sa .i. ma's ferr bhar<sup>5</sup> ndligned-si ina ar ndligned-ni agus sibh-se do breith buaidhi<sup>6</sup> catha oraind-ne, bidh tathair ar in lucht claiter againd, agus moladh agus gairdiughadh don lucht claidhfes iat, do shir, agus da claiter mu chined-sa gebat baistedh cumam cum beith a mbethaidh."<sup>7</sup>

Ocus do cedaighed in [n]i sin acu, da gach taebh,<sup>8</sup> agus do toghadh acedoir .xx. ridiri *Cristaighi* ar lathair an chatha cum fichit ridiri do na *Seirrisdineachaibh*. Ocus do thinnsnadar cathughadh ar an cunnrad sin, agus do marbadh co h-imlan na *Seirrisdínigh*. Do cuiread da fichit anaghaidh dhá fichit agus do marbadh na *Seirrisdínigh* mar an cédna. Do cuiread cét anaghaidh cét agus do marbadh na *Seirrisdínigh*. Do cuiread arís cét anaghaidh cét, agus do theith in cét *Cristaighi* tar a n-ais, agus do marbadh uili iat. Ocus do b'e a adbar sin or do bhí eglá a marbhtha orro. Or ni dlighinn in lucht le'r ail cathughadh ar son creidimh *Crist* teithedh do denam, na<sup>9</sup> eglá do bheith orro. Ocus mar do marbadh na *Cristaighi*<sup>10</sup> út ar son mar do theithedar is mar sin do na *Cristaighibh* darub dligeadh cathughadh laidir do dhenam anaghaidh na pecadh [da teitid tar a n-ais annsna pecadhaibh do gebaid bas anuasal, agus da cathaighid co maith]<sup>11</sup> muirbhfit a namaid co h-imlán .i. na diabail do beir orra na pecaidh do denam.

1. mar 'is follus co, etc., F Maseadh is follus gurab E. 2. ni dligheadh d'ibh E & H. 3. Tara E. Tarra F. & H. 4. fagtha E. fadta F., both omit "tu." 5. ar H. 6. buaidh E. buadha F. & H. 7. F. & H. omit last four words. 8. gacha taebha E. 9. ar son E. 10. an cuideachta ut F. & E. 11. Last sixteen words from F. E. resembles it. Lis. & H. omit.



go to hell.<sup>a</sup> If so, better is our law than your law, and since ye do not recognize the Creator of the elements and do not wish to recognize him ye ought not to have an inheritance in heaven or on earth, but your portion and possession shall be with the Devil and Mahomet—your own God.<sup>b</sup> And for that reason accept baptism, you and your race, and ye shall live, or come out against me to fight that you may receive an ignoble death.”<sup>c</sup>

Said Agiollandus, “my God hath not so ordered it, but I and my race shall fight against you and your race on this condition, if your law be better than our law and if you gain victory in battle over us, let those of us who are overthrown be disgraced, and let those who overthrow them find praise and rejoicing for ever, and if my race be overthrown I shall accept baptism to save my life.”<sup>d</sup>

And that was conceded by them on each side, and first there were chosen twenty Christian knights on the field of battle against twenty knights of the Saracens, and they began to fight on this condition, and the Saracens were all killed. Forty were sent against forty, and the Saracens were slain in like manner. A hundred were sent against a hundred, and the Saracens were slain. Again a hundred were sent against a hundred, and the Christian hundred fled back and they were all killed. And the reason of this was that they were afraid of being killed. For those who desire to war for the Christian faith ought not to fly or be afraid. For as those Christians were killed, though they did fly, even so with the Christians whose duty it is to make a strong fight against sins, if they fall back into sin they shall meet an ignoble death, but if they fight well they shall utterly slay their enemies, namely the devils, who cause them to commit

<sup>a</sup> ad orcum.

<sup>b</sup> The last forty-five words are not in the Latin texts.

<sup>c</sup> ut male moriaris.

<sup>d</sup> *Lit.* “to be in life.” Latin, “si vivere possim.”



Or adubhuirt in t-esbal 'ni fhuighi coroin acht an nech cathaighfes co dlestineach.' Do cuiread iar sin da chet in aghaidh dá chét, agus do marbadh na Seirrisdínigh uili. Do cuiread míle anaghaidh míle agus do marbadh na Seirrisdínigh. Do ghabhadur osadh da gach thaebh<sup>1</sup> d'aithle in cathuighthi sin, agus tainic Agiolandus do labhairt re Serlus, agus is *edh* adubhairt : "Daingnighim<sup>2</sup> gurub fearr creidium agus dlíged na Cristaighi ina na Seirrisdínigh,"<sup>3</sup> agus do gheall do Sherlus co ngebudh fein agus a chinedh baistedh cuca ar n-a mharach. Agus do impo cum a muinntiri iar sin, agus do innis da maithibh [agus d'a mór-uaisle F.] co ngebudh fein baistedh cuigi. Agus do fhogair doib-sium uili baistedh do ghabhail cuca, agus do ceduigh drong dhibh sin, agus do loc an cuid ele.

#### AN T-AENMAD SGEL DHEG ANND SO. F.

Tainic Agiolandus cum Serluis do gabhail baistidh<sup>4</sup> chuire ar n-a mharach, a timcheall in treas uair do lo, agus do connaic se Serlus ag dul cum bidh, agus moran do bordaibh ic a ndeisiughadh 'na árus,<sup>5</sup> agus moran d'orduibh ag caithemh bidh orra, agus cuid d'ibh a n-aibitibh ridireadh, agus cuid a n-aibid duibh mhanach,<sup>6</sup> agus drong a n-aibid ghil cananach, agus drong a n-aibitibh cléireach, agus moran ele agus aibide ecsamhla umpa.

Do fhiarfaigh Agiolandus do Sherlus ga cenel da gach ord d'ibh-sin fo leith?

Do fhregair Serlus do agus adubhairt, "in drong ud do chi uma bhfuilid aibide agus erradh<sup>6</sup> aen ndatha, easbuig agus sacairt ar rechta-ne súd, mhínighis aithinta ar ndligid duin, agus do beir esbuloid dun in ar pecthaibh; in drong úd do chí agus aibidi dubha impaib, manuigh agus abbaidh súd, agus daine naemtha, agus ní scurit do sir ag eadarguighi in aein-dia uili-cumachtaigh tar ar cend-ne, ac cantain trath agus aithfrenn agus urnaighthi."<sup>8</sup>

1. gacha taebha E. & H. 2. admaim H. 3. E. omits last eleven words.  
4. agus do gab baistedh cuigi H. 5. moran bord aca tocail na cathraid H.  
6. Manaigh F. E. & H. omit "duibh." "an aibiti dubha agus berréd [berréd H.] aen datha asbuic agus" E. & H. F. reads "beirti" for "erradh." Lis. has enn for aen. 7. agus in drong ud do cithi annaibidibh gela, cananaigh riaghailta sud, agus bid mar in cedna ag guidhi, etc., F. & E. H. resembles this. 8. H. omits last seven words.

sin. For the apostle has said, "no one but he who shall battle lawfully shall obtain a crown." After that there were sent two hundred against two hundred and the Saracens were all slain. A thousand were sent against a thousand and the Saracens were slain.

They accepted a truce on both sides after that fighting, and Agiolandus came to speak to Charles and it was what he said, "I affirm<sup>a</sup> that better is the religion and law of the Christians than of the Saracens," and he promised Charles that he himself and his race would receive baptism on the morrow. And he returned to his people after that and told his chiefs and nobles that he himself would accept baptism. And he issued a proclamation to them all to receive baptism. And some consented to that, and the rest refused.

## ELEVENTH CHAPTER.

AGIOLANDUS came to Charles to receive baptism on the morrow, about the third hour of the day; and he saw Charles going to dine and many tables being laid in his camp<sup>b</sup> and many orders [of clergy] eating food at them, some of them in the habits of knights and some in the black habit of monks, and some in the white habit of canons, and some in the habit of clerics, and many others clad in various habits.

Agiolandus asked Charles what kind was each order of them, separately.

Charles answered him and said, "that band which you see clothed in habits and equipments of the same colour are bishops and priests of our religion<sup>c</sup> who explain to us the commandments of our law, and give us absolution in our sins; yonder band whom you behold clad in black habits, they are monks and abbots, and holy people,<sup>d</sup> and they cease not continuously to make intercession with the one Almighty God, in our behalf, chanting canonical-hours and masses and prayers." After that Agiolandus saw in a

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<sup>a</sup> daingnighim is an interesting translation of the Latin affirmare. <sup>b</sup>arus usually "a dwelling" or "abode" seems to be sometimes used in this text for "camp." <sup>c</sup> Lit. "law." <sup>d</sup> sanctiores.

As a aithle sin do connaic Agiolandus, a cuil eicin do chuir Sherluis impiri, dá bhocht dec, a n-aibit truaigh bhoicht agus siat na suidhe ar in talam gan bhuird gan scoraidi 'na bhfhiaidhnuisi, agus gan acht becan bidh agus dighe acu aga chaithimh, agus do fhiafraigh Agiolandus ca ceneil daine dhoibh.

Adubhairt Serlus: "techtairidha o n-ar Tighearna o Mhac De sud biathmaid gach lai fa nuimír in da esbal dec."

Adubhairt Agiolandus "in drong so ata laimh rit-sa is saidhbhir iat, agus is saidbir ithid agus ibid agus eidighthea iat. In mhuinntir úd adeiri is teachtairidha do Dia, cred fa leice<sup>1</sup> a ndul do ghorta agus a ndrocheidedh agus a cur a bhfad uait<sup>2</sup> agus a mianorughadh," agus adubhairt, "as olc umhlaighius d'a thigerna in ti gabus a teachta gu dochraidh chuigi agus is mor in naire do ní d'a<sup>3</sup> Dhia fein in te do beir drochsheirbhis da muinntir. Agus do dhlighed fein adubrais do bheith maith, foillsigi anois a bheith fallsa."<sup>4</sup> Agus ar ngabail cheda do o<sup>5</sup> Sherlus do imthigh cum a mhuinntire fein maille re scannuil [moir F.] agus do dhiult baisdedh do ghabhail cuigi, agus d'fhocuir cath ar na marach ar Sherlus. Agus do tuicc Serlus gurab ar son na mbocht do connaic Agiolandus co mianorach do diult se in baistedh; agus ar a son sin, na huili boc[h]t fuair Serlus ar a shluaighedh<sup>6</sup> do urail beith frichnamhach riu, agus biadh agus deoch agus edach do thabhairt doibh cu lor.<sup>7</sup> Ar an adbhar sin as in-tuctha dh'aire<sup>8</sup> gurab mor in choir<sup>9</sup> da gach Cristaighi nach tabhair seirblis frichnamach<sup>10</sup> do bochtuibh Crist. Agus o do mhill Serlus impir Agiolandus agus a cinedh ar son gur mhianoraigh Serlus na boict,<sup>11</sup> cindus bias don droing do bheir drochsheirbhis do bochtuibh De,<sup>12</sup> do'n lo deighineach, agus cinnus eistfit siat guth adhuathmar in tigearna adéara riu 'Imthighidh uaim<sup>13</sup> a mhaca no a lucht<sup>14</sup> na mallacht isin teinidh marthanaigh. Or in uair do bi ocarus oram ní thucabhar biadh dhamh, agus in

1. cad fa leigidh E. leicid H. 2. a cur uait afat agus amian orradh E. "ocus amian ort" F. H. omits. 3. do F. & H. "do neoch do beir" etc., E. 4. fallsa Lis. E. reads "ocus do dligheadh a beith comaith riu, agus foill—" etc. 5. a F. ac H. 6. "ar sl—" E. & F. 7. co leoir do tobhairt doibh agus aneideadh coromor E. 8. is intuca do gach nech E. 9. cair F. & E. 10. uasal E. & F. 11. Last seventeen words omitted in E. 12. Dia E. & F. 13. uainn F. buaim E. 14. H. reads "a lucht na mallachtan," the "no a lucht" is evidently a marginal note of an alternative reading which has crept into the text.

certain corner of Charles the emperor's court twelve poor men in pitiable poor weeds, and they sitting on the ground without tables or tablecloths<sup>a</sup> before them, and with only a little food and drink for them to partake of. And Agiolandus asked what kind of people were those.

Charles said, "those are messengers from our Lord, from the son of God, whom we feed every day according to the number of the twelve apostles."

Agiolandus said "these people who are beside thee are rich, and richly do they eat and drink and are clothed. Yon band who are, you say, the messengers of your God, why do you leave them to suffer<sup>b</sup> famine and to be in bad clothing, and to be put far away from you, and to be dishonoured"? And he said, "badly does he obey his lord who receives his messengers with dishonour,<sup>c</sup> and great is the shame which he causes<sup>d</sup> to his own God, the man who gives evil service to His people. And your own law which you said was good, you show now that it is false." And taking leave of Charles he departed to his own people with scandal<sup>e</sup> and refused to accept baptism, and on the morrow he challenged Charles to battle. And Charles understood that it was on account of the poor whom Agiolandus had seen in dishonourable condition that he refused baptism. And on that account every poor person whom Charles found upon his hostings<sup>f</sup> [thenceforward] he gave orders to be liberal<sup>g</sup> with them and give them food and drink and clothing in plenty. For that reason it is to be observed that great is the crime for every Christian who does not give earnest service to the poor of Christ. And as the emperor Charles spoilt<sup>h</sup> [the Christianizing of] Agiolandus and his race because he had dishonoured the poor, how shall it be with those who give evil service to the poor of God, at the last day, and how shall they listen to the awful voice of the Lord which shall say to them, 'Depart from me ye accursed into everlasting fire, for when I was an hungered ye gave

<sup>a</sup> sine mensa sine linteaminibus comedentes. <sup>b</sup> *Lit.* let them go to famine, "cur fame pereunt." <sup>c</sup> Turpiter. <sup>d</sup> *Lit.* "does," "verecundiam facit."

<sup>e</sup> These two words are not in the Latin. <sup>f</sup> or "armies" "in exercitu" *Lat.* <sup>g</sup> *Lit.* diligent. Latin has "diligenter procuravit." <sup>h</sup> Perdidit.



tan do bi tart ní tucabhar deoch. Ma aseadh is intuicthi gurab beag foghnas dlige<sup>d</sup> De na a chreideamh don *Christaighi* muna coimhlina<sup>1</sup> iat d'oibreachaib. Or adeir in Scriptur diadha 'mar is marbh in corp<sup>2</sup> gan anum is mar sin is marb in creidiumh<sup>3</sup> ann fein gan na hoibreacha maithe.' Ocus mar do *sheachain* in rí *Padanta* in baistedh ar son nach facaidh se oibreacha<sup>4</sup> certa in bhaistidh ag Serlus impiri, is mar sin ata a eglá orum nach faicfe Dia creidium in baistidh innainn o nach fuighi se oibreacha in baistidh againn a lo in breitheamhnais.

### IN DARA SGEL DHEG.

Tancatur ar na mharach na sluaigh armdha eidighthi da gach taeibh ar in machuiri cum cathaighthi ar imrisan<sup>5</sup> in da dlige<sup>d</sup>. Ocus do bhi sluagh Sherluis *ceithre mile* dec ar *fhichit cé<sup>d</sup>*<sup>6</sup> ocus do bhi sluagh Agiolanduis *ced m<sup>í</sup>le* ocus do ronsat na *Cristaighi ceithre* tosaig<sup>7</sup> dibh fein cum in chatha, ocus do rineadar na *Seirrisdtnigh* a cuic, ocus do cuadar da chorughadh<sup>8</sup> dibh sin chum cathaighthi re cheli ocus do claid<sup>9</sup> na *Seirrisdínigh* a chedoir, ocus in dara<sup>10</sup> cuideachta do cuireadar na *Padhanaigh*<sup>11</sup> do claidh iat mar an cedna [ocus a *cedoir* F.] Ar na fhaicsin dona *Padhanachaibh* didbail ro mhor ar a sluaghaibh do thinoiletar a timchioll Agiolanduis, ocus mar do connatar na *Cristaighi* sin tancatar a timchioll Serluis<sup>12</sup> da gach thaeibh .i. Arnallus de Bellanda a taeibh dhibh cona sluaghaib, ocus Estultus cona shluagh a taeibh eli [ocus Aruitantus(?) rí co na sluaghaiba taeb ele díb H.] ocus Gaudebolldus<sup>13</sup> cona shluagh a taeibh ele, ocus Othgerus ri cona shluagh a taeibh eile, ocus Consantinus Romanus cona shluagh a taeibh eli, Serlus ocus prinnsada<sup>14</sup> na sluagh a taeibh eli, ag sdiúradh<sup>15</sup> a muinntiri, ocus do thinnsnadar a sduic umaidhi do sheinm, ocus tucadar

1. E. adds "tu." H. reads mona comlínait hé. 2. mar ata an corp marbh E., H. & F. 3. ata an cr marb E. & F. 4. Thus F. & E. oibrighthi Lis. 5. imrisin E. & F. E. reads creidim for "dlige<sup>d</sup>." 6. After .xx. Lis. has "7" written above the line. 7. dronga E. H. & F. 8. "da coruga" E. omitting dibh sin. "da corug díb" H., in each case with a stroke over the g. 9. claidhedh E. & H. claidhi F. 10. "da" F. 11. E. & F. add "chúcu." 12. Thus F. The other three MSS. read "ina timchell." 13. Gaudebolldus de bel— E. 14. Serlus prinnsa na sl. [an tsl H.] E. & H. 15. ac sonnadh E.



me no meat, when I was athirst ye gave me no drink." If so, it is to be understood that neither the law of God nor his religion will be of much profit to the Christian unless he carry them out in works.<sup>a</sup> For the Holy Scripture says 'as the body is dead without a soul, so is faith dead in itself without good works.' And as the Pagan king shunned baptism because he did not see the proper works of baptism with the emperor Charles, even so I am afraid that God will not see the faith of baptism in us, if he find not the works of baptism in us on the day of Judgment.

## TWELFTH CHAPTER.

THE hosts came on the morrow, in arms and armour from each side, on to the plain to fight in the quarrel of the two religions.<sup>b</sup> And Charles's army numbered one hundred and thirty-four thousand and the army of Agiollandus was one hundred thousand. And the Christians made four fronts<sup>c</sup> of themselves against the battle, and the Saracens made five. And two divisions of them advanced to fight with one another, and the Saracens were at once overthrown. And the second company which the Paynims sent, they were overthrown, and speedily, in like manner. When the Paynims saw very great losses [inflicted] on their hosts they gathered round about Agiollandus. And, as soon as the Christians saw that, they gathered round Charles on every side, namely, Arnold De Bellanda on one side with his hosts and Estultus with his host on another side, and King Arvitantus (?) with his hosts on another side of them, and Gandebolldus with his host on another side, and King Othgerus<sup>d</sup> with his host on another side, and Constantinus Romanus<sup>e</sup> with his host on another side, and Charles with the princes of the hosts on another side directing their people, and they commenced to blow their brazen trumpets,

<sup>a</sup> *Lit.* 'fulfil them of works.'

<sup>b</sup> *Lit.* "laws" "legum."

<sup>c</sup> acies.

<sup>d</sup> Otgerius C. Ogerius *Fr.*, i.e. Ogier the Dane.

<sup>e</sup> both Latin texts omit

"Romanus."

ucht ar a cheli ocus do chathaighseat co dúr ocus co dichra. Do chuaidh Arnalldus de Bellanda ortha ar tus ocus do dhithigh cu mor iat d'á dheis ocus d'á cli, no gu rainic Agiolandus a medhon<sup>1</sup> a mhuinntiri, ocus do ben a claidheamh amach ocus do innsaigh Agiolandus ocus do mharbh he. Is ann sin do ronad eighe<sup>2</sup> ocus ilgháirthe mora coscair ocus commaidme ag na Cristaighibh ocus do thimchilleadar na Seirrisdineacha do gach thaeb, ocus do mharbhadar in méid sin dibh innus nach deachaidh beo dona Padanchaibh uatha acht amhain ri Sibilie, ocus Altamajor<sup>3</sup> ri Cordubie.<sup>4</sup> Or do theithset maille becan do Seirrisdineachaibh leo. Ocus do doirted in mhéid<sup>5</sup> sin d'fuil in la sin, innus co mad eidir leis na claiteoraibh snamh a bhfuil na Padanach. Do chuatar iarom na Cristaighi isin cathair istech, ocus do mharbh<sup>6</sup> a bhfuaradar do Seirrisdineachaibh innti. Ocus mar do chathaigh Serlus anaghaidh Agiolanduis ar son an Creidimh Cristaighi ocus mar do mharbh se he, as follus co teit dlige<sup>7</sup> na Cristaighi tar gach uili dlige<sup>8</sup>, et cetera. O a Cristaidhi, da connmhair<sup>9</sup> in creidium co maith ad craidhi ocus a coimlinad d'oibrightibh cu firindeach<sup>8</sup> airdeochthar thu os cinn na n-aingeal isin fhlaithemhnas nemhdha a bhfhochair do thighearna .i. Isu Crist. Gidheadh cach a mad ail<sup>9</sup> dul suas, creit gu daingen. Or adeir an Tighearna 'ata gach uile ní ar breith (no comas)<sup>10</sup> don tí creitfes.'

'Na dhiaigh sin do thinoil Serlus a shluagh ar mbeith ghairdechais mhoir air don bhuaigh ruc, ocus tainic gu droichet Arge<sup>11</sup> ar slighidh San Sem. Ocus is ann sin do rindi aidchideacht.<sup>12</sup>

#### AN TREAS SGEL DHEC ANN SO. F.

Ocus na dhiaigh sin do chuaidh cuideachta dona Cristaighibh gan fhis do Sherlus cum an inaid a tugad in cath, ocus iat ar na mealladh<sup>13</sup> do shaint spreidhi na marbh, an n-oighthi andiaigh in

1. ar lar H., E. & F. 2. eigmhe E. & F. 3. Altamaghor F.  
 4. Cornubia F., H. & E. 5. F. reads here and generally elsewhere *medi* for *méid*. E. also reads *mede* or *meide*. *Lis.* generally reads "met" but once or twice "*méid*." 6. *dicennadar* F. *dicendadar* H. *dicendadh* E.  
 7. *connmhais* *Lis.* 8. E. & F. omit last six words. 9. *madh ailt* F. & E. 10. *Lis.* writes these words in small letters over "breith."  
 E., H. & F. both "ar cumas [*comas* H.] and omit "breith." 11. *Airgi* H. & F. *Airge* E. 12. *Aigheacht* E. *Aidheacht* F. *aedaigeacht* an oidche sin déis a coscair ruc H. 13. *dalladh* E.

and they faced one another and they fought hardily and vigorously. Arnold De Bellanda came on them<sup>a</sup> first and inflicted great losses on them, right and left, until he reached Agiolandus in the midst of his people, and he drew out his sword and attacked Agiolandus and killed him. It was then shouts and great cries of slaughter and triumph arose<sup>b</sup> amongst the Christians, and they surrounded the Saracens on every side and they slew of them all who were there<sup>c</sup> so that there went not alive of the Paynims from them but only the King of Sibilie<sup>d</sup> and Altamaior, King of Cordubia.<sup>d</sup> For they fled with a few of the Saracens with them. And there was so much blood shed that the victors could have swum in the blood of the Paynims.

Afterwards the Christians entered the city and they slew all the Saracens that they found in it.

And as Charles warred against Agiolandus on behalf of the Christian faith, and as he slew him, so it is obvious that the law of the Christians goes beyond each and every law, et cetera.<sup>e</sup> O Christian if thou keep the faith well in thy heart and fulfill it with works, truly thou shalt be exalted above the angels in the heavenly kingdom into the presence of thy Lord, even Jesus Christ. So then each [of you] who would desire to ascend—believe firmly, for the Lord saith everything is within the reach (or under the power) of him who shall<sup>f</sup> believe.

After that, Charles collected his army, being greatly rejoiced at the victory he had obtained, and came to the bridge of Arge on the road to St. James. And it was there he made entertainment.<sup>g</sup>

### THIRTEENTH CHAPTER.

AND after that a company of the Christians went, unknown to Charles, to the place where the battle had been fought, they being beguiled by greed for the possessions of the slain, [going thither]

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<sup>a</sup>irruit.    <sup>b</sup>*Lit.* "were made."    <sup>c</sup>*Lit.* "that number of them," "illos omnes."  
<sup>d</sup>Sibiliae Cordubiae *i.e.* Seville and Cordova.    <sup>e</sup>No "etc." in the Latin.  
<sup>f</sup>omnia possibilia sunt credenti.    <sup>g</sup>hospitatus est.

chatha do thabhairt. Ocus ar mbreith oir ocus aircit ocus moran do neithibh uaisli ele do thoghadar fein do mhaithios na ndaine marbh leo [d'impaidhidar tar a n-ais F.] Ag impodh dhoibh cum a foslongphuirt fein aris, tarla Altumaíor ri Cordubie<sup>1</sup> cona muinntir dhoibh.<sup>2</sup> Ar teitheadh dho<sup>3</sup> as an cath remhraitti do bhadur ar na bhfolach a ngleanntuibh no gu tarla in drong sin cucu, ocus do innsaighedar iat ocus do marbhadar na Cristaighi co h-implán, ocus ba headh<sup>4</sup> do marbhadh ann a timceall míle fer.

As baramhail don bhuidhin sin<sup>5</sup> na Cristaighi claies<sup>6</sup> a pecaidh isin bhfaisidin ocus impaidios ar urailim in diabail cum na pecadh cédna aris. Or mar do impaigedar in drong ud ar gclodh a namhat do<sup>7</sup> shaint spreighe na marbh, ocus do mharbhsat a namhait iat, as mar sin da gach uili Cristaighi claies<sup>6</sup> a lochta fein ocus ghabhas penos<sup>8</sup> ni dlighid do impod aris cum na marbh .i. cum na pecadh, ar teitheadh co muirbhfitis a namad he .i. na diabail. Ocus mar do impaigedar in drong ut cum sbreighi na ndaine ele ocus do leiceadur in betha so uatha ocus fuaradar fein bas anuasal, is mar sin in<sup>9</sup> lucht uird leices in saeghal uatha ocus impadas<sup>10</sup> aris cum na betha cédna,<sup>11</sup> leicit uatha in betha neamhdha ocus fillit iat fein a mbas na mbas.<sup>12</sup>

#### AN CEATRUMAD SGEL DHEC ANN SO.

La ele na dhiaigh sin do foillsigheadh do Sherlus gu raíbe ar Sliabh Garsrem<sup>13</sup> taiseach do thaiseachaibh Nauarrorum<sup>14</sup> dar ainm Furre<sup>15</sup> ocus gur b'aíl leis cath do chommorad anaghaidh Serluis. Ocus ar teacht do Sherlus cum an tsléibhi sin do dheisig in prindsa sin<sup>16</sup> he fein cum catha do thabhuirt do ar na mharach. Ocus in agaidh roim in cath do rinne Serlus eadurghuighi [díchra H.] cum

1. Cornubia E., H. & F. passim. 2. dalladh E. 3. noch do theith roime sin a cath na Seirrisdineach ocus do bhadar ar na f." etc. E. The text of H. from the beginning of the chapter is quite differently arranged and shorter. 4. do be a nuimir E. & F. "do bé mēt" H. 5. don da cudeachtain so E. don cuideachtain so H. 6. noch claidhius E. claidus F. claides H. 7. tri F. tre E. 8. pinos cuigi F. aithreachas chuige E. H. omits. 9. don F. in E. 10. inntaighios E. indtaiges H. 11. betha an tshaeghail F. 12. Lis. has above the line the words "vel an bais." 13. Garsrime F. Gasrime H. Gasarinie E. 14. Nabarrorum F. H. omits. 15. Fuirre E., H. & F. 16. "sin" from E.



the night after the battle had been waged. And having taken [thence] with them gold and silver and many other precious things which they had chosen themselves of the goods of the slain they returned again. On returning to their own camp [however] Altumaior,<sup>a</sup> King of Cordubia, with his people met them. Having fled from the afore-mentioned battle they were hiding in glens until this party fell in with them, and they attacked them and slew the Christians utterly. And the number they killed was about a thousand men.

A similitude to that band are those Christians who blot out<sup>b</sup> their sin in confession and return at the bidding of the devil to the same sins again. For as that band returned,<sup>c</sup> [to plunder] having defeated their enemies, out of greed for the possessions of the dead, and their enemies slew them, even so is it with every Christian who overcomes his own faults and accepts penitence;<sup>d</sup> he ought not to turn again to the dead, that is to sins, flying till his enemy slay him, that is the devils. And just as that troop turned towards the possessions of the other people, and let this life go from them, and came themselves to an ignoble death, even so do those members of Orders who put the world away from them and yet turn again to the same life [as of old] let the heavenly life go from them and return themselves into the death of deaths.

## FOURTEENTH CHAPTER.

ANOTHER day after that it was disclosed<sup>e</sup> to Charles that there was on the mountain of Garsrem,<sup>f</sup> one of the chiefs of the Navarri, whose name was Furre, and that he desired to give battle to Charles. And on Charles coming to that mountain the prince prepared himself to give battle to him on the morrow. And the night before the battle Charles made fervent intercession to God to show

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* Almanzor, King of Cordova.

<sup>b</sup> Hi vero typum gerunt fidelium pro peccatis certantium sed postea ad vitia redeuntium quia sicut illi, etc.

<sup>c</sup> ad mortuos redierunt.

<sup>d</sup> poenitentiam accepit.

<sup>e</sup> nunciatum est.

<sup>f</sup> "Gargim" C. "Gargini" *Fr.*, a corruption of Montjardin according to Gaston Paris.



Dia ma a fhoillsiughad do cia da mhuinntir do ghebad bas isin cath ar na marach. Ocus do foillsighed comartha dearg a bhfighair na croichi cesda ar guallaibh na ndaine do bhi cum tuitme. Ocus mar do connuic Serluis an comurtha sin ar an droing sin do chuir fo iadhadh<sup>1</sup> iat an a shaipel<sup>2</sup> da seachna ar bas [annsa cath.<sup>3</sup>] As dothamaise breitheamhnas De ocus is doi-eoluis a shligthi.<sup>4</sup> Ar cri[c]hnughadh in chatha ocus ar marbhadh in phrinnsa dar ainm Furre maille tri míle Seirrisdineach, in drong fhacuibh Serlus fo iadhadh fuair gan anmain iat; ocus is e lin do batar .i. tri caogaid.<sup>5</sup> O a claiteoire ro naemhtha gin gur ben claidheam bur n-aibirseora rib<sup>6</sup> nir leiceabhair coroin na martireach uaibh. Ocus uadha so amach do thindscaín Serlus sliabh Garsim<sup>7</sup> ocus talamh Nauarorum<sup>8</sup> do bheith aigi fein.

#### AN CUIGED SGEL DHEC.

Na dhiaigh sin do foillsigheadh do Sherlus co tainicc eathach<sup>9</sup> dar ainm Feireacutus do chenal Golias a crichibh na Sorcha ar na cur do Admirantus<sup>10</sup> .i. ri na Baibiloinne do chathughadh anaghaidh Serluis maille fichit míle Padanach. Ocus ase inadh a rabhatar in tan sin isin cathair re n-abar Folnagerus.<sup>11</sup> Ocus ni bhid eglagai na saigdi na airm eli ar in Seirsineach soin. Do cuaid Serlus a cedoir cum na cathrach sin ocus mar do cualaidh Fereacutus Serlus do thecht do chuaidh fein tar an cathraigh amach ocus do iar comrac aein fir. Do cuired o Sherlus in uair sin Ogerus cum an aithigh<sup>12</sup> ocus mar do connuic in t-aitheach e do dluthaigh chuiice<sup>13</sup> ocus do ghlac ar laimh dheis he ocus ruc leis ar a mhuin cona armuibh, ocus a roibhe ann sin do shluaghuibh aga fheithimh,

1. iadhuga E., with stroke over the g. iadad H. 2. inashepel E. thseipel F. H. omits. 3. Last two words from E. & F. 4. The last nine words are omitted in F., H. & E., which read cad (ca F.) tu do Serlus. H. "cidh tú," the equivalent of "quid plura." 5. .x. ocus secht .xx. F., H. & E. 6. do namat riut E. H. omits the whole sentence. 7. Thus E., H. & F. 8. Thus H., F. & E. Lis. reads "dfacbail do b.a.f." 9. athach E. ethach H. 10. admirandus F. & E. H. omits. 11. nagerus F., H. & E. 12. fathaigh E. 13. co min cuigi F. & E.

him who of his people would die in the battle on the morrow. And there was revealed to him a red sign in the shape of the cross of crucifixion on the shoulders of the people who were to fall. And when Charles saw that sign on those people he locked them up in his chapel<sup>a</sup> to avoid death for them in the battle. Inscrutable<sup>b</sup> (?) is the judgment of God and unknowable<sup>c</sup> are his ways. And on finishing the battle and slaying the prince whose name was Furre, together with three thousand Saracens, the people whom Charles had left shut up he found lifeless, and the number who were there was thrice fifty. O most holy victors,<sup>d</sup> although no sword of your adversary touched you, ye did not put from you the martyr's crown. And from this out Charles began to possess to himself the mountain of Garsim and the land of the Navarri.<sup>e</sup>

## FIFTEENTH CHAPTER.

AFTER that it was disclosed<sup>f</sup> to Charles that there had come a giant of the name of Feracutus<sup>g</sup> of the race of Goliath from the lands of Sorcha,<sup>h</sup> he being sent by Admirantus,<sup>i</sup> that was the King of Babylon, to fight against Charles with twenty thousand Pagans, and the place where they were at that time was the city which is called Felnagerus.<sup>j</sup> And that Saracen used to have no fear of spear or arrow or other weapon. Charles went to that city at once and when Feracutus heard that Charles had come he himself went out from the city and asked for single combat. Then there was sent by Charles, Ogerus<sup>k</sup> against the giant, and when the giant saw him he came close to him<sup>l</sup> and caught him by the right hand, and took him on his back with his weapons,—all the hosts that were there looking on,—and he never halted

<sup>a</sup> in oratorio. <sup>b</sup> quam incomprehensibilia. <sup>c</sup> investigabiles. <sup>d</sup> o Christi pugnatorum sanctissima caterva. <sup>e</sup> Tunc Karolus cepit castrum montis Gargim in suum, totamque patriam Navarrorum. <sup>f</sup> Nunciatum.

<sup>g</sup> Ferracutus in both the Latin texts. Pulci in his *Morgante* calls this giant Ferran. Elsewhere we find him called Ferragus. It is from this chapter that the Italian conception of Roland (Orlando) is derived. They also took Ferracutus or Ferragus as the type of a Saracen knight. Agrican, Mandricard and Rodomont are drawn from him as their prototype. See Castets' note on this chapter. <sup>h</sup> *Lat.* Syriae, see Gadelica, p. 274.

<sup>i</sup> Babilonis Admiraldus. <sup>j</sup> Both Latin texts read "Apud Nageram."

<sup>k</sup> Ogerius *Fr.* Otgerius *C.* *i.e.* Ogier the Dane. <sup>l</sup> suaviter juxta illum vadit.

ocus nír an no gur chuir a *prisun* he, *amhail* chairigh cennuis.<sup>1</sup> Do batar imorro da fhedh dec isin aitheach sin ocus do b' adhbhul fat a aighthe. Ocus do batur cethra bannlama an gach laimh ocus an gach lurgain dó, ocus tri ferdhuirn<sup>2</sup> in gach mher d'a mheraibh. Iarsin do cuir Serlus Renallidus<sup>3</sup> de Alba Spina cum an aithigh, ocus do glac in t-aitheach ar laim he ocus *ruc* leis cum in *phrisuin* mar in *cét* duini.<sup>4</sup> Do cuireadh iar sin Constantinus rí Romanach ocus Oellus<sup>5</sup> iarla da insaigidh ocus do glac ar aeinshlighidh iat .i. duine dhibh da dheis ocus duine da cli, ocus do chuir isin prisún cedna iat. Do cuirthe iar sin dias gach n-uaire chuigi ocus do chuireadh isin prisun uili iat. Ar na *faicsin* sin do na sluaghaib ocus ar mbeith ingantuis mhoir acu dhe, ni fhuair Serlus fer comraic dhó o sin suas.<sup>6</sup> Do chonnuic Rolanndus prinnsa shluaigh Sherluis Mhoir nar leic a<sup>7</sup> eglá dh'aenduine dul<sup>8</sup> anaghaidh in aithigh. Ar mbeith dothcais aigi as a Dia fein, gin gu fuair sé *ced* toltanach o Sherlus, ocus se<sup>9</sup> daingen isin creidium do chuaidh se do cathughad ris in *Padanach*. Ocus do bhi eglá mor ar Serlus, or do bhi Rolandus og in uair sin, ocus do bo mian leis-sin a fosdadh, ocus do ghuigh a Thighearna um a shaeradh o laimh in aithigh amhail mar do rinne *Dabhid*<sup>10</sup> o Gholiás ocus co tugadh se sesmhád<sup>11</sup> do anaghaidh a namhat. Mar do connuic in t-aitheach Rolandus chuige tainig na choinne<sup>12</sup> ocus do glac he ocus do chuir ar a *belaibh* he da *bhreith* leis cum in *phrisuin*. Ar bhfhaghail fhurtachta ocus neirt o Dia do Rolandus do glac se in t-eathach co laidir ar smeic<sup>13</sup> ocus do impo tar ais ar a ech é ocus do thuitedar cum talman ar aeinshligid, ocus do eirghedar [araen F.] ar aeinshligid, ocus do chuatar ar a n-echaibh ocus do ben Rolandus a claidheamh amach dar ainm Durendalis<sup>14</sup> ocus tuc builli cum in aithigh ocus do gherr a ech ar dhó. Ar mbeith d'Ferreatus da chois do bhi a claidheamh nocht in a laimh ocus

1. *amhail* do *bheith* caera romin aige F. & E. H. has "co caercham," with stroke over the m, which seems wrong. 2. Thus *Lis.* & H. *seathduirn* F. & E. 3. *rolandus* E. *renallus delbaspina* H. 4. F. and E. omit "duini." H. has "docum an prisuin .c." 5. *hoellus* E., H. & F. 6. do obadar a comrac osin amach H. 7. an F., H. & E. 8. *dula* *Lis.* *dol* H. 9. e E. & F. H. omits these words. 10. do saeradh dabith (danidh H.) o Gailias F. (Goliás H.) Guiliás F. 11. co tuca se sesmach e E. H. omits. 12. do *chuir* a laimh ann E. 13. sic *Lis.* & H. *smeig* F. & E. 14. *dubrendalis* H.

till he had placed him in prison like a gentle sheep.<sup>a</sup> Twelve fathoms in height was that giant, and huge was the length of his face. And there were four cubits in each hand and in each shin<sup>b</sup> of him, and [the bulk of?] three men's fists in each of his fingers. After that Charles sent Renaldus<sup>c</sup> de Alba Spina to the giant, and the giant caught him by the hand and bore him with him to the prison like the first man. After that there were sent Constantinus, a Roman king,<sup>d</sup> and Earl<sup>e</sup> Oellus to him, and he caught them both together,<sup>f</sup> one of them in his right and the other in his left hand, and he put them into the same prison. There were sent after that in couples to him each time, and he used to put them all in prison. When the hosts beheld that, they being greatly amazed at it, Charles found no man to do battle with him from that out. Roland,<sup>g</sup> the prince of Charles the Great's army, saw that fear did not permit any man to go against the giant. He having trust in his own God,<sup>h</sup> albeit he got no willing leave from Charles, <sup>h</sup>and being firm in the faith,<sup>h</sup> went to battle with the Paynim. <sup>i</sup>And Charles was in great fear, for Roland was young at that time, and he wished to stop him, and he besought the Lord to save him out of the hand of the giant, as he saved David from Goliath, and that he might give him [power] to stand against his enemy.<sup>i</sup>

When the giant saw Roland coming towards him, he came to meet him and seized him, and put him in front of him to carry him with him to the prison. But Roland receiving relief and help from God seized the giant powerfully by the chin, and turned him backwards upon his steed, and they fell to the ground together, and they arose together, and mounted their steeds [again], and Roland drew his sword whose name was Durendalis,<sup>j</sup> and gave a blow to the giant and cut his horse in two. And Feracutus being on foot had his sword naked in his hand and threatened

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<sup>a</sup> mitissima ovis. "cennuis" = "censsa"? <sup>b</sup> brachia et crura. C. Not in *Fr.* <sup>c</sup> Rainaldus. <sup>d</sup> Rex Romanus. <sup>e</sup> Comes. <sup>f</sup> Literally "on one way," the expression *ar aeinshligid* is used in this and cognate texts in the meaning of "together." *Lat.* "ambo pariter." <sup>g</sup> Not in the Latin. <sup>h-h</sup> Not in Latin. <sup>i-i</sup> Not in the Latin. <sup>j</sup> The Latin texts do not mention the name of the sword.



do rinne bagar ar Rolandus ocus do buail Rolandus do claidheamh he ocus ní derna urchóid do. Gidheadh do theilg a claidheamh as laimh in aithigh. Ocus ar ndul a claidhimh uadha tuc dorn d' innsaighidh Rolanduis ocus do bhuail a ech 'na hedan ocus do thuit si cum talmhan ocus fuair bas.<sup>1</sup> Ocus 'na dhiaigh sin do bhatar araen da cois gan claidheamh ag cehtar dhibh, ag cathughad le clochaibh<sup>2</sup> ocus le a ndornuibh go noin. Ocus ar techt don esbartain cuca fuair Ferreacutus osad comhraic o Rolandus. Ocus do orduigheadar etorra fein co ticfaitis<sup>3</sup> ar na marach chum a cheili gan eich gan arm, ocus do aentuigheadar in ní sin, ocus do impogach neach da arus fein acu in agaid [leg. adaig] sin. Ocus tancatar cu moch<sup>4</sup> ar na mharach a coinne a chele da cois mar do ghealladar, ocus tuc Ferreacutus claidheamh leis, ocus ní rhodhuin<sup>5</sup> dó, or ruc Rolandus bata<sup>6</sup> fada remhar leis ocus do bhi ac cathughad leis in mbata fedh in lai. Gidheadh ní derna urchóid d' Ferreacutus. Ar bhfhaghail osaid o Rolandus d'Ferreacutus do ghabh codladh mor he. Ocus ar mbeith isin codladh sin don fhir mhor do chuir Rolandus [.i. an macam og uasal sin],<sup>7</sup> cloch fo n-a chenn innus cu mad usaidi dho codladh do denam, ocus ní lamh Cristaigi [annsa doman an uair sin<sup>8</sup>] a dhith do dhenam. Or do bhi nos eaturra gebe don dá droing sin do Christaighibh no do Seirrisdín-eachaibh do bherad osad da cheli nach dingentai urchóid etorra, ocus da mbrisedh neach in t-osad sin roimh a ré a bhasughadh a cedoir.

Ar n-eirghi d'Ferreacutus as a chodladh do shuidh<sup>9</sup> Rolandus laimh ris, ocus do fhiarfaigh de<sup>10</sup> cinnus do bi se a com arrachta sin ocus a comh cruaidh nach roibhe eglá aigi roim claidheamh na roimh cloich na roim arm ele.<sup>11</sup> Adubhairt in fer mor "ní h-eidir fuiliughad orum acht am' imleagan."<sup>12</sup> Ar na clos sin do

1. cum lair ocus do chuaidh a hanum aiste E. 2. E. & F. omit clochaibh H. has "can arm acht a nduirnn." 3. The last few lines are differently phrased in F. & E. 4. annsa camair F. conair E. 5. comain do E. H. omits. 6. ní ruc Rolandus ach bata fada reamar leis E. 7. Last five words from E. & F. 8. Last five words from F. E. & F. read after that "a marbhadh. H. turns the sentence quite differently and reads buain ris. 9. druid E. & H. 10. E. adds co companta. H. mar companach. 11. na roim arm ele sa domhan E. 12. am imlecan F. & E. imlecan H. E. adds "amhain."



Roland, and Roland smote him with his sword but did him no hurt, howbeit he knocked the sword out of the giant's hand. And when his sword went from him he made a blow with his fist at Roland and struck his horse in the face, and it fell to the ground and died.<sup>a</sup> And after that they were both on foot, and neither of them had a sword, fighting with stones and with their fists until noon. And when evening came to them Feracutus got a truce from Roland. And they arranged it between themselves that they would come to one another on the morrow without horses or arms, and they agreed to that, and each of them returned to his own abode that night.

And they came against one another early on the morrow on foot, as they had promised, and Feracutus brought a sword with him, and it did not help him, for Roland had brought a long thick staff<sup>b</sup> with him and he kept fighting with the staff throughout the day. He did no hurt, however, to Feracutus. As soon as Feracutus got a truce from Roland a heavy sleep seized him. And when the big man was in that sleep Roland, that noble young scion, put a stone under his head, so that it might be the easier for him to sleep, and no Christian in the world at that time ventured to hurt him. For there was a custom among them that whichever of the two sides, Christian or Saracen, might grant a truce to the other, no hurt should be done on either side,<sup>c</sup> and if one of them were to break that truce before its time he was to be put to death at once.

On Feracutus rising out of his sleep, Roland sat beside him and asked him how it was he was so powerful, and so hardy that he was afraid of neither sword nor stone nor any other weapon. The big man answered "it is not possible to wound me except in the navel." When Roland heard that he held his peace, as though he did not understand him, and he turned his ear away

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<sup>a</sup> Thus Oliver's horse in the story of Fortibras is struck between the eyes and killed. R C. XIX., p. 40.

<sup>b</sup> *Lit.* "stick." *Lat.* baculum.

<sup>c</sup> *Lit.* "between them."

Rolandus do thocht se mar nach tuicfeadh<sup>1</sup> he ocus do impo a cluas uadha. Ocus do labhair in t-aitheach<sup>2</sup> tenga na Spainne ris ocus do thuic Rolandus he co maith.<sup>3</sup> Do fhegh in fer mor ar Rolandus ocus do fhiafraigh a ainm dhe.<sup>4</sup> “Rolandus mh’ ainm,” ar se. Do fhiafraigh in fer mor “ga cenel duid o chathaighe am aghaidh-si a comh laidir sin, or ní fhuaras riamh conuigi so neach do chuirfed eglá orm.” “Do chenel na *Frangcach* dam,” ar Rolandus, “ocus mac derbhshethar<sup>5</sup> do Sherlus Mhor me.” Adubhairt Ferreacutus, “cred he [recht no H.] dlíged na *Frangcach*”? Do fhreagair Rolandus, “Dlíged Crist maille na grasaibh<sup>6</sup> ata againn,” ar se, “ocus atamait fo impireacht Crist ocus cathuighmit ar son a chreidim in meit fhetmuid.” Adubhairt in *Padanach*, ar cluinsin anma Crist dó, “Cia in Crist ut an a creittisi”? Adubhairt Rolandus “Mac do Dia athair,” ar se, “rucadh o’n óigh; do cesad san croich, do cuiread san adlacadh, do eirigh a cinn in treas la on adhlacad, do chuaidh ar deis an athar neamhda.” Adubhairt in *Padanach* “creidim<sup>7</sup> gurub e cruthaightheoir *nimhe* ocus *talmhan* Dia,<sup>8</sup> gidheadh ní raibhi mac aigi na athair. Acht mar nar geineadh e fein o einneach is mar sin nar gein se nech. Mar sin is aenda ata Dia ocus ní na *thriur*.”<sup>9</sup> Adubhairt Rolandus “is fir gurub aenda ata Dia, gidheadh in tan adeiri nach fuil se trithach atai dall isin credium,” ocus adubhairt Rolandus “ma creidi isin athair creid isin mac ocus isin *Spiorad naomh*, or is Dia in t-athair fein, ocus Dia in mac, ocus Dia in *Spiorad naomh* .i.<sup>10</sup> aeinndia marthanach a tri persanuibh he.” “Adeiri,” ar<sup>11</sup> Ferreacutus, “in t-athair do beith ’na Dhia ocus in mac do beith ’na Dhia ocus in *Spiorad naomh* do beith ’na Dhia, ma aseadh as tri dee ata ann ocus ní hein Dia.” “Ní headh idir,” ar Rolandus, “acht ein-dia trithach adeirim rit, ocus ata se aenda ocus<sup>12</sup> trithach ocus atait na tri persain sin comhimlán commarthanach comchudrama dhoibh fein, .i. mar ata<sup>13</sup> an t-athair

1. do rinne se tocht mar nach tuicfeadh se tenga na *Seirrisdineach* E. H. reads nearly the same. 2. do labhair tenga na Spaine reis in *athach* E. H. nearly the same. 3. F. & H. omit last seven words. 4. do *fiarfaigh* ca hainm thusa a *cristaighe* E. H. nearly the same. 5. *derbhshethar* E. 6. grasaibh Dia E., F. & H. 7. creidmidne E. & H. 8. aendia cumachtach E. H. id, omitting “aen.” 9. is aendia ata ann ocus ní ina triar ata E., H. & F., but F. leaves out “ina” and “ata.” 10. “ocus” E. *Lis.* writes above the line *vel et* as an alternative reading. 11. arsi Fer. F., E. & H. 12. F., H. & E. omit “ocus.” H. has trithtech passim. 13. mar a fuil F.

from him.<sup>a</sup> And the giant spoke to him in the language of Spain, and Roland understood him well. The big man looked at Roland and asked him his name. "Roland is my name," said he. The big man asked him, "what race are you of, that you fight against me so powerfully? for I never found so far a person to make me afraid." "Of the race of the Franks am I," said Roland, "and I am a sister's son of Charles the Great."<sup>b</sup> Feracutus asked, "what is the religion or law<sup>c</sup> of the Franks"? Roland answered, "the law of Christ with his graces we have," said he, "and we are under the empire of Christ, and we fight for his religion, in so far as we can." On hearing the name of Christ the Pagan asked, "who is that Christ in whom ye believe"? Roland answered, "a Son of God the Father," said he, "who was born of the Virgin, who suffered on the cross, who was laid in the grave, who rose from the grave at the end of the third day, who went [to sit] on the right hand of the heavenly Father." Said the Paynim, "I believe that God is the creator of heaven and earth, but he had neither son nor father. For as he was not himself begotten of any body, even so has he not begotten any one. Consequently God is one-fold and not three." Roland said, "it is true that God is one-fold, howbeit when you say that he is not three-fold you are blind in the faith," and Roland said "if you believe in the Father, believe in the Son, and in the Holy Spirit, for the Father himself is God, and the Son is God, and the Holy Spirit God: one God everlasting in three persons is he." "You say," said Feracutus, "that the father is God, and the son God, and the Holy Spirit God, if so there are three Gods, and not one God." "Not so at all," said Roland, "but I speak to you of one three-fold God, and He is one and threefold, and those three persons are equally perfect, equally everlasting, co-equal with each other,

<sup>a</sup> These twenty-three words are not in the Latin texts.  
are not in the Latin texts,

<sup>b</sup> Last ten words  
<sup>c</sup> lex.

ata in mac, agus ata in *Spiorad naomh*. Ata *dilseacht*<sup>1</sup> is na *persanuibh* agus *aendacht*<sup>1</sup> isin *substaint*<sup>2</sup> agus an a mhordhacht. *Guighter*<sup>3</sup> co *cudrama* .i. Dia trithach agus aenda guigid na h-aingil ar nim, agus do connuic Abraham a tri agus do ghuigh a haen." "Foillsigh sin dam," ar an t-aitheach, "cinnus do bheitis tri neithe an a n-aein ní." "Foillseochat duit é," ar Rolandus ar na *neithibh* agus ar na *creatuiribh* daenna<sup>4</sup> .i. mar atait tri *neithi* isin *clairisigh* in tan do beir foghur .i. ealadha agus teda agus lamha ; is mar sin ata a tri a nDia .i. an t-athair agus in mac agus in *Spiorad naomh*, agus is aein Dia iad. Agus mar atait tri *neithi* isin *cnaí* .i. croiceann agus blaesc<sup>5</sup> agus etne, agus ní fuil acht aen *cnu* ann sin [is mar sin atait tri *persanna* a nDia agus aen Dia ata ann, F. & E.], agus atait tri *neithi* isin *grein* .i. *solus*<sup>6</sup> agus *deallrad* agus *tes*, *gidheadh* as aen *ghrian* sin.<sup>7</sup> Agus atait tri *neithi* a roth na *cartach*<sup>8</sup> agus is aen *chairt* sin. Agus atait tri *neithi* innat *fein* .i. corp agus anam agus baill, agus is aen nduine thu. Is mar sin *adeirur* *aendacht* agus *trithacht*<sup>9</sup> do *beith* a nDia." <sup>10</sup>Adubhairt Ferreacutus "tuicim anois Dia do *beith* aenda agus *trithach*, agus ní thuicim cinnus do ghein an t-athair mac mar *adeiri-si*."<sup>10</sup> Adubhairt Rolandus "in creidi gurab é Dia do rinne Adam."<sup>11</sup> "Creidim," ar sé.<sup>12</sup> Adubhairt Rolandus "*amhail* mar ata Adam ar na *geinemhain* do neifni, *gidheadh* do ghein se meic, is mar sin ata Dia athair gan *geinemhain* o ein neach. *Gidheadh* do ghein se mac gu diadha do-innisdi, roimh in uili aimsir, uaidh fein, mar do b' ail leis." Adubhairt in t-eathach "is maith lim," ar se, "gach ní *adeiri*. *Gidheadh* cinnus do rinní an nech is Dia ann<sup>13</sup> mac, ataim *ainmhfesach*<sup>14</sup> gu h-uilidhi ann." Adubhairt Rolandus "in te do rinne nemh agus *talamh* do neifni agus gach ní da bfuil innta is e do rinne mac do *geinemhain* isin oigh gan *adbhar* daena acht o anail coisearctha<sup>15</sup> in *Spiruta naimh*." "Is

1. disleacht E. disle H. atait dislithi . . . aenda F. 2. subaltaigh E. 3. guidhit F. guidh co c iat H. 4. Lis. has daena.  
5. plaesg F. plaesc H. 6. gile H., F. & E. 7. ata ann F. & E.  
iat H. 8. cairti F. 9. aenda agus trithach F. tredacht H.  
10-10. Omitted in F. 11. adhamh. 12. ar an fer mor H. 13. noch is dia ann F. & E. 14. ainmisech F. ainbhfessach E. 15. coisrica F. coisecra E.



that is as the Father is, so the Son is, and so the Holy Spirit is. There is propriety in the persons<sup>a</sup> and unity in the substance and in His greatness. They are equally prayed to, namely, it is to God three-fold and one the angels in heaven pray, and Abraham saw [him as] three and prayed to [him as] one." "Explain to me," said the giant, "how three things<sup>b</sup> could be one thing." "I will," said Roland, "both in things and<sup>c</sup> in human creatures, namely, how there are three things in the harp when it sounds, namely art, strings and hands, so there are three in God, namely the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, yet they are one God. And as there are three things in the nut, namely husk, shell and kernel,<sup>d</sup> yet there is only one nut there, even so are there three persons in God and yet there is only one God; and there are three things in the sun, light, glare and heat,<sup>e</sup> although there is only one sun. And there are three things in the wheel of a cart, yet that is one cart,<sup>f</sup> and there are three things in yourself, namely body and soul and members, and yet you are one person, even so is it said that there is a oneness and a threeness in God." Feracutus answered, "I understand now that God is one and three-fold, but I do not understand how the Father begot a Son as you say." Roland said, "Do you believe that it was God who made Adam"? "I do," said he. Said Roland, "just as Adam was created out of nothing, and yet he begat sons, even so is God the Father unbegotten by any one. And yet he begat a son, divinely, ineffably, before all time, from himself, as he desired." Said the giant, "I like," said he, "everything you say, yet how did he who is God make a Son? I am utterly ignorant<sup>g</sup> of that." Said Roland, "he who made heaven and earth out of nothing, and everything that is in them, it is he who begat a Son in the Virgin without human material, but from the consecrating breath of the Holy

<sup>a</sup> "In personis est proprietas, in essentia est unitas." *Proprietas* is here translated by *dilseacht* or *disleacht* (the same word). "Dilse a fherainn do thabhairt do," means to give one true and undisputed possession of land.

<sup>b</sup> qualiter tria unum sint.

<sup>c</sup> The last four words not in the Latin text.

<sup>d</sup> in amigdola, corium testa et nucleus.

<sup>e</sup> candor splendor calor.

<sup>f</sup> There is evidently something omitted here. The three things in the wheel, nave, spokes, and tyre (or fellies), are left out. The second "cart" should be "wheel." Castet's Latin has "medius (*Fr. modius*) brachia et circulus."

<sup>g</sup> penitus ignoro.



air<sup>1</sup> sin shaethraighim,” ar in fer mor, “cindus do gheinfedh<sup>2</sup> mac a mbroin oighi gan sil<sup>3</sup> duine mar adeiri.” Adubhairt Rolandus “Dia do chruthaigh Adam gan sil duine ele, do rinne se a mac fein do geinemhain on oigh gan sil duine. Ocus mar do geineadh o Dhia athair é gan duini airithi<sup>4</sup> aigi is mar sin do geineadh o n-a mathair he gan duini na athair aigi. Or is mar sin do ba deaghmhaiseach mac De.”<sup>5</sup> Adubhairt Ferreacutus “is mor is nar lim a radh gu ngeinfidhi o’n oigh gan duine.”<sup>6</sup> Adubhairt Rolandus “in té do beir in gas ponaire as in ngráinne ocus dobeir piasda as na grainnibh<sup>7</sup> ocus do ní na heisc ocus na beich [do] geinemhuin gan sil duine,<sup>8</sup> do rinde se in ogh do gheineamhain Dia ocus duini gan sil feardha<sup>9</sup> ocus gan truailleadh da corp, ocus do rinni an céd duine mar a dubhart gan sil<sup>10</sup> duine ele. Do b’urasa do cu ngeinfedh a mhac fein on oigh gan sil daena.” Adubhairt Ferreacutus “as maith as eidir gu ngeinfidhi o’n oigh, gidheadh mad do ba mac<sup>11</sup> De é nir b’ eidir leis bas d’faghail<sup>12</sup> [annsa croich mar adubhartais F. & E.] Or ni fhaghand Dia bas choighthi.”<sup>13</sup> “As maith adeiri” ar Rolandus “gur bh’ eidir a gheinemhain o’n oigh, ocus mar rucadh mar dhuine he do b’eidir leis bas d’faghail mar dhuine. Or gach nech gheinter mar dhuine do gheibh bas mar dhuini. Or ma ’s increitti<sup>14</sup> da gheinemhain as increitti da bas ocus da eiseirghi.” Adubhairt Ferreacutus “cinnus as inchreitti da eserghi”? Adubhairt Rolandus: “fuair se bas ocus do h-aithbeoadh he in treas la.”<sup>15</sup> Ot cualaidh Ferreacutus sin do rindi ingnad mor<sup>16</sup> dhe ocus adubhairt re Rolandus, “Cred uma labrai in méid<sup>17</sup> sin do briatraibh dimhaine rim, or ni h-eidir duine marbh do thabhairt chum betha arís.” Adubhairt Rolandus “Ni hé mac Dé amhain do eiseirigh o mharbhuibh acht an uili dhuine o thús in domhain gu crich na betha, atait siat cum na heiseirghi coitcinne<sup>18</sup> a bhfhiadhnuisi in breithemhan d’faghail a

1. aire E. Is trid .s. F. is aire sin machtnaigim H. 2. geinfidh E.  
 3. silne E. silni F. 4. duine na athair F., E. & H. 5. Dia E. & F.  
 6-6. Omitted in E. 7. annsna cnoaibh E. 8. gan silne ferrdha  
 F. & E. 9. gan silne daena E. 10. gan truailleadh silne E. 11. damadh  
 mac E. 12. dfaghail do shir. 13. co brach F. do sír H. 14. ma  
 creidi E. m. credi F. 15. “in nech fuair bas ocus do haithbeoghadh  
 in treas la” E. & H. is increiti a nech fuair bas do eirigh se a.t.l. F. 16. E.  
 adds agus machtnughadh romhor. 17. meide E. meidi F. 18. This word  
 from E. only.

Spirit." "It is this [point] I am labouring over,"<sup>a</sup> said the big man, "how he could beget a son in the womb of a Virgin without human seed, as you say." Said Roland, "God who created Adam without the seed of any other person begot his own Son from the Virgin without man's seed, and as he was begotten of God the Father without his having any human father,<sup>b</sup> even so was he begotten of his mother without any human father. For thus it befitted the Son of God."<sup>c</sup> Said Feracutus, "I think it a great shame<sup>d</sup> to say that there could be begotten [a son] from the Virgin without a person." Said Roland, "he who brings the bean-stalk<sup>e</sup> out of the grain, and brings worms out of the grains, and generates the fish and the bees without male seed—he brought it to pass<sup>f</sup> that the Virgin brought forth God and man without male seed and without defilement of her body, and he made the first man, as I have said, without the seed of anyone else; it was easy for him that he should beget his own son from the Virgin without human seed." Said Feracutus, "it is quite possible that he might be begotten of the Virgin, however if he was the son of God he could not have died on the cross as you have said, for God never dies." "You say well," said Roland, "that he might have been begotten of the Virgin, and as he was born as a man he might die as a man, for every person who is born as a man dies as a man, for, if his birth is credible, his death and resurrection are credible also." Said Feracutus, "how is his resurrection credible"? Said Roland, "He died and the third day he was brought to life again." When Feracutus heard that, he made great marvel of it, and said to Roland, "why speak you so many vain words to me, for it is not possible to bring a dead man to life again." Roland answered, "it is not the Son of God alone who rose again from the dead, but every person from the beginning of the world to the end of the world they must to the general

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<sup>a</sup> in hoc laboro.    <sup>b</sup> Thus E., F. and H. The Latin texts are not clear either, "sicut de Deo patre nascitur nascitur sine matre."    <sup>c</sup> *Lit.* "was the Son of God very handsome."    <sup>d</sup> "valde erubesco."    <sup>e</sup> qui fabae gurgulionem et arbori et glisci facit gignere vermem.    <sup>f</sup> *Lit.* "made."

tuarastail do reir a n-uile *no* a maitheasa.<sup>1</sup> Agus ar an adhbhar sin Dia fein do rindi *no*<sup>2</sup> doní in crann beg do chur a bhfhas ard, agus doní in grainne cruithneachta ar<sup>3</sup> lobhadh agus ar bhfhaghail báis a talumh d'aithbheodhadh aris agus do thabhairt toraidh,<sup>4</sup> do gheina in Dia cedna sin an uili dhuine a n-a collnaibh dilse fein, agus a n-a spirutaibh d'athbheodhadh o bhas co bethaidh don ló dheighineach." Agus adubhairt Rolandus "gabhadh chugat nadúir in leoghain, or mar do ní in leomhan a chuilein d'aithbheodhughadh le n-a anail a cind in treas la ca hingnad gur aithbeoagha Dia athair<sup>5</sup> a mac fein a cinn in treas la o mharbhuibh. Agus ní réd nua re tuicsin<sup>6</sup> duit co ndeachaidh mac De o bhás co bethaidh ór do aithbeoagha se moran do mharbhuibh roim a eseirghi. Or mar do mhúsghail Elias agus Eleseus<sup>7</sup> co h-urasa moran do mharbhaibh, do b' usa ina sin do Dia a mac fein do mhusgladh o mharbhuibh.<sup>8</sup> Adubhairt Ferreacutus "do chím gu maith gach ní adeiri, agus cinnus do chuaidh ar nimh mar adubhrais ní thuicim he."<sup>9</sup>

Adubhairt Rolandus "in nech thainic anuas do nimh do b' urusa dho dhul suas arís, agus in nech do eirigh o mharbhaibh uaidh fein, do b' urusa leiss dul ar nimh. Agus gabhadh cugat sompla<sup>10</sup> morain do neithibh, or do chí roth in mhuilinn in mhéid teit sé o uachtar co h-ichtar co teit sé in méid sin o ichtar co h-uachtar. Or da ndeachtha fein o uachtar co h-ichtar cnuic do budh eidir let aris dul isin sligidh chédna suas,<sup>11</sup> agus do eirigh in grian toir ane agus do chuaidh thiar fai,<sup>12</sup> maiseadh an t-inad as a tainig mac Dé do chuaidh se ann arís."

Adubhairt Ferreacutus "do ghen cathughadh rit ar an adhbhar<sup>13</sup> sin, agus ma 's fir an creidemh sin adeiri-si biat-sa claiti, agus ma 's<sup>14</sup> breag he beir-si claiti, agus biaidh tathair<sup>15</sup> mharthanach don chinedh claidhear, agus biaidh moladh agus anoir don claiteoir do shír."

1. ma ngnimmarthaibh masa maith *no* masa olc do rinne gach duine F. mar do tuilledar H. 2. Noch doni F. doní H. 3. doni, E. omitting the first "doni." 4. a thoraidh E. 5. Dia uile cumachtach E. 6. ní red bec re na faicsin E. asotuicsina duit F. ní bec re faicsin H. a fasad H. 7. Elieseus H. 8. E. adds agus do rinne Mac De moran do dhusacht roimh a bhas Ma seadh is mo na sin do beidir leis fein eiseirge o marbaibh E. F. & H. are almost identical with this. 9. ataim ainmfisech co mor ann F. E. & H. reads almost the same. 10. an eisimplair H. samla E. 11. tarais E. 12. F. omits last twelve words. E. reads "a folach" for "fai." 13. cunnradh F. & E. 14. Masa F. & E. 15. tathair F.

resurrection in the presence of the Judge, to get their reward according to their evil or their good. And for that reason God himself who made or makes<sup>a</sup> the little tree to grow up high, and who makes the grain of wheat after rotting and dying in the earth to come to life again and to bring forth fruit, this same God shall cause every person to be revived from death to life in their own proper bodies and spirits at the last day." And Roland said, "take the nature of the lion, for as the lion brings its whelps to life again with its breath at the end of the third day, what wonder that God the Father brought to life his own son at the end of the third day from the dead. And it is no new thing for you to understand that the Son of God went from death to life, for He brought to life many who were dead before his resurrection. For as Elijah and Elisha<sup>b</sup> easily awoke many dead, it was easier than that for God to waken his own son from the dead." Said Feracutus, "I well see everything you say, but how he went up to heaven, as you say, I do not understand that."

Roland answered, "He who came down from heaven, it was easy for him to go up again, and he who rose of himself from the dead, it were easy for him to go to heaven. And consider<sup>c</sup> the example of many [other] things, for you see the mill wheel, as it goes from overhead to underneath, so it goes from underneath to overhead. For if you were yourself to go from the top to the bottom of a hill, you would be able again to go up by the same way. And the sun rose in the east yesterday and went under in the west, and so the place out of which the Son of God came, there he went again."

Feracutus said, "I shall fight you on that matter and if that faith you talk of is true I shall be overthrown, and if it is false you shall be overthrown, and lasting disgrace shall be to the race which shall be overthrown, and praise and honour for ever to the victor."

<sup>a</sup> *crescere fecit Fr. facit C.*

<sup>b</sup> *Helias et Helisaeus.*

<sup>c</sup> *Lit.* "take to yourself," "tibi sume," both the Latin texts add to these instances "avis volans in aere quantum descendit tantum ascendit."



“Bidh amlaidh sin,” ar Rolandus.

Ocus do ullmhaigh<sup>1</sup> gach nech acu cum in comraic ocus do chathaigh Rolandus co feartha i n-aghaidh in *Phadanaigh*. Tuc Ferreacutus builli *claidhimh* cum *Rolanduis* ocus do fhill Rolandus da thaeibh clé, ocus do dhín é fein ar cur an bhata etorra ocus in *claidheamh*, ocus do gearradh bata *Rolanduis* don builli sin, ocus do loigh<sup>2</sup> in t-aitheach ar Rolandus. Ocus ar na aithne do Rolandus nar bh’ eidir leis dul uaidh ar aen chor, do ataigh<sup>3</sup> furtacht mheic Muire. Ocus mar do dheonaigh Dia dhó do thocaibh se in t-aitheach dhe began ocus do ghlac a *claidheamh* ocus do ghon sé in fear mor ’na imlinn ocus is mar sin do therna<sup>4</sup> uadha. Do éigh an fer mor co hard ocus do ghoir a dhia fein da fhurtacht .i. Macametus. Ar na clos sin do na *Padanchaibh* tancatar da innsaigidh ocus rucsat leo é cum na cathrach ocus do chuaidh Rolandus slan cum a mhuinntiri fein.<sup>5</sup>

Ar na *faicsin* sin do Sherlus do chuaidh cum na cathrach ocus do gab hi ocus do mharbh in fer mor innti ; ocus na *Cristaighi* do bhi a mbraighdinus isin tor ruc leis iat.

#### AN VI. SGEL DHEAG ANN SO.

Beacan aimsiri ’na dhiaigh sin do foillsigheadh do *Sherlus*<sup>6</sup> cu roibhi ri Sibilie ocus Altumaior ri Cordubia<sup>7</sup> isin cathraigh darab ainm Cordubani<sup>8</sup> Ebraim ac fuireach ris cum catha do thabhairt do, ocus do b’ iat sin na riga do theith roime a cath cathrach na Pampilone.<sup>9</sup> Ocus do ullmaigh<sup>10</sup> Serlus do dhul cum catha na n-aghaidh. Ocus ar ndul do Sherlus a bhfocus do Cornubani<sup>11</sup> do chuatar na riga remhraitte cona sluaghaib armtha éidighthe a coinne Serluis tri mhili on chathair. Ocus do bhatar<sup>12</sup> na *Seirrisdtnigh* a timcheall .xx. míle,<sup>13</sup> na *Cristaighi umorro* se míle. Ocus do rinne Serlus dronga da mhuinntir. An ced drong<sup>14</sup>

1. deisigh E.      2. dolaigh E.      3. daitcigh E. do bi f.m.M. air E.  
H. is elligible.      4. terno F. & E.      5. Lis. omits “fein.”      6. don  
impir grasamhail F & E., which omits “do foillsigheadh.”      7. cornubia  
E. & F. H. is illegible.      8. Cornubani F.      9. Babilone F.      10. dheisigh  
F. & E.      11. Cornubia F. & E.      12. do biad nuimir do badar E.  
13. .x. m. H., F. & E.      14. cuid F. & E.



"Let it be so,"<sup>a</sup> said Roland.

And each of them made ready for the battle, and Roland fought manfully against the Paynim. Feracutus gave a sword blow to Roland, and Roland bent to the left and protected himself by putting the staff between himself<sup>b</sup> and the sword. And Roland's staff was cut in two by that blow, and the giant pressed in on Roland. And on Roland's recognizing that he could not escape from him in any way, he prayed for the succour of the Son of Mary. And as God willed it for him he shook<sup>c</sup> the giant a little from him, and seized his sword and wounded the big man in the navel, and it was thus he escaped from him. The big man cried aloud and called on his own God, namely Mahomet, to help him. When the Paynims heard that, they came to him and carried him off with them to the city, and Roland went safe to his people.

When Charles saw that, he went to the city and took it, and slew the big man in it, and the Christians who were in captivity in the tower he carried off with him.

## SIXTEENTH CHAPTER.

A SHORT time after that it was shown to Charles that the King of Sibilie<sup>d</sup> and Altumaior,<sup>e</sup> King of Corduba, were in the city whose name is Cordubani Ebraim,<sup>f</sup> waiting for him, to give him battle. These were the kings who had fled before out of the battle of the city of Pampilone.<sup>g</sup> And Charles made ready to do battle with them. And as Charles came near to Cornubani<sup>h</sup> the aforesaid kings with their hosts in arms and armour came against Charles three miles out from the city. And the Saracens were about twenty thousand,<sup>i</sup> the Christians however were [only] six thousand. And Charles made separate bands of

<sup>a</sup> fiat.      <sup>b</sup> *Lit.* "between them."      <sup>c</sup> *Lit.* "raised" "erexit se et revolvit eum subter se."  
<sup>d</sup> *i.e.* Seville.      <sup>e</sup> *i.e.* Almanzor.      <sup>f</sup> apud Cordubam  
 Ebrahim C.      Ebraim *Fr. i.e.* Cordova.      <sup>g</sup> *i.e.* Pampeluna.      <sup>h</sup> *Lat.*  
 Cordubani.      <sup>i</sup> The Latin texts have ten thousand, so have E. & F.

dhibh do dainibh laidiri derbhtha ; in dara *drong*, coisighi ; in treas *drong*, ridiri.

Do ronsat na *Seirrisdínigh* mar an cédna tri dronga dha *muinntir*. Ocus do urail Serlus in ced drong da *mhuinntir* fein do dul anaghaidh na ced droingi dona *Padanchaibh*. Tangatar na *Seirrisdínigh* anaghaidh na *Cristaighi* ocus gach aen dibh maille re haigthibh<sup>1</sup> adhuathmura tacair, ocus siat adharcach fesocach cosmhail ris na *diablaibh* [a n-a cruth ocus i n-a ndeilbh ocus a n-a suaithéantas tachair, ocus b'adhbhur bidga ocus *gráaine* do *feraibh* in domain *féchain* ocus *silleadh* ar a suaicintusaibh dofaisneisi in inbaigh sin E.] ocus sais a *cosmhailius* tabur 'na lamhaibh aga mbualadh<sup>2</sup> co laidir. Ar chuinsin ghothann ocus fhoghor [ocus mongair E.] na n-*eidighi* [ndraigheachta E.] sin d'*echaibh* na *Cristaighi* ocus ar bhfaicsin na *cosmhaile*<sup>3</sup> adhuathmhar sin, do ghabh eglá [ocus uaman E.] mór iat, ocus do imoideadar tar a n-ais mar do bheidis [ar dasacht ocus E.] ar buili, ocus nir bh'eidir leis na ridiribh a *connmhail* [na a fastogh E.] ar aen chor. Ocus mar do conncadur in da droing ele do na *Cristaighibh* an *céd* drong ag teitheadh [cucu E.] do theithedar fein [co himlan E.] leo. Ar n-a faicsin sin do Sherlus do *ghab* ingantus mór he no gur aithin in t-adbar fa ar theithset, ocus do *ghab* gairdeachas ro mhor na *Padanacha* de sin, ocus do leanadur na *Cristaighi* gu cruaidh no gu rangatur laimh re sliabh mór. Ocus is bec nach roibhi<sup>4</sup> in sliabh sin da mhili on cathair remraidti. Ocus do chothaighedar<sup>5</sup> na *Cristaighi* ann sin cum catha do thabhairt dona *Padanachaibh*. Ocus ar n-a fhaicsin sin dona *Padanachaibh* do chuadar becan tar a n-ais ocus do shuighedar na *Cristaighi* a foslongport ann sin, ocus do batar ann in agaidh sin.<sup>6</sup> Isin madain ar na marach ar ndenumh chomhairli do Sherlus do *fhurail* ar a lucht cathaighthi cind a n-ech d' folach le h-edach indus nach faicdis<sup>7</sup> na clesa adhuathmhura do ronsat na *Padhanaigh* in la roimhe sin, ocus do urail cluasa a n-ech dh' iadhadh innus nach cluindis<sup>8</sup> foghair

1. haitibh coimecha a. E.

2. ag a combualadh co hallmurdha E.

3. na naidhce nadhuathmara naimdeamhla E. 4. nach rabadar insliabh sin da míle on cathair roime sin E., which seems nonsense, but H. which is here nearly illegible seems to read the same.

5. cothaidar F. illegible in H.

6. co tainic la ar na marach E.

7. faicfidis E. faicidais F.

8. cluinfidhdís E.

his people. The first band was of strong and proven men, the second band of foot soldiers, the third band was of knights.<sup>a</sup>

The Saracens in like manner made three separate bands of their people. And Charles ordered the first band of his people to go against the first band of the Pagans. The Saracens came on against the Christians, each of them with dreadful contrived faces [*i.e.* masks], horned and bearded like devils in their shape and appearance, and their emblems of battle, and it were a cause of startling and horror to the men of the world to regard or look at their indescribable emblems at that time, with instruments like tabors in their hands<sup>b</sup> which they were beating vigorously. So soon as the horses of the Christians heard the voices and sounds and noises of those trappings of wizardry, and beheld those awful appearances, great terror and horror seized them, and they turned back as though they were distraught or mad, and the knights could not keep them or hold them in at all. And when the other two bands of the Christians saw the first band fleeing towards them, they themselves, the whole of them, fled with them. When Charles saw that, great astonishment seized him, until he understood the reason why they fled. And great joy seized the Pagans at this, and they followed the Christians hard, until they came<sup>c</sup> close to a great mountain, and that mountain was almost two miles from the aforementioned city. And the Christians maintained their ground(?) to give the Pagans battle.<sup>d</sup> And when the Pagans saw that, they withdrew a little, and the Christians encamped there, and they were there that night. And on the morning of the next day Charles taking counsel ordered his fighting men to cover the heads of their horses with cloths, so that they might not see the awful tricks<sup>e</sup> which the Pagans had performed the day before. And he gave orders to stop the ears of the horses so that they might not hear the dreadful noises of their tabors or their [other] marvellous

<sup>a</sup>Militum.      <sup>b</sup>tenentesque singuli singula timpana.      <sup>c</sup>"Pervenimus."  
Turpin is supposed to be writing.      <sup>d</sup>ibi vero omnes coadunati ex  
nobismetipsis asilum fecimus illos expectantes ad bellum. Both texts.  
<sup>e</sup>larvas

[*adhuathmara* E.] a tapur na a n-ealadhan n-ingantach. Ocus ar n-iadhadh shul ocus cluas a n-ech do na *Cristaighibh* do cuadar gu dothchusach cum an chatha, ocus nír chuiredar<sup>1</sup> foghair nait cealga na ndaine neammbúid an-umal orra. Ocus do batar o mhaduin co medhon lai mar sin ag cathughadh. Ocus is mor do marbadh do na *Padanchaibh*. Gidheadh ní dearnad didhbail doibh uile.<sup>2</sup> Ocus do thinoiledar [na *Seirrisdinigh* E.] cum aein inaid ocus do bhi cairt ar a lar ocus ocht ndaimh ag a tarraing, ocus is uirri do bidh a mbratach<sup>3</sup> ocus as e fa bes ag na *Padanchaibh* in comhfhad do bheith a mbratach 'na sesamh gan nech acu do theitheadh as in cath. Mar do aithin Serlus sin, ar bhfhaghail neirt o Dia do chuaid sé ar lar na *Padanach* ocus do gherr iat da dheis ocus da clí<sup>4</sup> no go rainic in cairt ar a raibhi a suaichentas, ocus tuc builli claidhimh don pheirsi<sup>5</sup> do bi ag imchur na brataighi, ocus do gherr he,<sup>6</sup> ocus do innto<sup>7</sup> in cairt. Ocus do mhoidh do na *Padanchaibh* ar na fhaicsin sin, ocus do theithset is gach aird. Ocus do ronad gairthi<sup>8</sup> mora dasachtacha ag an da shluagh, ocus do marbadh ocht míle do na *Seirrisdineachaibh* ann sin. Do marbadh ann ri Sibilie, ocus do chuaidh Altumaior ri Cordubiae<sup>9</sup> maille da mhíle fer annsa cathraigh. Ocus ar na mharach do thinnluic in fer claiti sin in cathair do Sherlus ar in cunnrad so .i. baisdedh do gabhail chuigi ocus in cathair do beith aigi o Sherlus, ocus oglachas umul do thabhairt do, o sin suas.

Ar ndenamh na ngnimmartha<sup>10</sup> so do Sherlus do roinn se tigearnas ocus prouinnsedha na Sbainne ar na cinedhachuibh da mhuinntir le'r b'aíl anmain innti, ocus tigearnas Nauorrorum ocus Baclorum do lucht na Normonde, ocus tigearnas na caisleán do na Frang-cachaibh ocus tigearnas Uaghete<sup>11</sup> ocus Secangusde<sup>12</sup> do na Grecachaibh ocus do lucht na h-Apulia, ocus tigearnas na hArguine do lucht na Picairdi ocus talamh Auladulue<sup>13</sup> do na hAilmainechaibh ocus tigearnus na Portigale<sup>14</sup> do Lochlannchaibh ocus do lucht

1. cuimnighdar E. cumg F., the original was probably "na cumgat" from "conicim" I am able. H. has "nir fechadar do celgaib," etc. 2. nír dib iad uile H. 3. do himarcaigheadh a bratacha E. 4. dobhi ag a marbadh gacha taebha de E.. 5. donirsigh F. donfersait E. don crand H. 6. hi E. 7. impo E. & F. 8. eighmhe E. & F. do gairedar an da sluagh. H. which ends here. 9. Cornubia E. 10. gnim E. 11. nagedhe E. 12. Cesar augusta E. 13. auladulup E. 14. Portingali E



arts. And as soon as<sup>a</sup> the eyes and ears of their horses were closed by the Christians they went boldly into battle, and neither the sounds nor deceptions of the fierce disobedient people affected them. And they<sup>b</sup> were fighting thus from the morning to the middle of the day. And great numbers of the Pagans were slain. However they were not all hurt. And the Saracens gathered into one place, and there was a cart<sup>c</sup> in their midst and eight oxen drawing it, and it was [set up] on it their standard<sup>d</sup> was wont to be. And this was the custom of the Pagans,—so long as their standard should remain standing not a man of them would flee from the battle. When Charles recognized this, he, receiving strength from God, went into the middle of the Pagans and cut them down right and left until he reached the cart whereon their ensign was, and he gave a stroke of his sword to the pole<sup>e</sup> which was carrying the standard and cut it down, and turned the cart.<sup>f</sup> And on seeing that the Pagans broke and fled in every direction. And great and desperate cries were raised by the two hosts, and eight thousand of the Saracens were slain there. The King of Sibilie<sup>g</sup> was slain there and Altumaior, King of Cordubiae, went [back] into the city with two thousand men. And the next day that defeated man surrendered the city to Charles, on this condition, that he should receive baptism and hold the city from Charles and do him obedient service from that out.

When Charles had accomplished these deeds he divided the lordship and provinces of Spain among those tribes of his own people who desired to remain in it, and [settled] the lordship of the Navarri and Bacli<sup>h</sup> on the people of Normandy,<sup>i</sup> and the lordship of the Castles<sup>j</sup> on the Franks, and the lordship of Vaghete<sup>k</sup> and Selangusde<sup>l</sup> on the Greeks and on the people of Apulia, and the lordship of Arguine on the people of Picardy,<sup>m</sup> and the land of Auladulue on the Allemanni,<sup>n</sup> and the lordship of Portugal on the Lochlannachs

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<sup>a</sup> ars mirabilis! illeco et, etc.    <sup>b</sup> nostri.    <sup>c</sup> plaustrum.    <sup>d</sup> vexillum rubeum eorum.    <sup>e</sup> tunc propria spatha perticam quae vexillum sustentabat absceidit.    <sup>f</sup> Last four words not in Latin.    <sup>g</sup> i.e. Seville.    <sup>h</sup> Terram Basclorum.    <sup>i</sup> Britannis.    <sup>j</sup> Castellanorum.    <sup>k</sup> Nagerae.    <sup>l</sup> Caesar-augustae=Saragossa.    <sup>m</sup> Terram Aragonis Pictavis. C. Arraginis Picardis Fr.    <sup>n</sup> Terram Alandaluf Teutonicis.



Flondruis, ocus tigearnus na Gailinnsi do na *Frangcachaibh*, or do b' aibinn leo he.<sup>1</sup> Ocus ní roibhi nech isin *Sbáin* o sin suas do chaitheochadh anaghaidh Serluis.

#### AN SECHTMADH SGEL DHEG ANN SO.

Ocus na diaigh sin ar bhfhacbail<sup>2</sup> urmoir a sluaigh do Sherlus annsa Sbainn do chuaidh se d'físrachadh criche *San Sem*. Ocus in lucht le'r bh'aíl aitiughadh isin crích sin, do urail a mbaisdedh. Ocus gach nech fuair ar n-impodh cum na hirsí *Padanaighi* do urail a cloidhmheadh [ocus a ndichennadh, E.] Ocus na dhiaigh sin do orduigh<sup>3</sup> ar fud na cathrach esbaic ocus sacairt. Ocus do orduigh se esbuig ocus rígha ocus prinnsadha do rinne se ar gradh *San Sem* isin *Sbain* ocus isin *Gailinnsi* da mbeith<sup>4</sup> ann in trath sin, ocus da mbeith<sup>5</sup> umhal d'esboc *San Sem* o sin suas. Ocus ní orduigh se esboc do beith a Siriam,<sup>6</sup> or ní breathnuigh se gur cathair hi; acht do orduigh a beith na bailí fó chathair *Compostilanensis*.<sup>7</sup> Ocus do badhas-sa fein .i. esboc *Turpinus airdesboc Rementis*<sup>8</sup> a comairle na neithe so, ocus do bennuighes tempall ocus altoir *San Sem* ar furaileamh *Sherluis*, ocus nai<sup>9</sup> n-esbuic am fhochair, ocus do b'i aimsir sin a callain *Julius*.<sup>10</sup> Ocus do urail *Serlus* in *Sbáin* co huilidhi ocus in *Ghailinnsi* do beith umhal<sup>11</sup> don tempall so. Ocus tuc mar tabhartus don eclais cédna tighearna gacha tighi isin *Sbain* ocus isin *Gailinnsi* do thabhairt .iiii. tallann oir<sup>12</sup> gacha bliadhna mar chís di, ocus a bheith saer o gach uili dhaeirí [tre furailim an ri .i. *Serlus F. & E.*] Ocus do ordaigh teghdhuis apstolicda<sup>13</sup> do ghairm dhi o sin amach, ar son cuirp *San Sem* do bheith a cumsanad<sup>14</sup> innti. Ocus do urail co mad innti do bheidis comhairledha esbac na *Sbáini* co h-uilidhi ar connmhail, ocus cu mad innti do béarthai slata<sup>15</sup> esbac ocus coroine rígh amach,

1. The last sixty-five words are omitted in F. 2. fadhail E. 3. E. adds ocus do credhail (?) se. 4. noch do bhi E. do bi F. 5. do beith E. & F. 6. oir ní ordaigh se a beith in a baile easpuic asiriam oir ní dhearna se gur cathair i. E. & F. 7. *Campostalinensis* E. 8. *remois* E. Both E. & F. add "na rígh." F. reads "Remtis," with a stroke over the m. 9. nai neaglasa maille naonbur easpuic E. 10. luil E. 11. cohumall E. & F. E. adds after *Serlus* "impir na crodhachta ocus an gaisgidh." 12. oir from E. 13. *Tegais abstolica* F. 14. a folach F. 15. b-tai F.

and the people of Flanders,<sup>a</sup> and the lordship of Galicia on the Franks, for they thought it delightful.<sup>b</sup> And there was no one in Spain from that out who would fight against Charles.

## SEVENTEENTH CHAPTER.

AND after that Charles—finding [?] the bulk of his army in Spain—went to visit the country of Saint James and the people who desired to reside in that country he ordered that they should be baptized. And every person whom he found [turning] to the Pagan faith he ordered him to be put to the sword and beheaded. And after that he ordained throughout the cities<sup>c</sup> bishops and priests. And he ordained bishops and kings and princes whom he created for the love of Saint James in Spain and in Galicia, to be there then,<sup>d</sup> and to be submissive to the bishop of Saint James from that forward.<sup>e</sup> And he did not ordain any bishop to be in Siriam<sup>f</sup> for he did not consider that that was a city,<sup>g</sup> but he ordered it to be a place subject to the city of Compostilanensis (Compostella).<sup>h</sup> And I myself, namely Bishop Turpin, Archbishop of Rheims, was one of the Councillors<sup>i</sup> concerning these things, and I blessed the temple and altar of St. James at the command of Charles, with nine<sup>j</sup> bishops along with me; and that time was the Kalends of July. And Charles ordered the whole of Spain and Galicia to be obedient to this church. And he gave as a gift to that same church that the lord of every house in Spain and in Galicia should give four talents of gold every year as tribute to it, and that it should be free from every sort of bondage by order of the king, *i.e.* of Charles. And he ordained that it should be called a seat apostolic from that out, on account of St. James' body being at rest in it. And he ordained that it should be in it that the councils of the bishops of all Spain should be held, and that it should be in it that bishops croziers<sup>k</sup> and kings crowns should be given out at the hands of the bishop of

<sup>a</sup> *Dacis et Flandris.*

<sup>b</sup> "inhabitare noluerunt," which gives a quite different meaning.

<sup>c</sup> *na cathrach*—no doubt here Gen Plur "civitates."

<sup>d</sup> *praesentes et futuri.*

<sup>e</sup> I am not sure that I have translated rightly.

<sup>f</sup> *apud Yriam*, also *Iriam*, *Lat.*

<sup>g</sup> *pro urbe non reputavit.*

<sup>h</sup> *sedi Compostellensi* *Fr.* *Compostillanensi* *C.*

<sup>i</sup> *Lit.* "in the Council of these things."

<sup>j</sup> *Fr.* reads *quadraginta.* *C.* reads *novem.*

<sup>k</sup> *Lit.* "rods" or

"wands," "virgae episcopales."

do lamhuibh esbaic na cathrach fein, a n-anoir *San Sem*. Ocus da mbeith<sup>1</sup> in creidium *no* aithinta Dé co h-esbadhach isna *críochaibh*<sup>2</sup> eli tre *peacadh* na *popal* cu mad do comairli an esbaic cedna do cuirfidhi ar iul iat. Ocus is oircheas do h-orduighed in creidium do cothughadh ocus d'anorughadh isin eclais anoraigh sin. Or mar do h-orduighedh creidium *Crist* ocus tegduis apstolicda le hEoin Suibhiscéal brathair *San Sem* isin rann oirrthearach don domhan isin cathair re n-abar Efeisumh, is mar sin do b'oirches in creidium cetna ocus teagduis apstolicda ele dh'ordughadh le *San Sem* isin rann iarthurach don domhan .i. isin Gailinnsi. Ocus is iat so na tegduise do h-ordaighedh isin rann toir .i. Efessus ata do leith deis fhlaithiusa talmaidhe<sup>3</sup> De, ocus Compostella ata dha leith cli.<sup>4</sup> Or is iat sin tarla cum na deisi brathar so .i. da mhac Sebedeus ar roinn na prouindse<sup>5</sup> (?) or do iaradar ar an Tighearna nech dhibh do shuidhiughadh da leith deis in a fhlaith-eamnus ocus nech ele da leith cli. Ocus is oirchis do urail an creidium *Cristaighi*<sup>6</sup> tri tegduisi oiregda d'anorugadh tar chath-rachaibh in domhain co huilidhi .i. in Rom ocus in Gailinnsi ocus Efessus. Or mar do thagh in Tighearna na tri h-esbuil dar foillsigh se a deirridius níos mo ina dona h-esbalaibh ele amhail is follus isna soiscelaibh, is mar sin do ordaigh na tri tegduise so d'anorughadh ar a son tar tegduisibh in domhain cu coitcenn, ocus is oirches an Rom do beith na primltegdais aca, or as i do coisric *Pedur* prinnsa<sup>7</sup> na n-esbal, le n-a sheanmoir ocus le n-a fhuil<sup>8</sup> ocus le n-a adhnacul fein.

Compostella iomorro, is coir a beith na tegdais tanaidsi, ar son gurub e *San Sem* (do bo mho do reir dhiniti<sup>9</sup> deis *Petair* edir na h-esbulaibh) do daingnigh hi maille na shenmoir ocus do coisric maille na adhnacal coisearctha hi, ocus ní anann aga maisiughudh [ocus ag méadughadh a gloire E.] do mirbhuilibh [dofhaisneisi E.]

Efesus iomorro, oirches a beith an a treas tegduis,<sup>10</sup> ar son gurub innti do rindi Eoin suibhiscéal a soiscél fein [ar dúis E.] .i.

1. da tegmad co mbeith F. 2. tiorthaibh E. ch—F. 3. sic. Lis. & E. talmhan F. 4. do leith cli in flaitthemhnus cedna E. 5. proinnsi F. & E. 6. catoilica F. 7. E. adds "ocus leg loghmar." 8. E., which turns this passage differently, adds "morluaigh" here. 9. Thus F. dinite E. Lis. seems to read "diuiti." 10. F. makes this word "tedais" passim. E. has "tegais" but omits "treas."

the city itself, and in honour of Saint James. And if the faith or the Commandments of God should be failing in other countries<sup>a</sup> through the sin of the people, that it should be by the counsel of that same bishop they should be guided. And fittingly was it ordained to support and honour the faith in this honoured church. For as the faith of Christ and an apostolic seat were ordained by John the Evangelist, brother of Saint James, in the eastern division of the world, in the city which is called Ephesus, even so was it fitting that St. James should ordain the same faith and another apostolic seat in the western division of the world, namely in Galicia. And the following are the [apostolic] seats that were ordained in the eastern division, namely Ephesus, which is to the right side of the earthly kingdom of God,<sup>b</sup> and Compostella which is to its left side. For those are what came to these two brothers, namely the two sons of Zebedee on the division of the provinces,<sup>c</sup> for they asked the Lord to seat one of them at his right side in his kingdom and another of them at his left side. And fittingly did the Christian faith ordain that three distinguished seats should be honoured beyond the cities of the entire world, namely Rome and Galicia and Ephesus. For as the Lord chose the three apostles to whom he, more than to the other apostles, manifested his secrets, as is obvious in the gospels, even so did he ordain that these three seats should be honoured for their sake beyond the seats of the world at large. And it is fitting that Rome should be the first of these seats, for it was it that Peter, prince of the apostles, consecrated by his preaching and his blood and his own burial.

Compostella, however, it is fitting that it should be the second seat, because it was Saint James—who after Peter was greatest amongst the apostles according to dignity,<sup>d</sup>—who confirmed it by his preaching and consecrated it by his consecrated burial, and he never ceases to adorn it and increase its glory by inexpressible miracles.

Ephesus, however, it is fitting for it to be the third seat, for it was there that John the Evangelist preached his own gospel

<sup>a</sup> *Lit.* "the other countries."      <sup>b</sup> in regno terreno Christi.      <sup>c</sup> in divisione  
provinciarum.      <sup>d</sup> qui dignitate . . . . major post beatum Petrum  
exitit.



"In Principio erat uerbum," ocus gur coisric hi da *forcetul* ocus da mirbhui**l***ibh* ocus da adhnacul fein ocus rl.<sup>1</sup>

### AN T-OCHTMADH SGEL DEG ANN SO.

Tuarascbhail deilbhi Serluis ocus a chuinghill<sup>2</sup> ann so. As amlaidh *iomorro* do bhi in t-impir *airmeach*<sup>3</sup> anorach sin : folt donn air ocus gnuis *derg*, ocus corp nua neamharsaigh aigi,<sup>4</sup> ocus do ba greannmhar do réir<sup>5</sup> fhechsana he, ocus do bhatar ocht troighthi in fhir do b'fhaidi troigh do lucht a aimsiri<sup>6</sup> ar airdi ann, ocus do ba aidhbhseach a leithe<sup>7</sup> fo n-a chael-druim, ocus meit inchubhaidh na medhon : rightheach ocus luirgne remra aigi, ocus ailt ro laidiri, ocus se eolach a cathaibh na ridiri : ro greannmhar : feadh troighe 'na edan : suile leomhanda drith-lineacha aigi, mar in cloich re n-abar carabunculus. Letheat baisi<sup>8</sup> in gach mhala dho, ocus in té ar a bhfhechadh maille feirg do crithneadh a cedoir [d'eagla an ti sin E.] Ocht reisi<sup>9</sup> isin cris do bidh thairis a n-ecmuís a mbidh uadha amach dhe. As bec do chaitheadh dh'aran, ocus do chaitheadh cethraime chaerach no da chirc no gegh no slinnen muici no geissanan<sup>10</sup> no mil muighe imlán, ocus do ibhedh becan fina co suilbher ar cur uisci trid. Do bhi in meit sin do neart<sup>11</sup> ann gu ngearradh d'aen-bhuilli claidhimh ridiri armtha [eidighthe E.] na shuidhi ar a ech o mhullach a chinn co a ichtar mailleis in n-ech fein. Do shinedh [co hurasa F.] le na lamhuibh cethra cru eich a n-aeinfhecht. [Neart ele fos do bhi ann E.] an tan do theidheadh ridiri armtha eidighthe na shesamh ar a dernainn do thocbhad cu h-athlunh<sup>12</sup> ar a aen-laimh he. Fa daenachtach 'na brondtuibh he, ocus fa díreach 'na breitheamnas, ocus fa sochraidh [milis-briathrach E.] [a] n-urlabhra. Do chonnmad cuirt co sundradach a ceathur feiltibh uaisli isin bliadhain isin

1. F. & E. omit "ocus rl."

2. do tuarascgbail ocus do deilbh ocus do

cruth ocus do cuingill S. Moir. E.

3. in ri trocairech sin E.

4. Thus E. neamairsigh F. neamhasaidh Lis. which omits "aigi." 5. Lis reads dor.

6. F. omits last five words.

7. leithead F. lethad E.

8. leathbois E.

9. Reisi here translates the Latin "palmae."

10. gesachtach E. geiseacht F.

11. laidireacht F. & E.

12. co haibeil E. hurasa F



that is "in principio erat verbum," and consecrated it by his doctrine and his miracles and his own burial, etc.

## EIGHTEENTH CHAPTER.

AN account now of the appearance of Charles and of his condition. This moreover is how that distinguished honoured emperor was : brown hair on him and a ruddy countenance and a body fair and youthful,<sup>a</sup> and he was pleasant to look at.<sup>b</sup> And there went eight feet such as a man of the longest feet of all of his time might have, to his height, and vast was his girth<sup>c</sup> beneath his waist, and his middle was of a proportionate size. He had stout arms and shins and very powerful joints and he was expert in the battles of knights ; he was very mirthful ; his face was a foot long, he had lionlike sparkling eyes, like the stone that is called Carbuncle. Each of his eyebrows was a palm long,<sup>d</sup> and whoever he might look on in anger that person used at once to tremble with fear. Eight spans were in the belt that used to go round him, not to count what was over after fastening it.<sup>e</sup> He used to eat little bread, but he used to eat a quarter of a sheep or a couple of hens, or a goose or a shoulder<sup>f</sup> of pig or a peacock<sup>g</sup> or a whole hare,<sup>h</sup> and he used to drink a little wine jovially<sup>i</sup> mixing water with it. He was of so much strength that he used with a sword stroke to cut through from the top of the head downward<sup>j</sup> an armed knight seated on his horse together with the horse itself. He used to easily straighten out with his hands<sup>k</sup> four horse shoes at once. Another feat-of-strength of his was when a knight in arms and armour used to come and stand on his palm he used to raise him readily on his one hand. He was liberal in his gifts and upright in his judgment, and he was bright and sweet voiced in speech.<sup>l</sup> He used to hold court in Spain, especially at the four renowned festivals of the year in his

<sup>a</sup> corpore decorus et venustus.    <sup>b</sup> visu efferus.    <sup>c</sup> amplissimus renibus, ventre congruus.    <sup>d</sup> supercilia oculorum dimidiam palmam habebant. <sup>e</sup> praeter illud quod dependebat.    <sup>f</sup> spatulam.    <sup>g</sup> pavonem.    <sup>h</sup> " aut gruem" is omitted.    <sup>i</sup> sobrie.    <sup>j</sup> *Lit.* "to his lower part," " usque ad bases."    <sup>k</sup> facile extendebat.    <sup>l</sup> locutionibus loculentus.

Spain [re na linn E.] do iom[ar]chadh<sup>1</sup> coroin righ agus slat righ in tan sin .i. la Notlac agus la Casc agus la Cuincedisi<sup>2</sup> agus la San Sem. Agus do h-imchairthe<sup>3</sup> claidheamh nocht na fhiadhnuise do shír a n-inad breitheamhnais ar modh [agus mar riaghail agus mar smacht E.] impiri. Do hordaigte do sir gach n-oghthi da choimet se .xx.it Cristaidhi<sup>4</sup> laidir a timcheall a leaptha, .i. da .xx.it dibh aga fhaire in céd shearl do'n oighthi, agus is mar so do bitis .i. *deichnebharr* dibh aga chinn<sup>5</sup> agus *deichnebharr* ag a chosaibh,<sup>6</sup> *deichnebharr* da dheis agus *deichnebharr* da chle, agus claidheamh nocht a laimh dheis agus lochrann ar lasad a laimh cli gach fir dibh. Do bhítis da .xx. eile<sup>7</sup> treas ele isin dara seal don oighthi aga aire ar in modh cedna, agus an da .xx.it ele isin treas seal mar an cedna, agus cach na codlad ar *cena*. Agus ge mad mhian do neoch ní bhudh mhó da mhoirghnínhaibh d'eistecht do badh *muirireach* dhuin-ne re a fhaisneis he, .i. mar do ghabh deisi ridiri o Galfridus Admiraldus mac Toletus<sup>8</sup> na macamh a Palas Toletuis, agus se ar innarba,<sup>9</sup> agus mar do mharbh sé a comrac ar *gradh* Galfriduis Barmatus moirdhimseach<sup>10</sup> rí na Seirrisdíneach námha Ghalfriduis, agus mar do cosain moran do thirthaibh agus do chathreachaibh agus mar do chuir fo ireis creidmhe na trinoite iat, agus mar do ordaigh moran d'abhdhaineachtaibh<sup>11</sup> agus d'ecalsuibh<sup>12</sup> ar fud in domain, agus mar do chumduigh cuirp agus taisi mhorain do naemuibh [agus do mairtireachaibh E.] d'or agus d'aircet, agus mar do chuaid d'fhis adlaicthi an tighearna [.i. Isa Crist E.] agus mar tuc crann na croiche cesta leis,—ní tualuing mhisi a scribhadh ann so. Or do badh thúsca esbaidh na laimhe agus an peinn ina esbaidh a gníma-san.<sup>13</sup> Gidheadh is coir dhuinn a innisin co cumair mar do innto as in Spainn isin *Frainge* tar eis na Gailinnsi do shoerad [do E.]

1. Thus E. imarch—*Lis.* umurcadh F. 2. cincísi E. cingisi F. 3. him-archaidhe E. 4. ridiri F. Ridiri *Ciostaighi* in a *ridiribh* laidre inntaebha 5. um a cheann E. 6. gacha taeha F. 7. Thus F. & E. *Lis.* curiously reads "do bhitis mnà." 8. .i. Adhmiraldus mac doteletus E. 9. F. omits last twelve words. 10. morgnimach E. 11. do benncaib F. 12. d'asbucuibh agus do minisdreachaibh E. 13. gnimartha E. & F.

time. He used to bear a king's crown and sceptre<sup>a</sup> at those times, namely on Christmas Day and Easter Day and Pentecost and St. James's Day. And a naked sword used to be constantly borne in his presence in place[s] of delivering judgment<sup>b</sup> after the manner, rule and sway of an emperor. There used to be appointed every night for his safe-keeping six score of strong Christians<sup>c</sup> round about his couch, and two score of them used to keep watch during the first part of the night, and this is how they used to be, namely ten at his head and ten at his feet and ten at his right hand and ten at his left hand, and a naked sword in the right hand and a lighted lamp in the left hand of every man of them. There used to be two score more<sup>d</sup> another while, in the second time of the night watching him in like manner, and the other two score on the third watch of the night in like manner, when every one else was asleep.

And though one might like to listen to more of his great deeds it would be burdensome for us to show them forth, as for example<sup>e</sup> how he took knightly equipment from Galfridus Admiraldus, son of Toletus,<sup>f</sup> when a youth at the palace of Toletus,<sup>g</sup> at a time when he was in banishment, and how he slew in fight for love of Galfridus the proud<sup>h</sup> Barnatus,<sup>i</sup> king of the Saracens, an enemy of Galfridus, and how he protected<sup>j</sup> many countries and cities, and how he placed them under the faith of a belief in the Trinity, and how he ordained many abbacies and churches throughout the world, and how he covered the bodies and relics of many saints and martyrs with gold and silver, and how he went to visit the burial place of the Lord, *i.e.* Jesus Christ, and how he brought with him the tree of the Cross of Crucifixion,—I am not able to write [them all] here. For the hand and the pen would be exhausted sooner than his deeds. However we ought to narrate briefly how he turned [again] out of Spain into France after setting free Galicia.

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<sup>a</sup> *Lit.* "a king's rod."    *Coronam regiam et sceptrum gestabat.*    <sup>b</sup> *ante ejus tribunal.*    <sup>c</sup> *orthodoxi.*    <sup>d</sup> *Lis.* reads "there used to be women," the other MSS. read as does the Latin, which is *alii quadraginta.*  
<sup>e</sup> *Lit.* "namely."    <sup>f</sup> *Galafruus Admirandus C.*    *Admiraldus Coleti Fr.*  
<sup>g</sup> *palatio Coleti Fr.*    *Toletae C.*    <sup>h</sup> *superbum.*    <sup>i</sup> *Latin* *Braimantus.*  
<sup>j</sup> *acquisivit.*

## AN NAEMADH SGEL DHEG ANN SO.

A haithle na Sbaine co h-uilidhi do ghabhail ocus do chur fo creidiumh a n-anoir Dhe ocus a apstail .i. San Sem do'n *impir* airmeach sin .i. do Sherlus Mor, ag *impodh* on Spain dó, do an<sup>1</sup> oighthe a Pampilonia le na shluaghaibh. Tarla in tan sin da righ do Sheirrisdineachaibh na comnuidhi san inad re n-abar Cesar Augusta .i. Marsirius ocus Belegandus<sup>2</sup> a brathair ar n-a cur o Admirallus<sup>3</sup> ri na Baibiloine don Sbáin ocus do b'umal [*fomaigthech* E.] do Sherlus iat in gach aen chas, ocus do nidis a sherbhis [ocus a reir E.] co haentadach ; gidhead is maille [mailis ocus re ceilg ocus re E.] *gradh* fallsa do nidaís. Ocus do chuir Serlus nech da mhuinntir chuca dar ainm Ganalonus da aithne dhibh baistedh do ghabháil ocus a chís do chur chuigi. Ocus do cuired .x. n-eich .xx., fo a n-eire d'ór ocus d'aircet [mar cis E.] cuigi, ocus do cuired cum lochta cathaighthe [ocus gaisgidh E.] Serluis eiri da .xx.et ech [ro-laidir E.] dfhin glan mhilis ocus mile ben raithamhail<sup>4</sup> [ro-deallradhach E.] do mnaibh na Seirrisdineach. Ocus do urailedur [ocus do chuiridar impighi ocus guidhe mor E.] ar Ganalonus fein .xx. ech<sup>5</sup> cona n-eiribh d'or ocus d'aircet ocus do sheduibh [dingmala ro-uaisle E.] ele do [gabhail chuigi E.] do chinn lochta cathaighthe Serluis do thoirbert [ocus do chur amach E.] doibh gu cealgach. Ocus do aemh [ocus do gell E.] Ganalonus sin, ocus do gabh an t-innmhus [ocus na seoit sin chuige E.].

Ar ndaingniughad na saebh-cheilgi braithtighi sin doibh, do inntó Ganalonus cum Serluis, ocus tuc na h-ascada sin do chuiredar na righa Seirrisdineacha chuigi, dhó, ocus do innis dó gur bh'ail le Marsirius [baistigh do gabhail chuige ocus E.] Cristaighi do denam dhe, ocus gu roibhi ag ullmhughadh a trialla do thecht cum Serluis isin Frainge do ghabháil baistidh innti, ocus gu coinnemadh talamh na Sbáini uili a hucht Serluis o sin amach. Lucht in chathaighthe iomorro, in drong do boire [g]da<sup>6</sup> [ocus do b'uramanta E.] ocus do ba mhó dhibh, do ghabhadar an fin [amain F.], ocus do

1. E. omits "do an" and so makes nonsense. 2. Beligandus E.  
3. Amirandus F. Admirandus E. 4. sgothamhail E. & F. 5. fa xx  
ech delodh E 6 iredha E. irada F.



## NINETEENTH CHAPTER.

AFTER taking the whole of Spain and putting it under [the] Faith in honour of God and his apostle St. James, by that renowned emperor Charles the Great, as he returned from Spain he remained a night in Pampilonia<sup>a</sup> with his armies. It chanced that at that time two kings of the Saracens were residing at the place which is called Caesar Augusta,<sup>b</sup> namely Marsirius<sup>c</sup> and Belagandus his brother, they having been sent by Admiraldus,<sup>d</sup> king of Babylon, to Spain, and they were submissive and reverential to Charles in everything, and they used to perform his service and his bidding unitedly. However it was out of malice and treachery and false love<sup>e</sup> they used to do it. For Charles sent one of his people to them, whose name was Ganalon, to command them to accept baptism and to send him his tribute. And thirty horses laden with gold and silver were sent to him as tribute, and there were sent to Charles's fighting men and heroes, forty strong horses<sup>f</sup> laden with clear sweet wine, and a thousand graceful<sup>g</sup> shapely women of the women of the Saracens. And they ordered and besought, and greatly prayed for Ganalon himself to accept twenty horses laden<sup>h</sup> with gold and silver and other suitable and noble things-of-price in return for treacherously delivering up and exposing Charles's fighting men to them. And Ganalon consented to that and promised it, and received the treasure and jewels.

On their confirming this deceitful false treachery [between them] Ganalon returned to Charles and brought him those gifts which the Saracen kings had sent him, and told him that Marsirius desired to accept baptism and to make a Christian of himself and that he was preparing his journey to come to Charles into France to receive baptism there<sup>i</sup> and that he would hold the land of all Spain from Charles<sup>j</sup> from thenceforward. The fighting men moreover, those of them who were noblest and most respected and greatest,<sup>k</sup> they took the wine only, and refused the women.

<sup>a</sup> Pampeluna.      <sup>b</sup> *i.e.* Saragossa.      <sup>c</sup> sic *Fr.* Marsiorus C.      <sup>d</sup> ab Ammirando Babylonis de Perside ad Hispaniam missi.      <sup>e</sup> in caritate ficta.      <sup>f</sup> sic *Fr.* "Sexaginta" C.      <sup>g</sup> formosas.      <sup>h</sup> *Lit.* "with their loads of."      <sup>i</sup> *Lit.* "in it."      <sup>j</sup> de illo teneret.      <sup>k</sup> majores pugnatōres.



dhiultadar na mná. Ocus do ghabhudar in lucht do b'uirisli dhibh iat a ndidhbhail a n-anmann fein. Ar creidemh [uirigill ocus E.] briathar Ganalonuis do Sherlus do thriall dul tar na portaibh re n-abar Ciserei,<sup>1</sup> do thecht isin Fraingc, ocus do ordaigh, do chomhairle Ganalonuis, do na prinnsadaibh do b'annsa leis da ridiribh .i. Rolandus mac a shethar iarla Cinomansis<sup>2</sup> ocus Blauiensis ocus Oluerus iarla Gehenensis anmhain ag coimet [ocus ag diden E.] deiridh na slighe isin glenn re n-abar Runti<sup>3</sup> Uallis, mailleis in droing do ba mhó [neart E.] don lucht cathaighthi [do bhi na fhochair E.] ocus re .xx.<sup>it</sup> míle Cristaighi no go dechadh Serlus tar portaibh Sisereos.<sup>4</sup> Ocus ar mbeith ar meisce don droing do ibh in fin Serrisdíneach do pheacthaighedur ris na mnaibh Padanda, ocus drong ele dhibh re mnaibh Cristaighi tucadar leo as in<sup>5</sup> Fraingc, ocus fuaradur bas.

Ar nimthecht do Sherlus tar na portaibh a dubhramar ocus fiche míle Cristaighi ocus Ganalonus ocus Turpinus na fharradh, ocus ar mbeith dona cathaighibh<sup>6</sup> ag coimet a ndeiridh mar a dubhramar, do eirigh Marsirius ocus Belegandus maille L. míle Serrisdíneach a mucha na maitne<sup>7</sup> as na glenntuibh ocus as na cnocuibh a rabutar a bhfhclach re dhá láibh<sup>8</sup> ocus re da oidhchi roime sin, do mhuin comairle Ganalonuis, ocus do ronsat da chorughadh catha dibh .i. corughadh dhibh a roibhi .xx. míle ocus corughadh a roibe .xxx.<sup>9</sup> míle. In corughadh a roibhi .xx. míle do thindscnadur bheith ag lot [ocu, ag marbhadh E.] na Cristaighi do leith a ndroma ocus [ar na motughudh sin do na Cristaighibh F. & E.] do impaidedar na Cristaighi orro [ocus do madmaighidar ocus do marbadar iat E.] ocus do bhatúr ag cathughad riu o madain co teirt, ocus ni dechaidh duine na bethaidh don .xx. míle Serrisdíneach [nar tuit ar an lathair sin E.]. Ocus ar mbeith coirthi<sup>10</sup> dona Cristaighibh on cathughad [ocus on torainn E.] sin, do dhoirt [ocus do ling E.] in trichat míle Serrisdíneach na cenn [gan fis doibh E.] Ocus do thuitedar leo o beg cu mor, innus nach dechaidh nech beo don .xx. míle Cristaighi gan bas dfhaghail,<sup>11</sup> .i. drong dibh ar cur shleagh tritha, ocus drong ar na ndicennadh

1. siserie E. &amp; F.

2. Cinnmannsis ocus Blauensis E. F. omits these

words 3. rutialis E. &amp; F.

4. sisireos F. sisereros E.

5. isin E.

6. ridiribh E.

7. mainne F., which is also the modern pronunciation.

8. dala E.

9. .x. .xx.m. E. x.m.xx. F.

10. sgithach toirrseach E.

11. gan bas ocus eg ocus oidhigh d'imirt orro E.

And those who were meanest<sup>a</sup> of them accepted them [*i.e.* the women] to the damage of their own souls.

Charles believing the utterance and words of Ganalón set out to go over the passes called Ciserei,<sup>b</sup> to come into France, and, by the advice of Ganalón, he ordered the princes whom he loved best of his knights, namely Roland, his sister's son, Earl Cino-mansis<sup>c</sup> and Blaviensis, and Oliver, earl Gebenensis<sup>d</sup> to remain, and to keep and protect the rear of the passage through the valley, which is called Runti Vallis,<sup>e</sup> with the strongest part of the fighting men, and with twenty thousand Christians who were with him, until Charles should have gone over the passes of Sisereos [or Ciserei]. And those who had drunk the Saracen wine being intoxicated sinned with the Pagan women, and others with Christian women whom they had brought with them out of France, and they died.

After Charles going over the passes we have spoken of, and twenty thousand Christians and Ganalón and Turpin with him, with his fighting men protecting their rear as we have said, Marsirius and Belegandus rose up with fifty thousand Saracens in the early part of the morning from the valleys and hills where they were in hiding for two days and two nights before that, through Ganalón's advice, and they made two battle arrays of themselves, namely one of twenty thousand and another of thirty thousand. The division of twenty thousand began to wound and slay<sup>f</sup> the Christians in their rear. When the Christians perceived that, they turned on them and they broke them and slew them, and were fighting with them from morning till the hour of terce, and not one of the twenty thousand Saracens escaped with his life but all fell in that place. And when the Christians were a-weary after that fighting and conflict,<sup>g</sup> the thirty thousand [other] Saracens burst forth and sprang to meet them,<sup>h</sup> before they knew it.

And [the Christians] fell by them both great and small so that not one escaped alive of the twenty thousand Christians without dying, some thrust through by spears and some beheaded

<sup>a</sup> *Juniores Fr. Minores C.*    <sup>b</sup> *transire portus Cisereos.*    <sup>c</sup> *Cenoman-nensi et Blaviensi Comiti, i.e. Count of Man.*    <sup>d</sup> *i.e. aliter Auvergne.*

<sup>e</sup> *Ultimam custodiam in Runcievalle facerent (Runciavalle Fr.)*    <sup>f</sup> *per-cutere nostros.*    <sup>g</sup> "*torann*" seems to be sometimes used in this sense.

<sup>h</sup> The Latin has simply "*aggrediuntur.*" *Doirt* seems to be a military term, see p. 98, line 27

le claidmib, agus drong ar na coscáirt le tuaghuibh, agus drong ar na tolladh [ocus ar na tredadh E.] le soighdaibh, agus le colbaibh<sup>1</sup>, agus drong ar na marbhadh leis na harmuibh re n-abar *pertica*, agus drong ar na bhfhennadh le scenuibh agus siat na mbethaidh, agus drong ar na loscad a teinidh,<sup>2</sup> agus drong ar n-a crochadh re crannaibh, innus co bhfhuaire in lucht cathaighthe uili bas acht Rolandus agus Baldonius agus Turpinus agus Ganalonius agus Tedricus. Baldonius iomorro agus Tedricus do leathadur<sup>3</sup> fo'n coill, agus do fholchatar<sup>4</sup> iat fein, agus is mar sin do chuadar as.

A haithle in choscáir [ocus in comaidhme E.] sin do breith dona *Serrisdíneachaibh*, do impátaí<sup>5</sup> tar a n-ais [maille luaithgair agus re gairdechas mor E.] fedh leuc .i. trí míle.<sup>6</sup>

As in-fhiafraighthe annso cred fár cheduigh<sup>7</sup> Dia an drong út nar pheacthuigh ris na mnaibh do thuitim annso. Agus as doigh gurub é in t-adbar nar b'aile leis a leice cum a tirc fein aris, cu nach dearndais pectha [budh truime F. & E.] innti. Or do b'aile leis coroin do tabhairt tre na pais<sup>8</sup> a fhlaithius De ar son a saethair dhoibh. An dream iomorro do righne in pecadh do fhuluig a mbas, or do b'aile leis coroin do thabhairt doibh agus a pecadh do scrís, tre pais agus tre martra cloidhimh. Agus ní h-increitti nar bh'aile le Dia trocuireach na saethair do ronsat roime sin do chúitiughadh<sup>9</sup> riu, o dho admhadar ainm De agus o dho ronsat a pecadh d'fhaisidin fa dheoigh. Or gidh do phecthaighedur ris na mnaibh is ag cosnum anma Crist fuaradar bas. Da reir sin as in-tugtha dh'áidh<sup>10</sup> a méit do bhaeghal don lucht triallus cum cathaighthe coidriubh<sup>11</sup> na mban, mar is follus isna prinnsaidib dar anmanna Dairius agus Antonius do chuaigh cum cathaighthe agus a mna na bhfhochair co bhfhuaradar bas ann. Or do claidheadh Dairius le h-Alexander<sup>12</sup> agus Antonius le h-Octouianus Augustus. Maseadh ní breaghdha agus ní tarbach na mna do bheith isna longphortaibh, or do beir in druis toirmeascc an a n-oibrightheibh<sup>13</sup> don chorp agus don anmain, *et cetera*.

1. *Lis.* has "colbhaibh." 2. Last twenty-nine words omitted both in E. & F. 3. leathnuighedar agus do scailidar E. foilgidar iad F. 4. foladar E. 5. impodar E. 6. fedh trí míle E. & F. 7. cad far chuidig agus cad far cedaigh E. 8. Thus F. The others read "tre pais." 9. Trocaire na ndedhngnim do ronsad roime sin do chuitiughadh ris na ridiribh sin ontis [ontist F.] do cuadar fa cuing De E. 10. daibh agus daire E. 11. beith a caidrebh agus an aentaigh na mb E. 12. Alastrann F. & E. 13. obrachaibh E. oibreachaibh F.

by swords, and some slaughtered by battle axes, and some pierced and bored with arrows and [smitten] with clubs, and some killed by the weapons called *pertica*<sup>a</sup> and some flayed by knives while they were still alive, and some burnt in fire, and some hung on trees so that the warriors all died except Roland and Baldonius<sup>b</sup> and Turpin and Ganalon and Tedricus. However Baldonius and Tedricus<sup>c</sup> dispersed through the wood and hid themselves, and thus they escaped.

After the Saracens had won that victory and triumph they turned back a league's length that is three miles,<sup>d</sup> with gladness and great rejoicing.

It may be asked here why God permitted those who did not sin with the women to fall here. And no doubt this was the reason—that He did not desire to let them [back] to their own country again so that they might not commit worse sins there,<sup>e</sup> for He desired through their passion to grant them a crown in the kingdom of God on account of their labours. Those people, however, who committed the sin, He suffered their death, for He desired to give them a crown and to blot out their sin through passion and martyrdom by the sword. And it is unbelievable that the merciful God did not desire to recompense them for the labours they had wrought before, since they acknowledged the name of God and made a confession of their sins at the last. Because although they had sinned with the women it was in defending the name of Christ they died. According to this it should be seriously considered how much danger the society of women is to those who go to war, as is obvious in the case of those princes whose names were Darius and Anthony who went to battle with their women<sup>f</sup> along with them, so that they died there. For Darius was overthrown by Alexander and Anthony by Octavianus Augustus. Hence it is not a right or advantageous thing for women to be in the camps<sup>g</sup> for luxurious-indulgence brings hindrance in their operations to both body and soul—etc.<sup>h</sup>

<sup>a</sup> alii perticis verberando perimuntur. <sup>b</sup> Baldwin. <sup>c</sup> i.e. Theodoric.

<sup>d</sup> una leuga C. leuca *Fr.* <sup>e</sup> *Lit.* "in it." <sup>f</sup> uxorum comitatu.

<sup>g</sup> ubi libido castranda est. <sup>h</sup> The etc. stands perhaps for

the following passage "illi qui inebriati et fornicati sunt significant sacerdotes et religiosos viros contra vitia pugnantes, quibus non licet inebriari et mulieribus coinquinari; quod si fecerint ab inimicis suis, id est a daemonibus, se noverint superandos et aeterna morte plectendos.



Ar *crichnughad* in catha tainic Rolandus na aenar a n-iarmhoracht na *Padanach* agus do bhi seal ingcian uatha, agus fuair fer adhuathmuir do na *Padanachaibh* ar na thoirrsiughadh don chath, agus se na loighi isin coill. Do cengail Rolandus a chosa agus a lamha gu cruaidh<sup>1</sup> re crann agus do fhacuibh mar sin he, agus do chuaidh fein ar cnoc<sup>2</sup> do bhi 'na ghairi dfhaghail tuarascbhála na *Padanach* [agus do breith breithi orra E.] Agus do connaic gu rabhutar moran daine, agus do inntó tar a ais a slighidh Runti Uallis a ndechadar [na *Cristaigh* E. & F.]. Agus do shein buabhull eoire<sup>3</sup> do bhi aigi, agus tancatar fa ghut[h] in buabuill *céd* eicin do na *Cristaighibh*, agus do impoidh Rolandus leo aris fo'n coill mar a roibhi in *Seirrisdineach* do fhagaibh cengailti, agus do scail a chuibrighi dhe, agus do nocht a claidheamh os a chinn<sup>4</sup> agus a dubhairt "Mad ail<sup>5</sup> *leat* techt leam agus Marsirius d'foillsiughadh dham, leicfet as tu, agus munab ail muirbhfead tu," or nir aithnid do Rolandus Marsirius conuigi sin. Ar ngabhail eglá do'n *Phadanach* re mbriathraibh Rolandus do chuaid leis a cedoir agus<sup>6</sup> do fhoillsigh Marsirius do, agus se ar eoch ruadh, agus sciath cruinn air. Agus, ar na fhaghail mar sin, do cuaidh Rolandus, ar na neartughadh o chumachtaibh De, mailleis in ndroing do bhi na fhochair, a cenn a namhat a cedoir, gan choicill,<sup>6</sup> agus in nech do b'airdi agus do ba mho do chonnaic dhibh do scoilt d'aenbuilli claidhimh e fein agus a ech o mhullach gu lar, innus gur thuit cuid don *Phadanach* dá dheis agus cuid da cli. Ar na fhaicsin sin do na *Serrisdineachaibh*, do fhacbhadar Marsirius maille becan buidhne ar an magh agus do theithedar fein da gach leith. Agus ar bhfhaghail neirt o Dia do Rolandus, do chuaidh ameasc na *Serrisdineach* agus do dhichuir da gach thaebh iat, agus do lean Marsirius agus se ag teitheadh, agus do mharbh e a mesc a mhuinntiri maille neart agus re cumhachtaibh De. Do marbhadh *iomorro* isin cath<sup>7</sup> sin an *céd* companach<sup>8</sup> do chuaidh isin cath le Rolandus, agus do imthigh fein as in cath agus cethra

1. E. adds "dobraingeach"? 2. mullach cnuice E. 3. do cnaim iboirighi E. 4. F. omits last fourteen words. 5. madh ailt E. 6-6. Found in the Lismore text only. 7. Thus E. & F. Lis. has cathair. 8. Thus E. & F. Lis. has "c" only.



On finishing the battle Roland came, alone, in pursuit of the Pagans, and he was a long distance off from them, and he found a terrible<sup>a</sup> man of the Pagans wearied out with the battle and lying down in the wood. Roland bound his feet and hands tightly to a tree and left him so, and he himself went to the top of a hill that was close to him to get some tidings of the Pagans and to form a judgment about them. And he saw that they were many in number and he turned back in the direction of Runti Vallis where the Christians had gone. And he sounded<sup>b</sup> a horn of ivory which he had, and there came at the sound of the horn about a hundred of the Christians, and Roland turned back with them again to the wood where the Saracen was whom he had left bound, and he loosed his bonds from him, and he bared his sword over his head and said: "if you wish to come with me and to show me Marsirius I shall let you go, and if you do not I shall kill you," for Roland did not know the appearance of<sup>c</sup> Marsirius up to this. And the Pagan taking fright at Roland's words went with him straightway and showed Marsirius to him, mounted on a bay<sup>d</sup> horse and carrying a round shield. And finding him thus, Roland, being strengthened by the powers of God, instantly went with as many as were in his company against his enemy, not sparing, and the highest and biggest man that he saw of them, he split with one sword blow, himself and his horse, from his crown to the ground, so that part of the Pagan fell to the right and part to the left. When the Saracens saw that, they left Marsirius with a small band on the plain, and they themselves fled in every direction. And Roland getting strength from God went [in] amongst<sup>e</sup> the Saracens and scattered them in every direction, and followed Marsirius as he fled, and slew him amongst his people by the strength and powers of God. There were slain moreover in that battle<sup>f</sup> the hundred companions who went into the battle with Roland, and he himself went out of the battle

<sup>a</sup> atrum.<sup>b</sup> *Lit.* "played," insonuit tuba sua eburnea.

not known to.

<sup>d</sup> rufus.<sup>e</sup> irrit super.<sup>c</sup> *Lit.* M. was  
<sup>f</sup> bello.

sleugha ann, agus se ar na gortughadh agus ar na combrud gu mor [o cloidhme agus F. & E.] o clochaibh, agus do theith Beligandus a cedoir.

Do bhi Tedricus agus Baldonius<sup>1</sup> mar adubhramar agus drong eli dona Cristaighibh ar leathadh da gach aird don choill, agus siat<sup>2</sup> a bhfolach tre eglá. Agus do chuaidh drong ele dhibh tar na portuib adubhramar, agus do chuaidh Serlus cona shluaghuibh tar in cnoc do bhi don leth ele don phort, agus ní fhidir ní da ndernad na dhiaigh. Tainic Rolandus na aenar tresna<sup>3</sup> coilltibh agus sé ar na tuirsiughadh do scis in catha agus d' imshnímh bais a companach agus do mhéit agus d'imat a álad,<sup>4</sup> cusna portuibh re n-abar Ciserei,<sup>5</sup> agus do thuirling da each ar scath croinn laimh re cloich marmure<sup>6</sup> do bhí na sesomh ann ar magh aluinn isin gleann re a n-abar Runti Uallis.<sup>7</sup> Agus do bhi a claidheamh fein aigi ann sin, agus do ba deadhmhaiseach oibriughadh in claidhimh sin agus do ba doimhesda re hén claidheamh a ghéiri,<sup>8</sup> agus do ba taithnemach he do réir dheallraidh,<sup>9</sup> agus do b'é a ainm Durenda, on fhocal so durum .i. cruaidh, ar son gur shas<sup>10</sup> builli cruaidh do thabhairt leis é. Or is tusca budh esbadach in lámh le mbuailfidhi he ina esium. Agus tuc as a thruaill he, agus do bhi athaidh na láimh aga fhlegad, agus adubhairt maille briathraibh toirirseacha<sup>11</sup> "a claidhimh as ferr don uili claidheamh agus as imchuibhdhi<sup>12</sup> do reir fhaidi agus leithi, agus is daingne do mhuin laidireachta, co ndorncla ro taithnemach ibhoiri, gu crois<sup>13</sup> ndeallraidhthigh ordha, gu n-ubhull ro mhaiseach don cloich re n-abar berillus, ar nad chomharthughadh don ainm mor .i. "Alfa"<sup>14</sup> agus "O" ar na scribhadh innat agus as inann sin agus tosach gan tosach gan deredh<sup>15</sup> air .i. in t-athair nemhdha, agus ar nat daingniughadh do bhrigh<sup>16</sup> agus do cumachtaibh De. Cia gnathochas let laidiri<sup>17</sup> o so amach

1. Tedricus agus Baldinnus E. (Baldinus F.) 2. iat F. & E. 3. trid na E. 4. aal—agus a cned E. 5. siserie E. 6. marmair E. & F. 7. rutual—E. 8. do réir géiri F. 9. deabha E. 10. shoghf F. E. reads "ar son gur sobuailte cruaidh é. 11. deracha F. & E. 12. "caime" or "caine" E. & F. 13. cris E. 14. E. seems to read "ahoha" 15. deridh E. 16. F. & E. seem to read doiborightibh and doibrightibh. 17. laidireacht E. & F.

with four spears in him, greatly hurt and bruised from stones; and Beligandus fled at once.

Tedricus and Baldonius and some more of the Christians were, as we have said, dispersed on every side of the wood, and hiding through fear. And more of them went over the passes we have spoken of, and Charles with his armies went across the hill that was on the other side of the pass and knew nothing of the things that were done behind him. Roland came alone through the woods, and he worn-out with the fatigue of the battle, and with anguish at the death of his companions, and with the greatness and number of his [own] wounds, to the passes which are called Ciserei,<sup>a</sup> and he dismounted from his steed under the shadow of a tree beside a marble stone which was standing there, in a fair plain in the valley which is called Runti Vallis.<sup>b</sup> And he had his own sword there, and right fair was the workmanship of that sword, and incomparable compared with other swords was it's keenness,<sup>c</sup> and glittering was it in its brightness, and its name was Durenda, from this word Durum, that is "hard," because it was an instrument wherewith to give a hard blow. For the hand by which it [the stroke] would be struck would fail sooner than it. And he took it out of its sheath and it was for a time in his hand, and he looking at it, and he spake with words of grief: "O sword the best of all swords, and the most fitting in length and breadth, and the firmest in strength, with most shining hilt of ivory, with a hilt-cross<sup>d</sup> gleaming and golden, with a most fair pommel<sup>e</sup> of the beryll stone,<sup>f</sup> that art marked with the great name Alpha and O<sup>g</sup> engraved upon thee, which is the same as to say "beginning without beginning without ending<sup>h</sup> to it," (which is the heavenly father), and confirmed by the force and powers of God. Who shall make free with<sup>i</sup> thy strength

<sup>a</sup> ad pedem portuum Cisere.

<sup>b</sup> super Runcievallem C. Runcaevallem

*Fr.* <sup>c</sup> The Latin adds "fortitudine inflexibilem," which is not translated.

<sup>d</sup> cruce.

<sup>e</sup> pomo.

<sup>f</sup> "berillus."

<sup>g</sup> Not in *Fr.* Latin text.

<sup>h</sup> Not in the Latin texts.

<sup>i</sup> *Lit.* practise "tua virtute utetur."

thu. Cia *bhus* sealbhthoir ort, agus cia aga mbeir<sup>1</sup> agus cia *con-nemhas* tú? an ti aga mbia bhudh doclaite é,<sup>2</sup> or as *leat* marbhtar na *Serrisdínigh* agus scrítar an cinédh meabluch agus arduighthear an recht *Cristaighi* agus shirther molad agus gloir do Dhia. As adhbhul a mhence do mharbhas agus do thindmes<sup>3</sup> *Serrisdíneacha* leat, d'ardughadh an creidimh *Cristaighi*,<sup>4</sup>; agus as minic do dhiglas fuil mu thighearna fein Isu Crist leat, or gach minceacht<sup>5</sup> do mharbhas Iubhul meablach *no Serrisdíneach* leat, asi in menca sin dom dhoigh do dhiglas fuil *Crist*. A claidhimh is géiri don uili chclaidheamh, ní roibhi do cosmhuil agus ní bhia, or in te do rindi thú ní dherna se h'innshamhail romhat na ad dhiaigh. Nírfhed bheith na bethaidh nech do crecht-naigheadh<sup>6</sup> leat. Doiligh leam da mbia tú ag ridiri aineolach no mheta, no ag *Serrisdíneach*, no ag nech cealgach ele."

A haithle na mbriathar soin, *con* nach tecmad<sup>7</sup> in claidheamh a lamhuibh na *Serrisdíneach* do bhuaill tri bhuilli dhe isin cloich marmair do bhi 'na fhiadhnúisi, innus gu mbriseadh<sup>8</sup> é. Do scoilt in builli sin in cloch o mhulluch gu lar agus do bhi in claidheamh slan da éis.<sup>9</sup> Do thinnscaim iar sin a buabhall eboire do sheim, innus, co ticeadh nech eicin dona *Cristaighibh* da roibhi a bhfhólach isna coilltibh chuigi, *no co n-impaideadh* drong eicin da ndeachaidh tar na portuibh chuigi, agus gu mbeidís re h-adhlacadh<sup>10</sup> a cuirp agus gu ngabhdais a claidheamh agus a ech do leanmhain na *Serrisdíneach*. Agus do chuir an mheit sin do nert agus do bhrigh na anail ac seinm in *bhuabhuill* innus cor scoilt ar dho<sup>11</sup> he, agus aithristear fos gur bhrisetur féithi agus cuislinna ina bhraghuit leis.

Do threoraigh in t-aingel guth in bhuabhuill sin a gclusaibh Serluis isin gleann re n-abar Gleann Serluis, mar ar saidheadh a phubull, maille na shluagh, oct mili do leith na Gaiscíne on

1. cia *gambeir* F. 2. é not in *Lis*. 3. Tinnmus F. E. omits the passage. 4. E. omits last fifteen words. 5. gach minca E. & F. 6. *crecht-nochaidhe* E. & F. 7. andoigh co teigemadh E. 8. andoigh co mbrisfeadh e E. mbrisidh F. 9. agus is amlaidh do sgar in claidhem risin cloich, do sgoilt se i nir miste e fein E. (F. nearly the same). 10. agus rehaidhaigh (?) E. *Lis*. has gu mbheidís. 11. ar a do E. & F.



from this out. Who shall be possessor of thee, and who shall have thee, and who grasp thee! He who shall have thee will be invincible,<sup>a</sup> for it is by thee Saracens are killed and the treacherous tribe destroyed, and the Christian law exalted, and praise and glory sought for God. Very great is the number of times I have slain and hewn down Saracens with thee,<sup>b</sup> to exalt the Christian faith; often with thee have I avenged the blood of my own lord, Jesus Christ, for every time so often as I slew a guileful Jew or Saracen with thee even so often I am sure did I avenge the blood of Christ.<sup>c</sup> O sword keenest of all swords, there never was thy like and there never shall be, for he who made thee never made the like of thee before or after thee. Anyone who was wounded by thee could not live. I were grieved to think that an ignorant or cowardly knight or a Saracen or any other treacherous one should have thee.

After those words, in order that the sword might not come into the hands of the Saracens, he smote three blows of it on the marble stone that was before him<sup>d</sup> so that he might break the blade.<sup>e</sup> Those blows<sup>f</sup> split the stone from top to bottom yet the sword remained whole after it. Thereafter he began to sound his ivory horn<sup>g</sup> so that some one of the Christians—of those who were in hiding in the woods—might come to him, or that some of those who had gone beyond the passes might return to him, that they might be there to bury his body, and that they might take his sword and his horse to pursue the Saracens. And he put so much strength and vigour into his breath in sounding the horn that he split it in two, and it is related also that the sinews and veins broke in his neck.<sup>h</sup>

The angel directed the voice of that trumpet to the ears of Charles in the valley which is called Charles's Valley, where his tent was pitched, together with his host, eight miles on the Gasgony

<sup>a</sup> The Latin has the following sentence which is not in the Irish: "non attonitus non formidine inimicorum perterritus non ullis fantasiis pavidus sed semper erit divina virtute fretus divino auxilio circumdatus."

<sup>b</sup> quotiens inimicos Christi peremi.

<sup>c</sup> Both the Latin texts add "per te Dei judicia adimplentur pes manusque assuetæ latrocinio amputantur."

<sup>d</sup> *Lit.* "in his presence."

<sup>e</sup> *Lit.* "it."

<sup>f</sup> *Lit.* "that blow."

Dedevant lui ad une pierre brune

Dis colps i fiert, ne freint ne s'esgruniet. *Chanson de Roland.*

<sup>g</sup> tuba altisona tonitruare.

<sup>h</sup> venæ colli ejus et nervi rupta fuisse feruntur.



inadh a roibhi Rolandus. Ar na cloistsin sin do Sherlus do fhobair *impodh* a chedoir d'fhurtacht Rolandus, agus do thoirmisc Ganalonus é. Or do bhi fis oigeda<sup>1</sup> Rolandus aigi, agus [aseadh F.] adubhuirt "a Thighearna na limpa, or is beg an chuis fa a seinnfedh Rolandus a bluaball; agus bidh a fhis agad nach ric<sup>2</sup> a les fortacht anois, acht is dóthcha a beith ag fiadhuch *no* ag lenmhain bethidhigh allta eicin tresna coilltibh." Agus as truagh na comhairledha cealgacha sin a cosmhailius braith Iudais mheabluigh ar a thighearna. Ar mbeith do Rolandus na loighi ar fer in mhuighi do ghabh tart adhbhul he, agus tainic Baldonius a bhráthair chuigi agus do ghuigh é fa uisgi do thabhairt dó, agus do chuaidh Baldonius dá gach leith d'iaraidh usgi, agus ní fhuair. Agus ar n-a faicsin-sium a ngaire do bas,<sup>3</sup> do cheileabhraigh dho, cu nach tecmad é fein a lamhaibh na Serrisdíneach. Do chuaidh ar ech Rolandus agus ruc a chloidheamh leis,<sup>4</sup> agus do lean sluagh Serluis.

Agus, ar n-imthecht dó, tainic Teidricus a cedoir cum Rolandus,<sup>5</sup> agus do bhi ag a cháinedh go dicra agus aga radh ris a anum do dhaingniughadh o fhaisitin an creidmhe,<sup>6</sup> or do ghabh Rolandus corp *Crist* in la sin fein, agus logad a phecadh o shacartaibh do bhi ar in sligidh re ndul cum in chatha dho. Or fa bes doibh in drong do theigheadh cum catha dhibh do dhaingniughadh a n-anmann o corp *Crist*, agus o fhaisitin, tre lamhuibh sacart agus esbac agus manach re ndul isin cath. Is ann do thocaibh Rolandus mairtír Dé, a shuile cum nimhe agus adubhairt [co derach aith[r]each E.] na briathra so: "A thighearna a Isú *Crist* o's ar son do chreidim do fhacbus mo dhuthaigh agus tanac is na crichibh barbarda<sup>7</sup> so d'ardughadh do cristaigheachta-sa, agus do bhrises moran do cathaibh ar chineadhachaibh<sup>8</sup> ainghidhi ar na m'

1. adhaigh F. "oighidh" E. 2. rige . . . a furtacht E. 3. angaire bais F. & E. 4. F. & E. omit last five words. 5. prinnsa na crodhachta E. 6. in creidim koilik [=catoilice] E. K stands in these MSS. for "cath" and "ca." 7. allmurda E. & F. 8. ar cineachaibh E.

side from the place where Roland was. When Charles heard that, he made as though<sup>a</sup> to return at once to succour Roland, but Ganalon prevented him. For he knew the fate of Roland and said, "my lord do not turn back for it is a small cause for which Roland would sound his horn, and know that he requires no aid now, but it is more likely that he is hunting or pursuing some wild beast through the woods." Alas! those deceitful counsels, after the similitude of the treachery of false Judas to his lord!

As Roland lay on the grass of the plain a dreadful thirst took hold of him, and Baldonius,<sup>b</sup> his kinsman,<sup>c</sup> came to him and Roland besought him to give him water; and Baldonius went in every direction to look for water and he found none. And seeing Roland near death he bade him farewell so that he himself might not fall into the hands of the Saracens. He mounted Roland's steed and took his sword with him and followed Charles's army. And on his departing came Tedricus<sup>d</sup> at once to Roland and was lamenting bitterly for him and bidding him fortify his soul by confession of the faith, for Roland had received the body of Christ that very day and absolution for his sins from priests who were on the road before his going into battle. For it was their custom—all of them who used to go to battle—to fortify their souls by the body of Christ and by confession at the hands of priests and bishops and monks before going into the fight. It was then Roland, God's martyr, raised his eyes to heaven and spake these words with tears and penitence: "O Lord Jesus Christ since it is for thy faith I have left my country and have come into these barbarous lands to exalt thy Christianity, and I have broken

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<sup>a</sup> *voluit*. The *Chanson de Roland* relates thus:

Li quens Rollanz par peine e par ahan  
 Par grant dudur sunet sun olifant  
 Par mi la buche en salt fors li cler sancs  
 De sun cervel li temples en est rumpant  
 De l' corn qu'il tient l' oie en est mult grant  
 Carles l' entent ci est as porz passant.

<sup>b</sup> Baldwinus.      <sup>c</sup> "His kinsman," or perhaps "brother," is not in the Latin. Tradition preserved the name of the steed, *Veillantif*.

Sur *Veillantif* sun bon cheval curant.

<sup>d</sup> Tedricus C. Theodoricus *Fy*.

daingniughad ott furtacht-sa, ocus do fhuilnges moran do *theas* ocus d'fhuacht ocus d'ítain<sup>1</sup> ocus d'ocuras ocus do dhocamhlaibh ele ar do shon, cuirim m'anum ar h'inchuibh isin bethaidh-si. Ocus amhail ro bo dhingbhala leat do geinemhain ar mu shon ocus dul a croich ocus bas d'fhaghail ocus dul a n-adlacad ocus eirghe o mharbhaibh in treas la ocus dul ar nemh nar fhacbais<sup>2</sup> riam gan do cumhachta ar lathair ann,<sup>3</sup> gurab mar sin bus dingbala let m' anam-sa do saeradh o'n bas shuthain. Or admhaim mu beith cintach pecthach níis mo ina mar as eidir leam a innisi. Gidhedh o atai-si mor-trocuireach [*grásamhail* E.] ag maithemh na n-uili pecad ocus gu ndene trocuire ar gach nech ghuighis tu<sup>4</sup> ocus nach fuaith leat ní dha ndernais<sup>5</sup> ocus cu ceili na pecaidh ocus co ndermuide do shír iat in la impaidius in pecthach *cugut* ocus do ní aithrighi (or do choiclis lucht na cathrach dar ainm Ninue<sup>6</sup> ar ndenum aithrighi dhoibh, ocus do mhaithis a pecadh don mnai<sup>7</sup> frith ag denum an adaltruis ocus do mhaithis a cair [co h-imlan E.] do Mhuire Maddalen<sup>8</sup> ocus do oscluis doirrsi Parrthais don ghaduidhi ar ndenum a fhaisitneach<sup>9</sup> dho) na diult dam-sa aniugh logad mu phecadh, ocus maith dhamh gach ar pheacthaigheas at' aghaidh, ocus suidhigh mh' anum isin cumsanad shuthain; or is tusa fo dera gan ar cuirp-ne do dul gu dímhaineach, acht a claechlodh a sdaid is ferr,<sup>10</sup> ocus is tú do ní an t-anum, ar ndealughadh risin corp, do bheith beo, a mbethaidh as ferr, ocus as tu adubhairt nar bh'aíl leat bas in phecthaigh acht a bheith na bethaidh chum impoidh do. Creidim om' chridhi [ocus o mh'anum E.] ocus admhaim om' bel gurub uimi is ail leat mh' anam do bhreith on bethaidh so da beith beo a mbethaidh as ferr. Creidim fos, a mbi idir scaile ocus corp, go mbi<sup>11</sup> sin do mhaith ar in ceill agus ar an tuicsin bias aigi, tar mar ata anois."<sup>12</sup>

1. tart E. & F.      2. robuis F.      3. F. omits "ann."      4. F. & E. omit last three words.      5. Thus F. & E. *Lis.* has "nderna."      6. niniue F. & E.      7. *Lis.* has "mna."      8. F. & E. omit the second d. F. aspirates the d.      9. fhaisidi F. faisidin E.      10. Thus F. & E. *Lis.* has "a stuit is fherr."      11. sic E. *Lis.* mbia. E. has "in meide sin do maithius."      12. ata ann anois E.

many battles over vicious tribes fortifying myself by thy aid, and I have suffered much heat and cold and thirst and hunger and other hardships for thy sake, I place my soul under thy protection in this life.<sup>a</sup> And even as thou didst think it worthy to be born for me and to go upon the cross and die and be buried and rise from the dead the third day and go to heaven, which thou didst never leave without thy power being present there, even so mayest thou think it worthy to save my soul from eternal death. For I acknowledge that I am guilty and sinful more than I can tell. Howsoever since thou art great and merciful<sup>b</sup> and gracious forgiving all sins, and since thou showest mercy to every one who prayeth to thee and hatest nothing that thou hast made, and hidest away the sins and forgettest them for ever on the day the sinner turns to thee and repents—for thou sparedst the people of the city named Niniveh when they repented, and thou didst forgive her sin to the woman who was found committing adultery, and thou didst wholly forgive her crime to Mary Magdalene,<sup>c</sup> and thou didst open the doors of Paradise to the thief when he made his confession,—do not refuse me to-day forgiveness of my sins, and forgive me all that I have sinned against thee, and seat my soul in rest eternal; for it is thou art the cause of our bodies not going waste but of their being changed into a better state, and it is thou who makest the soul on parting from the body to be alive in a life that is better, and it is thou who hast said that thou didst not desire the death of the sinner, but that he should live to turn again. I believe from my heart and soul and I acknowledge with my lips that the reason thou desirest to take my soul from this life is that it may be alive in a life that is better. I believe moreover that all that there is [of difference] between shadow and body there will be the same amount of difference in the good [added after death] to the sense and the understanding a man<sup>d</sup> shall have, beyond how he is now.

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<sup>a</sup> in hac hora.    <sup>b</sup> *Lit.* "great-merciful gracious."    <sup>c</sup> The Latin adds "et Petro lacrimanti relaxasti."    <sup>d</sup> *Lit.* "he."    <sup>e</sup> Perhaps not very happily translated in the Irish. The Latin is plain: *Sensum et intellectum quem nunc habet tanto meliorem habebit quantum differt umbra a corpore.*



Ocus ag connmhail croicinn a ochta ocus a chigh, mar do aithris Tedericus, do raidh na briathra so maille h-osnaduibh *deracha*: “A Tighearna, a Isu` *Crist*, a mheic Dhe bhi ocus Muire oighi, admhuim ocus creidim om’ *innibh*<sup>1</sup> uile gurab tu mu cennaightheoir ocus gu bhfhui ad’ *bethaidh*, ocus gu n-cireoch<sup>2</sup> fein as in *talmhain* isin lo dheighineach ocus gu bhfhaiceabh asin coluinn-si Dia mu shlánaightheoir fein.” Ocus adubhairt ainseoin fo thri ag cur laimhe ar a shuilibh “do chithfid na suili so he,” ocus ag *osgladh* a shul aris do fhech do chum nime ocus do daingnigh a uilinn a ailt<sup>3</sup> ocus a bruinne o comhartha na croiche *naemtha*, ocus adubhairt: “As *deroil* leam gach uili ni *talmhaidhe*<sup>4</sup> anois, or sailim co bhfaiceabh do mhuin *tindlaicthi* De ní nar shill suil ocus nach cuala *cluas*, ocus nach dechaidh a *craidhe* duine do<sup>5</sup> *ullmhaigh* Dia don droing ler ab *inmuin* he.” Ocus as a aithli sin do thocuibh a lamha cum a Dhia fein,<sup>6</sup> ocus do rinne edarghuighi ar son na droingi fuair bas isin chath, ocus adubhairt: “A Thighearna,” ar se, “dail do throcaire ar h’fhirenuibh fein fuair bas aniugh isin cath, ocus tainic a *cricuibh* imciana is na tiribh allmhardha so do cathughadh ris in cineadh meabluch, ocus d’ ardughadh hanma naemhtha-sa, ocus do dhighailt hfhola uaisli, ocus d’ foillsiughadh do *chreidimh*, ocus atait anois na loighi ar faghbhail bais do lamhaibh na *Seirrisdineach* ar do shon-sa, ocus scrís a Thighearna a pecuidh co trocuireach ocus saer a n-anmanna o pianuibh *iffrinn* ocus cuir h’archaingéal<sup>7</sup> naemtha do shaeradh a n-anmann o *flaithemnas* in dorchaduis, ocus da mbreith isin *flaithemnus* *neamhdha*, innus gu mbeit a comhfhlaithius ret mhairtiribh naemhltha, farit fein,<sup>8</sup> gun crích [gan forcenn E.]

Ocus aga fhacbhail do Thedricus ac denam na h-urnaighiti ocus na faisitneach so, do scar anum Rolanduis a cedoir re na *chorp* ocus do thimurchadh<sup>9</sup> ag na hainglibh he isin cumsanad suthain, mar a bhfhuil in *flaithemhnas* ocus in gairdechus gan forcenn, ar na cengal re corugh<sup>10</sup> mairtireach naemtha tre dingmaltacht<sup>11</sup> a gniomthara [ocus a oibrighthi fein E.]

1. om anmain ocus om uile br— E.      2. sic F. also; E. has “eirochadh.”

3. a uile alt E. & F.      4. a talmain E.      5. E. & F. read noch do.

6. chum Dia E.      7. ardaingil E.      8. a cumann ocus a caidreab red

mairtireachaibh F.      co mbeith comflaithemhnas acu re m. n. farut fein E.      9. do himcradh E. himurcad F.      10. corad F. corug— E.

11. dingmalacht E. & F.



And grasping the skin of his bosom and breast, as Tedericus related, he spoke these words with tearful groanings: "O Lord Jesus Christ, O Son of the living God and the Virgin Mary, I acknowledge and believe with all my heart<sup>a</sup> that thou art my redeemer and that thou livest and that I myself shall arise from the earth at the last day and that I shall see God my own Saviour in this body." And he said then, thrice over, putting his hand upon his eyes, "these eyes shall see him"; and opening his eyes again he looked to heaven, and he fortified<sup>b</sup> his elbow, his joints, and his breast with the sign of the holy cross and spake: "Every earthly thing I think miserable<sup>c</sup> now, for I think that I shall see by the gift<sup>d</sup> of God a thing which eye never beheld and ear never heard and that never entered into the heart of man, which God has prepared for those who love him." And after that he lifted up his hands to his God,<sup>e</sup> and made intercession for those who had died in the battle and he said, "O Lord, said he, "distribute thy mercy to thine own righteous ones who died to-day in the battle, and who came from far-away countries into these foreign lands to fight with the deceitful nation and to exalt thy holy name, and to avenge thy noble blood, and to show forth thy faith, and they are now lying, having died by the hands of the Saracens for thy sake, and O Lord mercifully blot out their sins and save their souls from the pains of hell, and send thy holy archangel to save their souls from the kingdom of darkness and to bear them into the heavenly kingdom so that they may reign together with the holy martyrs along with thyself world without end."

And when Tedricus left him making this prayer and confession the soul of Roland straightway parted from his body, and it was borne<sup>f</sup> by the angels into the everlasting rest where is the heavenly kingdom and joy unending, joined to choirs of holy martyrs through the worthiness of their own deeds and works.

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<sup>a</sup> *Lit.* from all my inwards, totis visceribus. <sup>b</sup> coepit . . . omnes artus suos et pectus signo sanctae crucis munire. <sup>c</sup> Michi villescunt C. <sup>d</sup> Christo donante. <sup>e</sup> *Lit.* "his own God," <sup>f</sup> transfertur.

In tan do scar anum Rolanduis re n-a chorp, “ocus misi,” ar<sup>1</sup> Turpinus, “isin inad remraidhti, .i. a ngleann Serluis, oculus me ag radh aithfrinn na marbh a fiadhnúisi an impiri isin lo cedna .i. in cúigeadh<sup>2</sup> callan dec do mi Iuil, do chuadhás a támh, oculus do chuala cora<sup>3</sup> [aingel oculus arcaingel E.] ag canamhuin ciuil ag dul cum nimi. Oculus nír tuices-sa in ní sin. Oculus ag dul a n-airdi dhoibh do chonnac drong do ridiribh ag teacht na ndeghaidh maille dassacht mor mar do bheith creach leo, oculus do fhiafruigheas cu h-obunn [dibh” arsi Turpinus E.] “cret do bhi accu ag a breith leo. ‘Ata againn,’ ar siat, ‘Marsirius ag a bhreith cum iffrinn. Bur trumpoir-si<sup>4</sup> iomorro ata Michel ag a bhreith cum na cathrach nemhdha, maille moran eli leis.’ Oculus ar canumhain in aithfrinn [dam F. & E.] do innisius<sup>5</sup> don Impir gach ní da bhfaca, oculus adubhart ris: “Bidh a fhis agat co fir-inneach co ruc Michel archaingéal anam Rolanduis maille moran d’ anmannuibh Cristaighi eli leis cum nimhe; oculus ní fhedur-sa cret in bas fuair, oculus rucadar na diabail spirit duini eicin dar ainm Marsirius leo cum iffrinn, maille moran d’ anmannuibh ainchrstaighi eli.”<sup>6</sup>

“Oculus, ag a radh sin damh, tainic Baldonius chughaim a cedoir ar ech Rolanduis, oculus do innis gach ní da ndernad ann. Oculus do innis gur fhacuibh Rolandus a n-airtecal<sup>7</sup> báis a bhfhogus do<sup>8</sup> cloich marmuir isin cnuc,” mar adubhramar.

Ar leicen gairthedh oculus comharc isin tslúagh uili do thinnisnaighedur<sup>9</sup> cum an inaid a roibhi Rolandus, oculus tainic Serlus roimh chach, oculus fuair Rolandus na loighi gan annuin oculus he sinti, oculus a lamha ar a ucht a bhfhighair na croisi cesda, oculus do loigh ar a mhuin, oculus do bhi [ag a pogadh oculus E.] ga cháinedh maille hosnadhaibh oculus re déruibh oculus re h-uallaibh<sup>10</sup> oculus re hecaintibh dothuarascbhala, oculus do ghabh ag fascad a ghlac oculus a’ scribadh a aighthi le a ingnaibh<sup>11</sup> oculus ag tarraing a fhuilt oculus a fhesóigi; oculus adubhairt do ghuth ard maille toirrsi moir:

1. arsi E. & F. 2. in sechtmadh E. & F. 3. comradh E. 4. E. reads ata Michel ag a breith buain cum na cathrach n., etc. 5. do innsis F. & E. 6. F. omits last five words. 7. airceul F. E. seems to read forcedul. 8. don E. & F. 9. gluaiseadar F. & E. The sentence is turned quite differently in E. 10. nuallaib E. & F. 11. F. omits last eight words but inserts “le na ingnaibh” after “fuilt.”

When<sup>a</sup> Roland's soul had parted from his body, "I," said<sup>b</sup> Turpin, "being in the above-named place, namely in Charles's Valley, and saying the mass of the dead in the presence of the emperor that same day, namely the fifteenth<sup>c</sup> kalends of the month of July, fell into a trance and heard choirs of angels and archangels chanting music going up to heaven. And that thing I understood not. And after they had gone up on high, I beheld a band of knights coming behind them with great boldness, as though they had a prey with them, and I suddenly asked," said Turpin, "what it was they had which they were carrying off with them. "We have," said they, "Marsirius being brought to hell. Your trumpeter,<sup>d</sup> however, Michael is bringing him to the heavenly city with many others along with him." And when I had sung the mass I told the emperor everything I had seen, and I said to him, "know thou for truth that Michael the archangel has brought Roland's soul with many other Christian souls along with him to heaven; but I know not by what death he died, and the devils have brought the spirit of a certain man whose name is Marsirius with them to hell together with many other unchristian souls."

And just as I had said that, Baldonius<sup>e</sup> came to us straightway on Roland's steed, and told everything that had been done. And he related that he had left Roland at the point of death close to a marble stone on the hill, as we have mentioned.

Uttering shouts and cries throughout the entire host they hastened to the place where Roland was, and Charles came before all others and found Roland lying lifeless stretched out with his hands on his bosom in the figure of the cross of crucifixion, and he lay over him kissing and lamenting him with sighs and tears and wailings and lamentations indescribable, and he fell to wringing his hands and tearing his face with his nails and plucking out his hair and beard, and he spoke with a loud voice in great

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<sup>a</sup>The Irish translation omits here a short chapter in hexameters and pentameters entitled "De nobilitate moribus et largitate beati Rotholandi martyris."

<sup>b</sup>There is no "said" in the Latin.

<sup>c</sup>Sexto decimo.

<sup>d</sup>tibicinem virum.

<sup>e</sup>Balduinus.

"A lamh dhes mu chuirp, a mhaisi na *Frangcach*, a *claidhimh* na firentachta, a shlcagh dho-fhillte, a luireach *nemh*<sup>1</sup>-truainnighthi, a chathbhair in *tslanaighthi* [ocus na *crodhachta* E.] a bharamhail Judais Macabeus<sup>2</sup> ar *crodhacht*: a innshamhail Shamsoin ar *laidiri*: a leitheit Shaul ocus Ion[at]as<sup>3</sup> ar thoicthi<sup>4</sup> bais: a ridiri ro ghreanmhair do b' colcha a cathaibh idir na huili dhainibh ocus do ba *laidiri* ina gach nech. A cheinel righda, a scristoir na *Seirrisdineach* a ditnightheoir na *Cristaighi*, a mhur na *cléireach*, a lorg na n-anmhunn, a bhiadh na feadhbh, a shasad na ndainé<sup>5</sup> mbocht ocus saidhbir, a *edtromaidhtheoir* na<sup>6</sup> n-eglais, a thenga da nár aithnidh<sup>7</sup> brecc a mbreithemhnas chaich, a Iarla uasail na *Frangcach*, a thaisigh shluagh na *Cristaighi*, *crét* fa tucus isna crichaibh-si thu! Cidh um a faicim<sup>8</sup> marbh thu. Cidh um nach faghaim bas leat. Cid mu a bhfhacbhai mhe toirrsech dimhaineach.<sup>9</sup> As truadh mar atu<sup>10</sup> bocht, ni fhedur cred do ghen. Bí-si<sup>11</sup> ad bheathaidh maille h-ainglibh nime, ocus bi a ngairdeachus maille coroin na mairtireach ocus a forbhfailtius mailleis in uili naem, ocus biat-sa [re m' re E.] agut chainc mar do chain *Daibid* Saul ocus *Jonatas* ocus *Absalom*.<sup>12</sup> Atai-si ar ndul a d' thir dhuthaigh ar n-am<sup>13</sup> fhacbhail-si co himsnimach [dobronach dubhach E.] ar in saeghal so. As taitneach do thegdhais-si<sup>14</sup> ocus is bronach ar laithi-ne, ocus do bí h'aeis ocht mbliadna dec ar .xx.<sup>15</sup> Ocus gia adhluicter a talmhain thu atai ar ndul [a n-airde go glormur E.] cum fleighe<sup>15</sup> *Parrthais*. Gurub uime sin as imshnimhach<sup>16</sup> in saeghal ocus is forbhfailteach in flaithemnus neamdha gut anorad.

Ocus do bhi Serlus ac caine Rolanduis do na briathraibh-si, ocus da *cosmhailibh*<sup>17</sup> in cein do mhair. As a haithli [na cuma ocus na briathar E.] sin do shaidh Serlus a phubal in aghaidh sin isin inad a roibhi Rolandus marbh, ocus do urail corp Rolanduis do chumhdach [ocus do maisiughadh E.] do bhalsaimm ocus do

1. E. & F. read do-t. for nemh-t.      2. Mic Ebeus F.    Mic Abeus E.  
3. Iouais F.    E. seems to read the same.      4. toici F.    toidhce E.  
5. marbh ocus na d. mb. E.      6. Perhaps "*edtromughadh*."    etrumug—  
E. & F.    7. nar thaithigh E.    8. ma fheithim F.    9. imsnimhach E.  
10. ataim E.    11. beirsi F.    12. Jonas ocus Abstalón F. ocus Jonatas  
Absolom! E.    13. nar f—ne F. gar f—ne E.    14. as taithnemach  
glormar dodtanmainisi E.    15. Thus E. *Lis.* has "*fleghe*."    16. Thus  
E. & F. *Lis.* has "*imshnimh*."    17. *cosmailedh* E



grief, "O right hand of my body,<sup>a</sup> O beauty of the Franks,<sup>b</sup> O sword of righteousness, O spear not to be turned,<sup>c</sup> O breastplate unsullied, O helmet of Salvation and valour, O thou similar to Judas Macabaeus for valour, O thou like unto Samson for strength, O thou such as Saul or Jonathan was in the fortune of death,<sup>d</sup> O knight right pleasant and of all men most knowledgable in battles and more powerful than any man, O royal offspring, destroyer of the Saracens, protector of the Christians, wall of the clergy, staff of the feeble, food of the widows, satisfaction of men poor and rich, lightener of the churches [burdens],<sup>e</sup> tongue which in the judgment of all never knew a lie, noble earl of the Franks, chieftain of the hosts of the Christians, why did I ever bring thee into these countries? Why do I behold thee dead? Why die I not along with thee? Why dost thou leave me sorrowful and desolate?<sup>f</sup> Alas! how poor am I! I know not what I shall do. Live thou with the angels of heaven, and be in joy with the crown of the martyrs, and in happiness with every saint, and I shall be, so long as I live, lamenting thee as David lamented for Saul and Jonathan and Absalom.<sup>g</sup> Thou art going to thy native country leaving me full of care and sorrow and sadness in this world. Brilliant is thy abode but sorrowful is our day; and thy age was thirty-eight years. And though thou art buried in earth thou art going aloft gloriously to the feast of Paradise. Therefore it is that full of care is this world, and joyous is the heavenly kingdom honouring thee."

And Charles was lamenting for Roland with these and like words so long as he was alive.<sup>h</sup> After that lamentation and those words Charles pitched his tent for that night in the place where Roland lay dead, and he gave orders to preserve and adorn Roland's body with balsam and myrrh and

<sup>a</sup> The Latin adds *barba optima*. <sup>b</sup> *Gallorum*. <sup>c</sup> *inflexibilis*. <sup>d</sup> *mortis fortuna*. <sup>e</sup> *revelatio ecclesiarum*. <sup>f</sup> *inanem*. <sup>g</sup> The Latin breaks

into verse as follows:—

Tu patriam repetis, nos triste sub orbe relinquis,  
Te tenet aula nitens, nos lacrimosa dies.  
Sex qui lustra gerens octo bonus insuper annos  
Ereptus terrae justus ad astra redis.  
Ad parasidicas epulas te cive reducto  
Unde gemit mundus gaudet honore polus.

<sup>h</sup> his verbis et his similibus Karolus Rotholandum luxit quamdiu vixit.



*mirra* ocus d' aloes ocus do rinnedar cach uili a fhaire cu h-anorach [frichnamach E.] re hedh na h-oighthi sin, maille canntaireacht ocus re caintibh<sup>1</sup> ocus re lóchrannuibh [ocus re tapairibh E.] do bheith ar lasad na thimcheall ocus re teinntibh d' adhaint ar fud in fhega [ocus na coilledh E.] co huilidhi. Ocus do chuadar a mucha in lai ar na mharach, armtha eidighthi, cum an inaid ar cuiread [in t-ar ocus E.] in cath, ocus in a rabhtur in lucht cath-aighthi marbh isin glenn re n-abar Runcia.<sup>2</sup> Ocus fuair gach drong aca a caruit fein, cuid dibh marbh ocus cuid eli beo, ocus cuid a croilighi báis. As amlaidh fuarudar Oluerus na loighi ar talmhain ar n-aitherrach on t-shoillsi shoeghalla cum na scillsi suthaini, ocus hé ar na shinedh a bhfhigair na croisi césta, ocus ar na chengal [ocus ar na cuibreach E.] do cordaidhibh cruaidi do chethra cuailibh,<sup>3</sup> ocus a chroicenn ar na bhuaín de do<sup>4</sup> scenaibh ro ghera, o inn<sup>5</sup> a mheoir co a mhullach, ocus se ar na chirrbadh<sup>6</sup> do ghaibh ocus do shoighdibh ocus do claidmhibh o mhoran do bhuillibh. Ocus do tocbhadh eighmhe [ocus comaire F.] mora ocus brón ar nach roibhi nuimir acu or do bhi gach nech dhibh ag caine a charat fein, ocus do linadur na glennta ocus coillti do comharcaib ocus d' eighmhibh [ocus do basgaire E.].

As a aithle sin do luidh in ri fa Ein-nDia<sup>7</sup> uili-chumachtach nach anfad ac lenmhain na Padanach no go fagad iat. Ocus in tan do b'ail leis a luighi do choimhlínadh do mhuin ghnima, do thadhbhaisedh<sup>8</sup> doibh an grian do bheith na comhnuidhi ocus in la ar na fhaidiughadh re spas tri la. Ocus fuair ainsein na Seirrisdinigh [an a suidhi F.] ag caithim a codach laimh risin sruth darub ainm Ebra<sup>9</sup> a ngar do inad re n-abar Cesar Augusta,<sup>10</sup> Ocus do dhoirt<sup>11</sup> in ri na cenn mar leomhan ag dul ar creich.<sup>12</sup> Ocus ar mharbhadh cethra míle dhech<sup>13</sup> dibh do impo in ri cona shluagh arís cum in gleanna re n-abar Runnsia. Ocus ar mbreith a ndaine marb ocus loitide ocus eslan leo cum an inaid a roibhi corp Rolanduis do thindscaín

1. coinnlib E & F.      2. Ruinsia F. & E.      3. F. omits last three words.  
 4. le E. & F.      5. finn F. & E.      6. E. inserts several other synonymous verbs.  
 7. Lis. has einndia. F. & E. endia.      8. foillsighedh F.  
 9. Eabra E.      10. sesar augustus E.      11. E. adds ocus do spor.  
 12. dul fo ellach E.      13. ceitri míle E. & F.

aloes, and every one waked<sup>a</sup> him with honour and fervour during all that night, with chanting and candles [E. & F.] and with lamps and tapers lit around him and with kindling of fires throughout the entire grove and wood. And early on the morrow they marched in arms and armour to the place where the battle had been fought and the slaughter made, where the fighting men were [lying] dead in the valley which is called Runcia.<sup>b</sup> And every band of them found their own friends, some of them dead and some of them alive, and some of them in the agonies of death.<sup>c</sup> And this is how they found Oliver, lying on the ground changed from the light of this world to the light eternal, stretched out in the figure of the cross of crucifixion, and bound and fastened with hard cords to four stakes, his skin taken off him with full-sharp knives from the tips of his fingers to his crown, and mangled<sup>d</sup> with many blows from spears and arrows and swords. And great lamentations and cries were raised and [sounds of] grief beyond number by them, for every one was lamenting his own friend, and they filled the valleys and woods with outcries and wailings and clapping of hands.<sup>e</sup>

After that the king sware by the one omnipotent God that he would not desist from following the Pagans until he found them. And when he desired to fulfil his oath by carrying it into deed it appeared to them that the sun was at a stand-still and the day lengthened for the space of three days. And then he found the Saracens eating their meal beside the stream which is called the Ebra<sup>f</sup> close to a place which is called Caesar Augusta. And the king burst<sup>g</sup> upon them like a lion going for a prey. And after killing fourteen<sup>h</sup> thousand of them the king returned again with his army to the valley which is called Runnsia.<sup>i</sup> And taking their dead and wounded and sick people with them to the place where Roland's body was, Charles began to enquire

<sup>a</sup> *Lit.* "watched," "exequias peregerunt." <sup>b</sup> in Runcievallē C. Runcia-  
vallē *Fr.* <sup>c</sup> *letaliter vulneratos.* Crolighi usually means "lying in gore."

<sup>d</sup> *Jaculisque et sagittis lanceisque et spatibus perforatum magnisque ictibus baculorum attritum invenerunt.* <sup>e</sup> One word "clamoribus" stands in the Latin for these three.

<sup>f</sup> *Ebro.* <sup>g</sup> *Lit.* poured, see note h, p. 79.

<sup>h</sup> The Latin texts read 4,000. <sup>i</sup> *ad Runcievallem C. ad Runciamvallem Fr.*

Serlus a iarmhoracht ar<sup>1</sup> bhfir *no* ar<sup>2</sup> brég gur b'e Ganalonus do thinnlaic na cathaighthe cuigi,<sup>3</sup> mar adubhratar moran. Ocus do urail a cedoir da ridiri armtha eidighthe do chur cum comraic d' fhoillsiughadh na firindi .i. Pinapellus a hucht Ganalonuis, ocus Tedericus<sup>4</sup> a hucht Serluis. Ocus do thuit Pinapellus a cedoir. Ar bhfoillsiughadh braith Ganalonuis mar sin do urail Serlus a cengal as scotaib<sup>5</sup> ceathra sdet uaibhreach ocus do chuir marcach ar gach sdet dibh da mbrosdughadh<sup>6</sup> o cheile is na ceathra hairdibh. Ocus ar scoltad chuirp Ganalonuis o cheile mar sin, fuair bas mar do dliged.\*

As a haithle sin do cumhdaighetur cuirp na ndaine marb sin maille [*neithibh dedhbalaiddh* examla .i. cuid dib maille F. & E.] mirra, ocus drong le balsam,<sup>7</sup> ocus drong le haloe,<sup>8</sup> ocus sochaidhi ag nach bidís neithi degbhalaiddh do scoiltis cuirp a carad ar a mbronnuibh, ocus do chuirdis salann orra. Drong ele dhibh do hadlacad isin inad in ro marbad. Ocus do imcratar<sup>9</sup> drong ele dibh cuirp a carat leo isin Fraingc da n-adhlacadh, an a n-inadaibh dilsí.<sup>10</sup> Ocus do batar da reilic uaisli choisercta<sup>11</sup> a focus doibh ann sin .i. reilic dibh isin inad re n-abur Arelaten<sup>12</sup> ocus reilic ele san inad re n-abar Burdegall<sup>13</sup> do fhulair in t-impiri do choisercad do lamhuib vii n-esbag do bhi na fhochair, ocus as inntibh sin do h-adlacad in chuid is mo dá fuair bás ann sin.

Ocus in drong fuair bás a mullach slebhe Garsim, ris nar ben arm, is amnsna reilgibh sin, do h-adlaicedh iat, ar comailt neithe

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1. arfhír F. Narbhír E. 2. nar E. 3. na ka Criostaighi E. "an K" (i.e. cath) F. 4. Tredicus E. & F. 5. a foltaib E. & F. 6. dasporad ocus dambrostughadh ocus daspregadh o cheile E. 7. balsamus E. 8. haloes E. 9. beridh? F. 10. duthaigh disle E. duthaigh fein F. 11. coisrica F. coisregtha E. 12. Elate E. 13. Partegal E. Burtigal F.

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\* Sur tuz les autres l' unt otrié li Franc  
Que Guenes moerget par merveillus ahan,  
Quatre destriers funt amener avant ;  
Pois, si li lient e les piez e les mains.  
Li cheval sunt orgoillus e curant ;  
Quatre serjant le acoeillent devant

whether it was true or false that it was Ganelon who had gathered the warriors to him,<sup>a</sup> as many said. And he forthwith ordered two knights in arms and armour to be set to fight to make manifest the truth, namely Pinapellus on behalf of Ganelon, and Tedericus<sup>b</sup> on behalf of Charles. And Pinapellus<sup>c</sup> fell at once. The treachery of Ganelon being revealed in this manner, Charles ordered him to be bound to the tails of four high-mettled steeds and he set a rider on each steed of them, urging them apart towards the four airts. And Ganelon's body being split asunder, in this way he died, as was his due.

After that they covered the bodies of those dead men with various fragrant things, some with myrrh and some with balsam and some with aloes, and numbers of those who had no perfumes used to split the bodies of their friends [opening] their breasts and stomachs and used to put salt upon them. Others of them were buried in the place where they were slain. And more of them carried the bodies of their friends with them into France to bury them in their own places. And there were two noble graveyards consecrated near them there, one of them in the place which is called Arelatem<sup>d</sup> and another graveyard in the place which is called Burdegale,<sup>e</sup> which the emperor ordered to be consecrated at the hands of seven bishops<sup>f</sup> who were in his company, and it was in these the greater part of those who died there were buried.

And those who died on the summit of Mount Garsim, whom no weapon ever touched, it was in these graveyards that they

<sup>a</sup> pugnatoses tradidisset.

<sup>b</sup> Tedericum C. Therrdicum *Fr.*

<sup>c</sup> Pinabellus.

<sup>d</sup> Arles.

<sup>e</sup> Bordeaux.

<sup>f</sup> The Latin text gives the names of the seven bishops and of their sees.

Devers une ewe ki est en mi un camp.  
 Guenes est turnez à perdition grant.  
 Trestuit si nerf mult li sunt estendant,  
 E tuit li membre de sun cors derumpant  
 Sur l' herbe verte en espant li clers sancs  
 Guenes est morz cume fel recreant  
 Ki trāist a altre neu est dreiz qu'il s'en vant.

Chanson de Roland.



ndeadhbhalaidh da corpuibh. As a aithle sin do fhurail Serlus corp Rolanduis d' imchar ar dhá mhúl *cus* an inad re n-abar Balueum oculus do h-adlacadh co hanorach [uasal E.] he a n-eglais Romanuis, do fhulair se fein do denam roimhe sin, oculus an ar chuir cananaighe riagalda. Oculus do cuiread a claidhiomh ac a chinn oculus a buaball ebori ac<sup>1</sup> a chosaibh mar inncomurtha a ghaiscid oculus a chrodhachta.

"A cind begain aimsiri na dhiaigh sin," ar Turpinus, "do foillsighedh bas in righ .i. *Serlus* dam-sa, mar so. La da raba<sup>2</sup> isin cathraigh re n-abar Uienna<sup>3</sup> isin n-eclais a fiadhnuisi na h-altoire co ndechadhas a tamh [oculus a taisi E.] oculus me ag denumh urnaighiti ag rádh in tsailm-si Deus in adiutorium meum intende, tadhbbhas<sup>4</sup> damh sluagh di-airmhe do ridiribh ag dul torum cum cathrach Letarangia.<sup>5</sup> Oculus ar n-imthecht doibh uile do connac nech dibh a cosmailius fir ghuirm, oculus he ag leanmhain chaich ar siubhal mhall, oculus adubhart ris 'ca slige a teighthe.' 'Téighmid,' ar sé co hAqis<sup>6</sup> Granis d' innsaighidh bhais Serluis Impir, do breith a spiride<sup>7</sup> cum ithfrinn.' Oculus adubhart-sa<sup>8</sup> ris 'Cuirim ort [oculus cenglaim dít E.] a n-ainm Isu Crist mu thighearna techt<sup>9</sup> dom innsaighidh ar crichnughad do thurais duit. Oculus ar ndenumh becaim comnuidhi na dhiaigh sin, is ar eicin do crichnaighius in salm, in tan ad connac iat ar n-impod ar in suidhead cedna. Oculus adubhart ris in bhfer ndeighineach dhibh 'cred do ghnoaigheabhair<sup>10</sup> o shin' ? Do fhreguir an diabal oculus adubhairt 'Do chuir in Gailinseach gan cenn<sup>11</sup> in mheid sin do clochaibh oculus do mhaidibh a eglais isin mheidh innus gur truime<sup>12</sup> maith Serluis inait a uilcc; gurab uime sin ruc a anam uainne.' Oculus

1. Thus F. *Lis.* has "os." E. I cannot make out. 2. robasa F. rabha E.  
3. uiuenna E. uicsenna F. 4. tabhas E. 5. letairngia F. & E. 6.  
6. haicis E. aicis F. 7. spirat E. anma F. 8. se *Lis.* 9. innto E.  
inntogh F. 10. gnodheabairsi E. gnodabursi F. 11. cinnedh E.  
12. Thus E. & F. *Lis.* has "truma."



were buried, fragrant stuffs having been rubbed upon their bodies. After that Charles gave orders that Roland's body should be carried on two mules to the place which is called Balveum<sup>a</sup> and it was honourably and nobly interred in the church of [St.] Romanus, which he had himself before that ordered to be built and where he had established canons regular. And his sword was placed at his head and his ivory trumpet at his feet as a mark of his heroism and valour.<sup>b</sup>

"At the end of a short time after that," says Turpin, "the death of the king, that is of Charles, was revealed to me in this wise. On a day that I was in the city which is called Vienna in the church before the altar, I fell into a trance and swoon, even as I was praying [and] saying this psalm *Deus in adiutorium meum intende*. There was revealed to me an innumerable body of knights going past me to the city of Letarangia.<sup>c</sup> And when they had all gone by I saw one of them in the likeness of a Moor,<sup>d</sup> following the rest at a slow walk, and I said to him 'what way do you go.' 'We go,' said he 'to Aquis granis<sup>e</sup> to the death of the Emperor Charles to bring his spirit to hell.' And I said to him, 'I adjure thee and bind thee in the name of Jesus Christ my Lord to come [back] to me when you have finished your journey.'<sup>f</sup> And having rested for a little while after that I had scarcely finished the psalm when I saw them returning in the same order. And I said to the last man of them 'what have ye achieved<sup>g</sup> [or done] since'? The devil answered and said 'The Galician without a head put so many stones and sticks of his churches into the scale that Charles's good weighed heavier than his evils, and so in this wise he took

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<sup>a</sup> Blavium, *i.e.* Blaye. <sup>b</sup> After this there follows in the Latin a chapter and a half giving the names of those buried at Blaye and at Arles. This is omitted in the Irish. Then follows chapter 31 of *Fr.*, of the Council held at St. Denis, in which Charles made that see independent, also chapter 31 in Castet's text upon the Seven Arts. Chapter 30 of Castet's text which is chapter 31 of the Frankfort edition begins: "Hinc adunato episcoporum et principum concilio in Basilica Sancti Dionysii, etc." <sup>c</sup> versus Lotharingiam tendere, *i.e.* Lorraine. <sup>d</sup> Literally a "blue man" as the Irish called the negro. <sup>e</sup> Aquisgranum. <sup>f</sup> A story like this is told of the Irish Crom dubh in the book of Lismore. O'Longan's copy, fol. 110.

<sup>g</sup> quid egisti.

ar rádh na mbriathar sin do chuaidh in diabhal ar neifní, agus do thuices-sa as na neithibh-si Serlus do dhul don tsaeghal in lá sin, agus a bhreith cum in fhlaithemhnais nemhdha mar do dhliged<sup>1</sup> tre edarghuighi San Sem, da nderna moran d'ecalsaibh. Ocus in la do scarus-sa ris a Uienna, do naiscius air, da bhfedadh techtairi do chur chugam d'innisiu a bhais damh, damad tusca a bhas<sup>2</sup> ina mu bhas fein. Ocus do naisc-sen oram-sa mar an cedna. Ocus ar mbeith eslan do-san do cuimnigh ar a ghealladh agus do aithin do ridiri do ba dalta dho,<sup>3</sup> in uair do aitheonad bás 'na ghaire, a fhoillsiughad damh-sa," ar Turpinus. "Ocus a cinn .u. la ndec deis a bhais fuarus a fhis o n-a thechtaire, gu roibhi ag a gallrugadh<sup>4</sup> do shir on trath fa tainic as in Spainn cu la a bhais; agus gu tabrad ar anmain na droingi adubhramar, do thuit isin chath, comhainm<sup>5</sup> in lai in ar fuilingedar martra ar gradh Crist .i. in vi<sup>d</sup> callain dec do mhí Iúil, da mhili dhég uingi dh'aircet, agus in oiret cedna do thallanaib oir, agus éadaighi agus biadha imdha do bhochtuibh, gacha bliadhna, re feadh a bethadh; agus co n-urailledh in oiret cedna dh' aithfreannaib agus do shaltrachaib do chantain ar a n-anmunnuibh agus d' aintibh do dhenam. Ocus do innis<sup>6</sup> fos gurab é in la in a bhfaca-sa<sup>7</sup> in taidhbhsi sin .i. in uad<sup>d</sup> callann dec do mhi Fhebhra,<sup>8</sup> in tan do b'aeis don Tighearna ocht ced biadhan agus cetra bliadna dec,<sup>9</sup> la in a ndechaidh sé don tsaeghal so, agus gur h-adhlacad cu hanorach hé a Aquis<sup>10</sup> Granis, a n-eclais cruinn Mhuire do rinne sé fein."

[Ocus do cuala na comarthai so dfaicsin tri bliadhna re na bas, oir tharla gur claochluigheadh an grian agus in re a ndath adhuatmhar re fed secht la agus F.]<sup>11</sup> a ainm fein .i. Serlus prinnsa do bhi scribhtha ar balla na h-ecailsi remhraitti, do chuaidh as uadha fein, began re n-ec dho-san. Ocus in poirsi do bhi idir an eclais agus an halla<sup>12</sup> righdha do thuit uadha<sup>13</sup> fein la a freasgabhala.

1. Sic. These three words not in E. 2. sic E. Lis. reads "he." 3. E. adds "fein, sul dechadh d'eag." 4. aga dalladh E. 5. a comhainm E.  
6. Innsis F. 7. ana facadh F. 8. Eabhra E. 9. F. transposes, 4 bl. dh. agus ocht ced. E. adds agus is e sin la prici (?) verginis agus tuc fen a cailinnter (?) 10. aicis E. 11. E. reads much the same. 12. talla E.  
13. buadha E.

his soul from us.' And having said those words the devil disappeared<sup>a</sup> and I understood from these things that Charles had departed from the world on that day, and had been brought to the heavenly kingdom, as was his due, through the intercession of Saint James for whom he built many churches.

"And the day I parted with him in Vienna, I bound him, if he were able, to send me a messenger to tell me of his death if it were to come sooner than my own death. And he bound me in like manner. And he being ill remembered his promise, and he ordered a knight who was a fosterling<sup>b</sup> of his own that so soon as he should recognise death to be near him, he was to reveal it to me," says Turpin. "And at the end of fifteen days after his death I obtained knowledge of this from his messenger—that he had been constantly ailing from the time he came out of Spain to the day of his death, and that, for the souls of those we have spoken of who fell in the battle, on the anniversary of the day in which they suffered martyrdom for the love of Christ, namely the sixteenth kalends of the month of July, he used to give twelve thousand ounces of silver and the same number of talents of gold, and much clothing and food to the poor every year, during his life; and that he used bid chant as many masses and psalters<sup>c</sup> for their souls, and perform fastings. And moreover he told me that the day on which I saw that vision, namely the 15th<sup>d</sup> kalends of the month of February in the age of the Lord eight hundred and fourteen years was the day in which he departed from this world, and that he was buried honourably in Aquis granis<sup>e</sup> in the round church of Mary which he himself had built.

And I heard that these signs were seen three years before his death. For it came to pass that the sun and the moon were changed into a fearful colour for the space of seven days, and his own name, moreover, "Prince Charles," which was written on the wall of the aforesaid church, disappeared of itself a short time before his death. And the porch which was between the church and the royal hall,<sup>f</sup> it fell of itself on the day of his ascension

<sup>a</sup> *Lit.* "went into nothingness." *Latin* "evanuit." <sup>b</sup> *cuidam militi*  
*alumpno suo.* <sup>c</sup> *psalteria.* <sup>d</sup> *quinto.* <sup>e</sup> *apud Aquisgranum,*  
*i.e. Aix-la-chapelle.* <sup>f</sup> *inter basilicam et regiam.*

Ocus in droichet crandghaile<sup>1</sup> do rinne maille saethar mor a Maguncia<sup>2</sup> ar in sruth re n-abar Uehyn<sup>3</sup> .viii. mbliadhna roime sin, do loscad<sup>4</sup> uadhia fein gu h-uilidhi.

La ele do Sherlus ac siubhal began aimsiri roim a bhas ocus tarla doinnenn ocus gairbhthen<sup>5</sup> mor cu h-obunn ann, co facas don righ lasair ag imthecht cu h-obunn<sup>6</sup> o n-a leith deis co a leith cle, ocus ar ngabhail eglá moire dhó do thuit da ech cum talmhan. Ocus tancatar a companaigh cuigi, ocus do thocbhatar [o lar E.] he. Gurab iat sin innchomartada bais Sherluis ria n-ec dho. Ocus creidmit<sup>7</sup> anois co bhfhuil a chuid do choroin na mairtiri<sup>8</sup> remraitti aigi. Or as derbh lind gur fhuiluing a chuid da saethar [ocus do documal E.] Ma asedh as in-tuicti ar an eisimlair so, in te chumhdaighius eacalsa co n-ullmhuigheann flaithius De dho fein, or do saerad<sup>h</sup> Serlus o na diablaibh ocus do suidhead san flaithimnus nemdha he tre fhurtacht ocus tre impidhi<sup>9</sup> na naemh da nderna se saethar ocus eacalsa ocus anoir.<sup>10</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

As oirces a chuimhniughad ann so in mhirbail aithrisdear d'fhoillsiughadh do Dhia ar son Rolanduis,<sup>11</sup> an tan do bhi na bethaidh re ndul isin Sbain do ; or in tan do bhi an t-iarla anorach sin re re .vii. míss<sup>12</sup> a timchioll na cathrach re n-abar Granopulis<sup>13</sup> aga gabhail maille sluaghuibh do-airme Cristaighe, tainic techtairi co tindisnach cuigi da innisin do gu roibi Serlus brathair a mháthar a caislen a cathraigh<sup>14</sup> a n-imcall na Germaine, ocus triur righ na thimchioll aga gabháil [ar éigin E.] air, .i. ri Uandalorum<sup>15</sup> ocus ri Saxonum ocus ri Frixonum gu n-a sloghuibh, ocus do aithin [Searlus E.] de co deibireach<sup>16</sup> dul maille na shluagh co tinnisneach

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1. Cranngail E. 2. ar magh Uncia F. amad uncia E. 3. uehin E. & F. 4. do loisg se E. loisged F. 5. gairbhsin E. 6. F. omits last 12 words, E. omits the last nine, and reads "gur fliuchadh ocus gur baidhedh" instead, which seems to make no sense when followed by "o leith des," etc. 7. creidim anois, ar Turpinus E. 8. mairterach E. mairtiri—E. F. omits "remraitti." 9. F. omits last three words. 10. F. omits these two words. 11. do Rolandus o Dhia E. 12. mbliadhan ! E. 13. granapuilis F. grana faillis E. 14. sic E. "acaissiugadh a cathrach F. 15. badhol-  
orum E. 5. deib—c F. d7idech E.



[to heaven]. And the wooden bridge which he had built with great labour in Maguncia<sup>a</sup> over the stream which is called Uehyn<sup>b</sup> seven years before that, it was utterly burned without external cause.<sup>c</sup>”

Another day as Charles was walking a little while before his death, there suddenly arose bad weather and a great storm, and there appeared to the king a blaze travelling rapidly from the right hand to the left hand, and he being greatly terrified fell off his horse to the ground.<sup>d</sup> And his companions came to him and raised him up from the ground. So that those were signs of Charles death before his [actual] decease. And we believe now that he has his share of the crown of the above-mentioned martyrs. For we are certain that he endured his own share of their labour and hardship. It may be understood, then, from this example that he who builds churches is preparing the heaven of God for himself, for Charles was freed from the devils and was placed in the heavenly kingdom through the succour and entreaty of the saints for whom he had laboured and to whom he had given churches and honour.<sup>e</sup>

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‘It is fitting to remember here the miracle that it is related God exhibited for Roland when he was alive before his going into Spain; for when that honoured earl had been for the period of seven months [encamped] round the city which is called Granopolis<sup>g</sup> [trying] to take it with innumerable Christian hosts, messengers hurriedly came<sup>h</sup> to him telling him that Charles, his mother’s brother,<sup>i</sup> was in a castle in a city on the borders of Germany with three kings round about him trying to take it, the king of the Vandals,<sup>j</sup> and the king of the Saxons, and the king of the Frisians<sup>k</sup> with their hosts, and he hastily<sup>l</sup> bade him come quickly with his

<sup>a</sup> The various Latin texts read “apud mogontiam, mangontiam, magontiam, moguntiam, *i.e.* Mentz. <sup>b</sup>superfluvium Reni. <sup>c</sup>*Literally* “from itself.” For the construction of this Rhine bridge see the Chanson des Saisnes, clviii-clxvi.

<sup>d</sup> in alteram partem de equo cecidit et aucona (arca *Fr.*) quam manu ferebat in alteram. <sup>e</sup> *Lit.* for whom he made labour and churches and honour. The Frankfort text of 1584 ends here.

<sup>f</sup> This chapter is an obvious addition to Turpin as the opening words, “sed valde dignum est ut inter cetera,” show. <sup>g</sup> Gratianopolis. <sup>h</sup> velox advenit paranimphus.

<sup>i</sup> avunculus ejus <sup>j</sup> Wandalorum. <sup>k</sup> Frisonum. <sup>l</sup> mandans et efflagitans



da fhurtacht agus da shaerad o lamhaibh na Seirrisdín<sup>1</sup>each. Do gabh imshnimh Rolandus de sin, agus do smuain<sup>1</sup> ga rogha do bheradh: An hi in cathair fa r' fulaing morán saethair agus do b'aíl leis do chur fa chuing Crist<sup>2</sup> do fhuicfeadh, agus dul d'fhurtacht Serluis, no an e a leicean a nguasacht do ghenad agus cathughad ris in cathair.<sup>3</sup> Do b' e an fer in-mholta in gach ein ceim<sup>4</sup> agus lan do trocui, in te do bhi isin ceist sin idir in da comhairli sin.<sup>5</sup> Ocus cluineam anois a ndearna an fer anorac[h] sin .i. Rolandus. Or do bhi tri la agus tri hoidhche maille na shluagh, gan bhiadh gan digh, ag denumh urnaighthe agus ag gairm Dhe da furtacht; agus adubhairt "A Thighearna, a Ihesu<sup>6</sup> Crist, a Mheic an athar nemhdha, do roinn in muir ruadh ar dhó, agus do threoraigh popul Isr[ae]l<sup>7</sup> trithe agus do bhaidh Faraoth innti agus tuc do popul fein tresin fasach, agus do trascair moran do na cineadharbh<sup>8</sup> do bhi na n-agaidh, agus do marbh righe laidiri .i. Seon ri Amorreorum agus Hoc<sup>9</sup> ri Basan<sup>10</sup> agus flaithis Candan co huilidhi<sup>11</sup> agus tuc a tir mar oigreacht dot pobul fein do clainn Isr[ae]l agus do scrís a cedoir na muir<sup>12</sup> do bi a timchioll in tsluaigh namat fo seacht,<sup>13</sup> maille gothaibh buabull agus adharc, gan chathughadh daena, gan tshas<sup>14</sup> gan ealadhuin ele, scrís<sup>15</sup> a Thighearna neart na cathrach-so agus a daingne agus a a harmdhacht<sup>16</sup> uili dod laim chumachtaigh fein, innus gu n-aithnighe an cined Padanda (nac cuirenn a ndoigh innat tre na mbuirbe) do bheith ad Dia beo agus ad righ as cumhachtaighe don uili righ agus ad dhitnightheoir dona Cristaighibh agus do bheith faris an athar agus in Spirata naeimh a fhlaithimnus tre bithu sir." Ar ndenum na hurnaighthe-si do Rolandus a cinn an treas la do thuitedar muir na cathrach da gach leith gan duini do buain riu agus do ruagad agus do marbad na Padanaigh. Ocus do impo Rolandus cona shluagh a cedoir

1. smuaintig E.

2. creidim F.

3. sic E. Lis. has cathrach.

4. Kair F. cas E.

5. F. omits last five words.

6. a Isa E. Ysa F.

7. Isrl— Lis. Israhel F. Isrl E.

8. haicmeda F. haicmidhibh E.

9. Ogh E. 10. Barsa E. 11. F. omits last nine words.

12. namair E.

13. techt F.

14. gan sas E.

15. mar sin a Thighearna scrís a neart

na Seirristineach agus na cathrach etc., E. 16. harmamlacht E. &amp; F.

army to succour him, and free him from the hands of the Saracens. Roland was filled with anxiety at that and he considered as to what his choice should be—should it be the city for which he had endured much labour and which he desired to place under the yoke of Christ that he should leave and go to succour Charles, or should he leave Charles in peril and war upon the city. It was the man praiseworthy<sup>a</sup> in every single step [he took] and full of mercy, who was in this plight<sup>b</sup> between those two counsels. And let us hear now what that honourable man Roland did. For he was for three days and three nights with his army without food, without drink, praying and calling upon God to succour him. And he said, “O Lord, O Jesu Christ, O Son of the Heavenly Father, who didst divide the Red Sea in two, and leddest the people of Israel through it and didst drown Pharaoh in it and didst bring thine own people through the wilderness and didst overthrow many of the nations who were against them, and who didst slay strong kings, Sihon king of the Amorites and Og king of Bashan, and the kingdoms of Canaan wholly, and didst give their land as an inheritance to thine own people the Children of Israel, and who didst destroy at once the walls which were round about the enemies host seven fold, with the voice of trumpets and horns, without human fighting, without engine and without other science [of war]—destroy, O Lord, the might of this city and its fortresses and all its armament<sup>c</sup> with thine own powerful hand so that the heathen nation (which through its fierceness<sup>d</sup> putteth not its trust in thee) may know that thou art a living God and the king most powerful of all kings, and the protector of the Christians, and that thou art along with the Father and the Holy Spirit in heaven for eternity.”

When Roland had made that prayer, at the end of the third day, the walls of the city fell on every side<sup>e</sup> without any persons touching them, and the Pagans were routed and slain. And

<sup>a</sup> O virum per omnia laudabilem.

<sup>b</sup> *Lit.* “question.”

<sup>c</sup> armaturam.

<sup>d</sup> feritate.

<sup>e</sup> But this miracle has been already recorded of Charles

d'furtacht Serluis isin Almain, maille gairdeachus ocus re gloir do Dhia ; ocus do shaer Serlus on guasacht<sup>1</sup> a raibhi. Ocus is o Dhia do ronadh so ocus as ingnadh he in ar suilibh-ne. Ocus a fhir leghas<sup>2</sup> so iar[r]<sup>3</sup> furtacht do Turpinus tre trocure De.

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Ocus is beg d'aimsir<sup>4</sup> dar eis bais Serluis do bhi *Turpinus* airdesbac Remuis na righ, mairtireach, na bethaidh, in tan fuair bas a Uienna<sup>5</sup> le teinnes a cnedh ocus do scis gach saethar da bhfuair, ocus do h-adhlaiced he a focus don cathraig don leith ele do Rodanum, don taeibh thoir, a n-aroili eclais. Ocus fuaradar drong do cleirchibh na cathrach, isin aimsir deighinigh so, in corp ro naemtha sin, a comra<sup>6</sup> chloiche ro-mhaith, ocus beart esbaic uime, ocus a chnamha ocus a chroicenn imshlán co uilidhi.<sup>7</sup> Ocus tucadar on eclais sin he cum cathrach ele, ocus do adhlaicedh e a teampoll anorach, mar fuil se [a comnuidhe F. & E.] ag a ghuighe anois, ocus ata coroin mharthanach aigi ar nimh, do ghnóaigh se maille saethar mor a talmhain.<sup>8</sup> Or as in-creitti in lucht do fhulaing a martra isin Spainn ar son creidimh *Crist* curub dinghlala<sup>9</sup> iat fa choroin<sup>10</sup> ar nimh. Ocus as in-tuicthi gin gu fuair Serlus ocus Turpinus bas maille Rolandus ocus re hOluerus ocus maille moran ele do mhairtiribh a ngleann Runnsia,<sup>11</sup> gidheadh cena, fuaradar coroin marthanach isin flathemhnus nemhdha. Or do fhuilngedar moran do chnedhaibh ocus do bualadh ocus do shaethar ocus do theinneas. Or adubhairt an t-esbal 'mar fhuilngimit in dochar is amlaidh do ghebhun in sochar,' *et reliqua*.

As inand Rolandus re radh ocus "Roth na hegna," or ruc se buaidh on uili rí ocus prinnsa a n-egna.

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1. airc E. 2. Not in E. O'Curry's transcript of *Lis.* reads "as fir leghar so." O'Longan's copy reads "a fhir leghar." I alter r to s. 3. F. omits last five words and makes nonsense. E. has after suilibh-ne "ocus ar furtacht do Turpinus tre trocure De," which also seems nonsense.  
 4. Thus E. & F. *Lis.* reads "as i sin dhaimsir," or "as is ind aimsir."  
 5. auiuenna F. 6. *Lis.* has cothra. 7. gan brisedh E. 8. do gnodh— . . . a flathamnus talmada F. 9. dingmala F. & E.  
 10. do coronughadh F & E. 11. Remencia E. & F

Roland turned with his host at once to succour Charles in Germany, with joy and with [giving of] glory to God, and he set Charles free from the peril in which he was. And it is of God that this was wrought, and it is wonderful in our eyes.

And O man who readest this ask succour for Turpin, through the mercy of God.<sup>a</sup>

\*   \*   \*   \*   \*

AND it was short time after the death of Charles that Turpin, Archbishop of Rheims-of-the-kings, [and] martyr, lived, for<sup>b</sup> he died in Vienna through the sickness of his wounds and through the weariness of all the labours he had endured,<sup>c</sup> and he was buried near to the city on the other side of Rodanum, the east side, in a certain church. And some of the clerics of the city in these later times found that most holy body in a fine coffin<sup>d</sup> of stone, with a bishop's vestments round him and his bones and skin completely sound. And they took him from this church to another city, and he was buried in an honourable temple where he is ever prayed to now, and he has a lasting crown in heaven which he won with great labour on earth. For it must be believed that those who endured their martyrdom in Spain for the religion of Christ are worthy of a crown in heaven. And it may be understood that though Charles and Turpin did not die with Roland and with Oliver and many other martyrs in Runcia Valley, nevertheless they gained an enduring crown in the heavenly kingdom. For they suffered many wounds and much beating and labour and sickness. For the apostle has said, 'As we endure the loss so shall we find the profit,' etc.

[The name] Roland is as much as to say "wheel of wisdom"<sup>e</sup> for he surpassed every king and prince in wisdom.

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\* The Frankfort text ended with the death of Charles. Castet's text ends here. But what follows is given by Castet as an appendix, under the title of "Calixtus papa de inventione beati Turpini episcopi et martyris." Castet's text ends with the following lines of poetry: "Qui legis hoc carmen Turpino posce juvamen, Ut pietate Dei subveniat ei." <sup>b</sup> *Lit.* "when." <sup>c</sup> *Lit.* "got." <sup>d</sup> sarcophago. <sup>e</sup> rotulus scientiae.

As inann *Olverus* oculus “Ridiri trocuireach,” or do bhi se trocairech seoch an uili dhuine, oculus cennsa na comradh, oculus búidh ana oibreachaibh.

Serlus *imorro* .i. “Soillsi na Colla” or do clai se gach uili rí talmaide<sup>1</sup> da tainic andiaigh *Crist* ar deallrad oculus ar subaltaibh,<sup>2</sup> ar crodacht oculus ar ccna.

Turpinus, *imorro*, quasi “non turpinus”<sup>3</sup> .i. “neamh-granna,” or do b’ imchian na drochbhriathra oculus na drochoibreacha uaidh.

\* \* \* \* \*

As iat so na *neithi* tharla isin *Sbain* andiaigh bais Serluis, or gach ní tarla [d’aithle a bháis E.] ní hingnad a chuimhnc ag ar menmain-[n]e air.<sup>4</sup> Or in tan do bhi *talamh* na *Sbaini* a comsanad fada tar eis bais Serluis, tainic, ar furailim an *diabail*, gur *eirigh* *Seirrisdíneach* dar ainm *Altamaior* ri *Cordubias*,<sup>5</sup> oculus adubhairt *talamh* na *Spainne* rugad ar eicin o na dainibh tainic roimhe, co mbeith se aigi fein, oculus co cuirfed fa dligid na *Seirrisdíneach* hc. Oculus do thinoil sluaighte mora cum scrisda na *Sbaini*, oculus táinig cum cathrach *San Sem* oculus do mhill gach ní da bhfuair innte, oculus do airg teagduis apstolicda *San Sem* co midingbala uma leabhraibh [oculus] uma buird aircit ; oculus na cluic oculus na deisigh<sup>6</sup> aifrinn fuair and, ruc leis iat. Oculus an uair do batur ar aidhigheacht<sup>7</sup> a teampoll *San Sem*, do bheirdis a bhfhual oculus a bhferadh ar an altoir n-apstalicda,<sup>8</sup> oculus nir fhuiling *Dia* na *neithi* so gan innechlan. Or tainic o furtacht subhaltai *De*<sup>9</sup> gur marbh flux inneadh drong dibh, oculus gur benadh a radharc as suilibh droingi eli, innus gu rabhadur ar mearughadh [oculus ar seachran E.] ar fut na cathrach. Cid tra do ghabh an dailli ugdar an uile .i. *Altumaior*, oculus tainic do chomhairli sacairt da raibhi isin teampoll innus gur guidh<sup>10</sup> se

1. talmanda F.      2. subaltai F.      subaltaigh E.      3. non tuirpis F.  
nemhdochra nemhgranna E.      4. sic E. *Lis.* has mbimainne  
and omits air, but O Longan notes that this word was written over, and  
is wrong.      5. Cornubia E. & F.      6. Thus E. deis- F.  
7. aidiacht F.      aghacht E.      8. aposdolica E.      9. subaltai *Dia* E. & F.  
10. sic E. *Lis.* has “gu nguigh se.”



"Oliver" is the same as "merciful knight,"<sup>a</sup> for he was merciful beyond every one, and mild in his discourse, and gentle<sup>b</sup> in his works.

"Charles," moreover, that is "Light of the Flesh,"<sup>c</sup> for he overcame every earthly king<sup>d</sup> of all who came after Christ for splendour and virtues, for valour and for wisdom.

"Turpin," moreover, is as if "non Turpinus" that is "Not-hateful,"<sup>e</sup> or evil words and evil works were far away from him.

\* \* \* \* \*

THESE are the events that happened in Spain after the death of Charles, for everything that happened after his death it is no wonder that our mind should remember it. For when the land of Spain [had enjoyed] a long rest after the death of Charles, it happened, at the command of the devil, that there arose a Saracen whose name was Altamaior, king of Cordubia, and he said that he himself would have the land of Spain which had been taken by violence from the people who came before him, and that he would put it under the law of the Saracens. And he collected great armies to destroy Spain. And he came to the city of Saint James, and destroyed in it everything that he found, and he unworthily<sup>f</sup> plundered the apostolic foundation of St. James of its books and silver tables; and the bells and vestments for mass which he found there he brought away with him. And when they were at entertainment in the temple of Saint James they used to filthily defile the apostolic altar.<sup>g</sup> And God did not suffer these things [to go] without retribution. For it came to pass by the help of the virtues of God that a flux of the bowels slew some of them, and the sight was taken from the eyes of others, so that they were wandering and going astray throughout the city. Moreover the blindness took hold of the author of the evil, even Altumaior, and he came, by the advice of one of the priests who was in the

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<sup>a</sup> heros misericordiae.      <sup>b</sup> clemens.      <sup>c</sup> lux carnis.      <sup>d</sup> omnes reges carnales.      <sup>e</sup> pulcherrimus, sive non Turpis. What follows here as part of the Irish text is given by Castet as another appendix.      <sup>f</sup> Or perhaps "unfittingly."      <sup>g</sup> excrementis inquinaverunt.

Dia uili-chumachtach da fhurtacht, agus adubhairt na briathra so, 'A Dhia na *Cristaighi*, a Dhia *San Sem*, a Dhia Muire, a Dhia *Petair*, a Dhia Martain, a Dhia na n-uili *Cristaighi*, dá n-aisice<sup>1</sup> dham in tslainti chedna, diultfad<sup>2</sup> mu Dia fein .i. Macametus, agus ní thiceabh do dhenamh eicne co tempoll *San Sem* no go tí an brath. O a Sin Sem mhoir, da tuga tú slainte dom medhan agus radarc dom shuilibh gach ní rucus od tegdais aiseocat he.

Cidh tra, ar n-aisiuc na neithi sin co dublaighi do tempoll *San Sem*, a cinn .u. la ndecc do h-aisiced a shlainti co himshlan don *Padanach* .i. Altumaior, agus do fhacaibh talamh *San Sem*<sup>3</sup> agus do geall nach ticfad cum eicne<sup>4</sup> and o sin suas.

Ocus do innisedh<sup>5</sup> mirbhuii De agus *San Sem* agus do adhrad doibh.

Ocus tainic roimhe iarsin cus an mbaili re a raidhtear Ornír mar a raibhi eclais uasal ag *Beatus Romanus*<sup>6</sup> agus do ba *deadhmhaisech* an teghduis sin do<sup>7</sup> bhrataibh agus do leabraibh agus do chrosaibh aircit ar n-a n-orad. Tainic Altumaior d'innsaighidh na tegduisi sin, agus do scrís a liubair,<sup>8</sup> agus ruc leis ar eicin gach uili ní dha bhfhuaire innti. Ocus ar mbeith da oighthi ar aidhigheacht<sup>9</sup> do isin mbaile sin do chuaide taiseach a shluagh isin eclais sin, agus do connaic peleir ro ailli cloichi do bhi mar fundament ag an eclais. Ocus do bhatar a n-uillena<sup>10</sup> ar na cumdach dh'ór agus d'arcet. Ocus ar na faicsin [sin F. & E.] do-san, do lin<sup>11</sup> se do shainnt, agus do urail geinnteach do chur fo na peileruibh sin agus a mbualadh le h-orduibh iarúinn. Ocus an nech do bi aga mbualadh tainic d'furtacht De in uair do thshail se an eglais do scrís,<sup>12</sup> co nderna cloch don duine sin, agus ata in cloch soin o shoin a-le a bhfhigair duine isin eclais [cedna F.] sin, agus cosmuilius an datha do bhi in tan sin ar edach<sup>13</sup> in tSeirrestin uirri [anois E.]

Ar na fhaicsin sin d' Altumaior adubhairt re na muinntir "As in-molta cu mor Dia na *Cristaighi* aga bhfuilid a leitheide

1. danaisigir E. &amp; F.

2. diultochad E. &amp; F.

3. na Spaine E.

4. eigin E.  
Romanuis E.5. do morad F.  
do innis se E.6. eaglais rouasal  
E.

7. o F.

8. baile E. &amp; F.

9. aighecht E.

10. E. seems to read badar mullaigh." Lis. has "anuill-a."

11. las E.

12. E. adds "ocus do tuitini innus co nderna."

13. F. &amp; E. omit "édach."

temple, and prayed to the omnipotent God to relieve him, and he spake these words: "O God of the Christians, O God of St. James, God of Mary, God of Peter, God of Martin, God of all Christians, if thou restorest me to the same health [I had] I shall renegue my own God even Mahomet, and I shall not come to do violence to the temple of St. James for ever. O great Saint James if thou grantest me health to my inwards and sight to my eyes, everything which I carried away from thy house I shall restore it."

However on restoring those things double to St. James' Church, at the end of fifteen days his health was restored whole to the Pagan, even to Altumaïor, and he left St. James' land and promised that he would not come to do violence there from that out.

And the miracles of God and of St. James were told, and they were worshiped.

And he went forward after that to the town which is called Ornir where Beatus Romanus had a noble church, and that was a fair foundation, for vestments, and books, and silver crosses overlaid with gold. Altumaïor came to that house and destroyed its books and took away with him by violence everything that he found in it. And when he had found entertainment for two nights in that town the leader of his hosts went into that church and beheld very beautiful pillars of stone that the church had as a foundation. And their angles were covered with gold and silver. And when he saw that, he was filled with covetousness, and he ordered wedges to be set under those pillars and to strike them with iron sledgehammers. And the man who was striking them, it came to pass by God's help when he thought to destroy the church, that that person became a stone, and that stone is ever since in that same church in the similitude of a man, and the like colour that was at that time on a Saracen's garments is on it now.

When Altumaïor saw that, he said to his people, "the God of the Christians who has such servants<sup>a</sup> is greatly to be praised,

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<sup>a</sup> *Lit.* "fosterlings" or "disciples."

sut do dhaltuibh, gid do chuatar siat fein don tsaeghal do niat indechaidh<sup>1</sup> ar na dainibh do ni dith doibh isin tshaeghul. Or ruc *San Sem* soillsi mo shul uili uaim-si, ocus do rinne Romanus cloch don duine [do bi ag bualadh an geinntigh E ], gidhedh chena as ferr<sup>2</sup> *San Sem* ina Romanus. Or do aisicc *San Sem* mo shuili dhamh-sa ocus do dhiult Romanus mhe fa am dhuine. Mas *edh* facbham na cricha-sa.” Ocus do imthigh *co n*-a shluaghaib as in crich sin.<sup>3</sup>

Tairnicc in sdair sin ocus sailim gurub maith ata si.

CRIOCH.

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1. innechadh E. & F.

2. cennsa E.

3. E. & F. add maille haithrighi.

although they have gone themselves from the world they [still]' look closely to the people who do them damage in the world. For St. James took all the light of my eyes from me, and Romanus turned the man who was striking the wedge into a stone. Howbeit St. James is better than Romanus, for St. James gave me back my eyes but Romanus refused me about my man ! Then, let us leave these districts'' ! And he departed with his hosts out of that land.

This history is finished and I think that it is a good one.<sup>a</sup>

FINIS.

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<sup>a</sup> This is the colophon of the Lismore scribe only.



(*F. and E. add the following passage*).

Ocus ni roibi re haimsir fhada inadiaigh sin nech do lam urcoid do denam do *chrich* Sin Sem. Maseadh bith a fhis ac gach aen nduine *cuiris* mi-cumsanad ar *crich* Sin Sem co fuidhi an damnughadh<sup>1</sup> co martanach, ocus cid be coimedfus iat o comachtaib na Serrisdin-ach do gebhaidh a luagh a flathamnas nemda. Oir do chuir Iul Sésair<sup>2</sup> mar innistear annsa Spain tri cinedha .i. Meuronos<sup>3</sup> ocus Scotos<sup>4</sup> ocus Cornubianos do scrís popail na Spaine o nar b'aill leo cis do tidlucadh do, an uile fher do cloidmidheadh ocus an uili ban do legín as, ocus an tan do badar na cinedha sin ac siubhal na mara ar rochtain a tir doib do brisidar a longa ocus do loisgidur ocus do marbadar a tarla doib on cathair re n-abar Barremona<sup>5</sup> co Sesair<sup>6</sup> Augustus, ocus o Cathair Bagiona co sliab cce?<sup>7</sup> ocus nir fhéididar dul tairis sin, oir do tinoilidar Catilane<sup>8</sup> do cathughadh riu ocus ruagadur ona crichibh sin iad, ocus ag teitheadh doib-sin tangadur chum an sleibí<sup>9</sup> ata idir Bagiaram ocus Pampilonium ocus Bagionam [a dul a talamh Bisgaei ocus Alainie (?) E.] ocus do suidhidar a foslongport annsin ocus do marbadar an uili tiagharna ocus fer fuaradar annsin ocus rucadar a mna leo [doib fein E.], ocus do geineadh clann atura ocus na mna sin re raitear Nauaairi.<sup>10</sup> Ocus is inann Nauairi<sup>11</sup> re radh ocus iueros<sup>12</sup> .i. ainfhirenach .i. “non vera pergencia” .i. clann maicne<sup>13</sup> fallsa ar techt o treib ann-dilis.<sup>14</sup> Ocus ad . . . ar<sup>15</sup> fos Nauaros on catraig re n-abar Nadauer<sup>16</sup> (?) oir as uaiti tugad an t-ainm ar<sup>17</sup> tús ona crichaibh ut o tangadar ar tus, ocus is e Matha suibiscel ocus a aspuil do impo le n-a senmoraibh iat do cum creidim o tus riam.

Gurub amlaidh do crichnaighedh oighedh na ridire ocus imtechta ocus gabaltais Serluis Móir andsa Spain.

FINIT. AMEN.<sup>17</sup>

1. a dhanmughadh F. 2. lesair E. 3. E. seems to read Memuranos.  
4. The first letter in E. does not seem an s. It may be “criotos.”  
5. Baremone E. 6. Cesar E. 7. aqe E. 8. E. seems to read Cas-  
dilani. 9. na sleibhti E. 10. navarri E. 11. navarrus E.  
12. non ueram. 13. From E. The word is not clear in F. 14. Thus  
E. F. seems to read “ainndius.” 15. Perhaps “deirtear.” 16. Thus  
apparently E. F. indistinct. 17-17. From E. F. is hardly legible.

AND there was no one for a long time after that who ventured to do injury to the country of Saint James. Then let every one who disturbs Saint James's country know that he will get damnation for ever, and whoever shall protect it from the powers of the Saracens he will get his reward in the heavenly kingdom. For Julius Caesar sent, as is related, three races into Spain, namely Meuroni and Scoti (?) and Cornubiani<sup>a</sup> to destroy the people of Spain, since they were not willing to give him tribute, to put every man to the sword and to let every woman escape. And when those races had voyaged over the sea, on coming to land they broke their vessels and burnt them, and they slew all who met them from the city which is called Barremona<sup>b</sup> to Caesar Augustus, and from the city of Bagiona<sup>c</sup> to the mountain of Ce.<sup>d</sup>(?) And they were not able to go across that for the Catilani<sup>e</sup> assembled to fight with them and they routed them from those countries. And in their flight they came to the mountain which is between Bagiam and Pampilonium and Bagionam,<sup>f</sup> going into the land of Biscay and Alania,<sup>g</sup>(?) and they encamped there, and they slew every lord and man that they found there, and carried off their women for themselves. And children were begotten between them and those women, who are called Navarri. And Navarri is the same as to say Iveri, that is untruthful, that is non vera pergencia,<sup>h</sup> that is false race coming from an unfaithful tribe. And Navarri is said moreover to come from the city which is called Nadauer<sup>i</sup>(?) for it is from it that the name was first given, from those countries from which they first came, and it was the Evangelist Mathew and his apostles who converted them by their preaching to the Faith at the very beginning.

So that this is how the fate of the knights and the exploits<sup>j</sup> and conquests of Charles the Great in Spain were ended.

FINIT. AMEN.

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<sup>a</sup> Nubianos Scotthos et Cornubianos caudatos.    <sup>b</sup> Barcinona.    <sup>c</sup> Baiona.  
<sup>d</sup> Oque.    <sup>e</sup> castellani.    <sup>f</sup> inter Nageram et Pampiloniam et Baionam.  
<sup>g</sup> Alavae.    <sup>h</sup> progenie.    <sup>i</sup> Naddaver.    <sup>j</sup> Lit. goings.



# NOTES.

## NOTES.

### THE KING'S INNS MS.

The vellum MS. marked ten in the Library of the King's Inns, which I did not discover in time to compare with the texts of the other four MSS., is the only one which contains the epistle of Turpin to Leoprandus. The text differs not only in the matter of possessing this letter but in so many other points from all the others that I give here the first folio so far as it is legible. The first eight folios of this codex are taken up with a fragment of the cognate story of Fortibras or Fierebras. On folio nine begins the Turpin story with a nicely illuminated letter in red and yellow, but the colours are now nearly worn away. Folio ten, which also contains part of our text is not a continuation of folio nine, some intermediate leaves having been lost. A misplaced semi-loose leaf after folio fifty-eight contains more of the Turpin text, the fight at Roncesvalles and the betrayal of Ganelon, but much of it has been discoloured and is hard to read. This version, like that in the Book of Lismore, is not divided into chapters. The hand-writing is beautiful and clear and there are not so many contractions as in the Franciscan text and in Egerton. I have extended "j" to "ocus" as before.

Tindscainter and so eibisdil Tuirpinus airdesbuig arna cur gu Leoprandus da innisin chinnus do saer Serlus Mor talam na Sbaire ocus na Gailingsi o nert na Sairresinech.

Beatha ocus slainti annso o Tuirpinus airdesbug Remus ocus companuch Serlus Moir impir gu Leoprandus deaganach Aquis Granis (?) Oir da aitnebuir dim gu nua ocus me i n-otrus sa chatraigh re n-abar Uienna o gaeithibh cro gu sgribuinn cug[at-sa ?] mar do shaer an [t-]impir oirrdere .i. Serlus Mor talam na Spairne ocus na Gailingsi o [?] nert [?] na Sairresinech. Is uime sin do shannt[aigheas-sa ?] aird-gnimartha ingantacha ocus a co . . . . inmolta ar na Sairresinechaibh Spairnecha noc do [chonnac do mo ?] suilibh fen ocus me re cethri . . . . g ac sibul na Spairne ocus na [Gailingsi ?] . . . . ana coimedacht malle na . . . . ibh do sgribadh ocus a cur dot innsaighidh . . . . esbaluibh, ocus do descibluibh Crist . . . . b examla in domuin a derar gurab annsa . . . . do rinne esbul glormhar Crist i. San [Sem sen ?] moir ar tus. Ocus as a haithle sin . . . . le h Inuath rugadar a deisc[iobail ?] . . . . a chorp isin oidhche leo ocus do cuadar . . . . no gu rangadur an Gailingsi aris ocus do . . . . ac senmoir inn[ti ?] da . . . . tarcaisnighedur na Gailingsig . . . . a pecad.

[The next two and a-half lines are illegible. It will be seen from this that the epistle is condensed and shortened to less than half the length of the Latin. The MS. continues as follows]

. . . . do a rannuib examla in domuin ocus ar cosaint morain do thirthuib mar ta Saxa ocus an Frainge ocus in Almain ocus in Baidhiuin ocus Lotaringia ocus an Burguin ocus an Edaille ocus in U(?) traine ocus gach flaithe ocus gach cathair da raibe o muir gu muir ar na gabail do maille nert a laime dochlaeiti ocus ar na sacerad a lamuib na Sairresinech ocus ar na cur fa cuing credme do gab in meidi do tuirsi ocus do scis he innus gur triall cumsanad do denam ocus gan dul dochum cathaighthi ni is mo.

Ocus acedoir deissi sin ar fechuin adhaigh eigin ar in fir[m]ament do chonnuic slighi do rellannuib ac tinnscaint o muir Frisia ocus ac dul edir an Almaine ocus an Edaille ocus edir an mBritaine mbic ocus in Fhrainge ocus ac dul co direc trid in nGascuini in Uarrdha ocus in Spain co ruigi in nGailingsi mar a raibe Corp San Sem co folaigh teach an tan soin.



Ocus ar mbeth gach n-oidheche do Serlus ac fecuin na sliged *sin* do gab aga smuaintigad cred da ba . . . ? di ocus ar na smuaintigad sin maille sduider frichnamach do taibrighed do adaig egin ar ndul a tamh persa anorach do delb ro alaind ocus atbert ris a Mhic cred do . . . se do freguir Serlus ocus adubhairt cia thu a [thigh]earna. "Mise San Sem airdesbul," ar se, "dalta Críst noch do ba dingmhala le Dia ona grassaib fen do cur do senmoir dona poblaibh ocus is me do marb Iruath ri le cloi . . . [Next two and a-half lines illegible. This finishes the recto of folio nine].

an t-ingnadh lin nar saeruise mu talumh ona *Sairresineachaibh* ocus a med do *cathrachuib* ocus do tirthuib da gabuis, ocus ar in adhbar fhoillsighin duit mar do rinde Dia, ri is treissi ina gach ri talmmuidhe ele, dit, gurab mar sin rug do roghuin tu *edir* an uile righ d'ullmughadh niu sligedh-sa ocus do chosaint mu talmhan o lamuib *Sairresinech* innus co n-ullmaighedh coroin mar luaghaidheacht marthanuigh da chinn duit.

Ocus in tshlighi rellunn do *chonnaic* tu isin firmainint as edh foillsighis co racha tusa maille slugh mor do *cathughadh* risin cinedh paghanach ocus da saerad mu sliged-sa ocus mu thalmon ocus d'fhis m'egailsi ocus mh' athluicthi on inat so co ruig in nGailingsi ocus co mbeth an uile popul o muir co muir ac dul dan oilithre ocus dfhaghail loghaidh a pecaidh o Dhia at diaid-si dochum in inuidh *cedua* ocus co mbethi ac innisin molta De ocus a subaltadh ocus a mirbul o aimsir do bethadh-sa co dederd in tsaeghuil-si.

Ma sed gluais annois mar is luaithi fhedfas tu oir biad-sa gut fhurtacht in gach en chas ocus gnoidheochat coroin ar nini duit o Dhia do chind do saethair, ocus biaid h ainm molta co ruigi in la ndedhenach." Ocus tadbais in cor sin San Sem fa tri do Sherlus.

Ar cluinsin na mbriathur do Serlus ocus ar ngabail muinighne a gelladh in esbuil do tioncil sluaigh imda ocus do gluais dochum na Spaine da *cathughadh* ris in cinedh *Sairresinech*.

Ar rochtain da Serlus sa Spain isi *ced cathuir* do timchill do gabail, Paimpilonia, ocus do bi ina timchill re tri mi, ocus nir fed a gabail, oir do bi ar na daingnegad o muraib dofhogla ocus do rinne Serlus an tan sin edur-guighi ar Dia ocus a adubhairt "a Thighearna a Isa Críst os ar son do chredmhche tanug isin (sic) tirthaib-si do *cathughadh* ris in cinedh micredmhhec tabuir in *cathair*-si dhamh a n-onoir hanma fein." Ocus adubhairt aris "a San Sem," ar se, "ma as [end of first col., fol. 9 b] fir gurab tu tadbais damh tabair dam in cathair-si do gabail" ocus ni cian da eis sin do brigh guighi San Sem ocus tidluicthi Dé an tan da tuitedar a muir nile dochum talmhan. Ocus na *Sairresinigh* ler b'aíl baisedh do gabail da coimedadh ina mbethaidh iad ocus in med les nar b'aíl do cloighmedh iad.

Ar cluinsin na mirbal sin do berdis na *Sairresinigh* unla in gach inud a teigidh (sic) ocus do cuirdis cis cuigi, ocus tugadar a *cathracha* uile da comus, indus co raibi in tir uile fa chis do: oir da b'ingnad leis in cinedh *Sairresineach* in cinedh Frangcach d'faiscin d'febus a n-eduigh ocus d'aile a nguise, gurub uime sin do gabadur cuco co hanoruch sidchanta iad.

Ocus as a haithle sin do cuaidh in ri ar cur a arm uadha d'fhis adluicthi San Sem, ocus tainig as sin co Petronam ocus da shaith a shled san fhairgi ann sin, ocus do rinde buidechus ar Dhia ocus ar Shen Sem fa tabairt dochum in inuid sin nar fhed do rochtain roime.

### PECULIARITIES IN THE MSS.

OF the three texts which are complete, that of the Book of Lismore is perhaps the oldest. The Franciscan MS. and Egerton more or less agree in the forms they use, which in many cases are different from those of the Lismore MS., and occasionally appear more modern (?) Thus F. uses (I think invariably) *annsa* for the *isin* of *Lis*, a *roibh* for the *araibhi* of *Lis*,

*aídhchi* for *aghaidh* (i.e. *adaigh*), of *Lis. deidigh, dordaigh*, etc., for *do eidigh do ordaigh* of *Lis.*, *o hoin* invariably for *o shoin* of *Lis.*, *do fag* for *do fagaibh* of *Lis.*

Another peculiarity of F. is that it generally gives the longer forms of the names of countries, as *Almaine* and *Gascuine* for *Almain* and *Gascuin*.

The scribe of each MS. seems to have had a predilection for certain words, and we find F. and E. invariably using *conuig* for the *cusin* of *Lis.*, and *inntogh* for the *impoth* of *Lis.*, and *do inntogh* or *innto* for the *do impo* of *Lis.* They seem never to vary in this. Where *Lis.* writes *gurgim, cret, in nech, an neach, scoilt ar dho, San Sem*, F. writes *guidim, cad, ineach, aneach, scoilt ar a dho, Sin Sem*. F. has *rachair-se* for *Lis. ragha-sa*, and generally reads *cloisdin* or *cluisdin* where *Lis.* more usually has *cluinsin* and H. *clos*. F. and H. always use *Paganta* or *Paghanta* for *Pagan*, but *Lis.* generally *Padhanta*. *Lis.* invariably writes "*iarla dar ainm*" for the *darb* of F., *darab* of E., *darba* of H. A peculiarity of F. is its making one consonant do for two, as *areachtaine* for *ar reachtu-ne*, *inech* for *in nech*, *acechtar* for *ac cechtar*. It also uses *y* for *i* in *ymaigh* and *ysa*. All the MSS. usually have the long *e* for the modern *ea*, but Lismore sometimes writes in full *beacan, teacht, each, gleunn, leav*, as do also the others. There are a few traces of dialect. Thus E. sometimes uses *buaim buaibh* for *uaim*, p. 40, *uaibh*, p. 36, as in modern Scotch Gaelic. We find in *Lis.* the dat. *anmunaibh* for the nom. plur. *anmanna*, 12 n.9., and the phonetic *mainne* for *maidne*. *Deis* is an early occurrence of this form for *tar eis*. *Teduis* and *teguis* are obviously spoken corruptions of *tegduis*. An interesting locution is the prefixing of *a* to *chomh* in such phrases as *a chomh mor sin*, etc. This idiom has given rise in County Roscommon and other parts of the west to the pronunciation of *chomh mor sin* as *acho mor sin*, with the accent on the first syllable of *acho*. The doubling of the letter *c*, so common in the seventeenth century, to indicate the sound of *g* has already begun, we find *do thuicc, curcce, tainicc*. For *meid* or *meit* F. reads *medi*, and E. usually has *meide* or *mede*. This form is used also in the cognate story of *Fierebras*. The genitive of *Dia* is often *Dia* not *De*, as also in *Fierbras*. E. is fond of using the relative *noch*. *Gan* and *cen* are equally used in all the MS. *Lis.* generally writes *taebh*, not *taob*. The plural of *ní* a thing is written in full *neithi*, p. 56.

F., H. and E. read *Cornubia* for the *Cordubia* of *Lis.* We find both forms in the Latin MSS. If as I have tried to prove, all the MSS. have come from the same original translation, I can only imagine that some learned scribe with the Latin original before him, in which the name was different from that in the text he was about to copy, changed it, thinking that the name in the original was a mistake. I abstain from examining the verbal forms in our text, in view of the interesting and exhaustive study recently made by Alf Sommerfelt of the verbal system in the *Cath Catharda*, in the *Revue Celtique* (vol. xxxvi., pp. 24—62 and 295—334), as much of what he there says is applicable to our text also.

## TURPIN TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH.

THE only English translation of the Pseudo-Turpin ever made, so far as I know, is that of Thomas Rodd which he printed as a preface to his translation of the "*Floresta de varios Romances sacados de las historias antiguas de los Pares de Francia*." Rodd's book appears to be rare, for I could discover no copy of it in Trinity College Library. In my copy printed in 1812 Rodd says that he translated from the Latin in "*Spanheims Lives of Ecclesiastical writers*." But no such work is to be found in *Spanheims*, collected works published in 1701 (the year of his death) at Leyden under

the title "Frederici Spanhemii F. opera omnia in tres tomos divisa," containing 860, 780, and 675 close quarto columns of Latin, nor is any mention made of such a book in the list of works ascribed to him in the Nouvelle Biographie Générale, which gives an account of him, his father and his brother, all men of letters.

If Spanheim wrote a book "Lives of Ecclesiastical Writers," it must have been published separately and not included amongst his other works. If Rodd has translated literally, the text he worked from is different from the Frankfort text and that of Castets. Rodd's version was afterwards reprinted without comment by Henry Morley in 1884 in a volume entitled *Mediaeval Tales*.

### CHARLEMAGNE.

I TAKE the following account of Charlemagne from an unpublished text, "Sdair na Lumbardach," in the Book of Lismore, which I had prepared for publication here, but which the Committee thought would make this volume too long if included. Or adeir Torpinus espug cu raibhi Karulus Mor sochraidh do corp ocus bruidemhail fiadhanta do silledh. Or do batar ocht troighthi ar airdi 'na chorp ocus se hordlaighi dec a bhfad a troigid, ocus resi co leith 'na fhesoic, ocus resi 'na aghaidh gacha leithi, do sroin co finnfadh a fhesoigi, ocus troigh o buu a shrona co finnfadh a edain.

Do scoiltead ridiri co n-a ech o mhullach a cheind-beirti cu lar d' aen builli claidhimh. Do shineadh se .iiii. crua a n-aeinfhecht cur bhaat slata dirghe o neart a lamh. Do thocbhnadh ridiri armtha eidighthi 'na shesamh amhlaidh ocus do chuireadh timceall a cinn he, ocus do leicedh ar lar co socair aris he. Mil muighe ocus da circ no gegh ocus da chirc a proinn a n-aeinfect, ocus becan fina ar cur nisci trit, ocus is bec do ibheadh, or ni ibheadh acht tri deocha ar a shuiper. Do chumhduigh ecaisa imda ar grad De. Do urail a or ocus a uili innmusa do thabhairt 'na thimceall a n-aen alla, cor bha comhard ris fein iat, ocus ar ndearbhad a neirt ocus a fheardhachta dho dorindi oighre do Dhia ar gach ni da roibhi aigi, ocus do chuaidh fein a moghsaine do Dia. Bliadhain in Tighearna in tan sin cuic bl. dec ocus ocht ced.

*i.e.* For the bishop Torpinus says that Charles the Great was pleasing of body and fierce and wild in his look. And his body was eight feet in height, and sixteen inches was the length of his foot, and a span and a half in his beard, and a span in his face, in each half of it, from his nose to the hair of his beard, and a foot from the bottom of his nose to the hair of his face.

He used to split a knight with his steed from the top of his headpiece to his middle with one sword stroke. He used to stretch four horse shoes together so that they became straight rods with the strength of his hands. He used to lift a knight in arms and armour, standing so, and used to put him round his head and let him down gently again. A hare and two fowl or a goose and two fowl together was his dinner, and a little wine with water through it. And it is little he used to drink, for he used only to take three draughts at his supper. He built many churches for the love of God. He ordered his gold and all his treasures to be brought round him into one hall, so that they were [piled] as high as himself, and having proved his strength and manly vigour he made God heir to all that he possessed; and he himself went into God's service. The year of our Lord at that time was eight hundred and fifteen years."

That the exaggerated accounts of Charlemagne's personal appearance are still not wholly impossible is shown by the following extract which I clipped out of the "Daily Mail" of September 22nd, 1916, concerning one

Frederick Hempster, born in Bayswater, London, who was then twenty-one years old and 8 ft. 2 ins. high.

"His weight is twenty-seven stone. A penny will pass through his signet ring. In boots he takes size 22½. Three ordinary beds have to be placed side by side for him to sleep in. On the railway he travels in the guard's van, and by road in a special carriage or motor car. He can span two octaves on a piano and light a cigarette comfortably at a street lamp."

### THE ENGLISH ROLAND.

A CERTAIN amount of the Pseudo-Turpin was translated into early English also, in the form of a metrical romance. It does not appear to have been popular, for Ellis who published an account of the poem, which is entitled *Roland and Ferragus* in his *Early English Metrical Romances*, Vol. II., p. 291, knew of only one version, that in the Auchinleck MS., of which Scott made him a copy. It begins with the wildly absurd statement that

An hundred winters it was and three  
Sithen God died upon the tree  
That Charles the king.  
Had all France in his hand  
Denmark and England  
Withouten any lesing  
Lorraine and Lombardy  
Gascogne Bayonne and Picardie  
Was till his bidding.  
And emperor he was of Rome  
And Lord of all Christendom  
Then was he a high lording.

After some extraneous matter not borrowed from Turpin the poet comes back to that narrative and takes pains to give the names of sixty-six cities which Charlemagne conquered in Spain, but his transcriber, Ellis remarks, has taken equal pains to render them utterly unintelligible.

Mahomet's image is thus described :—

And an image of great pousté  
Stood on a roche by the sea  
In the gilden londe  
His name was Salanicodas  
As a man y-shapen he was  
And held a glaive in hond.  
Mahoun maked him with gin  
And did many fiends therein  
As ich understond  
For to sustain the image  
And set him on high stage  
For no man n' old he wond.

Ferragus is thus described :—

He had twenty mens strength  
And forty feet of length  
Thilke Paynim had  
And four feet in the face  
Y-meten on the place  
And fifteen in brede.  
His nose was a foot and more, etc.



When Roland pierces the giant through the navel the wounded man cried aloud to his God Mahomet. But

Roland lough for that cry  
And "Mahoun sikerly  
No may help thee nought.  
No Jupiter no Apolin  
No is worth the brust of a swin  
In heart no in thought."

The poem ends with the death of Ferragus, and then begins the Romance of Sir Otuel, dovetailed into it as in the Welsh version.

### ORIGIN OF TURPIN'S HISTORY.

CASIMIR Oudin, the distinguished French scholar, 1638-1717, wrote as follows (de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis antiquis, Vol. II., p. 68).

Auctor hujus operis non Turpinus sed Callixtus II. Papa, qui tribus post mortem Caroli Magni saeculis, illam fabulam confinxit, non ut Carolum Magnum, sed ut sanctum Iacobum Apostolum et ecclesiam Compostellanam, quam ardentius amabat, illustriores his fabulis faceret: unde nil mirum quod in MS. Cantabrigiensi S. Benedicti Callistus II. hanc fabulam a se confictam, dicat *opus authenticum*, primusque omnium illius mentionem faciat.

This may not be true—and Oudin was no friend of the papacy—but the book seems to have been approved of in 1122 by Calixtus II., and this helped its popularity. If however the letter of Callixtus recommending the book to the faithful as authentic be also spurious then the first mention of it goes back to 1165.

Warton thinks the book was forged about 1110 with the design of helping forward the Crusades.

### ROLAND OR ORLANDO.

ON Lady Day in August in the year 778 the rearguard of Charlemagne's army was cut off in the valley of Roncevaux or Roncesvalles in the Pyrenees. It was overwhelmed by the local tribes, probably the ancestors of the present Basques, and perished almost to a man. "In this battle," says Eginhard, who chronicled the life of Charlemagne, "Roland, warden of the Marches of Brittany, with many others was slain." This is the kernel of historic truth that lies behind the Roland story. In later times, as in the case of King Arthur of Welsh Romance or Finn Mac Cumhail of Irish story, a Roland myth arose which dominated all the literature of the Charlemagne period. Roland became the leading figure in the Chansons de Geste, the golden age of which extends from the middle of the eleventh to the middle of the thirteenth century. The Chanson de Roland is itself the first and the finest of these efforts "la plus antique la plus célèbre la plus belle de toutes les chansons de geste." The Jongleur Taillefer who went before Norman William at the Battle of Hastings and who "moult bien chantout" was "singing about Charlemagne and Roland and Olivier and the vassals who died at Roncesvalles." The song of Roland is the Iliad of France. It is founded partly upon our Turpin story and partly upon older chansons. Earlier poems probably existed from which the Pseudo-Turpin derived part of his chronicle. This is generally conceded, the only matter in dispute being as to what form these early poems had taken, were they epic like the "Roland" or were they only lyric?



## ROLAND IN SPAIN.

ROLAND'S steed is mentioned in the well known Spanish ballad of *Gayferos* for which see *Don Quixote*, chap. 9, book ii. His lover, *Melisenda*, seeing him surrounded by the Moors exclaims:

Si quisiesse Dios del cielo  
Y santa Maria su madre  
Fuesse tal vuestro caballo  
Como èl de Don Roldan.

*Don Roldan* is the Spanish name for *Roland* in the popular ballads, and there exists a well known "Romance" of that name. Readers of *Don Quixote* will remember how while the Knight and *Sancho* are conversing together in the streets of *Toboso* a peasant chances to pass by singing the ballad of *Roncesvalles*, at which the knight exclaims, "Let me die *Saicho* if anything lucky will befall us to-night, don't you hear what that peasant is singing"?

## GANELON.

*GANELON* is called *Guenes* in the *Chanson de Roland*, which poem is really a trilogy founded on the treachery of *Guenes*. Part one tells of that treachery, part two of the death of *Roland*, and part three of the punishment of the traitors. *Guenes* is known in the Spanish ballads as "el falso *Galalon*". He is also found as *Galaron*. *Antonio Reuter* quoted by *Rodd* in his preface to the "*Floresta de varios romances*" says that the chronicles of Spain and France assert "que el conde *Galaron* dio ocasion a la esta perdida de los Franceses [in *Roncesvalles*] causando que el Emperador se detuviesse y no pudiesse socorrer a los suyos." In the Irish *Fortibras* story *Stokes* once translates *Geinntilion* of the Irish text by *Ganelon*, and in the Welsh version of our text he is *Gwenwlyd*.

## FERACUTUS.

*ELLIS* in his specimens of Ancient Metrical Romances has the following amusing passage on *Feracutus*, "Possibly, too, the terrible *Ferragus* may be a giant of Celtic origin, for *Selden* has told us (*Drayton's Polyolbion*, song 6) that the war song in use among the Irish kerns was called *Pharroh*; and the vulgar Irish, as Mr. Walker informs us, suppose the subject of this song to have been *Forroch* or *Ferrugh*, a terrible giant, of whom they tell many a marvellous tale"!

For the fancy about *Pharaoh* see *Keating's* preface to his *Forus Feasa*.

# GLOSSARY.

	Page.		Page
abhdhaineacht <i>abbacy abbotship</i>	74	cend :—ana cend sin <i>in addition to that</i> ....	28
adlaicti gen of adlacadh <i>a tomb</i>	6	cin :—leiceadar a cin da n-armuibh	6
aenda <i>one-fold, aendacht one-</i>		claiteoir <i>a victor</i> ....	44, 48
<i>ness</i> ... ..	54, 56	clodh <i>defeating</i> ... ..	46
[ar]aeinshlighidh <i>together</i> ....	50	cothughadh <i>to support</i> 70, <i>to rally or make head or main-</i>	
agra <i>claim, argument against</i> ....	34	<i>tain one's ground</i> ....	64
aithech=athach, fathach <i>giant</i>		Apparently a military term,	
aibhdhineacht 12, see abhdhaineacht		see An Cath Cathardha	
airnhech <i>renowned</i> ....	6, 72, 76	1.5720.	
[It can not be the same word		corugh ( <i>with long o</i> ) <i>a choir</i> 92	
as airnitnech or oirmitnech,		cora <i>id.</i> ... ..	94
aireamh is used for "fame"		coirthi <i>tired, weary</i> ....	78
in my edition of Giolla an		comainm in lai <i>the anniversary</i>	
Fhiugha, page 6.]		<i>of the day</i> ....	
airneis <i>equipment, i.e. harness</i>	14	colb <i>club</i> ....	80
[ba]ailgiusach le S. <i>S was desirous</i>	32	crois <i>the cross-hilt of a sword</i> ....	84
aidhbhseach <i>handsome, striking</i>	72	(co) cudrama, <i>equally</i> ....	56
[a n-]airtecal <i>bais in articulo mortis</i>	94	crandghaili: droichet <i>cr. a</i>	
aintibh, dat. plur. of aine <i>a fast</i>	104	<i>bridge of timber</i> ... ..	
aidhgieacht <i>hospitality, enter-</i>		cuil <i>a corner</i> ... ..	40
<i>tainment, aidhchieacht id.</i> ....	44	cumdaigh <i>build (churches, etc)</i>	12
ainmhfesach <i>ignorant</i> ....	56	daingnighim, <i>I asseverate, confirm</i>	38
alad <i>a wound</i> ....		Dee, <i>a god, Nom. and Dat. isin</i>	
arrait <i>error</i> 34, ariud <i>aruid id.</i>		dee, on dee ....	10, etc.
arus <i>apparently used for camp</i> ....	38	deisigh <i>equip</i> 28, <i>prepare, array</i>	46
as,—do chnaidh <i>as he disappeared</i>		deirridius, <i>a secret</i> ....	70
ascada <i>gifts</i> ....	76	degbbhalaidh ( <i>a noun in the gen.</i> )	
ataigh <i>request</i> ....	72	<i>scented, perfumed</i> ....	100
bannlam <i>a cubit</i> ... ..		deachta ... ..	112
baramhail ( <i>followed by a gen.</i> ),		derbhtha, <i>proven</i> ....	64
<i>similitude of</i> ....	46, 96	diablaideacht, <i>devilry, deviltry</i>	10
basgaire <i>clapping of hands in grief</i>	98	dithigh, <i>damage, hurt, inflict loss</i>	44
biadhtachas, <i>the liability to feed</i>		diniti, <i>dignity</i> ....	70
<i>one's overlord</i> ....	28	dingbhala, <i>suitable, fitting, worthy</i>	90, 110
biathmaid <i>we feed</i> ....	40	(gu) dinhaineach, <i>vainly?</i> ....	90
braithtigi, <i>Gen. Fem. of braithtech</i>		ditnightheoir, <i>a protector</i> ....	96
<i>deceitful</i> ....		diairmhe, <i>innumerable</i> , 102,	
breathmigh <i>judge consider</i> ....	68	doairme <i>id.</i> ... ..	12, 106
na brondtuibh <i>in his presents</i>	72	dlig: ni dligeann an lucht, <i>the</i>	
breith :—ata ar breith <i>do it is</i>		<i>people ought not</i> ....	36
<i>attainable by him</i> ....		do leitha ndroma, <i>in the rear</i>	78
búidh <i>mild clement, translated by</i>		doimhesda <i>re, incomparable with</i>	84
"clemens" ....	112	dorncla, <i>the hilt of a sword</i> ....	84
camra <i>a sewer</i> ....	24	dothuarascbhala, <i>indescribable</i>	94
cennuis <i>used as an adj., mild</i> ....	50		
ceimnigh <i>proceed</i> ....	4		

	Page.		Page.
dofhillte, translation of "inflexibilis" ...	96	gorm : fer gorm, a Moor, a negro	
doirt, in a military sense, see p.	98	grainne, a grain	58
dothamaisc, inscrutable ?	48	graaicne, disgust, horror	64
dofaisncisi, indescribable	64	iarmhoracht, pursuit, 82 ; search, inquiry	100
drithlincach, sparkling (of eyes)	72	imlegan imlecan imlican, navel, imlinn id.	52
eathach—athach, fathach, a giant	48	ingnad : do rindi ingnad dhe, he wondered at it	58
eboire, ivory	86	(ta) ingantas acu dhe, id.	50
edh : re hedh na hoighthi, throughout the night	98	inn, end, extremity, inn a mheoir	98
eigrecht=oighrecht, heirship	28	inncechlan, requital	112
eighe, eiginhe, cries	44	inncomurtha, a mark	102
eicin, used in the sense of "some,"		intuctha dh'airc, observable	40
ced eicin, "some hundred or so"	82	intugtha dh'aidh, id.	80
eicne gen. of ccin, violence	114	irse, (gen.) of faith or religion	8
esbartain : ar tect don esbartain, on the coming of evening	20, 52	lubhul, a Jew	86
esbaidh, failure, giving way through fatigue	74	leath : do leathadar fon coill, they dispersed through the wood	
etne, the kernel of a nut	55	leuc, a league, (tri mile) tri leuic, three leagues	32
faris, along with him, f. an athar, along with the father	108	leith : do leith a ndroma, see druim	78
farit, along with thee	92	leithe, breadth	72
faisitneach gen. of faisitin, confession	92	ma=um, concerning, about	48
fedh, a fathom	50	macam an oclaigh a young warrior ?	4
ferdhuirn, a man's fist (in length)	50	(isin) mheidh, in the balance	102
(gur) fhoilghitar, -so that they covered	32	midingbhala, unworthy	112
(cu) foluigtheach, secretly, covertly	4	nil muighe, a hare	72
fon-aigthech, obedient	76	misideir, emissary, herald	22
(do) fholchatar iat fein, they concealed themselves	80	mongair, sound, murmur	64
fodhuin=foghain, to be of use	52	mongur, id.	30
foghna	42	mucha, the early part of the morning	78, 98
freasgabhail, ascension, i.e. death	104	(o) mulluch gu lar, from top to bottom (of a stone)	86
fresdal um chath, give battle to	32	(ar a) mhuin, on top of him (not "on his back")	94
frichnamhach, diligent (in the sense of liberal)	40	(do) mhuin gnimha, as a result of action or deed	98
furtachtaigh, a helper	4	muirreach, burdensome	74
gaire, proximity	88	mul, a mule	102
[ag a] gallughadh, suffering from sickness	101	nait=na or iona, than (before a plural)	66
geinnteach, gen. geinntigh, a wedge	114, 116	naisc, tie, with air—impose or bind on	104
geissanan or gesachtach or geiseacht, a peacock, i.e. the screecher	72	neammbuidh, not mild, fierce	66
gnaithigh, make free with, use	84	neifni, nothingness	56
gnoaigh, to be busied on, to do	102	neamhasaigh for neamharsaigh young	72
gnoaighfet-sa, also gnoideochad-sa, I shall gain, win (still commonly used in this sense in Connacht)	4	oglachas, service	66
		ontis, ontist ? n. 9	80

	Page.		Page.
(ar) n-oradh, <i>gilt</i> ....	114	ar aoin-shlighidh, <i>together</i> , 60 bis.	
oigeda, <i>gen. of oidhe, a fate</i>		socraide, <i>pleasant, smiling (of faces)</i>	5
death, oighidh id. ....	88	spreidh, <i>gen. spreidhi, booty</i> ....	
pisegach, <i>adj., wizard, spell like</i>	18	subalta, <i>a virtue. I have extended</i>	
(do) raith, <i>for grace (spoken of</i>		the plur. once as subalce as in	
the soul) ....	14	le Breac, subaltai would have	
raithainhail, <i>graceful (spoken of</i>		been better .... 4, etc.	
women) ....	76	suaichentas, <i>an ensign</i> ....	66
reilg, <i>a church (obviously not a</i>			
churchyard in this place) ....	12	tagh, togh, <i>choose</i> .... 4, 34	
reise, <i>a span</i> ...	72	tacar: aighthe tacair, <i>masks,</i>	
réd, <i>a thing</i> . . .	60	"larvae" ...	64
righteach, <i>arms, the reach or</i>		tathair, <i>disgrace</i> ...	36, 60
length of one's arms ...	72	do thadhbhaisidh doibh, <i>it ap-</i>	
saethraigini, <i>I labour over, find</i>		peared to them	
difficult	58	teagduis, <i>a foundation, a house,</i>	
saipel, sepel, seipel, <i>chapel</i> ...	48	also teduis and teguis	112, etc.
sas, <i>an engine (for attacking</i>		tecinaid, <i>aliter teigemadh a</i>	
towns, etc), 8, 24, a contrivance,	64	lamhaibh from tengmaigh, <i>fall</i>	
plur. sais.		into the hands of	86, 88
saidhbrigh, <i>enrich</i> ...	28	tesladh, <i>dying</i> ....	14
saidh pnbull, <i>pitch a tent</i> ....	86	teit for tuit	36
scis, <i>weariness, 110, scis an chatha</i>		therna se, <i>he escaped</i> ...	62
battle weariness	84	tindmes? ....	86
scoraidd, <i>a table cloth</i> ....	40	tinnisnaigh, <i>hasten?</i> ...	94
scot, <i>tail (of a horse)</i> ....	100	(co) tindisnach, <i>hastily</i> ....	106
sdet, <i>a steed</i> ....	100	tor, <i>a tower</i> ....	62
silens, <i>silence</i> ...	20	toicthi, <i>fortune</i> ....	96
sill, <i>see, look</i> ....	92	tosach, <i>a battle front or division</i>	42
silleadh, <i>looking at, regarding</i> ....	46	trumpoir, <i>a trumpeter, also stocaire</i>	94
slat esbaic, <i>a bishop's wand or</i>		trithach, <i>threefold</i> ....	56
crozier	68		
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word" as it is translated in		they faced one another	
Fierebras) ....	6	uillena, <i>angles (of a pillar)</i> ....	114





# IRISH TEXTS SOCIETY.

20 Hanover Square, London, W. 1.



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THE IRISH TEXTS SOCIETY was established in 1898 for the purpose, of publishing texts in the Irish language, accompanied by such introductions, English translations, glossaries, and notes as may be deemed desirable.

The Annual Subscription is 7 6 (American subscribers, two dollars), payable on January 1st of each year, on payment of which members will be entitled to receive, post free, the current volume or, at the option of the member, any one of the earlier volumes which may still be available. There is no entrance fee.

The payment of a single sum of £5 (colonial or foreign members £5 5s. 0d.; American members 27 dollars), entitles to life membership. Life members will receive one copy of each volume issued subsequently to the receipt of this sum by the Society.

Vols. I., II. and III. are now out of print and others are rapidly becoming scarce. The ordinary sale price to non-members is 10/6 per volume (post free).

The Council makes a strong appeal to all interested in the preservation and publication of Irish Manuscripts to join the Society and to contribute to its funds, and especially to the Editorial Fund which has been established for the remuneration of Editors for their arduous work.

All communications should be addressed to the Hon. Secretary, MISS ELEANOR HULL, 20 Hanover Square, London, W. 1.

## IRISH TEXTS SOCIETY.

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THE Nineteenth Annual Meeting of the Irish Texts Society was held on January 31st, 1918, at 20 Hanover Square, W. 1.

Mr. R. Flower, Chairman of the Executive Council, presided. The Minutes of the last Annual Meeting were taken as read. The Hon. Secretary read the

### NINETEENTH ANNUAL REPORT.

The Council regrets that Dr. Douglas Hyde's Volume, "The Wars of Charlemagne,"\* is not yet ready for distribution, but considering the difficulties attending the printing and publication of books at the present time, the fact that the printing is well advanced may be regarded as satisfactory. It is hoped that it may be issued to subscribers in the course of the next few months.

This volume will be followed by Rev. Lambert McKenna's edition of the "Contention of the Bards," about which his most recent report says: "The text translation and notes are quite ready. The glossary and introduction are in first proof. . . . my book could be announced as about to appear early this year." We thus hope to receive both volumes in the course of this year.

After serious consideration the Council has decided on the important step of undertaking a complete revision of the larger Irish Dictionary with a view to its publication so soon as circumstances permit.

The hearty co-operation of the original Compiler and Editor, Rev. P. S. Dinneen, M.A., has again been secured and he is already at work on his laborious task. The misadventure which overtook the plates and remaining copies of the larger Dictionary has deprived the public of the possibility of purchasing copies during the past two years, and the Society also has been deprived of the profit obtained from Dictionary sales, on which it has always relied to supplement its slender resources. At such a time as this, when printing and publication have nearly doubled in cost, the loss has been a severe one.

It is, nevertheless, intended materially to extend and supplement the contents of the present Dictionary in many directions, and the book will be made in every way more useful for the student of the language. The cost of this undertaking is estimated at over £1500, and to meet this outlay, which far exceeds the resources of the Society, it is intended, as on the first occasion, to raise a guarantee fund to enable the work to be proceeded with immediately. The Editor estimates that two or more years will be required for its preparation before printing begins, and meanwhile funds must be provided for current expenses. The Council

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\* *Ṣabaltar Ṣeplur mór.*

directs the attention of its members and friends to the enclosed appeal, feeling sure that the ready and generous response made in 1903—1904 to the former appeal for guarantees will be repeated on this occasion, and that a work so urgently needed will not be allowed to drop for lack of a loan which is certain to be repaid in the near future.

His Honour, Judge O'Connor, K.C., and Mr. G. P. Byrne, of Shanghai, have become Life-Members of the Society making, in all ten Life Members.

Eighteen new ordinary members have joined the Society during the year, as follows:—

Miss Aileen Curran.  
The Rev. J. J. Deenihan.  
M. Hamill.  
The Rev. J. M. Heggarty.  
A. J. Ireland.  
The Rev. M. C. Keating.  
J. R. Lankford.  
Henry Nicholls.  
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James Moynihan.  
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C. O. O'Donoghue.  
Thomas J. Owens.  
Joseph Phelan.  
Rathmines Public Library.  
Swansea Public Library.  
The Rev. P. Williams.

Two resignations have been received.

On the proposal of Rev. T. O'Sullivan, seconded by Dr. Crone, the Report was adopted.

Mr. T. W. Rolleston then read the appeal for a guarantee loan fund for defraying the current costs of the proposed new edition of the Dictionary, and slight alterations were suggested with a view to greater clearness. These alterations were subsequently incorporated in the document.

It was decided to print the appeal in Irish and English and to distribute it widely both at home and abroad. The appeal will be found accompanying this Report.

The Financial Statement and Balance Sheet were then presented by the Hon. Treasurer, Mr. Samuel Boyle, and adopted on the proposal of Dr. England, seconded by Dr. Crone, and carried.

A vacancy on the Council having been declared, Miss Hull proposed that the name of Dr. J. Crone, J.P., be added to the Council. This was seconded by Rev. T. O'Sullivan, and carried unanimously.

The re-election of the out-going members of Council was carried on the proposal of Rev. T. O'Sullivan, seconded by Dr. Crone.

The re-election of Professor Douglas Hyde as President of the Society was carried on the proposal of Dr. England, seconded by Mr. Ernest Rhys, and that of the Hon. Secretary and Hon. Treasurer, on the proposal of Rev. T. O'Sullivan, seconded by Dr. England.

A vote of thanks to the Auditors, Mr. P. D. O'Hart and T. V. O'Sullivan, for their kind services, having been proposed by Dr. Crone, seconded by Mrs. Banks, and carried, the meeting adjourned.

# THE IRISH TEXTS SOCIETY.

## FINANCIAL STATEMENT, 1917.

### THE SOCIETY'S ORDINARY PUBLICATIONS.

RECEIPTS.				DISBURSEMENTS.			
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
To Subscriptions, Ordinary	128	8	0	By Balance from previous			
„ „ Life	5	0	0	Account	266	3	10
„ Donations	5	15	0	„ Editing	20	0	0
„ Interest on Investments	19	6	3	„ Postage & Stationery	3	8	0
David Nutt, Publisher, Settlement	£55	18	3	„ Salary and Sundries	18	12	6
Less previously published ...	£21	6	2	„ Printing and Binding	179	16	10
“Simpkin Marshall’s” a/c		13	12				
Balance	281	7	10				
Total	£488	1	2	Total	£488	1	2

### THE SOCIETY'S IRISH-ENGLISH DICTIONARIES.

RECEIPTS.				DISBURSEMENTS.			
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
To Receipts already published	3549	4	11	By Payments previously published	2563	6	2
„ Sales (net)	126	9	2	„ Printing and Binding	95	7	0
				„ Salary and Sundries	20	4	1
				„ Balance	996	16	10
Total	£3675	14	1	Total	£3675	14	1

### THE SOCIETY'S JOINT CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

ASSETS.				LIABILITIES.			
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
To Balance (brought down)	996	16	10	By Balance (brought down)	281	7	10
				Net Assets.			
				Investments	485	0	0
				Petty Cash—Assistant Secretary	5	0	0
				Cash in Bank	225	9	0
Total	£996	16	10	Total	£996	16	10

(Signed) SAM. BOYLE, *Hon. Treasurer*

Examined Books, Accounts, and Balances, and found correct.

(Signed) P. D. O'HART,  
T. V. O'SULLIVAN, } *Auditors.*

NOTE.—The Council desires to express its thanks to the Auditors for their kindness in examining and auditing the accounts of the Society.



## GENERAL RULES.

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### OBJECTS.

1.—The Society is instituted for the purpose of promoting the publication of Texts in the Irish Language, accompanied by such Introductions, English Translations, Glossaries and Notes as may be deemed desirable.

### CONSTITUTION.

2.—The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, an Executive Council, a Consultative Committee and Ordinary and Life Members.

### OFFICERS.

3.—The Officers of the Society shall be the President, the Honorary Secretary and the Honorary Treasurer.

### EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

4.—The entire management of the Society shall be entrusted to the Executive Council, consisting of the Officers of the Society and not more than ten other Members, to whom the Executive Council may add by Co-option not more than two members, who shall retire annually.

5.—All property of the Society shall be vested in the Executive Council, and shall be disposed of as they shall direct by a two-thirds majority.

6.—Three Members of the Executive Council shall retire each year by rotation at the Annual General Meeting, but shall be eligible for re-election, the Members to retire being selected according to seniority of election, or, in case of equality, by lot. The Council shall have power to co-opt Members to fill up casual vacancies occurring throughout the year. Any Member of Council who is absent from five consecutive Ordinary Meetings of the Council to which he (or she) has been duly summoned, shall be considered as having vacated his (or her) place on the Council.

### CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE.

7.—The Consultative Committee, or individual Members thereof, shall give advice, when consulted by the Executive Council, on questions relating to the Publications of the Society, but shall not be responsible for the management of the business of the Society.

### MEMBERS.

8.—Members may be elected either at the Annual General Meeting, or from time to time, by the Executive Council.

## SUBSCRIPTION.

9.—The Subscription for each Member of the Society shall be 7/6 per annum (American subscribers, two dollars), entitling the Member to one copy (post free) of the volume published by the Society for the year, and giving the right to vote on all questions submitted to the General Meetings of the Society. The payment of a single sum of £5 (Colonial or foreign members £5 5s. 0d., American members 27 dollars) entitles to life membership. Life members will receive one copy of each volume issued subsequently to the receipt of this sum by the Society.

10.—Subscriptions shall be payable in advance on the 1st January in each year.

11.—Members whose Subscriptions for the year have not been paid are not entitled to any volume published by the Society for that year, and any Member whose Subscription for the current year remains unpaid, and who receives and *retains* any publication for the year, shall be held liable for the payment of the full published price of such publication.

12.—The Publications of the Society shall not be sold to persons other than Members, except at an advanced price.

13.—Members whose Subscriptions for the current year have been paid shall alone have the right of voting at the Annual General Meeting of the Society.

14.—Members wishing to resign must give notice in writing to the Honorary Secretary, before the end of the year, of their intention to do so: otherwise they will be liable for their Subscriptions for the ensuing year.

## EDITORIAL FUND.

15.—A fund shall be opened for the remuneration of Editors for their work in preparing Texts for publication. All subscriptions and donations to this fund shall be purely voluntary, and shall not be applicable to other purposes of the Society.

## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

16.—A General Meeting shall be held each year in the month of January, or as soon after as the Executive Council shall determine, when the Council shall submit their Report and the Accounts of the Society for the preceding year, and when vacant seats on the Council shall be filled up, and the ordinary business of a General Meeting transacted.

## AUDIT.

17.—The Accounts of the Society shall be audited each year by auditors appointed at the preceding General Meeting.

## CHANGES IN THESE RULES.

18.—With the notice summoning the General Meeting, the Executive Council shall give notice of any change proposed by them in these Rules. Ordinary Members proposing any change in the Rules must give notice thereof in writing to the Honorary Secretary seven clear days before the date of the Annual General Meeting

## LIST OF MEMBERS.

(N.B.—Members are earnestly requested to send Notice of any Change of Address to the Hon. Sec., 20 Hanover Square, London, W.1, to avoid mispostage of Books and Notices).

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### MEMBERS:

Δ ṮṮṮṮṮ, ṮṮṮṮṮṮ	... ṮṮṮ ṮṮṮ na ṮṮṮṮ, ṮṮṮṮṮ
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## NAMES.

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Cahill, Vincent	... 7 Lavagh Villas, Ashfield Rd., Ranelagh, Dublin
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Cox, Rt. Hon. Michael, P.C., M.D., M.R.I.A.	... 26 Merrion Square, Dublin
Coyne, D. J.	... Laughlin Building, Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.
Coyne, John P.	... Laughlin Building, Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.
Crone, J. S., M.D., J.P., M.R.I.A.	... Kensal Lodge, Kensal Green, London, N.W. 10
Curran, Miss Aileen	... 63 Upper Gloucester Place, N.W. 1
Dalton, John P.	... 16 Alma Road, Monkstown, Dublin
De Bál, an t-Δεσπ. Τονάρ	... Drumcollogher, Co. Limerick
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NAMES.	ADDRESSES.
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Doherty, Miss Josephine C.,	... 326 East Avenue 60, Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.
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England, Thos. A., LL.D.	... E.D.O., Somerset House, London, W.C. 2
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Fleming, E. J.	... Herman W. Hellman Building, Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.
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Kelly, John F., PH.D.	... 284 W. Housatonia St., Pittsfield, Mass.
Kelly, Thomas Aliaga	... 61 Anglesea Road, Donnybrook, Dublin
Kenny, J. P.	... 51 Strandville Av., N. Strand Rd., Dublin
Ker, Prof. W. P.	... 95 Gower Street, London, W.C. 1
Knox, H. T.	... Rivershill, St. George's Rd., Cheltenham
Knox, Rev. P. B.	... St. Patrick's Church, Madison, Wisconsin, U.S.A.
Lamotte, W. de G.	... Solicitor's Dept., Treasury, Whitehall, S.W. 1
Lane-Poole, Prof. Stanley, D.LITT.	The Bell House, Bearsted, Maidstone
Lankford, J. R.	... Ashburton, St. Luke's, Cork
Law, Hugh A., M.P.	... Marble Hill, Ballymore, Co. Donegal
Lawlor, Rev. H. J., D.D.	... 32 Palmerston Road, Dublin
Lefroy, B. St. G.	... Baldonnell, Clondalkin, Co. Dublin
Lindley, Walter, M.D.	... California Hospital, Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.
Livingston, Rev. Wm.	... 308E, 37th Street, New York, U.S.A.
Lloyd, Joseph H.	... Duate na Spéine, Stillorgan Park, Dublin
Lynam, E. W.	... British Museum, London, W.C. 1
Lynch, M. C.	... 20 East Bank, Stamford Hill, London, N. 16
Lynch, P. J., F.R.S.A.I.	... 44 St. Stephen's Green, Dublin
Lynch, Timothy	... Sun Lodge, 65 Sunday's Well, Cork
Lysaght, S. R.	... Hazlewood, Mallow, Co. Cork

## NAMES.

## ADDRESSES.

MacAdam, Rev. Donald M., P.P.	Church of the Sacred Heart, Sydney, Nova Scotia
MacAlister, Professor R. A. S.	... Newlands, Clonskeagh, Co. Dublin
Mac Aoidh, Ian	... 33 Curzon Road, Muswell Hill, London, N.10
MacAuliffe, J. J.	... 16 Northcote Terrace, Bradford, Yorks.
MacBride, A., M.D.	... Infirmary House, Castlebar, Co. Mayo
MacBride, Joseph M.	... Harbour Commissioners' Office, Westport
mac Canna, πιαπας	... Ballyowen, Cashel, Co. Tipperary
MacCartney, H. S. G.	... 934 West 18th St., Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.
MacClintock, Captain H. F.	... 16 Queensberry Place, London, S.W. 7
McCormick, A. I.	... Hibernian Building, Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.
McCormick, The Honble. Paul J.	Judge of the Supreme Court, Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.
MacDermott, Rev. John, P.P.	... Croghan, Boyle, Co. Roscommon
mac Domnaill, P. S.	... Box P.O. 211 East London, S. Africa
MacDonagh, Frank	... Thomond, 176 Cavendish Road, Clapham Park, London, S.W. 4
McDonald, J. Wiseman	... Higgins Building, Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.
mac Enri, Seagán P., M.D.	... 2 Palmyra Crescent, Galway
mac Eocháir, Iorcan	... Tulaic O Bheiríolm, Co. Ceitearlac
McErlean, A. A., LL.B.	... 22 W. 16th St., New York, U.S.A.
McGarry, D. F.	... Higgins Building, Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.
McGarry, M. J.	... Higgins Building, Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.
mac Seairisic, Tomás O.	... 7 High Street, Highgate Village, N.6
MacGinley, P. T.	... 108 Drumcondra Road, Dublin
Mackay, William Dr.	... c/o Messrs. Innes and Mackay, Solicitors, Inverness
McGovern, Rev. J. B.	... St. Stephen's Rectory, Manchester, S.E.
McKenzie, Mrs.	... 43 Chestnut Park Road, Toronto, Canada
MacLagan, R. C., M.D.	... 5 Coates Crescent, Edinburgh
MacLoughlin, James L.	... 33 Westland Avenue, Derry
MacManus, Padraic	... Mountcharles, Co. Donegal
MacManus, Rev. Joseph	... 407 S. Chicago St., Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.
MacNaghten, Hon. Helen	... Runkerry, Bushmills, Co. Antrim
MacNamara, G. U., LL.D.	... Bankyle House, Corofin, Co. Clare
MacNamara, Lt.-Col. J. W.	... Corofin, Co. Clare
MacNeill, Patrick Charles	... Customs and Excise, Kilkenny
mac niocaill, h.	... 1 Slige na h-eaglaise, Raé maoinsear, áe cliaic
mac niocaill, S.	... 2 Woodhill Villas, Tivoli, Cork
MacPhail, George	... Hearnesebrooke, Killimor, Ballinasloe, Co. Galway
mac Suibne, παρμας	... 5 Highfield Avenue, Cork
MacSweeney, E. G., M.D.	... 481 Main Street, Brockton, Mass, U.S.A.
MacWilliam, H. H., M.B.	... Walton Institution, Rice Lane, Liverpool
Maffett, Rev. Richard S., B.A.	... 17 Herbert Road, Sandymount, Dublin
Mahony, J. J.	... Suite 608, Ashland Block, Chicago, U.S.A.
Mahony, W. H.	... Springfield Avenue, Chatham, New Jersey, U.S.A.
Martyn, Edward	... Tulira Castle, Ardrahan, Co. Galway
Meehan, William	... 6 O'Connell St., Dungarvan, Co. Waterford
Merriman, P. J., M.A.	... University College, Cork
Milne, Rev. John, D.D.	... Newlands Manse, W. Linton, Peeblesshire
Mintern, Joseph	... Kilmurry, Passage West, Co. Cork
Mooney, James	... Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Inst., Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
Moore, R. H.	... 65 Highfield Road, Dartford, Kent
Moore, Rev. H. Kingsmill, D.D., M.R.I.A.	... Church of Ireland Training College, Kildare Place, Dublin

NAMES.	ADDRESSES.
Mount Melleray, Rt. Rev. Lord Abbot of	Cappoquin, Co. Waterford
Moynihan, James	... 3 Highfield Avenue, West, Cork
Moynihan, Rev. Timothy	... 390 Shotwell St., San Francisco, Cal., U.S.A.
Murphy, J. J. Fintan	... 16 Effra Road, Brixton Hill, London, S.W.2
Murphy, William, N.T.	... 53 Harbour Row, Queenstown, Co. Cork
νί δοθα, μάριε	... 7 Fulham Park Road, S.W.6
νί Όιομπραιξ, μαιξολίν	... Brookvale House, Cliftonville, Belfast
νί ξμοβτα (λαοις), ξεριοοίν...	Cluain Ruaδ, άτα na Scairbe, Co. Cille mannτάν
νί Ριαιη, άιηε	... Doon, Co. Limerick
νιc μάεξαμνα, άνίτα	... άη Caot, Achill, Co. Mayo
Noonan, J. D.	... 95 Harberton Road, Highgate, London, N.19
Norris, Very Rev. T. Canon	... Catholic Rectory, Brentwood, Essex
ο βριαοιν, Ό.	... 5 Ennismore Villas, Magazine Road, Cork
ο βριαιν, Ρ.	... Ballyferriter, Dingle, Co. Kerry
O'Brien, Michael	... N.S. Ballymakeera, Co. Cork
O'Brien, Rev. J. J.	... Indian School, Banning, Cal., U.S.A.
O'Brien, P. P.	... City Hall, Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.
O'Brien, Rev. Denis, D.PH., D.D.	... St. Munchin's College, Limerick
ο βυαάλλα πάοραιξ	... Abbeyside, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford
O'Byrne, Owen	... 87 Leinster Road, Rathmines, Dublin
O'Byrne, Patrick	... Killybegs, Co. Donegal
O'Byrne, William	... Όριυμ άοιδιν, New Road, Clondalkin, Co. Dublin
O'Callaghan, Jeremiah	... 121 Duke Street, Sheffield
O'Carroll, J. T.	29 Mount Park Crescent, Ealing, London, W.5
O'Carroll, Joseph, M.D.	... 43 Merrion Square, Dublin
O'Carroll, Rev. P.	... Cahirciveen, Co. Kerry
ο ceallaix, Seámur	... 53 Rathgar Road, Dublin
ο Clepux, ταςξ	... 1049 Treat Avenue, San Francisco, Cal., U.S.A.
ο Conξαίτε, άη τ-άταιη Ρ.	... St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, Ireland
O'Connell, G. C.	... 1126 Merchants' National Bank Building, Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.
O'Connell, John A.	... St. Patrick's Art Works, Lower Rd., Cork
O'Connell, Maurice	... Hill View, Marion Rd., Mill Hill, London, N.W.7
O'Connor, Michael	... Clooncurra N.S., Lispole, Co. Kerry
O'Connor, P. J.	... 1031 S. Grand Avenue, Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.
ο Cuileanán, μιcéal	... Old Court, Creagh R.S.O, Co. Cork
O'Dea, Rev. D., B.A.	... St. Flannan's College, Ennis, Co. Clare
O'Doherty, Rev. John, C.C.	... St. Eugene's, Derry
ο Όόλίαν, άη τ-άταιη Seámur	... Colbán, Όροίceaδ άτα
ο Όοννcaóα, ταςξ, Professor	... Croata, Glasheen Road, Cork
O'Donnell, Dr. Nicholas M.	... 160 Victoria Street, North Melbourne, Victoria, Australia.
O'Donnell, Most Rev. Dr., Bishop of Raphoe	Letterkenny, Co. Donegal
O'Donnell, Rev. M.	... Kilmaine, Hollymouut, Co. Mayo
O'Donoghue, Rev. J.	... St. Flannan's College, Ennis, Co. Clare
O'Donovan, J. J.	... 2 Querin Villas, Ballinacurra, Limerick
O'Driscoll, Rev. Denis, P.P.	... Enniskean, Co. Cork
O'Farrelly, Miss A., M.A.	... 26 Highfield Road, Rathgar, Co. Dublin.
O'Flynn, John	... 6 Park View, Carrick-on-Suir, Co. Tipperary

NAMES.	ADDRESSES.
O'Gorman, Rev. John J., D.C.L. ...	225 Fourth Avenue, Ottawa, Canada
O'Halloran, Rev. P., C.C. ...	St. Mary's Nenagh
O'Hegarty, P. S. ...	Woodleigh, Welshpool
O'Keefe, J. G. ...	Glendhu, Cecil Park, Piener
O'Kelly, Thomas ...	40 Hilddrop Road, London, N. 7
O'Leary, John ...	Cashel, Co. Tipperary
O'Madden, Patrick L. ...	Stella Maris, Salt Hill, Galway
Ο Μάιτλε, Τόμας, M.A., PH.D. ...	University College, Galway
Ο Μόριάν, Αν τ-Αέαιρ P. S. ...	Claregalway, Ireland
Ο Μυρεάδα, Colm, ...	26 Rathmines Terrace, Dublin
O'Neill ...	59 Rua das Flores, Lisbon
O'Neil, P. H. ...	828 Storey Building, Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.
O'Rahilly, T. F. ...	36 Belgrave Square, Rathmines, Dublin
Ο Ρίαν, Ίαν P. ...	6 Lowth Road, Denmark Hill, London, S.E. 5
O'Reilly, George ...	26 Trinity Street, Drogheda
O'Reilly, Rt. Rev. Monsgr. Hugh, B.A., M.R.I.A. ...	St. Colman's College, Violet Hill, Newry
O'Riordan, E. F. M.A. ...	Suite 608 Ashland Block, Chicago, U.S.A.
O'Rourke, Rev. Andrew ...	St. Mary's, Swinton, Manchester
Orpen, Goddard ...	Monksgrange, Enniscorthy, Co. Wexford
Ο Σεοέφραδα, Πάουλας ...	Dingle, Co. Kerry
Ο Σνιλλεαδάν, Σεαμόντ, M.A. ...	Knockbeg College, Carlow
O'Sullivan, D. J. ...	Estate Duty Office, Somerset House, W.C. 2
O'Sullivan, Michael ...	Ardeevin, 106 Druncondra Rd., Dublin
O'Sullivan, Rev. A. M., O.S.B. ...	St. Catherine's Hospital, Ramsgate
O'Sullivan, Rev. T. ...	Priory Lodge, Hoddesdon, Herts
Owens, T. J. ...	P.O. Box 146, Ancon, Canal Zone, Panama
Perry, Miss A. M. ...	9 Steele's Road, Hampstead, N.W. 3
Perry, Rev. J. F. ...	Stonor Park, Henley-on-Thames
Phelan, Joseph ...	Box 564, Balboa, Canal Zone, Panama
Pierse, Rev. Pdraig ...	1343 Third Street, Santa Monica, Cal., U.S.A.
Pochin, Miss ...	The Manor House, Wigston, Leicester
Power, Rev. Prof. P., M.R.I.A. ...	University College, Cork
Prendergast, Rev. E. ...	Carrick-on-Suir, Co. Tipperary
Press, Mrs. E. ...	Avon Wood, Stoke Bishop, Bristol
Purcell, Joseph ...	2 Glenmalure Villas, Castlevew Gardens, Limerick
Purser, Prof. L. C., LITT.D. ...	35 Trinity College. Dublin
Quinlivan, P. ...	Inland Revenue, Shandon St., Bandon, Co. Cork
Redington, Miss Matilda ...	Kilcornan, Oranmore, Co. Galway
Redmond, Owen J. ...	13 Lomond Avenue, Fairview, Dublin
Rhys, Ernest ...	48 West Heath Drive, Golders Green, N.W. 4
Rice, Rev. James ...	The Presbytery, Headley Road, Grayshott, Hants
Rice, Ignatius J. ...	Roselawn, Ballybrack, Co. Dublin
Robertson, William John ...	Woodstock, West Didsbury, Manchester
Robinson, Prof. F. N. ...	Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass, U.S.A.
Rogers, Earl ...	California Building, Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.
Rolleston, T. W. ...	Ifield, 16 Prince Arthur Rd., Hampstead, N.W. 3
Ross, Miss Catherine ...	66 Fitzwilliam Square, Dublin
Rushe, Denis Carolan, B.A., Solr. ...	Far-Meehul, Monaghan
Ryan, Rev. P. C., P.P. ...	Fethard, Co. Tipperary
Ryan, W. P. ...	18 Ellerdale Road, Hampstead, N.W.



## NAMES.

## ADDRESSES.

Scannell, The Right Rev. Richard,	Bishop of Omaha, Nebraska, U.S.A.
Scott, Joseph	... 1004 Black Building, Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.
Sephton, Rev. John	... 90 Huskisson St., Liverpool
Seton, Malcolm C.	... 13 Clarendon Rd., Holland Park, London, W. 11
Shahan, Right Rev. Thos. J., D.D.,	Catholic University, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
Shaw, Thomas J.	... La Mancha, Belvedere, Mullingar, Ireland
Sheehan, John	... William Street, Fermoy, Co. Cork.
Shekleton, A. Jno.	... 37 Dalmore Rd., West Dulwich, London, S.E.
Skrine, F. H.	... 147 Victoria Street, S.W. 1
Smith, Rev. Geo. Nuttall	... Kelly Rectory, Lifton, Devon
Smyth, F. Acheson	... 45 Dartmouth Square, Leeson Park, Dublin.
Spring Rice, The Hon. Mary	... Mount Trenchard, Foynes, Co. Limerick
Stafford, Frank W.	... Deputy District Attorney, Hall of Records, Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.
Thompson, Miss E. Sketfington	... Glenelly, Chislehurst, Kent
Tierney, Rev. John, D.P.H.	Nass, Co. Kildare
Townshend, Miss C. M.	... Σπυαυό na Σπίεμε, Glandore, Co. Cork
ua buacalla, Domnaill	... Maynooth, Co. Kildare
ua Cianáin, S. F., M.B.	... Ballinalee, Edgeworthstown, Ireland
ua Conceanáin, Tomás	... Uor na mair, bóear na Traşa, Saitlin
ua Corcarió, Diarmuid	... Dingle, Co. Kerry
ua Corcarió, Pádraig	... Dingle, Co. Kerry
ua h-anluam, E. M. S.	... 14 Suidán Óuin na mára, Blackrock, Co. Dublin
Van Hamel, Dr. A. G.	... Nieuwe Haven 93, Rotterdam
Vendryes, Professor J.	... 85 Rue d'Assas, Paris
Walker, Charlton, B.A.	... Hartwood Lodge, Warley, Essex
Walsh, Most Rev. W. J., D.D.,	... Archbishop's House, Drumcondra, Dublin
Walsh, Rev. R. F., C.C.	... Draperstown, Co. Derry
Walshe, M. C., J.P.	... 2B, Bickenhall Mansions, Gloucester Place, London, W. 1
Waters, Eaton W., M.D.	... Brideweir, Conna, Co. Cork
Webster, K. G. T.	... Gerry's Landing, Cambridge, Mass, U.S.A.
Westropp, T. J., M.A., M.R.I.A.	... 115 Strand Rd., Sandymount, Co. Dublin
White, Col., J. Grove, J.P., D.L.	... Kilbyrne, Doneraile, Co. Cork
Whitworth, Mrs. Mary	... An Spianán, Blackrock, Dundalk
Williams, Rev. P.	... 17 S. Electric Avenue, Alhambra, Cal., U.S.A.
Williams, T. W.	... Bank Chambers, Corn Street, Bristol
Wilson, Rev. T., C.C.	... Ballyhooley, Co. Cork
Woulfe, Rev. Patrick, C.C.	... Kilmallock, Co. Limerick
Young, Miss Rose M.	... Glendun Lodge, Cushendun, Co. Antrim
Young, P. T., LL.B.	... 2 Drummond Gardens, Crow Rd., Glasgow



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London, Gaelic Society	... per J. C. Dryden, Scots' Corporation Hall, 7 Crane Court, Fleet Street, E.C. 4
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do marbhadh mar an cétna iat d'urmor<sup>1</sup> agus do theith in chuid nar marbhadh diibh. In treas la na dhiaigh sin do connaic Agiolandus mar do tuiteadar a mhuindter, agus do rinne se crann-char piseogach agus da reir sin do aithin se da tugad cath imlán do Sherlus cona muinntir gu ndingnadh dith<sup>2</sup> mhor doibh; agus ar a shon sin do chuir tecta d'fogra catha imlain ar Serlus cona muinntir ar na mharach. Agus do chetuigh Serlus in cath do thabhairt. Agus in aghaidh roim in cath do bhi Serlus cona muinntir a foslongport laim ris in sruth<sup>3</sup> remraiti agus do shaidhetar cuid da muinntir a ngaithi is na muighibh<sup>4</sup> i rabhatar na comnuidhi agus ar n-eirghi doibh ar na mharach fuaradar a ngaithi lan do croicenn agus do blath dedhmhaiseach orro. Agus ba hiat lucht na ngaethe sin do mairtiredh a tus in catha ar na mharach ar son creidmhe Crist. Agus ní is mo ina mar as eidir a indisi do bhatar na sluaigh sin ag<sup>5</sup> ingantas ar met na mirbail sin do roine Dia. Agus do gerradh<sup>6</sup> na gaitli sin comhard<sup>7</sup> re talmhain agus do fhasatar croinn mhora a premhaibh na ngaithi sin gur bho pháirc mor,<sup>8</sup> agus atait o sin isin inad sin gan losgad gan mhilledh. Agus a ngne fhuinnseog atait,<sup>9</sup> agus in 1et ingantach so gidh do bhi se na dhidbail do na corpuibh do bo mhor a ghairdiughadh<sup>10</sup> dona h-anmannaibh. Agus do cuired in cath gu cruaidh agus co calma in la sin, idir na sluaghaib. Agus do martrad Milo .i. athair Rolannduis isin cath sin faris in ndroing agar fhas blath ar a ngaethibh. Agus do thuitset da fhicit míle do na Cristaighibh in la sin leis na Padhanchaibh. Agus do marbhadh ech Serluis móir fein<sup>11</sup> isin cath sin, agus do bhi Serlus da chois agus da mhíle<sup>12</sup> dona Cristaighibh faris. Agus do nocht Serlus a claidheamh ann sin dar ainm Gaudiosa<sup>13</sup> agus do ling ar lar na

1. anurmor F. & E. & H. 2. digbail F. & H. dibhail E. 3. re taeb an srotha sin H. 4. is na hinadaib H. 5. aga F. E. reads "ag ingantas med." H. "acindisin." 6. gearradar sit F. do gearradar siat. E. H. rightly omits "siat." 7. gonaird re F. 8. mar do bheith páirc mor F. E. omits this. 9. agus a ngne agus andath acosmailius fuinnseoc E. fuindsind H. 10. E. adds "agus in subalta." "an tarba" H. 11. "moir fein" omitted in Lis. 12. da .XX. m. H. & E. 13. E. omits last eleven words, and after "do ling" adds "le buile catha," which H. has also.

against two thousand and they were likewise slain—the greater part of them—and those who were not slain fled. The third day, after that, Agiolandus saw how his people had fallen, and he made divination<sup>a</sup> with spells, and according to it he knew that if he were to give full battle to Charles and his people he would do them great damage. And for that reason he sent messengers to challenge Charles and his people to a full battle<sup>b</sup> on the morrow. And Charles consented to give battle. And the night before the battle Charles with his people was in camp beside the aforementioned stream, and some of his people stuck their spears in the plain<sup>c</sup> where they were stationed, and when they arose in the morning they found their spears covered with<sup>d</sup> bark and fair blossoms on them. And it was the owners of those spears who were martyred at the outset of the battle on the morrow, for the sake of Christ's religion. And the hosts were wondering more than it is possible to tell at the greatness of the miracles which God performed. And those spears were cut on a level with the ground, and there grew great trees from the roots of those spears, so that it was a great field [of trees],<sup>e</sup> and they are ever since in that place without burning or destruction. And of the nature of ash they are. And this wondrous thing, although it was a hurt to their<sup>f</sup> bodies, it was a great rejoicing to their<sup>f</sup> souls. And the battle was fought hardily and valiantly that day between the armies. And Milo, that was Roland's father, was martyred in that battle, along with the band upon whose spears blossoms had grown. And there fell forty thousand of the Christians on that day at the hands of the Paynims. And Charles's steed was killed in that battle, and Charles was on foot, and two thousand of the Christians along with him. And Charles bared his sword then, whose name was Gaudiosa,<sup>g</sup> and he sprang into the middle of

<sup>a</sup> *Literally* "a charmed casting of lots," "ejecit sortes secrete." This shows an early use of the word "piscóg," very common now in the sense of charm or spell or superstitious rite.

<sup>b</sup> *Lit.* "proclaimed a complete battle on," "pugnam plenariam."

<sup>c</sup> *Lit.* "plains," "in pratis."

<sup>d</sup> *Lit.* "full of."

<sup>e</sup> or "a great park."

<sup>f</sup> *Lit.* "the," "magnumque animabus proficuum,

ingensque corporibus detrimentum."

<sup>g</sup> "evaginavit spatam suam nomine Gaudiosam, et trucidavit multos Sarracenos per medium."

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