The translations from the French in Middle-Dutch literature

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1906

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THE TRANSLATIONS FROM THE FRENCH

IN

MIDDLE-DUTCH LITERATURE

Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the

STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

In partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for

the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

April 19, 1906

by

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PREFACE

It has been my endeavor in the first place to prepare from the entangled mass of facts a succinct statement, an *aperçu*, which would show the procession of the whole theme under discussion, and which, though retaining the character of a critical survey, would be as readily accessible as a dictionary. To that end I have adhered to the usual great divisions of Old French literature into cycles, adding an index to the works treated in the Bibliography and, in an appendix, English translations of all the passages quoted in Middle-Dutch. The separate numbers in the Bibliography have been arranged historically, rather than chronologically, although the two systems would in the main coincide.

In those parts of the work which together make up the *appreciation* of the subject, I have endeavored not to lose sight of its essential unity and to approach it from the point of view of Comparative Literature.
INTRODUCTION

A history of Dutch literature would naturally be divided into three main periods and two transition periods, as follows:

a) The Middle Ages, from about 1200 to 1450.
   Transition: The Rhetoricians, from 1450 to 1600.

b) The Seventeenth Century.
   Transition: The Eighteenth Century Literary Societies.

c) The Modern Period, from about 1800 to the present.

Old Dutch literature is limited to a single fragment of a work which was not even written in the Netherlands, but in Germany. There is, therefore, no O.D. literature to speak of.

Beginning, however, with the eighth century, there are evidences of a language distinct from the High- and the Low-German both in vowel and in consonant systems. Different dialects of it were spoken in Limburg, Brabant, Flanders, Holland and Utrecht. Just as the Alamannic, Bavarian and Frankish dialects together are called Old High German, so the dialects of those Dutch provinces may be called Old Dutch.

Low-Frankish, Saxon and Frisian are the Low-German dialects which have had since the earliest days an independent development in the Netherlands. Between Düsseldorf and the South East of the Low Provinces foreign influence is evident. To the north, east of the Yssel, the Saxon prevailed. The region along the Rhine was Frankish, and this dialect extended over Utrecht and Holland. The dialects spoken in Flanders and Brabant show such kinship with this dialect, that they must be called Frankish
also. Especially Flemish was in inflection very much like the dialect of Holland. But the main body of the Flemish people are probably akin to the Saxon races which conquered England. The Saxon constituency of Flanders was materially increased in about 795 when Charles the Great placed ten thousand Saxons in Flanders.

From these Low-German dialects, then, an independent language developed. This came about first in those regions which, on account of their favorable geographical situation and their consequent commercial and political relations with England, France and Germany, could first boast of growth and prosperity. We are on this head best acquainted with Flanders which was certainly in the eleventh and twelfth centuries far ahead of the other provinces in commercial, industrial and political importance. The Flemish counts and their courts vied with the kings of France and their courts in all that makes for civilization. Chrétien de Troyes was for a time at the court of Filips van den Elzas, Count of Flanders, for whom he wrote "Li Contes del Graal". In Flanders the language assumes an independent character and from there, with the writings composed in it, spread over the other provinces.

* "The southward movement of the Franks along the lower Rhine, driving the ancient inhabitants of the Belgian provinces beyond the river Lys and the neighboring forests, marked the origin of the Flemings" (Bourne's Mediaeval and Modern History, p. 34.)

** Though some of the names of Flemish towns have the Frankish endings heim (hem), many more have the Saxon endings tun, nade, ham, rie (huyse) and pit (pytt). See Dr. Jan te Winkel: The Frankish and Saxon Elements in Middle_Dutch. (Noord en Zuid, vol.7, p.134.)

*** "La Flandre était, dès le 12 siècle, le centre du commerce avec le
Another region, Limburg, developed similarly and earlier. The coinage of money moves with the course of commerce. From France it moved to Maestricht and thence, in the seventh century, to Duurstede and to Frisia. The main course of commerce must, therefore, have passed through Limburg. A remarkable evidence of this fact is found in the oldest Middle-Dutch poem, the "Leven van St.Servaes", written in Limburg, where (Book 1, verse 973) it is pointed out that Maestricht lies in a fertile valley, at the confluence of Meuse and Jeker, and besides:

"Aen eynre ghemeynre straten
Van Inghelant in Ongheren,
Voer Colne ende voer Tongheren;
Ende alsoe dies ghelyck
Van Sassen in Vranoryck,
Ende met scepe, die des pleghen,
Te Denemerken ende te Norweghen.
Die weghe versamenen sich all ës.
Des is die stadt ës er nee
Gheheiten Trajectum."

nor à-ouest- de l'Europe: elle trafiquait par eau et par terre avec tout l'ouest de l'Allemagne centrale; les négocians des villes maritimes du nord s'y rendaient longtemps avant la formation définitive de la hanse teutonique; ses relations commerciales s'étendaient jusqu'aux marchands d'Espagne et d'Italie, enfin elle se livrait fort activement au commerce avec l'Angleterre et avec la France centrale, commerce qui s'exerçait principalement par une hanse flamande particulière, appelée la hanse de Londres." (Warnkoenig-Sheldhof: Histoire de la Flandre, vol.2, chapter 30, p.191, etc.)
From Limburg, which sinks into oblivion when Flanders and Brabant develop a literature, comes the only evidence of O.D. literature. It is an interlinear translation of the Psalms, from the tenth century, called after its erstwhile owner, the "Wachtendonocksche Psalmen". In M.D. Limburg produced, besides the already mentioned "Leven van St. Servaes", a "Leven van Jezus", some sermons, and a "Roman van Aiol": at least this romance is sometimes attributed to the same region. It is, however, within the truth to say that in Flanders, situated farther in the interior and, therefore, less under the influence of the H.G., and where the national life became strongest, the purest M.D. was evolved. There the germs of a Dutch literature proper first developed.

The transition from O.D. to M.D. took place principally in the eleventh century. This is the period during which the remarkable development of the Flemish cities and the rise in the social scale of their inhabitants begins. These burghers, as we have seen, excelled in commerce and industry. This brought to them wealth, and with it leisure, comforts, and a desire for the literature and the other arts of the period, until then the exclusive property of the nobles. Their political influence is shown when, in 1127, after the murder of count Charles the Good, they take an active part in the selection of a new count. All along they gain privileges and immunities carefully described in charters. After a time their power becomes so great that their voice in foreign, as well as home, affairs becomes decisive.

History is somewhat at a loss to explain the rapidity with


which these cities rose in a century from feudal insignificance to modern growth. A fierce and constant struggle was doubtless involved. But from the fact itself may safely be deduced that the forming of a national feeling and, therefore, of a language which was to be more than a mere dialect colored with Low-Frankish or Saxon, took place in this, the eleventh, century. This language became independent of the Low-German mother trunk.* In the Middle Ages it was called Dietsc (diet-

*Nichts ist unverständiger als den Untergang des niederdutschen dia-

lects zu beklagen, der längst schon zur blossen mundart wieder herabge-
sunken und unfähig war, wie der hochdeutsche zu nähren und zu sättigen. Während sich alle hochdeutschen stämme der höheren schriftsprache beugen, der niederdeutsche stamm bereits die niederländische, in gewissem sinn die englische sprache hergegeben hat, wäre es ungerecht und unmöglich der niedersächsischen bevölkerung ein anrecht auf schriftsprache einzuräumen".

"Zur volksmundart herabgesunken ist der Friesen und Chauken sprache und ein gleiches gilt von einem grossen theil der altsächsischen, doch so dass aus den trümmern eines andern theils eine eigene niederländische zunge neu erstanden", etc.

"Es haben sich bis auf heute nur fünf deutsche sprachen auf dem platz behauptet, die hochdeutsche, niederländische, englische, schwedische und dänische, deren künftige schicksale" etc. (From pp. 834 and 836 of Jacob Grimm's Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache.)

"Es sonderten sich im Lauf des Mittelalters die Niederlände von den benachbarten Friesen und Sachsen ab, und während das übrige Norddeutsch-

land schon längst keine litterarische Selbständigkeit mehr besitzt, er-

freuen sie sich noch haupts ihrer eigenen Poesie und Prosa." (Nackernagel: Geschichte der Deutschen Litteratur, vol.1, p.32.)
people) or *Duutsc.* After the names of the provinces whose tongue was adopted for general use in cultured speaking and writing, we may call it Flemish in the Middle Ages and Hollandish after the sixteenth century.

* See Dr. Belco Verwys about *Dietsc* or *Duutsc* in the Taalkundige By-dragen van Cosyn, vol.1, pp.217-232.
WHEN DOES MIDDLE-DUTCH LITERATURE BEGIN?

A complete history of the controversy concerning this question is beyond the purposes of this thesis. A brief summary of the facts will suffice.

The oldest chivalric poem in M.D. taken from British material was the “Tristan” of Eilhard von Oberg, who lived in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Gaston Paris places its date at 1175. It was followed, about 1209, by Warent von Grafenberg’s “Wigalois”. Between these two dates lies another translation which, although treating material from antiquity, was for a long time considered the model of chivalric poetry. This was the “Eneit” of Hendrick van Veldeke with which he appears, though the poem was yet unfinished, at the court of Cleves and which he completed nine years later for the Landgraf of Thüringen.

This Veldeke whom we will reconsider in a moment on account of his close connection with M.D. literature, was the founder of a new school. He was the first to write in pure rime and regular rhythm and his poem breathed for the first time a true chivalric spirit, having love and gallantry for its motive. Rudolf von Ems says of him in his “Alexander”:

"Von Veldich der wise man
Der rehter rime alrerat begun".

To his school belong the great poets of the thirteenth century, Hartmann von Aue (“Erec”, 1192, and “Iwein”, before 1204, both after Chrestien de Troies), Wolfram von Eschenbach (“Parzival”, 1205—

* Les Romans de la table ronde, etc., p.19.
1210 and "Willehalm von Oranze", 1217-1220), and Gottfried von Strassburg ("Tristan", unfinished on account of his death in 1210).

In Germany chivalric poetry, or in other words, the influence of the French spirit, begins to be manifest about 1175. What is the date of this French influence in the Netherlands, or -as the question may as well be put- when does M.D. literature proper, in the vernacular, begin?

The early M.D. poems have seldom reached us with any indication or allusion to author or date. The beginning and the end of many poems, where these data would in most cases be given, are usually destroyed. For when Carlovingian and Arthurian poetry, and that of antiquity, had given way to the more characteristic didactic verse, the earlier mss. were easily lost. Many of them got between the shears of the bookbinder: the parchment was cut into strips to serve in the sewing together of book covers or to be boiled into glue. Sometimes, however, single sheets were in the binding pasted to the inside of book covers, or used as wrappers for registers and accounts. These were, of course, saved. So it happens that many of the oldest poems have reached us only in fragments, minus the beginning and the ending.

Until W. Braune's investigations,* nothing definite and final was established concerning a date for the beginning of M.D. literature. First the date of Maerlant's "Rymbybel" (1270) was adopted. Then an erroneous date for the publication of "Reinaert de Vos" (1170) was at the suggestion of J.F. Willems, in 1838, adopted for the whole. At last, in 1858, Prof. J.F. Bormans of Liege discovered in the "Leven van St. Servaas" by a certain Heynryck van Veldeken, that this author was also the poet of

* In the Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie von Höpfner und Zacher, vol. 4, 1878, pp. 240-304.
the "Sneît". Borman's conclusions, however, were opposed by Jonckbloest* and the matter was again in doubt. Finally Braune and, later, O.Behaghel** established the following points:

The language in which the "Sneît" is written, is High German, at least the ms. which has reached us is. But the rime words, a sure criterion and guide to the dialect in which a poem is originally written, are mostly not in H.G. and are "in wunderlich-buntscheckiger weise mit formen ausgeschmückt, die, ganz allgemein ausgedrückt, auf das niederrheinische sprachgebiet hinweisen"*** If we assume that the author of the "Sneît" was born in Veldeke, Limburg, the question arises what could have induced him to write in H.G. The idea of a desire on the poet's part to shine more widely in a more brilliantly known dialect must be given up, because Hartmann, Wolfram, nor Gottfried, had yet made High-German famous. Besides, the poet says himself that the first part of his work was written on this side of the Rhine for the Countess of Cleve, at whose court he appears in 1175. This first part was stolen from the countess by a certain "Graf Heinrich" on the occasion of her marriage to Ludwig of Thuringen, probably in 1174. The poem was returned to Veldeke between 1184 and 1190 when he came to the court of Thuringen and he there and there finished it. There is no great reason to think that he should have finished it in a dialect other than the one in which he had begun it. This original ms. was lost after it had been translated into H.G. Braune concludes:"Ich glaube bewiesen zu

** Heinrich von Veldeke's Enëide, Heilbronn, 1882.
*** Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie von Höpflner und Zacher, vol.4, p.352
haben, dass Veldeke auch in der Eneide seine heimische Sprache in voller Einheit zur Anwendung gebracht hat; da unmöglich die besonders gesetzte der maastrichter Mundart so strict und allseitig mit den Reimen dieses Gedichts in Einklang stehen könnten, wenn er auch nur ein wenig hochdeutsche, ja sogar Köln.-ndrh. brocken in seine Rede eingemischt hätte, wie dies ja so evident zu Tage trat, wenn ein hochde. Schreiber einige Verse änderte oder hinzutat.-Ich kann daher nur die Ansicht für glaubhaft und richtig halten, welche die Eneide im maastrichter Dialect verfasst und in Thüringen umgeschrieben werden lässt.“

The legend of "Sint Servaes"* is written in a similar tongue: if it is here and there in a purer M.D. it must be attributed to a later Copyist. Cosyn established that the original text, like that of the "Eneit", is not written in the pure Maastricht dialect, but in a tongue which "lies between pure German and our Limburg dialect".* The date can be deduced from the end, in which the translator says that he wrote for the reason

"Des hem ouch bat die Gravinne
Van Loen, die adel Agnes,
Te bat lustede hoem des
Dat hyt te Dutschen keerde".

This countess Agnes had married count Louis 1 van Loon and died in 1171.***

With certain reservations we may adopt, therefore, 1170 as the ap-

* Edited by Prof. Bormans in 1858 after a ms. of the fifteenth century found in a private library in Limburg.

** De Oudnederlandse psalmen, part 2, p.41.

proximate date of the beginning of M.D. literature. With certain reservations, because the Limburg poetic movement is in the first place practically wholly ecclesiastical, and in the second place it soon dies out owing to the shifting of commerce and prosperity to Flanders. It is isolated, having had no influence of any kind upon the other Dutch provinces. It is but a forerunner to M.D. literature proper.

The "Bere Wisselau" and "St. Brandaen" are the oldest Flemish poems. But Dr. G. Kalff, the latest editor of the "Bere Wisselau"* does not even venture to suggest an approximate date for it. As little is known of the date of "St. Brandaen". G.A. Serrure thinks** that "Wisselau" belongs to the twelfth century and that "possibly it was written in 1180", but Jonckbloet says "this is but apodictic whim without the semblance of a foundation". From the fact that there was an Olivier van Nachelen in 1167 and an Olivier van Sottegem, whom he assumes to be named after the hero in the "Roelants-lied", another early Flemish poem, Serrure** concludes that the "Roelants-lied" "might well go back as far as 1150". But Chuoanrat's "Rulantslied" goes back as far as 1131*** and the "Chanson de Roland" is from the fourth quarter of the eleventh century;*** nothing proves that these men were named after the Oliver in the M.D. translation. As for the fourth poem of oldest date, the "Willem van Oringen", Jonckbloet proves that it was written between 1219 and 1222.

1. Haerlant's "Alexander", the date of which lies between 1257 and

** Letterkundige Geschiedenis van Vlaanderen, vol.1, p.122, and p.123.
1260, mentions several heroes and heroines which belong to "Tristan", "Lancelot", "Percheval", "Gauvain", "Amadis", "Partonopeus", and "Floire et Blanchefleur". It is certain that Maerlant here refers to poems in Flemish, for he wrote for Dietsc-speaking burghers and cannot have referred them to French originals which they could not read. He alludes to some of these poems again in other works, mostly to warn the Flemish burghers against the products of French romance: they must, therefore, have been accessible to them in the vernacular. The Dietsc spelling of some of the names, as Perchevaels, Keye, Walewein, Floris ende Blanchefloër, makes this all the more probable. Besides, the chronicler Jan van Heelû*also mentions some of them and says of himself: "Ic ben des Francsoys niet wel meester".

The date of these translations must, therefore, lie between the date of the originals and that of the "Alexander".

The French "Lancelot" is from the last half of the twelfth century. "Tristan" and "Percheval" are not much older than 1200, the "Roman de Gauvain" may be somewhat younger, while the "Partonopeus de Blois" was written between 1214 and 1245. The age of "Floire et Blanchefloër" is not settled, but the ms. imitated by the Flemish poet seems to have been from the first years of the thirteenth century. The translator is Diederik van Assenede, and he had been appointed by the Flemish countess, Margaretha, secretary of the Assenede shire. He died in 1293. His name occurs since 1262 in some of the charters, and the date of his poem may be approximately fixed at 1250.

We can, therefore, say with certainty only that the Flemish share in K.D. literature dates from the beginning of the thirteenth century.

FORM OF MIDDLE-DUTCH VERSE

As in all other mediaeval literatures, the form of M.D.literature is verse. Prose is a rare exception. In the beginning all verse is narrative, towards the second half of the Middle Ages it becomes didactic.

As in modern verse, rhythm is determined by the natural accent, but there the similarity ends. It is not astonishing that Huizinga Bakker*, one of the earliest students of M.D. verse, thought that utter lawlessness was the rule there. Professor F.Martin, in a study which he placed after his "Reinaert"**, though giving much more satisfactory results, leans toward the same opinion. Finally, Professor W.van Helten established himself as the best authority on the subject in an exhaustive treatise.***

All narrative poems are written in the same form. In the lyrical poems more freedom is visible. The former are composed of lines rining according to the scheme aa, bb, cc, etc. and consist each of four, rarely of three accented feet, with a caesura usually after the second, exceptionally after the first foot. Between the arses there may be a thesis: it is not always there. This thesis is monosyllabic; contraction, elision, combination and the inaudible pronunciation of final "n" are called into play in obeying this rule. The first foot may be preceded by from one to three syllables: if there are two there is a weak accent on the first, if there are three this weak accent falls on the second

* In the "Werken der Maatschappij van Letterkunde", vol.5.
*** "Over Middelnederlandschen Versbouw", Groningen, 1834.
sylable. This preliminary group is not counted in the counting of
the feet and a line not preceded by it may be connected to one which
is so preceded.

The main characteristic of W.D. verse is, therefore, the fact
that not the syllables, but the accents, are counted. This is what
gives it the appearance of irregularity: a line of four syllables may
under the rules be coupled to one of eleven.

On the other hand, the system has the advantage of less rigi-
dity. It should also be noted that there is practically always a the-
sis between two arses, so that lines of four syllables are the excep-
tion.
BIBLIOGRAPHY *

a) Chansons de Geste**

De Bere Wisselau


Kalff's edition is better than that of Serrure.

Ms. in damaged condition. Perhaps an untranslated work.

Story: Charlemagne has penetrated into the country of the giant king "Espriaen". He forces the latter to receive him in his castle, mainly by the aid of a bear who obeys the knight "Geermont". This bear fills the giant with fear by taking his cook, putting him into a pot of boil

* This bibliography is arranged under the following heads: a) Chansons de Geste, p. 15; b) Mystic British Romances, p. 34; c) Episodic Arthurian Romances, p. 46; d) Cycle of Antiquity, p. 71; e) Byzantine Romances, p. 77; and f) Allegorical poems, p. 88. There is an index to the poems on page 95.

** I have been unable to find traces of M.D. translation from any other source, besides the French, than the German. And here I have found only one, the Nevelingen-Lied. Two fragments, 8°, each of 72 lines, exist. They have been edited by Serrure: Vaderlandsche Museum, vol. 1, p. 30 etc., and by Dr. Kalff: Middelnederlandsche Epische Fragmenten, p. 1 etc.

The manuscript, as instanced by the existing fragments, must have been a close translation from the M.G. text of the Vulgata. The first fragment is from the 18th Aventiure, the second from the 17th. It dates from the beginning of the thirteenth century. The lines are sometimes in the wrong order, others have been omitted. The syntax and rhythm are defective and show plainly that the translation is very old.
ing soup, carrying the pot to the dining hall and eating the cook in the presence of all. Then Geermont, who beforehand orders the bear to yield at the right moment, fights and conquers Wisselau, thereby intimidating the giant still more.

Criticism: L. Uhland, Germania, vol.6, p.307, etc.

Roelandslied

Four fragments, belonging to at least two, Dr. Kalff thinks four mss. Edited by J. H. Bormans: La Chanson de Roncevaux, fragments d'anciennes rédactions thioises, avec une introduction et des remarques. Bruxelles, 1864. Edited also by Dr. Kalff: Middeln. Epische Fragmenten, p.57.

The translator was probably a monk. He imitated closely the oldest of the French texts. This, as well as his meagre expression, the awkwardness of the lines, the complete lack of talent in the writer who frequently misconstrues the meaning of the original*, points to great age of the fragments. Dr. Kalff opines that the Roelandslied belongs to the thirteenth century, None and Serrure place it in the twelfth, Jonckbloet insists that all we can say is that the translation belongs to the oldest products of Dutch literature.

Karel ende Elegast


This translation consists of 1400 lines. It excels through clear expression and the absence of expletives. It dates from the middle of the thirteenth century.

The legend upon which the French original is based is very ancient and of Germanic origin. The name "Elegast" = "Elvegast" is Frankish and means Alvagast, i.e. spirit of Elves. Gaston Paris in his "Histoire poétique de Charlemagne", p. 320, says that there were in the thirteenth century three poems in French on the legend. In the Icelandic Karlamagnus-Saga the name of the thief is, as in the "Chanson de Renaus de Montauban" and in "Le Restor du Paon", Basin; but in the Danish "Krönnicke om Karl Magnus", Alegast. The French originals have not been found as yet.

The translation was long held to be an original Middle poem. But Jonckbloet found in 1850 a reference in Albericus Trium-Fontium's Chronicle to the original legend in a cantilena, i.e. a Chanson de geste, which seems to be lost, but which has left traces in French literature from which we learn not only of its existence, but also its contents. He also found the following reference in the "Chanson de Renaus de Montauban":

"Quant je cuidai avoir tot mon regne aqitá,
Dont jurerent ma mort trestuit li doze per:
Si me durent mordrir par un jor de Noé.
Dex me manda par l'ange que je alais embler:
Voirement i alai, ne l'osai refuser.
Je n'oi clé ne sosclave por tresor efondrer.
Dex me tramist à moi un fort larron prové,
Basins avoit à nom, mena m'en la Ferté,
Et si entra dedens por l'avoir asembler,
Iluec oist 8erin le conseil demonstrer,
Qui le dist à sa feme coiement acelé.
Basins me le conta quant il fu retornés."
Je attendis le terme, et si les pris prové,
Les coutiaux ens ès manches, tranchans et afilés:
Je en fis tel justise comme vos bien savés."

Verwys has since found another reference in "Le Restor du Paon" (De Taal- en Letterbode, vol.1, p.258 etc.), as follows:

"Maus fais pour pis abatre est loés grant pieça.
E ne trueve on que Dieus par son angle manda
Au fort roy Karlemagne et li commanda,
Que il alast embler? et li roys y ala:
A Basin le laron par nuit s'accompagna,
Ki par encantement en la maison entra
D'un rice traitour, s'oI et escouta
Que li leres disoit: 'Ma dame, entendés cha:
Jou voel que secré soit chou que vous orés ja'.
Et la dame à celer esrant li otria.
'Dame', dist li traîtres, 'Karle mourdris sera
A ceste Pentecouste, ke plus ne vivera:
Bien le sai, car jou fui ou on le dévisa'.
Quant la dame l'oI, d'angoisse tressua,
Car c'estoit ses cousins et si la maria.
'Ciertes', ce dist la dame, 'li boins roys le sara'.
Quant li traîtres l'oI, si grant cop li douna
Parmi le nos que tout le vis ensanglenta.
Basins passa avant et si s'agenoilla,
Si requat en son gant le sanc k'elle saina,
Puis revint a Karlon et le fait li conta.
Et Karles se retaist et Dieu en micronia,
Car bien contre ce fait puisséi se garda."
These quotations give the gist of the story in the M.D. translation.

Willem van Oranje


The translation was made from the youngest combination of the four following legends:

a) Les Enfances de Guillaume,
b) Le Couronnement du roi Louis,**
c) La Bataille d'Aliscans,
d) Le Moniage.

The first fragment of the M.D. translation deals with Guillaume's old age and his adventures in the monastery of Agnanes; the second with his imprisonment at the hands of the infidel Synagos, the "ammirant van Palerne". The first fragment ends in the middle of his battle with the robbers whom the monks of Agnanes had paid to murder this knight who ate and drank for ten men, as follows:

"Alse doe die grave zach
Vor hem liggen, die al dien dach
Hem gereit syn ongevoech,
Hief hi die vust op ende sloech";

The second fragment ends when Landry le Timonier, who comes to release Guillaume, has to tell Synagos who the prisoner is. Landry says

*This series, with "La Prise d'Orange" and "Le Charrois de Nimes" was edited, sometimes in whole, sometimes in extracts, by Dr. Jonckbloet: Guillaume d'Orange, The Hague, 1854. **Ed. Langlois (Société des Anc. Textes).
"Willem van Oringen,
Dien die heidin© nie consten dwingen,
Was dalre liefste man,
Die ic ie levende"

The name of the translator was discovered in Maerlant's "Spieghel Historiael". After criticising the French for placing William of Orange above Charles the Great, Maerlant continues:

"Willem was een ridder goet,
Ende storte menechwerf syn bloet
Duer Gode; synt wart hi hermite.

Die walsche boske lieghen van hem,
Die uten Walschen van Haerlem
Clays, ver Brechten sone, dichte,
Daer sone worde in syn ende lichte."

In an ingenious argument Jonckbloet proves that this Klaas of Haarlem, the son of Mrs. Brechten, wrote his poem between 1219 and 1222.*

Gwidekyn (Witekind) van Sassen


A meritorious translation, evidently from the French, from a source older than the existing poem** which treats the same subject, the wars of Charles the Great against the Saxons.


Roman der Lorreinen

Fifteen fragments, consisting in all of 10200 lines. The French ms. has 32000 lines.

Three fragments were found first. They were edited by Massmann: Denkmäler Deutscher Sprache und Litteratur.

Jonckbloet edited (1844) two fragments from the library at Giessen: Werken der Vereeniging ter Bevordering der Oud Nederlandsche Letterkunde.

Dr. Matthes (1876) edited five fragments, found in Utrecht and in Germany, in vol.17 of the Bibliothek van Mnl. Letterkunde. These had been found by Dr. Vermeulen.


It is presumed that the “Chanson d’Yon” described by F. Bonnardot in Romania, vol.3, p.258, is the original of a part of the translation. Other sources of the translation were edited by Paulin Paris under the title of “Li romans de Garin le Lohérain”, 2 volumes (1833-1835) and by Edélestand du Merit under the title “La mort de Garin le Lohérain”, one vol.(1846).

For further inquiry one needs Dr. Wilh. Viëtor: Die Handschriften der Geste des Lohérains, Halle, 1878, and Stengel’s Ausgaben und Studien, no.62.

The translation contains the story of the feud between the families of the Lorrains and the Bordeaux. Hervis, Duke of Lorraine, has two sons, Garain and Begge, who are being educated at the court of the
French king Pepin, together with the children of Hardré de Bordeaux, Fromond and Guillaume. Begge receives from the king Gascogne as a fief and Hardré demands it for his son Fromond. This is the cause of the endless feud.

"S'en vint la guerre, onques plus ne prist fin,
Après les pères la reprisent li fil,
Après les fius li plus prochain voisin."

Jonckbloet places the date of the translation before 1250. It excels all the other poems of this group in purity of diction, in ease and regularity of rhythm. But a comparison with the originals shows nevertheless that the translator allowed most of the poetic spirit to slip away and that he looked upon the poem merely as a chronicle which he thought contained true history.

Karel ende Galiêne

M.D. ms. lost. We know the poem only in a Low-German copy of it which has been absorbed in the collection entitled "Karl Meinet", "zum ersten Mal herausgegeben durch A. von Keller, Stuttgart, 1858."

The story concerns itself with Charles' youth, his oppression at the hands of his brothers Roderik and Ranfrut, his flight to Toledo, his courtship and marriage with Galia or Galiêne, daughter of the Moorish "Amiral" Galafer.

Galia ende Morant

M.D. ms. lost. Also inserted in Von Keller's "Karl Meinet", pp.326-451, in the form of a Low-German copy.

It deals with count Rohart's accusation to the effect that queen Galiêne entertained illicit relations with the knight Morant de la Rivière. Charles was on the point of punishing his wife with death through fire when Morant killed Rohart in a judicial battle, by means of which
Galiène's innocence became evident.

Koningin Sibile


The story is practically the same as that of "Galia ende Morant". In the Spanish poem from the same source, "Gran conquista de Ultramar", it is mentioned that Galiène at her baptism received the name of Sibille: "porque después tornó christiana á la Infante é le puso por nombre Sebilla".

In French there is one ms. of the twelfth century in decasyllabic form* and another of the thirteenth in Alexandrines*. It is the latter that the M.D. translation imitated.

Buyge van Bourdeus

Two translations. One lost, but rewritten in prose folk-book which is extant and of which Wolf (Stuttgart, 1860) gave an account in his "Buye van Bourdeus" and Prof. Verdam in "Het Volksboek van Huyge van Bordeaux": Taalkundige Bydragen, vol. 1, p. 113.

The other translation, of which only a few fragments -800 lines in all- exist, was edited by De Wind, for the Leyden Society: New Series, vol. 5, p. 271, and by Kalff: "Buge van Bordeus" in his Middeln. Epische Fragmenten, p. 229.

* Edited under the title of "Macaire" by Guissard in "Les Anciens Poètes de la France", Paris, 1866. On p. 307 etc. of the same collection are also the alexandrines, which were, however, first published by Reiffenberg.
The legend is the same as in Wieland's "Oberon".

The original French poem is edited by Guessard and Grandmaison in "Les Anciens Poètes de la France" (Paris, 1860). On p. 10 of the Préface the editors say that the great differences between the M.D. ms. and the M.D. lost translation as evidenced in the folk-book are due to the Dutch translator and not to the existence of another French ms. Dr. Kalff agrees with this statement, Jonckbloet dissents.

The M.D. ms. shows clearly that it was written in the period of the decline of chivalric poetry. It dates probably from the latter part of the fourteenth century.

Doon de Mayence (?)

One ms. (damaged) of 372 lines. From the names, Habiqant and Vauclerc, which occur in it, it is supposed that the whole poem belongs to the cycle of Doon de Mayence. An other name occurring in the ms. gives rise to the surmise that it may have belonged to the group of Gwidekyn van Sassen (Les Saisnes). Edited by Kalff: Middeln. Epische Fragmenten, p. 170, and earlier by Blommaert: Annales du Comité Flamand de France, vol. 5, pp. 89 etc., 1860. Kalff says that the ms. must as yet be classed among those whose original is unknown.

Aubri de Borgengozen

The ms. is a rather good translation of Auberi de Bourgoing. It was edited for the first time by Van den Bergh: Werken van de Maatschappij van Hed. Letterk., vol. 7, new series and then by Kalff: Middeln. Epische Fragmenten, p. 140 etc. It dates from the beginning of the fourteenth century.

Geraert van Viane

Two fragments, barely 200 lines. Edited by Kalff: Middeln.
Epische Fragmenten, p.154 etc. Also, earlier, but not from a philological standpoint by the poet Bilderdyk in his "Werscheidenheden."

The translator seems to have followed a ms. different from the one edited by Bekker and Tarbé: Girart de Viane.

The story in the fragments is an episode from Charlemagne's siege of Girart's castle of Viane.

**Chanson de Floovant**

Two fragments, containing together 639 lines. Edited by Karl Bartsch: Pfeiffer's Germania, vol.9, p.407 etc., and by Kalff: Middeln. Épische Fragmenten, p.137 etc.

The French Chanson de Floovant, of which only one ms. is extant, is in the Burgundian dialect and edited by Guessard et Michelant in the Anciens Poètes de la France, Paris, 1850. It belongs to the end of the twelfth century.

**Literature:**

a) Dr. G. Penon: Nederlandsche Spectator, of July, 1878.  
b) A. Darmesteter: De Floovante, vetustiore Gallico poëmate et de Merovingo cyclo, p.22, Paris, 1877.  
c) Bangert: Beitrag zur Geschichte der Floovant-sage, Heilbronn, 1879.

In Mouskès'(Flemish) Chronicle and in the Reali di Francia are mentioned certain matters which occur in the M.D. translation, but not in the French ms. It is, therefore, probable that the translator had before him a ms. different from the one upon which the well known French edition is based.

Bangert (see above, p.21) says: "Die Geschichte Floovents ist die sagenhafte Geschichte des Königs Dagobert". Gaston Paris: Romania, vol.6, thinks that the name Floovent is corrupted from Hlothovinc and means descendant of Hlothovich or Chlodwig (Clovis).

The M.D. translation has little literary value.
Chanson d'Aiol

Two translations, the one in a Limburg dialect, the other in pure M.D. (Flemish). Of the first there are eight fragments in poor condition, consisting in all of 600 lines; of the second two fragments in good condition consisting in all of 1200 lines. The two redactions are independent of each other and had, as Prof. Verdam proves in his edition of the two Aiols, different French mss. as a foundation.

Edited by Prof. J. Verdam in the Tydschrift voor Ned. Taal en Letterkunde, vol.2. Also separately, Leyden, 1883.

Verdam places the Limburg translation in the middle of the 13th century. The Flemish copy belongs to the period of decline, i.e. the period of didactic poetry. Its tone is dry, its form defective.

There is only one French ms. extant. It has been twice edited, once by Jacques Normand and Gaston Raynaud: Société des anciens textes: Aiol, Chanson de geste d’après le manuscrit unique de Paris, 1877, and the other time by Prof. Dr. W. Förster: Aiol et kirabel und Elie de Saint Gille, Zwei altfranzösische Heldengedichte, 1876-82.

Ogier le Danois


The poem to which the fragments belong was translated in a mixture “half German, half Dutch" (Matthes) and it is the ms. of this (literal) translation which is in the Heidelberg library. The French original of the M.D. poem has not been found."Juist daar toch waar de vertaler uitdrukkelijk te kennen geeft, dat hy uit zyne Fransche bron put, zoeken wy vaak te vergeefs naar parallellen in het Fransche ge-
The title of the chanson de geste should be "Ogier l'Ardennois", because the hero belongs to the hill country of the Ardennes. In the text he is called so more than once.

There are in French three mss. of the poem, as follows:

a) By Raimbert de Paris, first half of twelfth century, who refers repeatedly to another "canchon"; 3000 octosyllabic lines. Edited by Barrois, Paris, 1842.

b) By Adenez le Roi, last years of thirteenth century. Written for Guy de Dampierre, count of Flanders, under the title of "Les Enfances Ogier"; 8000 octosyllabic lines. Edited by Schéler, Brussels.

c) Anonymous, middle of fourteenth century, in alexandrines. This poem contains not only all the adventures in Raimbert, but also a number of other ones characteristic of the period of decline.

Matthes considers the M.D. poem not younger than the second half of the thirteenth century, Jonckbloet takes it to be still younger. It shows all the faults of the period of decline: exaggeration and multiplication of adventures, exhortations, moralizations, lack of poetic fire.

De Heemskinderen (Les Quatre Fils Aymon)

Four fragments, containing in all 2007 lines. Edited by Dr. J.C. Matthes: "Renout van Montalbaen" in the Bibliothek van hnl. Letterkunde, Groningen, 1875. In the Introduction, pp. 5-7, is the history of the fragments.

In 1862, in the Bibliothek des Litt. Vereins in Stuttgart, Dr. H.

Michelant edited the French poem under the title "Renaus de Montauban, oder die Haimonskinder, Altfranzösisches Gedicht". But this poem is not the original of the M.D. translation: the "Renout" contains many a story not to be found in the "Renaus", and vice versa. And even where the same narrations occur, the agreement is not great in detail and hardly ever literal. Dr. Matthes recognizes two French redactions, one northern, the other southern*, which were welded together in the poem edited by Michelant.

The legend had its origin in the Ardennes country, as that of Ogier le Danois. But it seems nevertheless not to have developed into an epic in the Netherlands until the M.D. translation, i.e. until it had been reshaped and worked over by the French jongleurs. The M.D. translation owes its great popularity probably to the fact that the legend had not yet died out in the southern Netherlands when it was made. Even in the north the legend was current, for the noble family of Arkel claimed connection with the family of Heimo of Dardanië. And on the Zaan near Amsterdam there are still (in 1888) two windmills of which one is called "De Rosbaier" (Ros Beyaard) and the other "De Vier Heemskinderen".

The "Heemskinderen", Ritsaert, Adelaert, Witsaert and Reinout, are the sons of Heymyn or Heimo, count of Dordoen (Dardanië) and Aye, Charlemagne's sister. Out of hate against Charlemagne, Heimo has sworn to kill the children of this, his, marriage with Aye. She, therefore, brings them up in secret. On the occasion of the coronation of Louis, Charlemagne's son, Heimo is invited to the court and then complains that he has no children. Aye now shows him his sons. Heimo, very glad, knights

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* Dr. J. C. Matthes in the Jahrbuch fur römische und englische Litteratur, N.F., vol. 3: Die Oxfordter Renaus-handschrift ms. Hatton 42 Bodl. 59, und ihre Bedeutung für die Renaussage; nebst einem Wort über die Übrigen in Eng-
them, giving them steeds and armor. Reinout, the youngest and strongest, receives the war-horse Beyaart.

The jealous Louis treats Heimo's four sons shamefully and Reinout cuts off Louis' head. He has to flee with his brothers and the parents have to take an oath that they will deliver all four of their children into the hands of Charlemagne. The Heemskinderen go to Spain and enter the service of king Yewe (Eudon). Reinout builds the castle of Montalbaen and marries the king's daughter, Clarisse.

After seven years the four go back to Pierlepon, driven by love for their mother. Though disguised as pilgrims, they are recognized: the strong Reinout alone can drink more wine than ten knights. Heimo is going to deliver them to Charlemagne, but Reinout escapes. His uncle, the sorcerer Malagys, helps him regain his horse Beyaart and free his three brothers.

Charles now besieges the castle Montalbaen. Though Bishop Turpin throws to them enough food for a year, the brothers fear the necessity of surrender and they escape on Beyaart's back. Then their mother Aye obtains their pardon on condition that Reinout delivers his war-horse to Charles. This is finally done.

The following passage from Dr. Matthes edition of the folk-book is remarkable enough to quote: (p.421)

"Karel deed Beyaert nu twee molenstenen binden aan den hals, en leiden op de brug van der Oysen, en werpen in de riviere: Beyaert sonk met de molenstenen, als 't eerst ingeworpen was, maar terstont quam't boven en begon te zwemmen. Beyaert saeg Reinout: doen verhief hy syn voeten, sloeg tegen de stenen dat beide braken, en swom te lande; so haest als 't te lande quam, liep het na Reinout. Als Carel dit saeg seide

land beginlichen Renausmee.
dit hoorende van den koning, gaf hy Beyaert weder. De koning deed aan
elken voet van Beyaert een molensteen binden en aan den hals twee, en
liet hem zo werpen in de riviere. Noch quam Beyaert boven, en liep na
Reinout en briesde seer. Adelaert kuste Beyaert voor syn muil. De by-
standers verwonderden hen van de kracht van 't peert. Carel seide tegen
Reinout: 't en sy gy my Beyaert wedergeeft, ik sal u doen vangen en
hangen. Adelaert seide: vermaledyt moet gy syn, Reinout, geeft gy den
koning Beyaert weder. Reinout seide: swygt, broeder, sal ik om een ros
's konings toorn hebben? Neen ik waerlyk, broeder, also helpe my God.
Doe seide Adelaert: Beyaert, wat valschen Heere hebby gedient: met slech-
ten loon wort gy geloont. Reinout heeft Beyaert weder gevangen, en den
koning gegeven, seggende: Heer koning, dit is de derde reise, dat ik 't
u geleverd hebbe; is 't dat u dit ros nu ontgaet, ik en vange het niet
weder, want het gaet mynder herten veel te na. De koning ontving 't ros,
en seide: Reinout, gy en meugt niet om sien, want so lang als u ros u
siet, so en soudet niet mogen verdrinken. Doen moest Reinout voor de
Heeren sweren, dat hy niet om sien en soude na Beyaert. Doen dede de
koning Beyaert aan elken voet binden twee groote molenstenen, en aan
den hals ook twee, en also werpen in de riviere: doen moest het ros te
gronde gaan. Een wyle daerna quam 't water boven en stak 't hooft om
hoge, nygende na synen Heere, alsof 't een mensch geweest hadde, die na
syn lieven vrienc bitterlijk geschreit hadde. Ten lestten sonk 't ros en
verdronk. Doen jammerde Reinout en versauchtte in sich selven, en swoer
by hem selven dat hy geen ros meer en beschryden noch sporen aan syn
voeten doen noch ook een swoert aan syn syde gorden soude, waer hy wilde
heremyt worden en trekken in een wilt bos."

Later Reinout goes with Kasagys to Palestine. Kasagys is killed in
the conquest of Jerusalem. Afterwards Reinout works at the Dom of Cologne where he is murdered by the workmen.

The M.D. poem, like the Ogier, was shortly after 1471 translated by Johan Grumelkrut, or, as he also called himself, van Soest, at Heidelberg in a quasi German dialect.* Of this translation two mss., of 1474 and 1480, are preserved in the Heidelberg library. There is, besides, a folk-book of the sixteenth century, known in later editions. Dr. Matthes gave a critical edition of it: "De Vier Heemskinderen". ---voor den tekst van de Renout heeft het eene byzondere waarde, omdat het---over het geheel zoo nauwkeurig met het riddergedicht overeenstemt, dat men het eene omzetting in proza kan noemen, waarby niet eens alle rymen vernietigd zyn." (Introduction to Matthes' Heemskinderen, p.27.)

Jonckbloet makes it very probable that the M.D. translation dates from between 1240 and 1280.*

Malagys (Maugis)

Six fragments, containing in all a little over 1100 lines.
       b) Bormans, in Notae in Reinardum Vulper, fasc.1, pp.16-18.
       c) None, in the Anzeiger, vol.6 (1837), pp.62-68.


The translation is not older that the last years of the thirteenth century. Some of the personages of the Heemskinderen again appear here, also the war steed Beyaard, whose origin and nature are further explained. The contents in the main are formed by the story of Malagys' magic tricks.

Loyhier en Malaert

The two fragments published in the Nieuwe Reeks van Werken der Maatschappij van Letterkunde, vol.7, p.143 etc., and those in Serruré's Vaderlandsch Museum, vol.1, p.431, which were supposed to belong to the M.D. Aiol, have been proved by Dr. Te Winkel and Dr. Kalff to belong to Loyhier en Malaert.

Dr. Te Winkel edited them again in the Tydschrift voor Nederl. Taal- en Letterkunde, vol.6, pp.300-313.

Dr. Kalff edited them in his Middeln. Epische Fragmenten, pp. 261-289, adding another fragment of about 300 lines. There he gives an analysis of the whole chanson and also an account of the literature on the subject.

The French original is lost, with the exception of a fragment of 600 lines, found in 1878, and belonging to the end. It relates the victory of Louis the Third near Saucourt, in 881, against the pirate Hastings.

Loyhier, Charlemagne's son, is exiled at the instigation of his brother Louis. With his friend Malaert, Loyhier travels to Constantinople, where he marries the king's daughter and where, after many adventures, he becomes emperor. Louis again grows jealous of him, which results in war. Loyhier is wounded and Malaert murdered, his whole family being exterminated with him. The end of the poem contains Louis' victory over the Norsemen, here represented as Persians and Arabs, and his death.
The date of the M.D. fragments is in the neighborhood of 1340.

Valentyn ende Namealoos

Of the M.D. redaction, which is supposed to have contained about 7000 lines, only 352 have been preserved. They were edited first, but incompletely, by Hoffmann van Fallersleben: Altdeutsche Blätter, pp.204-206. Later they were published in whole by Seelmann: Denkmäler vom Verein für Niederdeutsche Sprachforschung, vol.4, p.109 etc. Still later they were published by Kalff: Middeln. Epische Fragmenten, p.212 etc.

The poem is probably translated and from the French. Kalff regrets that not more has been preserved, for the translation, he says, is excellent in form and contents.

The chanson relates the adventures of the foundlings Valentine and Nameless, children of King Pepin's sister. The same subject has been treated in another redaction which bears the title of Valentyn en Ourson, which became better known, and the story of which has been preserved in one of the folk-books.

The translation is not older than the first half of the fourteenth century.

Beerte metten breden voeten

Of the M.D. translation of the Roumans de Berte aus grans piés by Adenez li Rois (Edited by Schéler, Brussels, 1874.) only 159 lines, among which several are damaged, have been preserved. Edited by Prof. Motzer in his edition of Floris ende Blanefloer, p.134 etc. He opposes the opinion of the first editor Piot, who says that Diederik van Assenede is the translator of the Berte.
Arthurian Cycle

b) Mystic British Romances

Maerlant's Graal-Merlyn Roman

The M.D. poem, translated in 1260-'61, has been preserved in the only known ms. in the library of the Fürst von Bentheim-Steinfurt. This ms. was edited by Dr. J. van Vloten: Jacob van Maerlant's Merlyn, naar het eenig bekende Steinforter handschrift uitgegeven, Leyden, 1880-1882. On the cover of the ms. is a list of titles of the books belonging to "Joncher Everwyn van Guterswick, Greve to Benthem" (1421-1445): "ten
Maerlant says repeatedly that his poem is translated from the French ("Walsch" or "Romans") and often mentions the author of the original, whose name he spells: Robrecht van Borroen.

Robert de Borron gave two redactions of the Petit St. Graal, one in prose (edited by Hucher: Le Saint-Graal ou le Joseph d'Arimathie, première branche des Romans de la Table ronde, Le Mans, 1875-'78), the other in verse (edited by F. Michel: Le Roman du Saint-Graal, 1841).

Van Vloten in his Introduction (p.9) says that Maerlant translated "Dbose' van Merline" from De Borron's prose redaction and Te Winkel agrees with him. Jecnckbloet disagrees.

Dr. Jan te Winkel in his article "De Borron's Joseph d'Arimathie en Merlin in Maerlant's Vertaling" (Tydschrift voor Ned. Taal- en Letterkunde, vol.1, pp.333-342) has carefully noted the deviations between the M.D. and the French mss.

One difference needs mention here. In the French poem the demons complain that they have suffered too much through Christ's having saved the souls in Hades and they decide to bring about the birth of a man who shall in reality be of their race, and who is expected to help them. Thus is prepared the birth of Merlin. Between this complaint and the birth Maerlant introduced the translation of a story which contains 900 lines instead of the 30 of the French version. This story goes under the name of "Maskaroen". The demons choose an attorney, this Maskaroen, who
is to demand of God the souls taken by Christ out of Hades. The Virgin Mary, who is the advocate of man, thereupon has a discussion with Maskaroen, and the matter is finally left with God's justice and truth on the one hand, and his charity and peace on the other. The suit ends with a kiss of peace, without any decision having been reached, after which the thread of the story is resumed.

This episode is translated from the Latin and there is of the same poem a second, probably younger, translation, edited by Dr. Snellinther in his Nederlandsche Gedichten uit de veertiende eeuw, Brussels, 1889, p. 493 etc. Dr. Franck, in a note on p. 76 of his Introduction to the "Alexanders Geesten" (see under d) declares that the "Maskaroen" is not Maerlant's work, but that of a later copyist.

Maerlant translated the Graal-Merlyn from a ms. which probably contained only this not very coherent poem which ended with the coronation of Arthur and concluded with the words: "Ensi fu Artus esleu et fait roi dou roiaume de Logres, et tint la terre et le roiaume longuement en pè." * In other mss. this poem is followed by a continuation which is usually called Merlin 2 or Suite de Merlin, but which according to Paulin Paris** should be called Le Livre d'Artus. This continuation was also translated into M.D. and the translator has thought it necessary to change the ending of Maerlant's work. The latter's poem ended thus:**

"Dus was Artur omino georen,
Die slant van Logres entie steden


*** Corresponding to the quotation under* from De Borron's prose re-
daction.
The continuator, Van Velthem, changed the last line to:

"Lange hilt met groten onvrede",

and then followed:

"Also ghi horen sult hiernaer,
Want nu eerst gino an aldaer
Die hate ende dat striden
Dat lange duerde op hem in nide
Vanden baroenen wide ende side,
Die hi al verwan met stride.
Hier indet teronement ter ure
Vanden coninc Arture;
Nu suldi vort horen die stride
Die hem geschieden in einen tide."

Then followed, still in the introduction:

"God, die alle dine vermach,
Ende sine moeder, daer Hi inns lach,
Si moeten mi in dir begin
Geven wysheit ende sin,
To volmakene dese saken,
Daer Jacob van Maerlant ierst dat maken
Af began, ende liet syn dine
Daer Artur coninx crone ontfino,
Alst in "Merline" bescreven es.
Nu wil Heer Lodewyc, syt seker des,
Van Velthem dit voert utgeven
Na dat int Walsc es bescreven;
Want nu ierst gast an die dine
Van Merline ende vanden coninc,
Hoe dat Artur began regneren
Altermale bi Merlyns leren".

While Maerlant's work contains 10408 lines, that of Velthem consists of 25810 lines, so that the whole has 36218 lines. The translation ends with line 36191 and then follows a conclusion of which the last nine lines are:

"In Hem so indet made myn maken
Van desen boeke van Merline,
Dat ic dichte met miere pine.
Int jaar ons Heren, wiens wondert,
Doe men soreef deertien honderdt
Ende .XXVI, opten witten donredach,
Die in der weken voor Paesoen gelach,
Doe was dit booe geint,
Daer men scone jeesten in vint".

The editor, Dr. van Vloten, ascribes the last six lines to Van Velt-hem, not to a later copyist, and concludes that 1326 is the year of the completion of the translation. Jonckbloet also thinks that the date of completion is meant, but that the number XXVI is a mistake. In reading "zes en twintig" it is impossible to get only four feet in the line, "opten witten donredach" having three already.

The Grand Saint Graal (edited by Sucher with Le Petit Saint Graal and the Perceval, 3 vols.) never entered Dutch literature. De Sorron's Merlin was edited in 1888 by Gaston Paris and Ulrich, in 1894 (another text) by Dr. Sommer. An extensive review of the prose Petit St.Graal is in vol.2 of Les Romans de la Table ronde mis en nouveau langage, of Paulin Paris.
Lancelot

The Graal-Merlyn was already in the French connected not only with the Suite de Merlin, but also with the Lancelot.* In the M.D. translation these four poems have also been gathered into a whole.

In the Royal Library at The Hague there is a heavy folio ms. which contains the second, third and fourth Books of the M.D.Lancelot. There are also a number of interpolations in the ms., namely the Perceval, Wrake van Ragisel (Vengeance de Raguidel), Roman van Torac, De Ridder metter Mouwen, and the Moriaen.

Jonckbloet edited this folio: Roman van Lancelot, The Hague, 1846. He also edited the French text of Chrétien de Troye's Le Chevalier à la Charette, together with the original (Map's) prose of Lancelot du Lac, The Hague, 1850.

The ms. of the first Book of Lancelot has been lost. But it is next to certain that it existed at some time or other. If it existed, it must have been written in a folio like the one in the Royal Library: it must have been the first volume of a set of which the existing folio is volume 2. On each page of the latter are three columns of 60 lines each; and there are 241 leaves, making 482 pages. If one deducts the lines of the interpolations, there remain about 37000 lines, or a little less than 103 leaves, for the second Book of the M.D.Lancelot.

Now this second Book is contained in one of the French mss. in about 100 leaves. And the first Book is contained in 130 leaves.

Let $X$ be the number of leaves of the first Book of the M.D.translation.

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\[100 : 130 :: 103 : X\]
\[X = 133.9\]

Supposing now that there are no interpolations in this lost M.D. first Book of Lancelot, there would have to be added a little over 100 leaves in order to get a folio of the size of the existing The Hague folio. But the Graal-Merlyn with the continuation of Lodewyk van Velthem in the Steinfurter ms. is contained in 36200 lines, which, divided by 360 (the number of lines on each leaf of the existing folio) would give a little over 100 leaves. It is, therefore, possible, if not probable, that the complete set of two volumes, of which the The Hague folio is evidently volume 2, contained the Graal, the Merlysns and the Lancelot.

This possibility becomes a probability, nay a certainty, through the study of the many allusions and references to the Lancelot to be found in the Merlyn.* These allusions include not only those in the French Merlin, but also many original ones in the M.D. translation. And as all these allusions refer to incidents which are said to occur in the continuation of "dit boec", there can be no doubt that Graal, Merlyn and Lancelot are in the M.D. translation, as well as in the French, considered as a unit.

The The Hague ms. of the Lancelot ends with this superscription in red letters: "Hier indst (d)boec van Lancelote dat Heren Lodewyos es van Velthem." Hoffmann von Fallersleben first called attention to it, but he dared not decide whether it means that Van Velthem was the translator or simply the owner.** Jonckbloet decides for ownership. In the

\[\text{\footnotesize * See these allusions on pp.94-97 of Jonckbloet's Socch. der Ned. Lott., vol.2. ** Horae Belgicae, part 1, p.54:'Aenea verba, quid indicent, utrum possessorom an autorem, equidem nescio.'}\]
Introduction to the Lancelot (M.D.) he declares against Velthem being the translator and bases his argument mainly upon the great difference in style, vocabulary and rime expletives between the continuation of Maerlant's Merlyn and the Lancelot. But that Velthem has made some alterations in the ms. which he added to the Graal-Merlyn-Merlyn is certain. There is, for instance, the similarity of the beginning of chapters, which all the way through begin with the expression: "De aventure segt" or something of the same nature. Also certain pro- and epilogues, and some moralizings in the Lancelot, are without a doubt by Velthem.

It is, therefore, not known who made the M.D. translation of the Lancelot. But it is highly probable that Van Velthem compiled the trilogy "Graal-Merlyn-Lancelot." It is certain that he introduced some changes in the first and in the third poem, mainly in their form. It is furthermore probable that it was he who inserted into the main work the poems Perceval, Wrake van Bagisel and Torec, after they had been worked over by him. The Moriaen, which was not worked over at all and which has many features in common with Maerlant's work, was, like the Ridder metter Wouwen, added by somebody else.

Chrestien's Perceval

Chrestien called his poem: Li contes del Graal. It was edited by Potvin, in six volumes, 1867-'72, under the title: Percheval le Gallois ou le conte du Graal, le poème de Chrestien de Troyes, d'après le manuscrit de Mons.

Several poems occupy themselves in French with this knight, beginning with the version of Robert de Borron (verse and prose), between 1170 and 1189. Then comes Chrestien's Graal, begun about 1189, con-
continued by Gautier de Doulens or de Dourdan between 1190 and 1200, then continued by Manessier between 1214 and 1220. The interpolation by Gerbert de Montrueil was made before 1225. There are seven mss. of Manessier's share.

Chrestien wrote his poem at the behest of the Flemish count, Filip van den Elzas,

"le plus prodome
Qui soit en l'empire de Rome".

He would try his best

"Par le commandement le conte
A rimoier le meillor conte
Qui soit contes an cort real:
Ce est li contes del graal,
Dont li quens li bailla le livre."

Which book this was is not known. Birch-Hirschfeld opines that Chrestien's Perceval dates from 1189 and that it was made from De Borron's version which preceded it.** San Marte in his "Zur Theologie in Wolfram's Parzival"***, says that Chrestien's original is not De Borron's Perceval, but the ms. belonging to the count of Flanders. O.Küpp in his "Unmittelbare Quellen von Wolfram's Parzival"****also says that Chrestien has drawn from an older source than De Borron.

Story: Perceval's mother has lost her husband and two sons through chivalric exploits and brings up her youngest son in the solitude of a

forest. She teaches him to shun creatures clad in iron: they are devils ready to devour him. One day he sees a company of knights riding towards him in the forest. Far from fleeing, he asks them all sorts of questions regarding their arms, and returns to his mother saying that he has met angels, beings who call themselves knights. The anxious mother after a struggle has to let go Perceval to become a knight, but prescribes the conduct he must follow: protect the women, love the brave and good, imitate them, frequent the churches.

He departs and shows at once his awkward inexperience. He kisses a damsel against her will and penetrates Arthur's court with such violence that his steed knocks off Arthur's hat. A knight challenges Perceval: he attacks the knight informally and kills him. He is going to appropriate his victim's armor, but knows so little about armor that a squire has to come to his assistance. He puts on the armor and then thinks he is a knight.

He departs and reaches a castle which belongs to his uncle Gornement. The latter dubs him knight and gives the raw youth many a good piece of advice: respect for the conquered, measure in speech, etc.

He now makes the acquaintance of the beautiful Blanchefleur in castle Beaurepaire. He does not know how to bring into practice his uncle's advice and remains awkwardly silent. Blanchefleur is in great danger of becoming the prey of a brute on the following day and enters in the night Perceval's bed chamber. She succeeds in winning his love and overcomes her assailer.

The next event is Perceval's meeting with the Rich Fisherman who shows him the Holy Grail. But he forgets to ask its meaning. His uncle, the wounded King, would have regained his health if Perceval had asked it, and Perceval is punished for his neglect. While he has to wander around
for five years, Walewein (Gauvain) enters upon the scene and has many adventures. Perceval in his wanderings devotes himself so completely to chivalric exploits, that he forgets God. On a Good Friday he rides out fully armed, which is against proper custom, and he meets a company of ladies and gentlemen who are doing penitence. They chide him. He now makes the acquaintance of a hermit who completes his education and initiates him into the secrets and mysteries of the Graal. Then he learns from one of his cousins that his mother died from grief over his departure. Meeting with many adventures on the way, he goes home where his sister receives him kindly. She takes him to a hermit to whom he confesses his sins. On his further journey he has a number of adventures, all of which are intended to show how Perceval is becoming more and more perfect.

It is winter and the country is covered with snow. A crow, wounded by a hawk, has spilled three drops of blood upon the white carpet. Leaning on his lance, Perceval sinks into an amorous reverie, compares the whiteness of the snow with that of Blanchfleur's skin, and the red of the blood with the red lips of his lady. He is disturbed in his dreaming by several knights from Arthur's court. He attacks them and wounds several, Kaye among others. Only Walewein escapes, because he has respected his reverie. The latter takes him to Arthur's court which he soon leaves again owing to the reproaches of a female monster concerning his conduct toward the Graal.

He now meets Blanchefleur again. The scene of their meeting is described in the French text as follows:

"Je ne vous veux mie contier
Le surplus, si plus en i e.
Mais si Perceval l'en pria,
Blanchefleur ne refuse mie,"
But Perceval has a duty to fulfill which he cannot neglect for all the gold in Phrygia. The lady lets him go and promises to wait for him (sic!), as she has done heretofore. He arrives again at the Graal castle and now receives complete information regarding the mysteries of the cup and the bleeding lance. He has to surmount many difficulties, such as temptations from the evil one, who seeks to seduce him in the shape of Blanchefleur, and other adventures.

Thus he meets a knight of the Round Table with whom he becomes involved in a fierce battle, in which both are grievously wounded. Then it appears that the knight is his brother Hestor. At the stroke of midnight a great light suddenly surrounds them and an angel descends holding in her hand a cup with which she traces three times in succession a circle around the dying knights. They are as suddenly cured. Perceval knows that they have been saved by the Holy Graal. In the end he conquers and slays the enemy of the Graal, king Pertranax, and takes his severed head to his uncle. The whole ends with a feast in honor of the knight who had shown himself to be the most perfect of all.

The characteristic trait of the poem is the development of Perceval from a raw country youth to a perfect knight.

The M.D. translation is from before 1257. Only part of it has reached us. In the second book of Lancelot (verses 56851-42346) a large fragment has been inserted, beginning with Perceval's arrival at Arthur's court. Dr. Jan te Winkel, in his Introduction to the Roman van Moriaen,
compares the translation with the original and finds that the agreement of the two texts is incontestable, though the translation is rather free and here and there abridged from the original. On the other hand it contains large additions.

c) Episodic Arthurian Romances

Roman van Ferguut

Of the French poem (from the school of Chrestien de Troies) are extant two mss., differing in certain details. The Paris ms. was edited in 1841 for the Abbotsford club at Edinburg by F. Michel: Le roman des aventures de Frégus, par Guillaume le Clerc, trouvère du XIIIᵉ siècle. The other, older, ms., from the library of the duke of Aumale, was edited by Ernst Martin: Fergus, Roman von Guillaume le Clerc, Halle, 1872.

The M.D. ms., belonging to the Naatschappy van Letterkunde te Leyden, makes it probable that a third French ms. has existed, differing from the other two in the second part.*

This M.D. ms. was edited first by Prof. L.G. Visscher: Ferguut, Ridderroman uit den fabelkring van de Ronde Tafel, Utrecht, 1838. This edition has been critically annihilated by De Vries (Taalgids, vol. 9, p. 169). This criticism was used by Eelco Verwys in the Introduction to his edition of Ferguut, published after his death by Dr. J. Verdam, prof. in the university of Amsterdam: Ferguut, Nieuwe uitgave van Dr. Eelco Verwys, uit zyne nalatenschap uitgegeven en van een glossarium voorzien, (Bibliotheek van H. Letterkunde, Groningen, 1882). In this edition there is an exhaustive analysis - in the Introduction - of both the French Fergus and its M.D. translation.

* Jonckbloet: Geschiedenis der Ned. Letterkunde, vol. 1, p. 335 etc.
Story: King Arthur was holding his court at Caradigaen (Cardigan). After hunting a white deer, which Perceval kills, the court goes to Cardoel (Carlisle) and passes the house of a rich farmer Somilet, whose son is ploughing. This son hears who the knights are and decides, against the wish of his father, to go to the king's court. There Keye mocks him and defies him to get the horn and the veil from the black rock. Malewein (Gawein, Gauvain) takes the young man under his protection. Ferguut is knighted and starts upon his adventures. He arrives at castle Ydeel, where he is kindly received by a knight and his niece, the fair Galiëne. She conceives a violent passion for him and, as seems to be customary in these romances, enters his room in the night. Ferguut, however, refuses to return her love, for he must first complete his adventure. He leaves and attacks the black knight who guards the horn and the veil and whom he conquers. The black knight has to go to Arthur's court and salute Keye. Returning to castle Ideal, he is told that Galiëne, for whom he now burns with love, has departed. He seeks her and has all sorts of adventures. He becomes insane with love and wanders for two years in a forest. Wholly wild and emaciated he comes to a spring, drinks, and is suddenly cured. Now a dwarf mocks him and says he cannot find Galiëne before he has in his possession the miraculous shield. This shield is

"van witten yvore,
Geplaneert wel ter core,
Van dieren stenen vol geset.
Ic wille wel, dat gyt wet:
Die scild heft selke cracht,
Dat het ter donkere middernacht
Drie milen omtrent verlichtet plant:
Syns gelike men noit en vant."
So wiene omme den hals dreget
Lettel no vele hi hem verweget,
Diene dreget mach niet verwonnen wesen,
Wate hi doetwont, hi worde genesen.

He now comes to a tower where the shield is guarded by a dangerous giantess, whom he, of course, conquers. Ferguut takes the shield away from a dragon which just happened to be asleep, but which he awakens and kills. Then he comes to the castle of the giantess' husband, Lokefer, whom he kills, as well as the latter's son, cared for by two stolen ladies. Ferguut stays with them during four months. Finally one of the ladies tells him that Galiène is being besieged in her city of Rikenstene by a king who is trying to force her to become his wife. Ferguut flies to her assistance and relieves the town, then disappears. Galiène sends to King Arthur for a knight to protect her. Arthur holds a tournament in which an unknown white knight conquers Keye and every other opponent, except Gawein whom he refuses to fight and to whom he makes himself known as Ferguut. Gawein then introduces him to Arthur and Ferguut is given in marriage by the king to Galiène.

"Wel sere versuchte Galiène.
Si nach mel dat was die gene
Diese rovede van den sinne,
Ende ontseide haer sine minne,
Si wert valu, bleoo ende roost,
Alsi den ridder sach in dogen.
Galiène sprac:'Is moet gedogen,
Her conino, mi es lief u wille'.'

After a weddingfeast which lasts forty days Ferguut is crowned king of Rikenstene.
The M.D. translation seems to have been written between 1220 and 1250. The poem may well be taken as a pendant to Perceval. The latter develops from inexperience to perfect knighthood through mysticism, Per- guut through love. But the knighthood of the former is ideal, while that of the latter is more real and practical.

Roman van Moriaen

Edited in 1846 by Jonckbloet in the Roman van Lancelot in the second book of which the Moriaen has been inserted (verses 42547-47250). Edited separately by Dr. J. Te Winkel: Roman van Moriaen, Groningen, 1877.

Jonckbloet thinks that the Moriaen is not translated from the French, that it is original, but Te Winkel does not.*

Story: Walewein and Lancelot undertake a journey to find Perceval. They meet a knight:

"Hi was al sward, ic segt u hoe:
Syn hoeft, lichame ende hande
Was al sward, sonder sine tandes.
Ende wapene ende scilt, sekerlyc,
Was al enen moer gelyc,
Ende alse sward alse een raven."

* "Il est plus probable, ainsi que le dit M. Te Winkel, que les deux romans (Walewein and Moriaen) ont puisé dans une source française, et sans doute dans un poème épisodique perdu relatif à Gauvain. — Le fait qu'on n'a pas retrouvé l'original français ne prouve naturellement rien; nous avons vu bien des exemples de portes semblables. La composition originale en néerlandais au moyen âge d'un roman breton quelconque serait au contraire un fait unique. Il faudrait pour l'admettre des arguments plus valables que la rareté des mots français employés dans le Moriaen et une certaine
This black knight says, after a long battle with Lancelot, that his name is Moriaen and that he is looking for Perceval, his father, who has left his mother, the queen, through which act she is cheated out of her inheritance and he is being looked upon as a bastard. Wallace and Lancelot shed many tears at this tale and say that they too are looking for Perceval. After Wallace has shown Moriaen how he must conduct himself as a courtly knight should, all three go on together.

They arrive at a point where three roads come together and where a hermit tells them two knights have recently passed. One of these may be Perceval (Perchevael) and the three each choose a different road.

Wallace saves a young woman from a knight whom he kills. In the evening he finds hospitality with the lord of a castle. At supper the corpse of this lord's son is brought in, the wounds open, the blood flows and every one knows now that Wallace is the slayer. After a well depicted struggle with himself, the host leads Wallace safely out of the castle gate, but his servants have cut the saddle straps of Wallace's horse and exchanged his good sword for one which "En was niet twee penninge waerd".

Wallace is quickly overpowered outside of the castle and taken to the crossroads from which he had started.

Moriaen happens to be there and rescues him. Through his black skin he has put to flight every one he met on the road, so that he had no chance to ask after Perceval and had returned.

Now comes Walewein's brother Gariët. The latter relates how Arthur has been carried off by the king of the Saxons and how the whole kingdom, with the exception of one castle, has been conquered by the king of the Irish. King Arthur had sent him to look for Walewein and Lancelot. He also relates how Perchevael has been found in a hermit's cell in Ireland.

Gariët and Moriaen now cross the sea. They find Perchevael, who promises to go with them.

Lancelot, in the meantime, had arrived in a region devastated by a dragon. The queen, a beautiful lady, had promised her hand to whomever would kill the dragon. Lancelot kills the monster, but is seriously wounded. A knight, who had liked to win the queen's hand, waited for the end of the struggle and gave Lancelot, as he thought, the coup de grâce. Walewein, however, happened just then to come upon the scene and kill the villain.

Both the knights go back to the cross roads and start to the assistance of Queen Ginevra, Arthur's wife. They conquer the enemies, free Arthur, and reduce the king of Ireland to vassalage.

Moriaen, thereupon, accompanied by Perchevael, Lancelot and Walewein, goes back to his own country. They force the lords of this country to recognize the rights of his mother.

"Doe maestmen daer die brullocht saen
Van Acolvale ende vander vrouwe.
Deen déde den anderen ondertrouwe.
Daer ward bliscap ende groot spel:
Die brullocht daerde also wel
XIIIJ daghe al even groot,
Datmen daer gene porten sloet."
Moriaen's father is here called "Aclovale", but Dr. Te Winkel has made it very probable that not this knight, "one of the least known of the Round Table", but his brother Perceval was first mentioned as Moriaen's father. The "faiseur" who inserted this poem into the Lancelot must have made the change in the name, thinking that Perceval had remained unmarried.

Form and treatment of this poem, especially in the details, are attractive, the lines are on the whole harmonious, some of the scenes are fascinating and striking, the descriptions are vivid, but all this cannot make up for the complete absence of unity in the whole, if unity is the natural interrelation of facts, resting on necessity, and not the solution brought about by chance or caprice.

Moriaen is what the French call a "Comparse". From the broad foundation upon which he is built in the beginning, the attractive description, the claim he has on our sympathy, we expect him to be the hero, the center, of the story. But soon we see that he is completely overshadowed by Walewein. Walewein bound by the servants of the castle lord, and rescued by Moriaen, still remains the main figure. Afterwards the interest shifts again upon Perchevael. The search for him remains in the end the principal interest.

The beginning of the poem is evidently imitated from Chrétien's Perceval, the end seems to be an echo of the Lancelot. None of the main incidents and scenes are of the author's own free invention. Gaston Paris says of the poem: *"Ce roman est peu ancien et fait de lieux communs des romans antérieurs."*
There is no doubt but that this M.D. poem was translated, and very meritoriously so, from a French original, now lost and which probably belonged to the first years of the thirteenth century. The translation was made by two poets, Penninc and Pieter Vostaert, and its date is probably a little before 1250.

Edited by Jonckbloet in two volumes in the Werken uitgegeven door de Vereeniging ter bevordering der Oud Nederlandsche Letterkunde, Leyden, 1847-'48. The ms. contains the complete poem. Two parchment sheets belonging to another ms. of the poem, and containing 390 lines were discovered in 1850 at Oudenaarde by the librarian Lerberghe. Prof. C.F. Serrure gave an account of this fragment in the "Eendracht" of Aug. 11, 1850, Ghent.

Story: One day when King Arthur was holding his court, a chessboard made of silver and ivory floated into the festive hall, only to disappear again. Walewein is at once ready to discover its whereabouts for his liege lord. He arrives at a narrow defile between rocky heights, conquers a dragon there and reaches the Land of Magic, with the king of which he finds the chess board. This king, Wonder, promises to give it to Walewein, if the latter will bring him the "sword with the strange rings" which possesses the rarest properties and is in possession of King Amorys.

After many adventures Walewein reaches the castle of this king. The latter loves the beautiful Isabele who is kept a prisoner in an invincible castle by her father. If Walewein will deliver Isabele to King Amorys the latter will give him the miraculous sword which always insures victory to its possessor. Walewein will attempt the feat and re-

* See Jonckbloet about this account in the Algemeene Konst-en Letterbode, no/42, 1850.
Again come many adventures before he reaches the stronghold which holds Isabele a captive. He succeeds in penetrating inside its walls, but is at last overpowered and taken prisoner.

Isabele has had a dream about a knight with the head of a maiden, clad in a lion's skin. When she saw Walewein she recognizes in him the knight of her dream and suddenly conceives for him a violent passion. Walewein, too, falls deeply in love with her, for he sees in her the realization of the ideal which had always floated before his eyes. Isabele tries to flee with him, but they are caught and thrown into a wretched dungeon. They are, however, set free by the ghost of a knight to whom Walewein had done a great service in life. They flee. The hero again has a series of adventures and loses in one of them the miraculous sword of Amorys.

When Isabele is told by Walewein that he is going to take her to Amorys and redeem his pledge, she declares that she will rather die than belong to him. Walewein, however, regains the miraculous sword and makes up his mind that he will give it back to Amorys. The couple arrive at the king's castle and are told that he is dead, so that both the sword and the lady remain in Walewein's possession.

More dangerous adventures on their way to King Wonder. But Walewein is conqueror in all of them. He finally exchanges the sword for King Wonder's chess-board and returns to King Arthur, at whose court the wedding of the lovers takes place.

Chess was a universal and beloved pastime and the quest of the chess-board can hardly be considered puerile under the circumstances, the more so since Walewein by seeking it obeyed the wish of his liege lord. Gaston Paris says of Walewein (Les Romans de la Table Ronde, p.33) that he is
"le modèle accompli de toutes les perfections chevaleresques", though he adds: "et par là même étant passé à l’état de type, il est un peu dépourvu d'individualité". There are, besides, in the adventures which have been passed over in silence in order to give a clearer account of the story of the whole, many things that fascinate the attention even of the modern reader. The recreation of the prince, Hugues, into a fox has many a pendant in British legends and the belief in were-wolves has existed a long time. The river of which the waters are boiling and red hot and over which leads a bridge as sharp as a razor, occurs also in the Chevalier à la Charette. In Walewein the river is identified with purgatory: souls in the form of black birds dive into it, to rise again white as snow. This peculiarity occurs also in "Sint Brandaen" and is referred to in Maerlant's Spieghel Historiael. Gaston Paris says of it: "On reconnaît ici un ancien mythe celtique, défiguré par une interprétation chrétienne et par l'addition de traits qui appartiennent à une autre conception de la demeure des morts."

In Isabele's courtyard there is a fountain rising from the beak of a gold eagle. It had great qualities, for (verse 3586):

"Al ware een man out vyf hondert jaer,
Ende nutte hi vanden borne een traen,
Sonder twifel ende waen,

* With the Bere Wisselau the oldest Flemish poem. It is wholly ecclesias-
tical in character. Edited by Prof. W. G. Brill in the Bibliothek van Mal.
Letterk., 1871. ** A translation and imitation of part 3 (the Speculum Historiale) of Vincent de Beauvais' Speculum Naturale. Edited by Dr. M. de Vries and Dr. Belco Verwys, Leyden, 1863. *** Les Romans de la Table Ronde, p. 84. See also Romania, vol. 12, p. 509.
In the same enclosure stood a tree, like the fountain barrowed from Byzantine sources.

"Hi es beneden herde groot
Ende al van finen goude root.
Hi hevet alse menighen telch van goude
Als enich man ghesegghen soude.
Elc telch es hol van binnen.
Up elken telch, al sonder wasen,
So staet een goudyn voghelkyn.
(Ende) an elc scone bladekyn,
Hanct een goudyn bellekyn,
Dat scone ludet ende claer,
Ooc esser an ghemaect daer
Ene duwiere, ende daerin staen
Sestien manne ende hebben bevaen
Acht blasebalghe, òie si verdraghen
Ende den bome wint toejaghen
Van benaden inden wertel up
Tote boven inden top,
Met groter oracht, met groter pine.
Ende daer hi bewaeit òie voghelkine
Daer staen si recht ende beven
In òer ghelike of si leven,
Daer sinct elc voghelkyn sine stevene,
Sesse te gader·ende sevne,
Ende so clinken die bellekine weder
Some hoghe ende some neder.
Dus ghevet elo voghelkyn siden sans
Ende elo bellekyn siden olano."

It is easy to see how all this would appeal to the mediaeval imagination.

What raises the poet of Walewein above the rimers of most chivalric poems is the spiritual meaning which he puts into his work and which in no wise suggests the degeneration of allegory. Walewein must penetrate into Wonderland through a dark cleft in the rocks and must there show his courage against a "lintwurm" to deserve his admittance. Then he must leap on horseback from the rocks to the plain below and then over a foaming river which is the boundary of this Wonderland. With full consciousness the poet thus makes his hero pass the boundary between reality and imagination.

Then the love springing up between Isabele and Walewein is no whimsical, sensual passion, as in most Arthurian romances: the lovers seem predestined for each other and their love gives rise in Walewein to a struggle with his sense of duty. Shall he take Isabele to Amorys or not?

The interest of the reader is retained by the progressive increase of the difficulties which the hero encounters.

It may be said with truth that the Roman van Walewein is one of the few Arthurian romances in which artistic unity is found.

De Wraak over Ragisel

Edited in 1846 by Jonckbloet in the Roman van Lancelot (verses 11234-14134), vol.2, pp. 76-96. The poem is translated from "Le conte de la.
vengeance de Raguidel" by the trouvère Raoul. The French poem was edited by C. Hippeau, Paris, 1862: Messire Gauvain ou la vengeance de Raguidel, poème de la Table ronde, par le trouvère Raoul, publié et précédé d'une introduction. In the ms. the poem is called "Des aniaus", but the poet names it in the end:

"C'est li contes
De la vengeance Raguidel."

According to Hippeau the poem is from the end of the thirteenth century. From a passage where the poet seems to allude to the Méraugis de Portlegués by Raoul de Houdenc there has arisen a discussion concerning the question whether this "trouvère Raoul" is or is not Raoul de Houdenc. Michelant, P. Meyer, Jonckbloet and Mussafia answer this question in the affirmative, but Zingerle (Über Raoul de Houdenc und seine Werke), O. Börne (Raoul de Houdenc, eine stilistische Untersuchung), and Gaston Paris (Les Romans de la Table ronde, p. 46 etc.) settle it in the negative.

Story: Arthur was in the habit when he held his court, not to sit down at the Round Table before some adventure had occurred. One day when there had been a long wait for that purpose, there appeared at last a ship on the deck of which stood a wagon. On the wagon lay the corpse of a knight: a piece of the spear which had killed him still stuck in the wound. Near him was found a letter which told how he had been killed and which stated also that he who could pull the spear from the wound would become the avenger of the dead man. The five gold rings on the hand of the corpse were to be taken off by another, who would thereby become the helper of the avenger.

Walewein alone succeeded in pulling out the spear and nobody was able to pull off the rings. This feat fell to the lot of a strange knight,
Ydier, who happened to come riding by and who promptly went off with them. Walewein rode after him immediately, but could not overtake him. On his way he has, however, many adventures. In the first place he comes to a castle belonging to a black knight who is in the habit of killing off all strangers who come near him. He hates Walewein especially, because in a tournament he had been robbed by him of his lady. A battle ensues in which Walewein conquers. The black knight becomes his vassal and promises to come to his aid whenever he needs it. After leaving this knight, whose name is Maurus, Walewein comes to the castle of Lady Galestroet (la pucele del Gautdestroit) who falls so violently in love with him, that she plans to take his life, because he refuses her his love. On the advice of one of her women, Walewein passes himself off for Keye (Keu) and so escapes. With the help of this same woman Walewein succeeds in rescuing his brother Ga­riet whom Lady Galestroet happened to hold a prisoner. The brothers escape to the castle of the black knight and Lady Galestroet besieges them there. The besieged venture on an attack, at the end of which Walewein finds himself outside the castle gate.

Wandering in the woods Walewein sees a lady who is being maltreated by two knights. He rescues her and they both go to the castle of Lancarde (de l'angarde or de la garde). Yâeine, this is her name, is so attractive that Walewein falls in love with her. She gave him to understand that, out of gratitude, she could not refuse him anything, she does not refuse his caresses. On the following day they depart for the court at Kardoel. On the way they meet a young man who tells them that a man had arrived at the court with a mantle which would fit any woman who had remained chaste. Only the lady love of Carados had been able to wear it.

* In the French text he is called "Madue".
They had scarcely arrived at court when a knight, Druidein, demands Ydeine as his mistress. Walewein, of course, refuses to cede her to him, and it is agreed that they shall battle for her possession.

(In the M.D. poem an episode is inserted of which there is no trace and in the French, which brings out still more the waywardness of Ydeine, but especially the ridiculous presumption of Keye. Gaston Paris (Les romans de la Table ronde, p.50.) says of this passage: "Le poète n'a imaginé cet épisode que pour plaire à ses auditeurs, en mettant une fois de plus sous leurs yeux la présomption de Key et les déconvenues ridicules qu'elle lui attire.")

The duel is to take place at the court of King Bandemagus and Walewein is on his way thither with Ydeine. They meet a knight at whom the lady casts amorous glances. The stranger thereupon demands her as his own and at Walewein's refusal proposes to place her between them: she may then follow the one she likes best. Under the pretense that it is very plain to her that Walewein wishes to get rid of her, she decides to follow the stranger. She departs with him, but remembers after a while that Walewein had kept a hound which she prized highly and she prevails upon the stranger to go back for it. They return and now takes place a battle in which Walewein remains the conquerer. When the stranger is dead, Ydeine tries to make Walewein believe that in all this she had simply tried his love and fidelity, but Walewein refuses to believe her. He takes her to the lists, but though he conquers Druidein, he cedes her to him.

(Here follows another episode inserted by the Dutch poet, how Lady Galestroet holds as a prisoner the woman who had saved him from her wrath, and how Maurus and Gariët come to rescue. The Lady now proposes a duel to decide the matter. Keye assumes her cause, but is conquered.
The lady takes Maurus for her husband.)

Walewein wanders around to accomplish the mysterious adventure for which fate has chosen him. Arriving at the shore of the sea, he finds the ship on which the corpse of the knight had come to Arthur's court. He enters the ship and is taken to Scotland. There he meets a lady who complains that the wicked knight Gygantioen has killed her "amys" Ra-gisel, who proves to be the very knight whose death Walewein was to avenge. The latter duly finds the knight Ydier who had taken the rings from the dead man's fingers, and together they now seek the miscreant. When they meet him, Walewein begins the battle, but Gygantioen, protected by a magic coat of mail, withstands him for a long time. When he is finally going to bite the dust, he kills Walewein's horse and is about to take to flight. Ydier prevents this. Gygantioen is compelled to exchange his magic coat of mail for an ordinary one and renews the struggle, assisted this time by a ferocious bear. Ydier, however, kills the monster and Walewein the villain. The vassals of the conquered Gygantioen thereupon bring his daughter to Walewein, saying that her father had made them promise that they would give her to his conqueror. This daughter, Belinette, was very beautiful, and Ydier who loved her thought that Walewein would make her his mistress. But he makes bold to ask Walewein to relinquish his right to her, and after some hesitation, Walewein makes the lovers happy. There is a wedding and then all repair to Arthur's court, where each tells of his adventures. Walewein's glory and Kaye's shame are duly brought out.

The poem is characterized by lack of unity and wild romanticism. "Messire Gauvain n'a plus guère que le nom de commun avec le Gauvain des légendes du cycle d'Arthur", says Hippeau on page 18 of his introduction. From the despicable roll which the women play in this poem,
from the fact that Walewein in his relations with them and with the
knights he meets lacks the chivalric courtesy which has heretofore been
his distinguishing trait, it is evident that the polished world of chi-
valry had seen its best days and that this incongruous mass of adventures
was destined for (ears that needed peppery pricks to be impressed at all.)

As for the translator, he has not the slightest poetic feeling.
In the first place he reduced the poem to one third its natural size, and
it must be evident to any one that in so great a reduction there can be
no question of mere judicious pruning. Indeed, he seems to have taken
away the very things that stand for literary taste and beauty. Then,
both through his omissions and his interpolations he has obscured the
connection, the unity of the story. The only thing that can be said in
favor of the translator is that by the sheer reducing of the poem he
has omitted some vulgarities that occur in the original.

The translator is probably Van Velthem.

Walewein en Keye

Also inserted into the Lancelot (The Hague folio), verses 18808-
22270 of the third book, and, therefore, edited by Jonckbloet. The French
original is lost.

Story: Keye, jealous of Walewein, instigates certain knights to
say that Walewein has boasted that he could in one year have more ad-
ventures than all the knights of the Round Table together. Walewein, at
this false accusation, leaves the court. Keye, too, departs with his
friends in search of adventures, in order to vie with Walewein. Keye and
his friends, however, reap nothing but shame. Walewein returns after a
year and has in that time sent to Arthur more conquered enemies and re-
leased prisoners than all the other knights together. When Keye comes
back, he is compelled to take back his false accusation. The calumniator
e flees and King Arthur rejoices, saying

"Hi heeft meneg quaetheid gedaen,
Laettene ten duvelvolen gaen!"

Gaston Paris says of this poem (p.83 of Les romans de la Table
ronde): "Le roman...est un des plus faibles et sans doute des derniers
du cycle."

De Ridder metter mouwe

In the Lancelot ms., verses 14581-18602 of the third book. In

Story: The knight with the sleeve was an illegitimate child, a
foundling. On his journey to find his father he comes to Arthur's court
where he is dubbed a knight and where a certain Clarette gives him a
white sleeve and consents to be his lady. He goes away to make himself
worthy of her by means of adventures. Severely wounded he retires to a
monastery. Arthur next arranges a tournament. He who conquers in this
tournament will be the husband of the lady Clarette. With a monk's cowl
over his armor the knight with the sleeve overcomes all champions, es-
pecially Keye, who had insulted him on his arrival at court. At the
feast which follows a queen recognizes him as her son and his name ap-
ppears to be Miraudys. He marries Clarette and is recognized as lord of
his mother's kingdom.

But he leaves all to search for his father. In disguise he suc-
ceeds in entering into the castle in which his father is a prisoner.
After some adventures he brings his father and mother together and the
poem ends with the marriage of his parents.

Gaston Paris says that this "roman est sans grand intérêt."
Continuing he says: "M. Jonckbloet est porté à croire que le Chevalier à la manche est une œuvre d'invention néerlandaise. Les raisons qu'il en donne ne nous paraissent pas convaincantes, et le roman ressemble trop aux productions les plus banales de la poésie arthurienne française pour que nous ne le regardions pas comme une d'elles; ce qu'indiquent aussi les noms propres qui y figurent. (Clarette, Fellon, Galias, etc.)"

Roman van Torec

Also in the Lancelot ms., verses 23127-23380 of the third book.

In Jonckbloet's edition: vol. 2, pp. 157-183. Edited separately by Dr. Jan Te Winkel: Jacob van Maerlant's Roman van Torec, Leyden, 1875. The French original is lost.

Gaston Paris, after having shown from certain proper names and episodes that this romance is not old and of purely French origin, says: "L'existence d'un roman français de Torec est d'ailleurs attestée directement. La librairie du Louvre possédait, au XIVe siècle un volume contenant: 'Torrez, rimé, bien historié et escript.' La reine Isabeau de Bavière l'avait entre ses mains le 12 novembre 1392 et en 1411 on constata qu'il était en déficit: il ne s'est plus retrouvé. On rencontre assez souvent dans les poèmes antérieurs la mention d'un 'vallet' ou d'un 'roi au cercle d'or'. C'est sans doute cette appellation dont l'origine n'était plus connue, qui a engagé l'auteur de Torec à raconter par quelles aventures son héros était devenu possesseur du cercle d'or, inséparable de son nom." (Les romans de la Table ronde, p. 269).

Story: King Briant of the red island meets during a hunt a very beautiful lady, Mariole, sitting in a tree. On her head she wears a gold circle or diadem of great value. When he learns that the one who is in possession of this jewel will never lack honor or estate, he falls in
love with her and marries her.

In the meantime there were three sisters and they possessed together fifty castles. Two of them had each an "amys". One of the lovers steals the diadem. They now divided their possessions in three parts: two times 25 castles and the diadem. The oldest sister gets the first choice and chooses the diadem. She becomes very rich through it.

The robbed queen soon experiences the results of her loss. She loses her husband and becomes poor. When she had given birth to a daughter, she places her baby in a barrel, adding an account of what had happened to her and trusts the whole to the sea. The barrel lands in the country of King Ydor, who, after the little girl had grown into a comely maiden, marries her. She gives birth to a son, whom she calls Torec and who grows up with every courtly virtue and who on his twentieth birthday becomes a knight. His mother now tells him the secret of her origin and Torec goes to find the diadem and to avenge the wrong done to his grandmother. He has all the usual adventures, conquers every time and is in all this protected by the mysterious aid of a magician who proves to be his uncle. He not only obtains the diadem, but also the beautiful Miraude, in whose possession the jewel was, as a wife.

One peculiarity of this poem is that instead of a knight of the Round Table we have to do with a knight who does battle with them and conquers them. Neither is King Arthur treated in it with the usual respect. But the most salient characteristic of the poem is a long episode of purely didactic tendency. Torec is taken in the "scip van aventuren" to a mysterious castle, where a knight takes him to the "camere van wys-heiden". In this hall the old philosophers, sitting in great chairs, discuss all sorts of "deep" questions. They discuss the degeneration of the great lords: the source of all social ills. The question arises,
what is better: courteousness with gentleness, or courage, sense and moderation. All the virtues are being lost: money has crowded out all else. What the rich man says or does the world praises, but the word of the poor man is despised. Grasping avarice reigns supreme. Further discussion is about the question whether it is better to love a married woman or a maiden. Thus the discussion went on for three days. When Torec wakes up on the fourth morning, he is to his great astonishment back where he had taken the mysterious boat.

Since the original is lost, there is no possibility of ascertaining whether this didactic passage is original with Maerlant or not. The editor, Te Winkel, has shown that the questions here treated, are treated and solved in the same way also in other works of this poet.

The translation was made between 1255 and 1285. It marks the threshold of the bourgeois-didactic period in M.D.literature.

Borchgravinne van Vergi

The original is in Mèon's Fabliaux et Contes, vol.4, p.298. The M.D. text was edited by Jhr.Ph.Blommaert in his Oudvlaamsche Gedichten, vol.1, p.57 etc.; later by S.Muller Aaz., Leyden, 1873. The translation was made in 1315.

The countess of Vergi returns in secret the love of a certain knight whom the duchess of Burgundy is trying to persuade to illicit relations with herself. She does not succeed and in revenge accuses him to her husband, the duke, of attacking her honor. When the duke now threatens the knight with banishment, the latter reveals to him his love affair with the countess of Vergi. The duke promises secrecy, but when the duchess notices the continued friendly relations of the two men, she cajoles her husband into confessing the reason for it. Then, at a court feast, she betrays the knight's secret. The countess of Vergi cannot but
think that her knight has betrayed her. She commits suicide and the knight thereupon does the same. In the midst of the dance the duke then cleaves his wife's head.

The whole story and the treatment of it shows how thoroughly the fund of chivalric material has been exhausted by this time.

Hugo van Tabarie

The original is in Méon's Fabliaux et Contes, vol.1, p.59 etc. The M.D. text was edited by Willems: Belgisch Museum, vol.6, p.94 etc.; by Kausler in his Denkmäler, vol.3, p.83 etc.; and by Snellaert under the title: "Dit es van Saladin" in his Nederlandsche Gedichten uit de veertiende eeuw, p.539 etc., Brussels, 1869. The title of the French poem is "Li ordene de chevalerie de Huon de Tabarie."

The story relates how the knight Hugo of St.Omer, who had been made lord of Tiberias, was taken prisoner by Saladin and how the latter allowed himself to be dubbed a knight by the former. On this occasion Hugo explains to the Sultan the symbolic and mystical meaning of all the details of the ceremony and gains his liberty through this explanation.

The translation is for the most part literal, but the whole tendency of the M.D. poem is didactic. Not the story, but the lesson that could be drawn from it, or that could by main force be dragged into it, was the principal thing. The date of the translation cannot be stated with exactness, but it was after 1280, the date of the poet's share in the M.D. translation of "Le roman de la Rose". The translator was Hein van Aken.

Roman van Limborch

I include this romance only for the sake of completeness. It is an original work, also by Hein van Aken. It seems to have been begun
in 1291 and not finished before 1317. This long period in itself shows that the poet was not filled with inspiration and enthusiasm, that the work was difficult for him. It is nothing but a conglomeration of reminiscences from Le roman de la Rose, Parthenopeus, Lancelot, Torec, Willem van Oranje, Alexander, the Historie van Troyen. These are mixed in mere whimsical manner, sometimes cleverly enough, it is true, but always so that one can see how artificial and soulless the form of chivalric poetry had become. The "Roman" was evidently intended to counteract the didactic tendency of the new bourgeois poetry, but is itself full of didacticism, showing how hard it is to escape the tenor of one's surroundings.

Edited by L.Ph.C. van den Bergh in the Nieuwe Reeks van Werken van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde, vols. 1 and 2, Leyden, 1846 and 1847. A fragment of about 150 lines, found later, was edited by De Vries in the Tydschrift voor Ned. Taal- en Letterkunde, vol. 3, p. 50.

* The poet says that he began his work

"in dien tijde,
Dat men screef ons Heren jaer
XIIIo, dat es waer,
IX min; ende was al gheënt
Als men den daet ghescreven vent
Vander geboren ons Heren,
Dien Maria droech met eren,
XIII hondert jaer ende XVII
(God hoede ons van messciens!) 
Op Sent Sebastiaans dach,
Die op enen vridach gelaach."
Roman van Flandrys

Five fragments, containing in all almost 1800 lines. Edited by Joh. Franck: Flandrys, Fragmente eines mittelniederländischen Rittergedichtes, Strassburg, 1876. Additions were published in the Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum und Litteratur, vol.9, p.466-470 (Neue Folge).


The date falls somewhere between 1300 and 1317. Whether the poem is by Hein van Aken or not has not been decided.

Seghelyn van Jerusalem

Edited from the Berlin ms. by Verdam, Leyden, 1878, for the Maatschappy der Nederl. Letterkunde. This is again a so-called original work. It resembles the Flandrys most of all. Not a semblance of fresh invention. In the reading the adventures of the knights of the Round Table, the Graal miracles, and even incidents from the chansons de geste come continuously to one’s memory.

It is supposed that the name of the author is Loy Latwaert,
and Verdam takes him to be a Fleming. He places the date of the work between 1330 and 1350.

De Borchgrave van Couchi

This is a translation. The French original is, however, lost. The story is about the Châtelain de Couchi and his love for the lady of Fayel, a popular theme in the Middle Ages, and treated in many forms.

The fragments, in all a little over 3000 lines, were recently discovered and edited by Prof. de Vries in the Tydschrift van de Maatschappy der Nederl. Letterk., vol.7, pp.97-250. De Vries places the date of the translation in the middle of the fourteenth century.

The name of the translator is wholly unknown. As for his work, the editor says that there is vim and life in it; where he introduces persons speaking there is even inspiration and warmth. It is certain that the poem as a whole, not only through the variety of the incidents, but also through the free and elegant narrative style of the work, must have proved fascinating reading in its day.*

* P.35 of the separate edition, also by De Vries.
d) *Cycle of Antiquity*

Alexanders Geesten

Edited for the first time in two volumes by Dr. F. A. Snellaert: Alexander Geesten van Jacob van Maerlant, met inleiding, varianten van hss., aantekeningen en glossarium, op gezag van het Staatsbestuur voor de eerste maal uitgegeven, Brussel, 1860-'61.

Edited also by Dr. Joh. Franck in the Bibliotéek van Mnl. Letter-kunde, Groningen, 1882: Alexander Geesten van Jacob van Maerlant, op nieuw uitgegeven.*

The oldest literary form of the legends about Alexander is the Greek novel, named after the supposed author, the Pseudo-Callisthenes. It was written, probably in the century of Trajanus and Hadrianus, in Alexandria by Favorinus. It was in the beginning of the fourth century after Christ translated into Latin by Julius Valerius. This translation was superseded in the middle of the tenth century by a freer redaction, the Historia de Praelliis, of the Archipresbyter Leo.** It became famous especially through the Epitome drawn from it and was the origin and source of nearly all the redactions of Alexandrian legends in the Middle Ages. It was the source of the French "Alixandre", currently ascribed

* See Franck's criticism of Snellaert's dilettantish edition in his Introduction, pp.4-5.

** Of this "Vita Alexandri Magni" or "Liber Alexandri de praelliis" were given in 1885 two editions from different mss.: the one by Zingerle (Breslau) is more exact than that of Landgraf (Erlangen), but the latter is preferable because based on a better ms. The most important work on the legends of Alexander is P. Meyer's Alexandre le Grand, Paris, 1888, in the Bibliothèque française du Moyen-Âge, vols. 4 & 5, (Ed. by G. Paris and P. Meyer).
to Lambert li Tors and Alexandre de Bernay.* By degrees other "branches" developed out of the Latin source and the whole existing collection was worked over in the beginning of the thirteenth century by the same Pierre de Saint-Cloud who gave to the Roman de Renart also a newer form.**

In Flanders the Alexander "branches" seem all to have been translated. Of these early translations two fragments of mss. are still in existence. The one, cf 177 lines, was edited by Verwys in his Introduction to the Cassamus- see below- , the other, of 150 lines, by Alphons Willems in the Taal- en Letterbode, vol.2, p.158 etc..

Among the so called "branches" the one entitled Les vœux du Paon or Roman de Cassamus is one of the most popular. In the second half of the thirteenth century a M.D. translation was made of it, of which 1890 lines are still extant. These were edited by Verwys in the second fascicle of the Bibliotheek van Mnl. Letterkunde, in 1869. Maerlant knew the French Alixandre, but it is not yet fully established that he knew this translation.

In 1180 appeared in Latin hexameters the Alexandreis of Gauthier de Châtillon. This work soon became so famous that it was preferred to the classic examples. Both this Alexandreis and the Caroleis which was written by Gilles de Corbeil in imitation of the Alexandreis, were meant as protests against the chansons de geste. It is therefore not surprising that Maerlant, who became in Flanders the strongest opponent to chivalric poetry, chose the Alexandreis as the example for his Alexanders Geesten.

The significance of Maerlant's poem for M.D. literature lies much less in the subject of it than in his treatment of that subject. The story

* Edited by Michelant, Stuttgart, 1843.

** See Jonokbloet's Etude sur le Roman de Renart, pp.330-337, Groningen, 1863.
deals with Alexander's well known wars, with his miraculous birth and with the many adventures he experienced on his voyages to the end of the earth where he saw all sorts of wonderful people, animals, monsters and miracles.

As for the treatment, it breaks so definitely with the existing traditions that no mediaeval poem is more important. It shows plainly how one tradition is passing into the next. The Flemish burgher is coming into his own, his unimaginative spirit is about to prevail. The tale, the "daghoortinge" (shortening of the day) as Maerlant calls it, is no longer the one object of writing, the moral is the thing. If this is evident in the whole tone of the poem, it is still more so through the many deviations, the moral lessons, the didactic additions, which he joins to Gauthier's poem. Maerlant takes every thing seriously, in a matter of fact way. He naively disagrees with Gauthier about the birth of Alexander whom he does not think is a son of "Neptanabus", and when Gauthier says that the god of sleep caused by his presence the stars to stand still, Maerlant expresses his honest doubt. He repeatedly inserts remarks on history and even a great part of the history of the Jews, that of Caesar and of Augustus. He adds a tale and a discussion about fidelity in friendship and interpolates a treatise on geography, 1000 lines long. Statesmanship is not forgotten, and neither is ethics. And to crown all, he believes that in these wonderful tales about Alexander he is giving the reader true history.

Maerlant wrote his Alexanders Geesten (Gesta) in or about 1258. Though it has been thought to be his first work, Jonckbloet has made it very probable that it is his second, the Forec being his first.

Historie van Troyen

The almost complete ms. of this poem of Maerlant's is in posses-
sion of the family (the counts) of Loë. It has not yet been edited in whole. The first fragments that became known were edited by Ackersdyk and Blommaert. In 1873 Dr. J. Verdam edited a large part of the ms. under the title: episodes uit Maerlant's Historie van Troyen, in the Bibliothek van Mnl. Letterkunde. Since 1873 another fragment, of Segher's "Frieel" (see below), was discovered and edited by Dr. J. H. Gallée in the Tydschrift voor Ned. Taal- en Letterkunde, vol. 2, p. 118, Leyden, 1882.

The date of this translation is uncertain. Dr. Te Winkel puts it at 1264 or 1263*, Verdam at 1260**. All that is known with certainty is that the poem was written during Maerlant's sojourn at Maerlant, according to his own statement in his "Spieghel Historiael", 1 Partie, 2 Book, Chapter 16, verse 25, where he refers the reader concerning the Story of Troy

"Ten Dietsohe, dat wide es becant
Ende wi maecten te Merlant."

According to Jonckloet he left Maerlant between 1261 and 1269. According to Verwys§ and Te Winkel* between 1264 and 1269.

In his later works Maerlant refers repeatedly to this poem and says that he had translated it from Benoît de Sainte More's Roman de Troie***. The date of this French poem is given as 1184. It begins with the birth of Achilles and the voyage of the Argonauts and ends with the death of Ulysses. Benoît used Latin translations of the supposedly au-

** Introduction to his Episodes uit Maerlant's Historie van Troyen.
# Introduction to Maerlant's Naturen Bloemen, p. 39 etc.
*** Edited by A. Joly, Paris, 1870.
authentic works of Dares the Phrygian and Dictys of Crete, who claimed to have witnessed the siege of Troy. The whole was, however, of mediaeval invention: all the heroes, their costumes, their ideas, their manners, their points of view, the whole setting belongs to the twelfth century. Joly points out "ces peintures d'amour, cette galanterie chevaleresque, qui sera l'un des anachronismes les plus frappants du récit de Benoît, mais qui était en même temps une de ses grandes séductions, sans doute, pour les contemporains, et sa grande originalité. Naturellement jamais Darès ni Dictys n'avaient songé à rien de semblable."*

Long before Maerlant the Flemish public had become acquainted with a part of Benoit's work. A certain Segher Diengodgaf, probably of Ghent, had taken from it the scene of the last struggle under the walls of Troy, the duel between Hector and Achilles and Hector's death. He added an introduction in the tone of the chivalric gallantry of his time and called his work "Dat Prieele van Troyen". Dr. Verdam places this work in the first years of the thirteenth century.** Maerlant refers to it in the introduction of his "Historie", verse 12:

"Segher Deen-3ot-gaf
Heft daer af ghedicht een deel:
Dat es van Troyen dat Prieeel
(Dit es ghedicht oec langhen tyt)
Ende aent Prieeel die VII stryt."

It is fun to see how this Segher tries to pass off his translation for an original work. He says:

"Zen deel van dat daer gesciede

* In his introduction to the Roman de Troie, p. 30.
** In his Introduction to Episodes uit Maerlant's Historie van Troyen, p. 175.
Hebben ghehoort vele liedë;
Maer de tromans maëchte ende bescreef,
Hi vergat, in weet hoest bleef,
Een deel der bester aventuren."

Maerlant incorporated Segher's work into his own and extended Be­noît's story to the founding of Rome, adding a deal of extraneous matter, (he took over bodily the treatise on geography which he had inserted in his Alexander), so that his redaction contains 40000 lines, while the French poem has but 30000. As for the sources of these additions, the poet indicates them himself (line 8862, ed. Verdam):

"Maer uten Walseen ende van Dictise,
Van Darese ende van Virgilise,
Ende uut andren boecken mede
Sullen wy nemen die waerhede,
Ende in Dietsoher tale onthinden."

These sources are further indicated in the 14th chapter of his Spieghel Historiael, when he reaches the story of Troy:

"Nu gaet hier dorloge an
Van Troyen, daer menech man
Wilen in liet syn leven:
Dat hevet in Walsch bescreven
Sen, hiet Bonoît de Sainte More.
Die poëten hebbent, alsict hore,
Ontreint met favelen (valacelike
Ende van mi ooc des ghelike
Eist ghedicht al) openbare,
Dat was gheraept harentare,
Van Bonoîte ende Virgiliuse,
Benoît was, therefore, Maerlant's main source. In the midst of Benoît's work he inserted the whole Achilleis of Papinius Statius.* Then he used Ovid and Vergil continually to complete and correct Benoît.** Of Vergil he inserts the whole story of the Eneid and of Ovid the battle for Achilles' arms, from the thirteenth Book of the Metamorphoses, of which the 400 lines grow under his hands to 1600. As for the mention of Homer, it is not certain that Maerlant read Greek.

What has been said about the treatment of the subject in Alexander's Geesten is with the same force applicable to the Historie van Troyen. Maerlant's object was again to give information and truth. But the kind of criticism of which he is capable is childish and naïf.

e) Byzantine Romances

The Parthonopeus-Roman

There are in existence 19 fragments, belonging to four mss., scattered around in Brussels (Bibliothèque royale de Belgique), Leyden (Universiteitsbibliotheek), Cologne (Stadtarchiv), Hoensbroeck (Office of the Town secretary), Berlin (Königliche Bibliothek), Trier (Stadtbibliothek),

* See Van Berkum's Parthonopeus-Roman, Groningen, 1897, p.1 etc.

* Introduction to Verdam's Episodes etc., p.23.

Groningen (Bibliothek der Ryksuniversiteit) and Jena (Universitätsbibliothek). These have been edited as follows:

In 1822, the Trier fragments, by Bilderdyk, in Taal- en Dichtkundige Verscheidenheden, vol.3, pp.128-159.

In 1837, the Cologne Fragments, by Franz Joseph Mone, in the Anzeiger für Kunde der teutschen Vorzeit, vol.6, pp.423-431.


In 1847, the Jena (b) fragments with the ones already printed and the then known M.H.G. fragments of the same romance, by Massmann: Parthonopeus und Melior, Altfr. Gedicht in mnl. und mhd. Bruchstücken.

In 1857, the Jena (a & b) fragments, by Ferdinand Deycks: Carminum epicorum germanicorum saeculi XII et XIII fragmenta, etc., on the occasion of the third jubilee of the University of Jena.

In 1862, the same fragments without commentary, by Hoffmann von Fallersehen, in the Horae Belgicae, vol.12, pp.39-40, printed because the Deycks edition was inaccessible to most persons.

In 1871, the Brussels and Groningen fragments with the ones already printed, by Börmans: Ouddietsche fragmenten van den Parthonopeus van Blois.


Of the French Partonopeus de Blois eight mss. are extant, of which six (ms. A, in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal; G and P, in the Bibliothèque Nationale; B, in the Stadtbibliothek of Bern; T, in the Bibliothèque Municipale of Tours; L, in the library
of Lord Ashburnham, London) are almost complete, and two (Mss. P, in the Bibliothèque Nationale; C, in the library of Sir Th. Phillipps, Cheltenham) give only small parts of the poem.

The only edition of the Partonopeus is by G.A. Crapelet: Partonopeus de Blois, publié pour la première fois d'après le Manuscrit de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 2 vols. Besides a description by A.C.M. Robert of mss. A, G, and P, an extensive "examen critique" has been added. But the edition is far from satisfactory. Since it is but a redaction of ms. A, in which ms. G has been here and there consulted, there are gaps amounting in all to 1280 lines. Besides, the endings of mss. G and P with their continuation in alexandrines, differ completely from the ending of ms. A. When Paul Meyer edited (1891) the Cheltenham fragment, he wrote: "Je ne crois pas que le court morceau de ce poème que renferme le manuscrit Phillipps ait pour la constitution du texte une grande valeur. Cependant on en devra tenir compte dans une nouvelle édition qui se fera sans doute quelque jour, car la publication de Crapelet est insuffisante et d'ailleurs est devenue rare."

Story: Count Parthonopeus of Blois is hunting and loses his way. On the shore of the sea he finds a ship, which he enters, and which takes him to the castle of Chiefdore on the Hellespont. There he soon makes the acquaintance of a mysterious lady, who visits him only after dark and who confesses her love for him. This on condition that he would never try to catch sight of her. But he breaks his promise and thereby causes her and his misfortune. In her despair she sobbingly tells him that she is the daughter of the emperor of Constantinople. When it had been pre-

* See also Felix Heinigürtner: Die mittelenglischen Fassungen der Partonopeussage und ihr Verhältnis zum altfranzösischen Originale, Breslau, 1833.
dicted to her father that he would have no other children, he had caused her to be given an extraordinary education: she had not only studied the arts and the sciences, but was an adept in necromancy and sorcery as well. She could perform miracles, she could make herself and others invisible. But now, owing to his imprudence, she had lost all her gifts. Her barons would find out that she had been his "amie", shame and misfortune would come upon them.

And it did turn out, after many untoward events, that Parthonopeus was forced to win his lady at the point of the sword. Her vassals had decided that Melior, this was her name, would be the prize of victory in a tournament. Parthonopeus had already defeated all his rivals, when one of them, the "Soedan" of Persia, not satisfied with the result, challenged him to a combat "op leven of dood". But here also Parthonopeus conquered and he not only became the happy husband of Melior, but was, besides, chosen emperor of Constantinople. A brilliant wedding ends the story.

The Dutch translator, who used an older ms. than any of the existing ones*, continues by telling how the "Soedan", desiring to avenge himself for the injustice which he thinks has been done him, besieges Parthonopeus. This addition, however, has not been finished.

The name of the French poet has always been supposed to be Dénys Piramus, but one of Van Berkum's theses** is that he was not the author. Both Paulin Paris and Jonckbloet place the date of the French poem in the first quarter of the thirteenth century.***

** Op.cit., under "Stellingen".
The Parthonopeus is characterized by the fact that natural human passion is used as a motive to action, and not the conventional chivalric means to that end. Everywhere is natural feeling coupled with modest expression and loveliness of form. The characters are well developed, there is complete unity in the whole. The M.D. translation is so faithful that it is one of the best sources of study for definite results in the comparison of French and Dutch expression.

Floris ende Blancefloer

Edited first by Hoffmann von Fallersleben in vol.3 of his Horae Belgicae, 1836. Then by Prof. H.E. Moltzer in his Bibliotheek van Mnl. Letterkunde, 1879. Alberdingk Thym gave a modern prose version of the story in his Karolingsche Verhalen, pp.207-231, Amsterdam, 1873. As for the folk-book, see vol.8, p.50 etc. of the Taal- en Letterbode.

The translation is not from either of the French texts edited by Bekker or Edélestand du Ménil. It agrees, as Moltzer proves in detail, now with the one, then with the other. Sometimes it does not agree with either and shows relationship with the M.H.G. imitation of Konrad Fleck. There is no other conclusion than that it was made from a third French redaction.

The story is of Greek origin. See the Litteraturblatt für Germ. und Rom. Philologie, 1880, p.146. And Zumbini: Il Filocopo del Boccaccio, Firenze, 1879, p.24, where he says, "Lo studio ben fatto degli erotici greci confermee sempre più la grecità originaria delle leggenda di Florio e Biancofiore".

Story: Floris, the son of a Moorish king, has been educated with Blancefloer, daughter of a Christian woman captured in war. Both children had been born on the same day and had from their earliest childhood felt a deep affection for each other. The king, in order to put a
stop to this, sells Blancefloer to certain itinerant merchants who place her in the harem of the Emir of Babylon. Floris is told that his lady love is dead and is shown a funeral monument which has been erected during his absence. But when he is about to take his life in his despair, his mother tells him the truth. He starts to find Blancefloer. He succeeds in entering the castle where Blancefleur is imprisoned. He is carried in in a basket covered with roses and placed in Blancefloer's room. They stay together for a time, but are at last discovered. They are, of course, condemned to death. Now Floris accuses himself of being the only one guilty. He gives Blancefloer a ring, which his mother had given him and which protects the wearer from death, but Blancefloer refuses to accept it, and when Floris refuses to take it back, throws it away.

When the Emir was told of this, he had the two, while on their way to their death by fire, brought before him. Each accuses him- or herself of being the sole cause of the other's misfortune. The angry Emir is about to kill both with his sword: immediately Blancefloer throws herself forward and offers her head. But Floris, weeping, draws her back, saying that as a man it was not fitting that he should see her killed before his eyes. He held out his neck and bids the Emir to strike. But Blancefloer in her turn pulls him away, saying: Lord, do you not see that I am ready? I am guilty, why do you not strike?

The barons, who had pronounced the sentence, were weeping, and the Emir, too, was touched, so that he allowed the sword to drop from his hand. The lovers are pardoned. On returning home, they inherit the throne of Spain and Floris allows himself to be baptized by Blancefloer. From their marriage was born a daughter, Berte "metten breden voeten", who later became the mother of Charlemagne.

The translator is Diederik van Assenede. Serrure, in his Letterkun-
diges Geschiedenis van Vlaanderen, vol.1, p.144, says: "From the charters quoted it appears that Dirk was clerk of the Assenede shire and manager of the count's (of Flanders) domain. We find that he occupied this for his time tolerably important position from 1262 until 1290. In 1293 he was dead." The translation is mentioned in Maerlant's Alexander and must, therefore, date from before 1262.

Like the Parthonopeus, this poem is noteworthy because it rises above the conventional and superficial chivalric gallantry of the Arthurian romances, and deals with true human passion in a natural way. The most serious objection to the treatment is that the emotion portrayed descends here and there to sentimentality, although this is made plausible by the choice of children as the heroes of the story. Neither Floris, nor Blancefloer, were much older than fifteen years.

The translation is in the main faithful, but here and there negligent. Logic and common sense are often sacrificed to the exigencies of the rime. But Diederik is not always responsible for absurdities that occur, witness a fragment of a second and better ms., edited by Alberdingk Thym in vol.1 of the Dietsche Warande, p.498 etc.

f) Allegorical Poems

Die Rose (Spieghel der Minne)


Not to mention the edition given by Marot in the beginning of the sixteenth century, Le Roman de la Rose has been edited by Mémon, Paris, 1813; by F. Michel, Paris, 1864; and by Pierre Harteau (pseudonym), with translation into modern French, Orléans, 1879.

This poem, begun by Guillaume de Lorris and completed forty years
later (between 1260 and 1270) by Jean de Meung, is an allegorical story in the form of a dream. The dreamer sees in a garden a beautiful rosebush and passionately desires to pick one of the roses. In his efforts he is helped or thwarted by all sorts of allegorical personages, such as the god of love, Reason, Evil Tongue, Shame, Kind Reception, Jealousy, etc. In the end Amor, to whom he has sworn fealty, calls upon his vassals (personified qualities which a lover must possess) to storm the walls, which surround and protect the rosebush. Venus herself sets fire to the stronghold, it is taken. The lover now plucks the object of his passion, the dream and, therefore, the story, are over.

The value of the poem lies in the details, in the vividness of the descriptions, in the fact that it was in perfect accord with the thought and feeling of the times. Not only did the man of the world find in it an attractive theory of his love practice; Reason and Morality too have their say. And the growing spirit of criticism found satisfaction in the running satyre, which spares no foible in whatever social stratum it might be found.

Guillaume de Lorris is the ordinary trouvère, Jean de Meung is a learned poet, versed in the classics. He continues the work of his predecessor merely to use it as a vehicle for the ideas that stirred in his time church and society. He bitterly attacks the canker of his day, the orders of mendicant friars, ever growing in power and influence. He allows no opportunity to escape him of attacking woman. He promulgates with caustic argument the democratic and communistic ideas, which were beginning more and more to stir the minds of thinking men.

No wonder that this work found ready acceptance in Flanders, in a country where Maerlant had lived and worked. Two translations were made of it. Of one only a few fragments have been preserved. Its loss cannot
be deeply regretted, for what exists of it is stiff and halting, and still more discursive than the original. Of the second translation, the one by Hein van Aken, there exist two complete mss., of which one is probably a working over of the other. While this translation is in the main faithful and fluent, it can scarcely compare favorably with the original. Even in places where the translator succeeded best, one misses some delicate feature, some characteristic transition, some more fitting expression, lost in the struggle over rhythm and rime. The one merit of Van Aken is that he has shortened the poem judiciously, without harming it as a whole. The abridgements and omissions have been carefully noted by the editor. He has made it very probable that the translation was made about the year 1280.

Vanden Vos Reinaerde

Editions: 1) F.D. Gräter in "Braga und Hermode", vol. 5, Breslau, 1812
2) J. Grimm in Reinhart Fuchs, Berlin, 1834.
4) Snellaert, an unchanged reprint of 3, 1850.
5) W.J.H. Jonckbloet: Vanden Vos Reinaerde, Groningen, 1856.
6) E. Martin: Reinaert, Paderborn, 1874.
7) W.L. van Helten: Van den Vos Reynaerde, Groningen, 1887.

Grimm's theory concerning the Germanic origin of this animal epic has been so thoroughly refuted, that a discussion of it may here well be

omitted. The view now generally held, is that it is of Oriental origin. Otto Keller, op. cit., showed that the fables ascribed to Aesop came from the East. In them the lion played the main roll, then the jackal. The Greeks did not know the jackal and substituted for him the fox. Babrius, in the second century B.C. made a collection of these fables in Greek verse, and Avianus made from it a selection of forty, which he translated into Latin. Then Phaedrus, probably a contemporary of Tiberius, made a much larger collection, and this was between the sixth and eighth centuries made into a prose collection, which is known under the name of the Romulius, after the supposed compiler. These collections were widely known in the Middle Ages and translated into many tongues. In this way, and also through direct importation from Byzantium, these animal fables were spread over Western Europe.

The other source is a collection of stories, not fables, the Sanskrit "Pantscha (five)-tantra" (division). The first division contains the adventures of a steer, Sandshiwaka, the friend and councillor of the lion, Fingalaka or the dark yellow one. Two jackals, Damanaka and Karataka, sons of fallen ministers, succeed in making the lion lose confidence in the steer, in order that they may take his place in the council. Finally the lion kills the steer. This first division is entitled "The Enmity of Friends" and the second "Reconciliation of Enemies and their later Friendship". It is the story of a crow, a mouse, a turtle and a gazelle, who become convinced that friendship is not so much based on physical similarity, as on spiritual agreement, and who enter into a bond of friendship which is of benefit to all. The third division is called the "Crow-and-Owl War" and alludes to one of the most important parts of the Mahabharata.

The fourth division treats of "The Loss of what has already been possessed", and the fifth about "Acting without proper Investigation". It contains a number of ghost stories which occur also in the Thousand and one Nights.*

Between 1148 and 1160 a certain Magister Nivardus, who lived in the monastary Blandinium near Ghent in Flanders, wrote an animal-epic, which is called after the wolf, who is the principal personage in it, Ysengrimus.** The fox is called Reinardus, the lion Rufanus, the bear Bruno, the boar Grimmo, the deer Rearidus, the stallion Corvigarus, the ass Carcophas. It is the most extensive poem of the sort in Latin. It is divided in twelve books, as follows: 1. The stolen bacon. 2. The fish catch. 3. The survey. 4. The sick lion. 5. The pilgrimage. 6. The fox and the cock. 7. The wolf as monk. 8. The horse and the wolf. 9. The wolf and the ram. 10. The divided booty. 11. The ass' skin. 12. Ysengrim's death.

In the neighborhood of 1100 there was written probably in the north of France a poem which contained sixteen stories of animals, some of which occur also in Ysengrimus. This poem is lost. But it had been translated into High German by Heinrich der Gleichesaere*** not long after 1150 according to Grimm, about 1170 according to Wackernagel.***

Then follow about thirty poems, the "Branches", which now treat of

* From the Sanskrit these stories were in the sixth century translated into Persian, and two centuries later into Arabic. This Arabic translation is called "Kalila and Dimna" and was turned into Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Spanish and Italian. The Latin transl. was again turned into German and into Dutch. **Edited by Hone (Reinarðus Vulpes), 1832, and by Voigt (Ysengrimus), Halle, 1854. ***Edited by Jacob Grimm (in Reinhart Fuchs). Also by Reissenberger in Paul's Altd. Textbibliothek. ****Gesch. d. Litt. I, p. 383.
only one story or adventure, then of connected series of anecdotes; sometimes they are long poems after the manner of the Arthurian romances. They have been worked up from older texts by various poets.*

Jonckbloet discovered that the eleventh "Branche" must have been part of a larger poem. He found not only the end of this work, but also several pieces which fitted in the connection and which he put together with the result that he obtained a poem of more than 10000 lines, which he called "Les aventures de Renart". He further put together the scattered parts of a second poem of about 4800 lines, which is evidently a continuation of the first. This is "Le Plaid". It is sometimes supposed that both these poems are by Pierre de Saint-Cloud, who criticised in them the court of Philip Augustus, and which he wrote between 1204 and 1209. What Jonckbloet asserts with conviction is that the twentieth "Branche" in Méon's edition, which is the first in Martin, and which constitutes the core of Le Plaid, is by Pierre de Saint-Cloud.**

Now, the Flemish Reinaert and Le Plaid agree in so many respects that one must be an imitation of the other. A comparison of the two with the M.H.G. Reinhart, which is, as we have seen, a translation of the oldest French poem (of 1100), shows that Le Plaid agrees in a number of details with the M.H.G. poem, details which do not occur in the Flemish Reinaert. Le Plaid must therefore be the older of the two, and the Flemish Reinaert a translation from the French.*** This is further proved by a quotation

from the Flemish poet himself, which Jonckbloet gives in his Etude, and which also yields the name of the translator:

"Willem die van Madoc maecte
Daer hi dicken omme waecte,
Hem vernoyede so haerde,
Dat davonturen van Reinaerde
In Detsce onghemaket blewen
(Die hi hier hevet vulcreven),
Dat hi die vite dede soeken,
Ende hise naden walscen boeken
In Detsce dus hevet begonnen."

** Martin, in his Examen critique etc., places the date also in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. See also Jonckbloet's Etude etc., p. 360 etc., where he shows that Pierre de Saint-Cloud imitates Chrestien de Troyes and must, therefore, come after him.

*** J.F. Willems, of Flanders, who was the first in the Netherlands to edit the M.D. translation, is of the opposite opinion. He asserts in his Introduction that the *estoire, l'esprit,* to which Pierre repeatedly refers, is no other than the M.D. poem. But Jonckbloet answers that this proves nothing. When Willems points out that Pierre even lets stand the Flemish word willecome, Jonckbloet points out that the verb Wiloumiar, malecoumiar is also found in Norman and Anglo-Norman writers. Serrure, another Fleming, while not denying that Willem consulted French sources, holds out for the originality of the M.D. poem. He also places it before 1200. But W. Knorr: Die zwanzigste Branche des R.de R., 1886, says "Niemand wird nach seiner (J's Erorterung noch Willem's Annahme glaublich finder."
This M.D. translation is so excellent a poem in itself that it was translated in its turn, first into Latin (about 1280) by a certain Boudewyn*, then into Platt-Deutsch and from Platt-Deutsch again into English, High German, Danish, Swedish and Icelandic. It is, therefore, the basis of Goethe's and Oehlenschläger's redactions.** Willem's poem excels Pierre de Saint-Cloud's work in the first place through its well rounded unity. He has selected from the French that part which all critics at all times have judged to be the most excellent of the Renard material and he has done so with good taste. He has not only translated, but he has so improved upon his original that he created a perfect work of art. His descriptions are vivid and few, the action is well sustained and varied, the psychological development of the characters consistent, the personages are definite and complete. The plastic objectivity of the poem, the measure the poet keeps in his satire, the ever present gayety and wit, the opposing of cunning to stupid physical force, all this is characteristic of the Dutch nature just developing in the thirteenth century.

* Dr. Campbell, librarian of the Royal Library at The Hague, discovered this translation among the incunabula and edited it in 1858 under the title "Reynardus Vulpes. Poema ante annum 1280 a quodam Baldwino e lingua Teutonica translatum." A more critical edition was given in 1860 by W. Knorr, who also gave an analysis of it behind his "Die zwanzigste Branche des Roman de Renart". In Holland Dr. J. W. Muller (De oudere en de jongere bewerking van den Reinaert, Amsterdam, 1884) and H. Logeman (De verhouding van Reinaert I tot den Reinardus Vulpes, Tydschrift v. Ned. taal- en letterk. vol. 4, p. 164) have worked in the same subject.

** The M.D. Reinaert has often been translated into modern Dutch. First by J. F. Willems, 1834. Then Prudens van Duyse, Ghent. In 1874 the one by J. de Geyte Schiedam, and in 1883 the one by R. Dykstra, Rotterdam.
Story: On a certain Pentecost day king Nobel (the lion) held his court and all the animals had appeared, except the fox Reinaert, who had committed too many depredations to dare appear. The wolf Isengrim begins to accuse the absent one and the other animals all add their evidence. While Grimbert, the badger, is defending him and asserts that he is living a hermit's life, the cock Cantecleer comes in with the corpse of his last remaining daughter on a bier: she had, as her sisters, been a victim of Reinaert's evil ways.

The culprit is going to be summoned. Bruin, the bear, takes upon himself the task of serving the summons. But Reinaert plays upon his gourmandizing disposition. He takes him to the felled trunk of an oak which was being split in a farm yard. He tells him it contains a great amount of honey, and when the bear is going to satisfy his passion and has placed his snout in the split, Reinaert pulls away the wedges. The bear remains caught and gets a fearful whipping at the hands of the people that come running up.

Now Tibert, the tom-cat, is sent to Reinaert's stronghold. The fox takes him to the garret of a certain priest, where mice were plenty. The cat is caught in a trap set for the mice and nearly pays with his life for his cruel hunting disposition.

The king is angry over the treatment his ambassadors receive. The badger offers to deliver the third summons. He prevails upon Reinaert to come along and the latter, like the hypocrite he is, asks Grimbert to receive his confession. Grimbert gives the rascal the apostolic absolution. At the court, Nobel reproaches the fox for his misdeeds, but Reinaert protests that it has always been his fate to be calumniated. As for Bruin and Tibert, they had gone stealing against his better advice, it was their own fault that they had fared so badly.
But Reinaert is nevertheless going to be hanged. When his arch enemies are ready to pull him up, he requests permission to confess his sins in the hearing of all the people. He takes occasion, apparently in an unconscious way, to tell about a great treasure, which had got into his possession at the right time, for it was just going to be used to take the king's life. The queen, very much worked up over this, now invites him to expose the whole truth. Reinaert seeing he had found a willing ear, expatiates about a dire plot which had been concocted between his own father, Bruin, Isengrim and Grimbert, against the king's life and crown. The treasure, which had come from King Hermelink, had been in the hands of old Reinaert and was to be used to enlist soldiers by means of whom Bruin was to be placed upon Noble's throne. In an attack of drunkenness Grimbert had dropped some hints about it to his mother, and young Reinaert, not willing to see the generous king replaced by the ill-natured Bruin, had stolen the treasure, hidden it, and thus frustrated the dastardly plot. He had saved the king's life. And still Bruin and Isengrim are in high favor, while he — well!

At the instigation of the queen Noble now pardons the fox, on condition that he point out the treasure. Reinaert says that he gives it to the king. It was hidden on a moor near Hulsterlo, whither he would, indeed, like to accompany him, but he had made a vow to depart at once for Rome and the Holy Land, in order to obtain dispensation for his sins. The king announces publicly that he forgives Reinaert everything. When Bruin and Isengrim complain, they are imprisoned. Nay, Reinaert manages to have a piece cut from Bruin's skin for a traveling bag, while Isengrim and his wife have to give their shoes to the pilgrim.

He takes leave in tears and asks for every one's prayers. Ouwaert, the hare, and Bellyn, the ram, accompany him to his castle, at his request.
Before the gate of Maupertuis the ram is to wait, while Cuwaert goes along to console Reinaert's wife over the departure of her husband. The hare is soon eaten. The fox puts Cuwaert's head in a bag and takes it to Bellyn. There are letters in the bag and Bellyn is to take them to the king. If he wishes to ingratiate himself with the king, he will but have to say that he had had a hand in the matter.

Reinaert fled with wife and children. And he did well, for when Nobel sees the contents of the bag, he roars so loud, that every animal in Christendom trembles. The prisoners are set free, and the king gave them by way of compensation Bellyn and his descendants to all eternity. Reinaert is outlawed.

According to an allusion in Maerlant's Rymbybel, the Flemish Reinaert must have been written before 1270. In the Introduction to his edition of Alexanders Geesten Dr. Franck proves that Maerlant knew the Reinaert during the writing of this poem. Therefore, the Reinaert was written by Willem about the year 1255. This date has been generally accepted.

The continuation of the Reinaert, author unknown, dates from between 1378 and 1389. The author was evidently acquainted with various "Branches", but consulted mostly his memory. There is hardly a question here even of imitation of French sources. The old poem has been kept, but the ending changed. The fox does not leave his castle, the king prolongs the sitting of his court, and new accusations are brought in against Reinhart. He appears again at court and a defense similar to the

*This allusion, line 34846, reads as follows:

"Want dit nos niet Wadox droom,

No Reinaerts no Arturs boerden."
one in the old poem is given by the fox. The lion is again under the spell of his eloquence and ready to pardon him, when Isengrim steps up and proposes that the matter be decided by a judicial duel. Reinaert is shaved, oil is rubbed into his skin. He is to drink as much as he can, and strike at the wolf's eyes with his wet tail; he is to keep his ears flat against his head and throw sand into the wolf's eyes. Magic words are pronounced over his head and after a good sleep the otter brings him a duck for breakfast. The battle begins. The wolf gets one of the fox's paws in his mouth and Reinaert makes all sorts of promises. The wolf remains obdurate, but Reinaert grips with his free hand a very sensitive place on Isengrim's body. The wolf swoons and Reinaert drags him through the lists, beating and kicking him.

The fox wins and becomes the king's secret councillor. The poem concludes with a moralization about people who know Reinaert's tricks.

This addition lacks the unity of the old poem. It leaves the subject repeatedly and launches into illustrations of points by means of fables and moralizations. It is pronouncedly didactic. The best and most vivid part is the description of the duel.

The best work in the subject of Reinaert II has been done by Dr. J.W. Muller in his "Academisch proefschrift" entitled: De oude en de jongere bewerking van den Reinaert; Sydrage tot de critiek der beide Reinaert-gedichten, Amsterdam, 1884.
Complete List of Titles of Old French Poems, alphabetically arranged, with page index, which have been translated into Middle Dutch, and of which Manuscripts, Fragments or Low-German Copies still exist.*

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DISCUSSION

From the preceding bibliography it appears that Dutch literature shared in the fate of all other modern literatures: it was for a time under the influence of France. But in the light of what there is in all of M.D. literature it was undoubtedly more under this sway than any other literature. Fifty works, all of considerable size and importance, adopted before 1350 and from a source foreign, and in many respects antagonistic, to the nature of the people who adopted them! Counting by titles, and leaving out the dramatic period which really falls at a time when the Middle Ages are giving place to the Renaissance, these translations represent about five elevenths of the whole M.D. literary output. And many of the other poems are of minor importance, often again translations, though from the Latin. If we could count the lines, it is probable that this bibliography would represent more than half of the whole M.D. literature.

What causes explain this phenomenon, what is the nature of the literature which accompanies and follows these translations, to what extent are these translations servile or national, what conclusions must be drawn? These are questions which suggest themselves at once.

Flanders was never a fief of the German Empire, but went in the great divisions of 842 with that part of Charlemagne's former realm out of which France was destined to develop. The counts of Flanders, being vassals of the Capetian and Valois kings until 1477, when Louis XI took Burgundy from Mary, the daughter of Charles the Bold, were, even when they were not Frenchmen themselves, naturally drawn to the court of France. They imitated French ways, French notions of aristocratic life, they encouraged French jongleurs and trouvères. They had at their partial disposal the rich results of the then unequalled industrial and commercial development of their country and they vied with French courts in chivalric magnificence.
They, and their vassals in turn, spoke French. French was the language of the law and of the charters, when it was not Latin. The first charter in M.D. dates only from 1249.* Thereby comes the general influence of French, evidences of which abound. The Dutch chronicler, Melis Stoke, for instance, who wrote in the beginning of the fourteenth century, says that the guardian of the young Floris V, count of Holland,

"Dede tkint wel achterwaren
Tote het quam tot zulken jaren,
Dat hi hem selven began verstaen.
Doe dede sina (she' him) ter scolen gaen.
Walsch ende Dietsch leren wel."

And in the Roman de Berte aus grans piés of Adenez le Roi, himself of the Duchy of Brabant, one reads, p.10:

"Tout droit à celui temps que je ci vous devis
Avoit une coutume ens el Tyois païs,
Que tout li grant seignor, li conte et li marchis,
Avoient entour aus gent françoise tous-dis
Pour apprendre françois leurs filles et leurs fils."

And J. Stecher: Histoire de la Littérature Méerlandaise en Belgique (1887, Bruxelles), says "Au VIIe et VIIIe siècles on demandait aux chefs du clergé de savoir les deux langues." Not only did some of the Chansons de geste, like "Ogier le Danois" and "Renaus de Montauban" found their legendary origin in the region of Flanders, but French poems of chivalry, like Chrétien's Perceval, were actually written in Flanders.

Now when the Third Estate came into being, when the common citizen gained wealth and, therefore, leisure, the new class—obeying a social law which is incontrovertibly established—imitated the class immediately

above it. Some of the burghers undoubtedly learned French, but the mass of them clamored for the fashionable literature along the lines of least resistance. Money was to be gained by bringing the popular poetry down to the reach of the every-day burgher. The demand for translation was created. But this plain citizen had not yet reached that stage in his development in which he would demand catering to his own views and disposition, his critical faculties were yet unborn in the field of literature. His capacious curiosity stopped for no carping questions: the whole mass of French literature passed indiscriminately through the translation mill to be ground up and reshaped, clothed in Flemish cloth. But when this process had been going on for some sixty years, a reaction began to set in. The Flemings' sober, common sense revolted. These extravagant knights, their impossible ladies, their phantastic and immoral adventures, their high-strung emotions, their strange accoutrements, their mystic ideals, may, like the warm magnificence of the church, have filled them with pleasing wonder by way of contrast to their feudal miseries before they had yet risen to their present condition of wealth, comfort and independence, now they were too mindful of the concrete, material, soberly cunning ways and the seriousness of the struggle by means of which they had risen, to be longer pleased by what was evidently not real. Through labor this bourgeoisie had grown to be an influential part of the social structure: this position must be retained and strengthened. To do this, the burgher saw that he needed knowledge, for he must establish his undertakings upon ever broader bases, and morality, for he must maintain and increase his dignity with the nobleman and the priest, who had grown unaccustomed to morality. Through knowledge and stern morality the new class gained its victory.
Then, the uncomfortable climate forced in-door life and this in turn developed habits of the heart and the mind which were more internal than external, more deep than superficial, i.e. more vertical than horizontal. The religious life of the Netherlander grew, like his whole emotional life, inward, not outward, it became abstract, it had no need of outward and visible signs. At the same time, his mental life based on material industry, on concrete struggle with the climate, with the count, with the nobles, with the tangible causality of commerce, grew wondrously matter-of-fact. It is this combination of hidden, abstract, emotional life with plain, concrete, direct, successful and, therefore, joyous, mental life that is going to characterize his own, original, literature. He will paint no Madonna’s, nor Last Judgments, he will paint distinctly clear portraits and gay kermiss’ scenes. “Van den Vos Reinaerde” is his “Don Quijote”. He will express his mentality only: the expression of his emotions, where it does occur, is going to be hopelessly paralyzed by the intermixture of plain, common sense.

The man who represents the beginning of this reaction against French literature is Jacob van Maerlant. He lived probably between 1235 and 1281, and he began to write between 1257 and 1260. He seems to have occupied a semi-ecclesiastical position and to have belonged to the well-to-do burgher class. Little is known of his life. The poems which he translated from the French are Torec, the Graal-Merlyn Roman and Die Historie van Troyen.* The titles of subsequent books are eloquent: Flowers of ...........................................

* In the prologue to this last translation he refers to the ones which preceded it, as follows:

"Hier toe voren dichten hy Merlin,

En de Alexander uytten Latyn,

Toerecke ende dier Sompniarys"
Nature, Mystery of Mysteries, Rime Bible, Life of St. Clara, Life of St. Francis, Miracles of Our Lady, Of the Trinity, The Mirror of History, Of the Vengeance of God, A Discussion between Our Lady and St. Crucius, The Complaint of the Church. Some of these are again translations, but from the Latin: this source is much more dignified, authentic, truthful, serious, reliable. The trouble is that, although it reflects much more truly the state of mind of the worthy burgher than did the poetry of chivalry, much of this work is not literature at all. It is polemical, didactic, theological, moral, but not amusing, not artistic.

One can forgive Maerlant's solemnly looking upon the Alexander and the Historie van Troyen as historical texts, in which instruction should be the main object. On that ground he could defend his attempt to correct and combat the original wherever he thought it was not true. But when it comes to the Graal-Merlyn Roman, which he knew was a romance, one cannot find any just cause to uphold him in disturbing the course and connection of the story with dissertations of his own, with attacks of contempt upon the original, with references to more reliable sources, such as the Gospels, the Gesta Filati, Epistola Pilati, Mors Pilati, The Chronicon Hieronymi or the Bellum Judaicum of Flavius Josephus. And he rarely does it gently either. In line 243 he says:

"Maer dat es loghene ende ghedwas." And in line 412

"Maer dat es altemale loghene made".

Ende den oortten Lapidarys."

The last two have been lost. The Somnieres was probably devoted to the question of explaining dreams and the Lapidarys a short treatise on the powers of precious stones. See Prof. Grosshans in De Taal en Letterbode van Verwys en Cosyn, vol.3, p.319 and Herrig's Archiv, 1881, vol.1, p.358.
In the course of his poem Robert de Borron represents the destruction of Jerusalem as a punishment, a revenge, for the Crucifixion. This makes Maerlant say in the beginning of his redaction, line 20:

"Ic wille datghi des seker syt,
Dat ic die historie vele valsch
Gevonden hebbbe in dat Walsch,
Daer si van Gode, onsen Here, sprac,
Datten dat vlo van Rome wrac.
Daerombe merket dese sake:
Een dichte van Ons Heren wrake
Leest men, dat es wide becant,
Ende makede een pape in Vlaenderlant:
Dat seghet dat boec in syn beginne;
Maer ic wane in minen sinne,
Dat een pape dat niet en dichte,
Want men ne mochte ghescriven lichte
Hoe sere dat ghelogen si;
Ende dat sal ic proeven waer bi
In der historie die comt hier naer.
Ende nu biddet iu, dat es waer" etc.

This is the tone of a fighter, a reformer, not of a man who is master of his material. The tone of art is serene. He has a difficult task before him, he must awaken the burgher to a realization of the fact that this French poetry, which is so popular, which is, up to this time, all there is of M.D. poetry, is foreign, antagonistic to his nature, to his spiritual needs. What a pity that Maerlant utterly lacked a sense of humor, of irony; in other words, that he was dominated by the very thing he fought: he might then have produced international literature. On the contrary, he is dread-
fully in earnest, he warns the burgher: he must not prefer romances to true history. Says he in his St. Franciscus, line 31:

"Cume es hi van mi bekint,
Die nu leeft ende waarheit mint;
Maer Tristram ende Lanceloot,
Perchevael ende Galehoot,
Ghevensde namen ende ongeboren,
Hier of willen die lieden horen;
Truffe van minnen ende van stride
Leest men dor die werelt wide."

Here he only points out the mistaken preference of the reading public. But he goes farther, he emphasizes the unworthiness of these poems. Speaking of the Lancelot in his Mirror of History, Part I, Book V, Chapter 54, he says:

"Van Perchevaale, van Galyote,
Van Egravesine, van Lancelote,
Vanden coninc Ban van Benowyc,
Ende Beboerde, dies ghelyc,
Ende van vele geveinseder namen,
Sone vandie al te samen
Cleene no groot inden Latins:
Dies docht mi verlorne pins,
Dat iet hier ontbinden souds,
Want ic dwalsche over boerde houde."

And in Book VII, Chapter 49:

"Pavele, die ic van hem vant,
Die latic al achterbliven:
Van Lancelote can ic niet scriven,
Van Perchevale, van Aggraveine."

And in Book VII, Chapter 39:
"Van densen Joseph van Arimathien
Maken hare favelen
Die loghenaren vanden Grale,
Die ic vor niet houde al te male."

He was evidently ashamed that he had ever treated the same subject. In Part III, Book VIII, Chapter 60, he opines that Helinand did not know the story of the Holy Grail in Latin. "But", he continues,
"Int Walsch vintmense also fyn
Alse alle Walsche favelen syn:
Over niet houdet de herte myn."

And in Book V, Chapter 48:
"Daer tRomansch te vele toe seghet,
Daer mi niet an gheleghet,
Dat ict hier vertrecken soude,
Want ict over boerde houde."

And in Chapter 31, same Book:
"Dwalsch dicht seghet nochtan,
Dat (Uters) broeder, dander man,
Pandragoen bi namen hiet;
Ende also hi syn leven liet,
Dat Uter quamen bësse die namen
Ketten conincrike te samen;
Doch ghelovet die radens mine
Bet der ystorien in Latine;"
Yet he had represented this fact, which he here criticizes as untrue, according to the French version in his translation of the Merlin. But this was twenty-five years ago. And he even goes so far as to curse these French stories. Says he in Part IV, Book I, Chapter 29:

"Ooc syn some Walsche boeke,
Die waert syn groter vloeke,
Die van Willeme van Oringhen
Grote loghene vortbringhen.
Die Walsche boeke lieghen van hem," etc.

The bibliography proves, however, that Maerlant was not at once successful in bringing about a reaction against French literature. For sixty years or more after his death translations from the French continued to appear. Especially the chansons de geste were hard to subdue, as they were less phantastic than the poems of chivalry, more warlike, more historical. And, of course, he met with opposition during his own lifetime. This is proved, for instance, in the prologue to his Alexander. The passage must have reference to criticism directed against his Roman van Torec (for this was his first, the Alexander his second work), in which he had inserted a didactic passage, probably not in the original. It reads as follows:

"Het is costume ende sede,
Alse men iet nieuwes in one stede,
Eerstwerf vertellen hoort,
Some syn ni also verdoort,"
Dat syt lachteren, al eest goet.
Ic wane wel dat nidechêde doet,
Ofte dat syt niet en verstaen.
Some die liede, sonder waen,
Die hovesch syn ende wel gheraect,
Segghen dat es wel ghemaect
Ende gheven hem prys ende lof.
Groot wonder hebbic daer of,
Hoe die werelt es so verkeert.
Want ons die scripture leert,
Dat God alle dinc maecte goet.
Wat eest dan, dat den mensche doet
So sere vergheten alle doghet,
Dat ghyt alle merken moget,
Als men hem enighe doghet leert,
Dat hyt emmer ten archsten keert,
Alse hyt niet te rechte en verstact?
Sere ontsie ic dusdaen baraet.
Nochtan so willics bestaen
Dore hare, di mi heeft ghevaen,
Te scrivene Alexanders geesten.
Ans mi God, ic saelt volleesten,
Al lachterent, diet niet en verstaen.
Dat willic te minde slaen.
Al hebben sys nyt, mine rouc."

At the same time, the spirit of Maerlant finally conquered. He had struck one of the national key-notes, the one which most Dutchmen adopt when they become well-to-do and respectable. As for the other key-note, that gay,
rollicking, mocking, quaintly droll chord, which is not well-to-do and respectable, but which is the people's own, which has found expression in the Reinaert and in so many "boerden" (tableaux), farces, comedies and epigrams of later periods, of that Maerlant was incapable. He was not a genius. Instead he founded a school of chroniclers and rimmers of didactic poetry. All his followers and imitators, Jan van Heelu, Melis Stoke, Jan de Clerk or van Boendale, Jan Praet, Jan de Weert, edify one with great solemnity. They never crack a smile, no, not even between the lines. But they complete the emancipation from French influence begun by Jacob van Maerlant.

As for the third question, "to what extent are these translations servile or national", it may at once be stated that only one of them is national in the sense in which the translations of Hartmann von Aue, Wolfram von Eschenbach, and Gottfried von Strassburg are national, viz. "Van den Vos Reinaerde". And in another sense, that of reflecting a whole side of the national character, it is still more so. But there is no other translation which as a great work of art has become a national tradition. The greater part of the translations have an interest solely for the philologist. As a rule they are too close to be more than an ordinary display of talent, as far as the translator is concerned. Where, as is the case with "De Heemskinderen", they still live popularly in modern form, it is owing to the original story. Where, as is the case with most of them in their period of decline, they differ from the originals, it is because the translators indulge their national disposition to reason and moralize. But in many of the translations there are details which bring out certain characteristics not apparent in the originals and which are national. I consider as national such traits as a love for the beauties of nature, not for the rugged majesty of the Rocky mountains, but
for the prettiness of flowers and the singing of birds; a distinct sense of the practical and matter-of-fact; a sober seriousness which is hostile to extravagance in any form; didacticism; prosaism; common sense; and, of course, patriotism.

Van Barkum makes the statement* that there is no second chivalric poem which, through the great accuracy with which the translator tries to follow his original, is so well fitted as the Farthonopeus de Blois for the study of the characteristics of the translator. With the author's express permission, I copy the following groups of lines which bring out clearly the translator's national traits.

a) His love for the beauties of nature.

Crapelet

947

La tor ert el mileu enclose;
Bins ne vit nus plus bele chose.
Li chasteaus environ la tor
Une grant liue dure entor;
Dedens a molins et viviers
Et grant jardin et beaus herbiers.

Van Berkum

579

Van der vesten die ommegano,
Die was eer milen lano.
Die tor stoet in de middewaerde;
Daer lagen wyngaerde,
Mersce, boegaerde ende rivieren;
(Daer mocht men horen in meneger manieren
Altoes die vogele singen;
Daer sach men menes fonteyne springen.)

These lines describe the surroundings of the castle which Farthonopeus sees on his arrival at Chiefdoire. The M.D. lines between brackets are not friendship with Gaudyn, they ride to their quarters for the night.

*See his De Middelnederlandsche bewerking v.d.Parthonopeus Roman, p.41.
Atant s'en sont ensemble ale
Moult de bon cuer et de bon gre.
Lor osteus siet bas a seri
En un val vert, herbeus, flori.

Si reden woon ende quamen
Te herbergen, daert scone was,
In een dal, daert groene gras
Stont met bloemekinen gemayco.
(Daer moehtensi horen groot gesanc
Van den vogelen ende groot geluut,
Ende roken menech scone cruut,
Dies daer vele stont couer....)

Another addition about the singing of birds. And about flowers. When Urake is sent for by Melior she is kindly received by her sister:

6319
Et puis l'amoine en I vergier,
Si s'assieent sos I pomier,
Li tans ert soef et seris,
Et li pomiers ert bien floris;
L'erbe verdioie sosz la flor,
Com al novel tens de pasceor.

3489
En de leossedel weel vriendelike
In enen bogaert, die scone was,
Ende gingen sitten opt gras
Onder enen appelboem, die daer stoot
Scone gelouert ende gebloyt.
(Daer hoerden si der voghel luut
Ende roken dat soete cruut
Die vele daer stoot scone enle groens,)
Als het in moys pleacht te doene.

b) His sense for the practical and matter-of-fact.

When Parthonopeus has climbed the tower to view the environments of Chiefdoire, he first turns toward the sea. In the original there follows a description of the articles of luxury and costly spices which the ships bring into the harbor: the translator continues the enumeration of them with a business man's partiality for merchandise:

1619
S'esgarde vers soleil levant;

1053
Hi sah int oest ter zoewert neder,
La mer i voit qui dure tant,
Que nus n'en puët veoir la fin.
Par la li paile alixandrin
Vienent et li bon siglaton,
Li melequin et li mangon,
Li espervier et li ostor,
Et li bon cheval coreor,
Et li poivres et li comins,
Et li encens alixandrins;
Li girofles, li garingaus,
Les mecines contre tos maus;
Quanqu'a el siecle precious
Et bon et bel et merveillous,
A la cîte vient par la mer
Et tot selt iluec arriver.

Dar hi engeen inde af en sach.
Van der zee was er groot geluò.
Want grote riicheit quam al dat
Met sœpe geseilt in die stat,
(Dire samite,) ciglatone,
(Cindale rode, gele ende grone,)
Dire polne alixandrine,
Dire houelakene, (gurdelkine),
Orsse, die goet ende soone waren,
Valken, hauke(ende sparwaren,)
(Sontwerc grau ende ermeriin,)
(Sontwerc grau ende ermeriin,)
(Mirre) ende winroc, paeper ende oomiin,
Geroffelsnagle, (note moscaten),
Galigaen, (pumegarten),
(Singebere ende oediuale),
(Kanele) ende menege, dire ware,
Van lahtuiarien menege manire,
Menege goede specie ende dire
Ende van allen cirheiden een deel
Quam met sœpe ane dien casteel.

c) A sober seriousness which is hostile to exaggeration.

The translator objects when the French poet recognizes the hand of God in such an insignificant circumstance as Parthonopeus' happening to choose Melior's palace as his home in the enchanted city:

961
Cel vait querant Partonopeus;
(Ét tresqué la le conduit Dieus.)
Il est descendus au degré.

603
Daerwaert reet hi sinen draf;
Vor den palayse beetti af.
When Melior is compared for beauty with the Mother of Jesus, the Dutchman thinks that the Frenchman goes too far:

When Melior describes to Parthonopeus the extent of her power, she says:

In king Sornegur's council of war Lomeer of Norway enumerates the presents which the king of France had offered him, if he would leave the country. Besides many other treasures he had been offered:
the many knights who have left his service:

Or ai en cest ost chevaliers,
Ce dit on bien, CC milliers,
Li C mile ne sont pas mien,
Ains me sont trestuit alien.

d) Didacticism.

When the translator comes to a passage which he considers frivolous, he recasts it completely and adds a very homely simile:

Encor est bele por nient;
Quant caste feze a grant beaute,
Trop i a grant mal assamble;
La grans beautes nos i atret,
La castees l'escondit fet:
C'est une moutl male assambles
Qui ja n'ert ore sans meslee;
Car castees est cose avere
En frumc et fiere od male here
Ne deigne rire ne juer,
Ne bien voloir, ne bel parler.
Beautes, la france, aime largece
Et grant honor et grant noblece,
Douce parole tient en fiu
Et bel samblant et ris et giu;
Por ce dure la guerre ades.
Ja Dameldus n'i mece pas!
Ja Deus ne doinst, qui tot chaele,  
Que trop caste feme soit bele!  
Mais laide soit et caste issi  
Qu'el n'ait el siecle un seul ami!  
La castees beaute entosche.  
La caste soit et noire et losche  
La bele soit et blance et bloie  
Et vive tos jors en grant joie.  

Syn si scone, si moeten minnen,  
Sullen si prys ende ere gewinnen;  
Sone werken si niet iegen nature.  
Bede dat soets ende dat suere,  
Dies der minnen vele hort toe,  
Moeten si oefonen spade ende vroe.  
Die niet ne mint, he wese tswart  
Ende hebbe die hout ro ende hart.

The passage is about the youthful and beautiful Parsys. She is too young to have any idea of love, but the poet trusts that she will not be lost to love. The translator in his effort to be less frivolous, has sacrificed the delicate wit of the original.

e) Prosaism. (Ingenuous simplicity)

When the enchanted ship takes Parthonopeus back to France for the first time, it reaches the mouth of the Loire, but cannot proceed owing to the shoals and the whirlpools:

1967  
Un batel ont cil de la nef  
Mis jus en l'aive tot soef;  
Un lit i ont fait bon et bel,  
Soef i metent le dannel;  
N'est esveillies jusque menois  
Est arrives moult pres de Blois.

1430  
Doe bewerden si den boet,  
Daer een rikelic bedde was inne  
Sachte gemaect ende wel bi sinne.  
Daer leiden si op den iongelinc.  
(Dat dunc mi een vremde dino,  
Dat hi niet ne wart ontwake.)  
Hi was gevoert al met gemake,  
(Sonder vernoy ende toren,)  
Si Bolois, danen hi was geboren.

When Parthonopeus, repudiated by Helior, returns to France for the third time, he is overwhelmed with grief as the boat which has set
him ashore, disappears in the distance. The thought that his loved one is forever lost to him, makes him swoon. When he can perceive nothing more, and the past seems like a dream,

In despair over his loss he fasts:

The wife of Herman, the cruel tyrant of Tenedoen, gives Parthonopeus the means to escape; he takes ship:

The translation here explains the French text in a remarkably clear way. It goes directly to the point. "Mais s'il velt al boter entendre" must mean: "But he will now have recourse to sowing".

The same may be said of the following passage. The abridgement is highly successful:
Et vos est bel de moi gaber.
Moult aves poi taste d'amors,
Quant ne partes a mes dolors.
Suer! se vos ûssies ami,
Vos ûssies de moi merci;
Se ûssies rien de donoi,
Grant pitie ûssies de moi.

There are, however, a few passages where the translator blunders.
The following may perhaps be placed to the account of his ingenuousness,
or to thoughtlessness:

Quant s'esveilla ne vit rien vive, Ende als hi up alant was gegaen,
Tors ses levriers essor la rive Warth hi in wake ende sачh staen
Et son cheval qui la l'atent. Syn paer ende syn honde op trant.

He first makes Parthonopeus land and then wake up!

g) Patriotism.

On the second day of the tournament the Germans had suffered a
terrible defeat, because Parthonopeus had come to the aid of the French,
their opponents:

Les alemanes ont moult gabes,
Quar françois les ont reuses.
Et Tyois ne sevant soffrir
Nui gab, s'il n'est a lor plaisir;
Si s'apareissent de venjance.

The translator replaces the jibe against the "Ticis" by words of
sincere sympathy.
It is, of course, evident that similar passages can be quoted from other M.D. translations to prove these points. The "Roman der Lorreinen", "Ogier le Danois", "De Heemskinderen", most of the Arthurian romances, "De Alexanders Geesten", "De Historie van Troyen", "Die Rose", "Van den Vos Reinaerde", all of these lend themselves to this sort of analysis. It is through considerations such as these that Jonckbloet became erroneously convinced that the "Roman van Torec" was original in M.D. The results of such analyses give one argument the more in favor of the thesis that the translations from the French form an integral part of Middle Dutch literature.

By way of conclusion, I beg to offer the following THESES:

For a thorough appreciation of M.D. literature a more than superficial knowledge of Old French is necessary.

The translations from the French form from a literary point of view the chief constituent part of M.D. literature.

Jacob van Maerlant, as the "barbarous" opponent of French tendencies in culture, is the William Langland of Dutch literature.
APPENDIX

English Translations of the M.D. Passages occurring in this Thesis.

Page 3. "On public highways from England to Ongeren, to Cologne and to Tongeren; and thus similarly from the land of the Saxons into France, and with ships which go that way, to Denmark and to Norway. These roads all come together there. Therefore is this city called accordingly "Trajectum" (Maestricht)."

" 10 "For this countess van Loon, the noble Agnes, begged him also. He was all the more induced to turn it into Dutch."

" 19 "When the count then saw lying before him the one who had prepared him all his trouble, he lifted his fist and struck..."

" 20 "William of Orange, whom the heathens could never conquer, was the very best man, whom I ever in life..."

"William was a good knight, and often shed his blood for God; since that time he became a hermit. - The French books lie about him, about whom Klaas van Haarlem, the son of Mrs. Brechten, wrote from the French (a book) in which are beautiful and clear words."

" 29 "Charles caused now to be put around Beyaert's neck two millstones, and had him led upon the bridge over the Oise, and thrown into the river: Beyaert sank with the mill-stones, when it was first thrown in, but came up immediately and began to swim. Beyaert saw Reinaut: Then he lifted his feet, struck against the stones till they brake, and swam ashore; as soon as it landed, it ran to Reinaut. When Charles saw this he said: Reinaut give Beyaert back to me, or I shall have you taken prisoner."
Reinout, hearing this from the king, gave Beyaert back. The king had a mill-stone tied to each of Beyaert's feet and two around his neck, and had him so thrown into the river. Again Beyaert came up, and ran to Reinout and whinnied loud. Adelaert kissed Beyaert on his mouth. The bystanders were much surprised at the power of the horse. Charles said to Reinout: unless you give Beyaert back to me, I shall have you imprisoned and hanged. Adelaert said: cursed must you be, Reinout, if you give Beyaert back to the king. Reinout said: be silent, brother, shall I have the king's anger for a horse? Nay, truly, brother, so help me God. Then said Adelaert: Beyaert, what a false master have you served: with poor returns are you rewarded. Reinout has caught Beyaert again, and given him to the king, saying: Sir king, this is the third time, that I have given it to you; if the horse escapes you now, I will not catch it again, for it is much too near my heart. The king received the horse, and said: Reinout, you may not look around, for as long as the horse sees you, it cannot drown. Then Reinout had to take oath before the Lords, that he would not look around for Beyaert. Then the king caused to be two heavy mill-stones bound to each foot of Beyaert, and around his neck two also, and so thrown into the river: now the horse must perish. A while after it came up again and raised up its head, nodding towards its master, as if it had been a human being, bitterly crying for his dear friend. At last the horse sank and was drowned. Then Reinout burst into tears and sobbed to himself, and swore to himself that he would never again bestride a horse nor put spurs to his feet nor gird sword to his side, but become a hermit and go into a wild forest.
Thus was Arthur chosen king, who the land of Logres and the cities long held in great peace.

"Long held in great turmoil."

"As you will hear hereafter, for only now commenced there the hatred and the struggle against him which lasted long in bitterness of the barons far and wide, whom he all conquered in battle. Here now ends the crowning of king Arthur; now you shall hear at once (about) the wars which occurred in his time."

"God, who can do all things, and his mother, who gave him birth, they must give me in the beginning of it wisdom and sense, to complete those matters, of which Jacob van Maerlant first began the making, and who left his work where Arthur received his crown, as is described in "Merlin". Now Lord Louis of Velthem will continue this, be sure of it, as it has been set forth in the French; for only now begins this thing about Merlin and the king, how Arthur began to reign altogether according to Merlin's teaching."

"In Him thus ends also my making of this book about Merlin, which I wrote with my pen. In the year of our Lord, who is surprised, when we wrote 1326, on White Thursday, which fell in the week before Easter, then this book, in which one finds beautiful feats of arms, was ended."

"...of white ivory, polished to the core, set full of precious stones. I wish you to know: this shield has such power, that it lights up the country in the dark midnight for three miles: its equal was never met with. Anyone who carries it around his neck whether little or much threatens him, whoever carries it cannot be conquered, were he mortally wounded, he will be cured."
"Very much sighed Galiene. She saw very well that it was he who robbed her of her senses, and had denied her his love. She turned sallow, pale and red, when she saw the knight in his eyes. Galiene spake: I must endure it, Sir king, your will satisfies me."

"He was all black, I'll tell you how: his head, body and hands were all black, except his teeth. And his arms and shield, surely, all was like a Moor, and as black as a raven."

"And was not worth two pennies."

"They then made the wedding of Aclovale and of the lady together. One pledged faith to the other. There was joy and great mirth: The wedding lasted certainly fourteen days all of the same length, while they locked not the gates."

"If a man were five hundred years old, and if he used from the fountain a drop, without doubt and illusion, he becomes as strong and as young (as he was) immediately as he was in the days when he was old thirty years."

"It is below very great and all of fine red gold. It has many branches of gold as any man would tell (you). Every branch is hollow inside. On each branch, without any illusion, there stands a gold little bird. (And) on each gold little leaf, there hangs a gold little bell, which rings beautifully and clear. Also there is made in it a door, and in it stand sixteen men and (they) have hold of eight bellows, which they work and (with which) they drive wind into the tree from below from the root up to high in the top, with great force, with great effort. And as it blows wind to the little birds they stand straight and tremble just as if they lived. Now sings
each little bird its note, six together and seven, and then
the little bells ring again some high and some low. In this
wise each little bird gives its song and each little bell
its ring."

"He has done many a harm, let him go to the devil."

"...in the time when we wrote the year of our Lord 1300, this
is true, less 9; and was finished when we found written of
the birth of our Lord, whom Mary bore in honor, the 1300th
year and 17 (God protect us from the black art!) on St. Se­
bastian's day, which occurred on a Friday."

"Into Dutch, which is widely known and which we made at Maerlant.

"Segher Diengodgaf has composed of it a part: that is the "Bow­
er of Troy" (This has been written a long time ago) and in
the Bower the seventh battle."

"A part of what happened there, many people have heard; but
the man who made the French and described it, he forgot, I
do not know how it came about, a part of the best adventures."

"But from the French and from Dictys (Cretensis), from Dares
the Phrygian and from Vergil, and from other books also shall
we mention the truths, and make over in the Dutch language."

"Now begins here the war of Troy, in which many a man formerly
lost his life: this has been described in the French by one
whose name is Benoit de Sainte More. The poets have, as I hear,
bespawled it with fables (false ones and by myself such have
also been written) evident, This was picked up here and there,
from Benoit and Vergil, from Statius and Ovid and Homer the
man of great learning, and they made of it a work about which
much has been written. Segher Diengodgaf made since that time
the tower and altogether like a battle."

—"William who made about "Madoc" on account of which he often was sleepless, he disliked it so strongly, that the adventures of Renart remained unmade in Dutch (which he has here completely written out), that he had them quickly searched for, and that he has thus begun them in Dutch according to the French books."

"—"For this is no dream of Madoc, nor any jesting about Renart or Arthur."

"—"Had the child well watched until it came to those years when it began to understand itself. Then she had him go to school. To learn well French and Dutch."

"—"Before this he composed Merlin, and from the Latin Alexander, Torec and the Somnianis and the short Lapidaris."

"—"But all this is lying and foolishness."

"—"But this is altogether lying too."

"—"I wish you to be sure, that I have found in the history much that is false in the French, when it spake of God, our Lord, for whom the people of Rome took revenge. Therefore mark this: A poem about Our Lord's vengeance one reads, which is widely known, and which a priest made in the land of Flanders: This says the book in the beginning; But I think in my mind, that a priest made it not, for one can easily find how great a lie this is; and this I shall prove true in the history which is coming after this. And now I pray you, that is true..."

"—"Such is he known by me, who now lives and loves the truth; but Tristram and Lancelot, Perceval and Gauvain, fictitious
names and unborn, of them people wish to hear; worthless things about love and war they read through the whole world."

"Of Perceval, of Gauvain, of Engravin, of Lancelot, of king Ban of Benowyc, and Beboerde, similarly, and of much more fictitious names, I found all together small and great in the Latin: So I thought a time lost, that I should here describe them, for I consider the French as jokes."

"Fables which I found about him, them I leave untouched: of Lancelot I cannot write, of Perceval, of Engravin."

"About this Joseph of Arimathea the liars of the Grail made their fables, which I consider altogether as nought."

"In the French one finds them as fine as all French fables are: my heart despises them."

"About which the French says too much that I do not care about, than that I should here translate it, for I think it nothing but foolishness."

"The French poem says nevertheless, that Uter's brother, the other man, was called Pandragon by name; and when he died that Uter received both the names together with the kingdom; but do not believe this talk at all. Better the history in Latin; for there is better reasoning, and it tells both their lives better than the French which is seldom true and whole."

"There are also some French books that are worth bigger curses, about William of Orange bring forth great lies. The French books lie about him."

"It is customary, when one hears something new in a city for the first time, that some people are so foolish that they laugh, though it be good. Methinks that jealousy does this,
or that they do not understand. Some people, indeed, who are courteous and well educated, say that it is well done and give it praise and laudation. I do wonder why the world is so wrong. For the scriptures teach us, that God made all things good. What is it then, that makes people so much forget all virtue, that you can all notice, when he is taught any virtue, he always turns it the worst way, if he does not understand it rightly? I very much dislike to see such reasoning. Still I will brave it by writing for her, who has caught me, the deeds at arms of Alexander. If God helps me, I shall finish it, though it may be laughed at by those who do not understand it. That I will throw to the winds. Though they be angry at it, that does not make me mourn."

Page 109 - "The surroundings of the stronghold were miles long. The tower stood in the center field; there lay vineyards, meadows, orchards and rivers; (There one could hear singing after many manners the birds always; there one saw many a fountain play.)"

110 - "They rode away and came to the inn, where it was beautiful, in a valley, where the green grass stood mixed with little flowers. (There they might hear great singing of the birds and great twittering, and smell many a beautiful plant, of which many stood there...)

"And led her very kindly into an orchard, which was beautiful, and sat down on the grass under an apple tree, which stood there with beautiful foliage and blossoms. (There they heard the singing of the birds and smelled the sweet flowers of which many stood there and green,) as is usual in May.

"He looked towards the east upon the sea, of which he saw no
end. From the sea there came great laughter, for great riches came in ships sailing into the city, expensive vel­
vets, painted pottery, sandals red, yellow and green, expen­
sive skins of Alexandria, expensive linen stuffs, small gir­
dles, horses, which were good and beautiful, falcons, hawks and lustrous stones, furs gray and ermine, myrrh and incense, pepper and cummins, cloves, nutmegs, aromatic spices, pome­
granates, ginger and cedar wood(?), cinnamon and many expen­
sive wares, many good and expensive spices, and of all luxu­
rious ornaments a part came in ships to the castle."

Page 111 - "Thither did he trot; before the palace he alighted."

" 112 - "In front of these chosen ones, as they stand, passes the em­
press, who so stirs many minds; and they vowed that no one so beautiful lives under the throne of heaven."
- "Of tables there were so many, that 300 knights easily could sit there."
- "And then knights and officials there are so exceedingly many, they are all subject to me."
- "One hundred Spanish mules with choice gait and long -- ."

" 113 - "Now has come with me here many good knights, many soldiers, who are certainly half estranged from me."
- "This one may look up in Nascone and read in other books, that woman may in no manner be without love, if she is beautiful. all the more do we believe this, because based on good autho­rity, that of women beauty and love are two things, which do not mutually exclude each other, but support each other mutually. As inseparable as is the magnet, that good stone, from
iron, just as inseparable is love from women when they are beautiful, courtly and fine. Therefore I say in good faith, both women and young women, if they are beautiful, must love, if they are to win reward and honor; thus they work not against nature. Both the sweet and the sour, for there is much to love, they must practise early and late. Whoever does not love, let her be black and have the skin rough and hard."

Page 114 -"Then they let down the boat, in which was a rich bed softly made and comfortable. Upon it they laid the young man. (This seems to me a strange thing, that he did not awake.) It was lined comfortably, without "vernoy" (?) and tower, near Blois, there was he born.

"115 -"Then he had to fall and faint so often; (I am surprised that he did not die, for nobody was near to see him.)"

-"Three times ate he in a week bread of barley and of oats. (I am surprised how he remained alive on that.) Then he drank from the well."

-"The ship could not sail then; so he must ply the oars, and row away as fast as he could."

"116 -"And you mock me. But may God give yet, that you love a little, then you would have mercy on me."

-"And when he had landed, he awoke and saw standing there his horse and his dogs on the land."

-"The Germans were all beaten with great power and some were caught, which they took much to heart; and they all agreed to take vengeance soon."