The Cruelty of the Christians
Judged by the Chansons de Geste

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THE CRUELTY OF THE CHRISTIANS JUDGED BY THE
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I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY SUPERVISION BY

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INTRODUCTION

Rome, after her vitality had been sapped by an internal canker, finally crumbled away before the onslaughts of the barbarian deluge that poured in from across the Rhine and the Danube. Although the destruction seemed, at the beginning, to be complete, when the fury of battle had passed, many Roman institutions emerged from the wreckage. The superior civilization of the vanquished began to subdue the minds of the victorious, and Rome led captive her captors. Her language and Christianity, as developed by the successors of Saint Peter, headed the forces that were marshalled to preserve the continuity of Rome. The early prominence of the church in Italy and France makes it appear that all opposition was easily overcome. But the ultimate victory of Christianity over northern paganism was indeed slow. The men who crowded into the territory of the old Roman empire clung, for centuries, to their religious practices and their standards of justice. Long after kings and nobles have, for generations, gone to mass so regularly that church-attendance is almost an instinct with them, royal personages continue to commit, with little or no compunction of conscience, crimes that are worthy of the worst felons. The only plausible explanation of this lingering barbarism among the mediaeval Christians seems to be that the church was not able to eradicate from her Teutonic converts their primitive cruelty.
Since all literature reflects, in some degree, the life of the time in which it is produced, any contribution to the history of cruelty made by the Chansons de Geste will be of interest. The record left by these poems is of more than ordinary importance on account of their origin. The French are the only people since the Greeks that have developed a true epic. Starting from a ballad on the courage, the generosity, or the self-sacrifice of some hero, the story grew until it recounted his entire life. This cycle of songs was transmitted by word of mouth by a singer, jongleur, who went from castle to castle. The jongleur seems, at first, to have made his own story from traditions and ballads, and to have sung his song from memory. Later, someone arranged the various legends that were associated with the name of a hero and wrote them down. Then, the jongleur's function was simply to publish abroad the work of another man. After the Chansons de Geste began to decline, scribes who were interested in the preservation of the songs of deeds—glorious deeds—wrote them down in the form in which they have descended to us. Being of popular origin, and going back, as some of the earlier ones unquestionably do, to definite historic personages and facts, the Chansons de Geste necessarily portray most vividly the life of the men whose deeds they sing, as well as that of the men to whom they were sung.

The objection may be offered that the Chansons de Geste were primarily literary productions and that a record of facts was not at all essential from the poet's point of view. As indicated in the preceding paragraph, some of the French epics, in the recital of events, co-incide to a remarkable degree with history as established from other monuments. Granting that the greater number of the Chan-
sons de Geste do not adhere to actual facts, there is still every reason to accept them as true -- assuming that truth and fact are not necessarily the same. The spirit is there. All the motives that spurred men to action, their standards of good and evil, their ideas of religion are faithfully recorded. Much that we write as the history of Greece has been deduced from Homer -- chiefly because we have no other source. The Chanson de Roland is as truly a popular creation as the Iliad and is, moreover, irrefutably correct in many historic details. Because we have other documents that chronicle the same events, shall we reject the Roland? Does it not seem fair to regard it and the other Chansons de Geste as one kind of record of the life of the past?

Again, the statement may be made that literary embellishment hides the truth. This is only partially true, and less so of the French epic than of many other artistic expressions. One of the tests of a piece of literature is its fidelity to the truth. Nothing is really beautiful but the true. Still, it must be admitted that the poet generally chooses the brilliant episodes in the life of his hero and throws them into high relief. But this does not always result in over estimation. We should, for example, expect Charlemagne, more than any other person, to be portrayed in a too favorable light in the French Chansons de Geste. Such, however, is not the case. The glory of the Charlemagne of history eclipses the splendor of the Charlemagne of the Chansons de Geste. What is still more remarkable, Charlemagne's cruelty against the Saxons is represented as far less in the

(1) Les Épopées Françaises, II., p. 605.
Chanson de Saisnes than in history. The parallel might be carried
further but it is impossible in a paper such as this to determine
just how far the evidence of cruelty in the Chansons de Geste is
corroborated by other writings of the same period, -- the time in
which the data was collected does not make such an attempt feasible.
The primary object will be to show the cruelty of the Christians
just as it is in the Chansons de Geste. Because these poems are the
naive and spontaneous expression of a people comparatively new to
civilization, we believe their testimony must be accepted.

Aside from the matter of time, other difficulties have been
encountered which have imposed further limitations. Desirable texts
were not always at hand. Only by drawing upon private collections
could anything like a representative number be had. But the number
of texts has been, perhaps, of least concern. All of the more an-
cient poems are, in large measure, based on antecedent facts. But
few of them were available for use in the preparation of these pages.
The later Chansons are imitations of earlier models. Consequently,
the matter of fashion in the literary form must be considered. Cer-
tain phrases become almost as invariable as scientific formulae. But
this does not impeach the testimony of the epic on the early history
of France. It probably means, however, that conceptions and prac-
tices, once common, were preserved in literature for a considerable
time after they were given up by the people.

For obvious reasons, a discussion of the relative value of the
different Chansons can not be a part of this study. Neither can the
events of the various poems be carefully dated. Such dates as are

(1) Supra.
given in the bibliography are those of the best editors, and apply only to the text. The chief value of the Chansons de Geste consists in their being the opinion of the Christians concerning their own time.

It has been thought advisable to limit the discussion to clear cases of cruelty to men. No account will be taken of the cruelty of the Christians to animals, although there are references to it. For example, bear-baiting is mentioned. Guillaume kills Balcan, his famous horse, and rides away on Floriscele, the horse of the Saracen that he has just defeated in battle. Oliver and the king of Alexandria are engaged in battle. The Saracen, in order to have the advantage, kills Oliver's horse. Oliver censures him severely for this conduct, concluding his harangue:

(3) Rois ki ceval ocist n'a droit en ireté.

The matter of threats and menaces is not so easily dismissed. A few examples will best show what was their nature. Terrible punishments are threatened against prisoners. Aymeri declares that all the Saracens of Narbonne shall be killed in a most horrible manner if they do not surrender the city. Charlemagne threatens to dismember the traitor Milon. Hugues has sold his friend, Beuve, into bondage and taken his wife against her will. Because Aceline will not submit to him, he is ready to burn her when Doon de Clermont rescues her. Hugues lays siege to Doon and declares that he will never cease till

(1) Aymeri de Narbonne, v. 3851. M. Demaison, in his vocabulary to this poem, makes the following statement: "faire beter un ours, exciter un ours en le faisant harceler par des chiens, genre d'amusement très en vogue au moyen âge". But there appears to be no other passage in the Chansons de Geste to support his opinion.

Doon be torn to pieces and Aceline burned alive.

Since most of these threats mention the very things that other passages say were realities, there is some warrant for regarding them as further evidence of cruelty. The poet would naturally make use of the most atrocious tortures that had come to his notice. It is just possible that he would choose the rarest instances, for their very unusualness would make them effective. Then too, he might exaggerate. But he had to stay within the limit of probability — the limit set by his own time — and there was possibly some basis in actual conditions for part of the menaces which he has put into the mouths of his people. Whatever value these threats may have as indications of the prevalence of cruelty in mediaeval France is, necessarily, wholly speculative. For this reason, it has seemed advisable to leave them with a slight suggestion of their possible significance.

Before proceeding to the main theme, it may not be out of place to say something about the cruelty charged to the account of the Saracens. There are a number of instances where this people threaten to inflict horrible torture upon the Christians. And what is more surprising, they are said to commit the most savage deeds imaginable. They seem to have regularly harassed their prisoners. In a single poem there two mentions of cruelty to Guillaume d'Orange by the Saracens. He is bound, starved, and cruelly beaten. Elie is captured and thrown into a ship. They bind his hands with cords and draw them so tight that they bring the blood. King Ysorez has brought from his pri-

(1) Orson de Beauvais, vv. 2710-2715.
(2) Elie de Saint Gille, vv. 203-284; 587-594.
(3) Ibid., vv. 881-892. Cf. Renaus de Montauban, p. 305. Here, Charlemagne is said to torture Maugis in much the same way. Maugis has supernatural power and is helping Renaut in his war against Charlemagne. When the emperor captures him, the savagery of his vengeance is terrible. It is, perhaps, significant that a Christian monarch is
son a group of Christian captives, among whom is Orson de Beauvais. They have gone without food and drink so long that they can scarcely raise their heads. Ysorez says that he will be avenged for the damage that they have done him if he can only devise a suitable death for them. Finally, at the suggestion of one of his men, he sends the wretches back to prison to die of hunger, for he sees that they can not last long. We are later given a picture of the horrible dungeon, full of vile reptiles and filth, where they stand by and see one another perish. At the famous return of Guillaume to Orange after the Aliscans we are told that a band of Saracens pass by lashing their Christian captives till they bleed. Again, Rainouart finds Bertran famishing in the hold of a ship among snakes and toads. Aymeri de Narbonne, after being wounded in fifteen places, is taken by the Saracens. They decide to get revenge for the great loss that he has caused them. They propose to burn him but he is first given an opportunity to save his life by becoming a Mohammedan. When he refuses to renounce Christianity, Corsout has the fire lighted and his men men are torturing him with sharp thorns when he is rescued.

The case of Guibelin, the youngest son of Aymeri, is extremely interesting. He falls into the hands of the enemy at the siege of Narbonne. The Saracens have all but crucified him when his father saves him. This incident is mentioned in another poem. After his capture, the description of his torture is given:

represented as torturing an enemy of his own religion in a manner so similar to that which is ascribed to the Saracens.

The story continues up to verses 5200ff. where we learn that Aymeri has rescued his son and led Clargis into his prison.

The same thing is mentioned in the Italian version. Here, Ghibellino is captured by the Saracen, Alepantino. The king says to Ghibellino, "What would you have done with me if you had taken me captive?"

Ghibellino replies, "If I had taken you, I should have nailed you to the cross as they did the two thieves at the side of our true God, Jesus Christ." Ghibellino is then crucified.

Mention is again made of this capture of Guibelin in *Foucon de Candie*:

L'espee ot traite qui fu Alipantin.  
Desous Nerbone li ceinst a l'I. matin,  
Ce jour qu'il pristrent le petit Guibelin.

There is no little reason for considering these cruelties charged to the Saracens as further evidence of inhumanity among the Christians. The instances of Aymeri and Guibelin seem to indicate as much. It is well known, for example, that the Christians accused the Saracens of worshiping idols when they had absolutely none. The Koran is very strict in this regard. Not even pictures are allowed

(1) *Les Narbonnais*, vv. 5015-5023.  (2) *Le Storie Nerbonesi*, I., p. 150-155. I owe the references to the *Nerbonesi* to Professor Raymond Weeks. He has also been very generous about lending his manuscript transcriptions and has furnished many citations from them.  
in Mohammedan temples. The only way to explain the fact that the Christians so frequently speak of idols in connection with the Saracen religion is that the pictures and images in the Christian churches were nothing more than mere idols.

Taking into consideration the likelihood of the poet's speaking as unfavorably as he can of the pagans, there appears to be no objection to the conclusion that in trying to make his enemies as black as possible he would attribute to them the most terrible barbarity practiced by his own people. There is all the more reason for his doing this when the relative age of the two contending civilizations is considered. It stands to reason that the highly civilized Arabs would be less cruel than the so recently barbarous Christians. It seems best, however, to leave the probable meaning of the cruelty that the Christians attributed to their enemies and pass to those which the poet lays at the door of his own people.

The first task in trying to determine the extent of the cruelty in France from the Chansons de Geste was to find out the nature of such cases as are recorded. The same plan will be followed in presenting what material could be found. Any attempt at an explanation for such cases as have been discussed will, therefore, be reserved for the last.

Two main divisions of the data will be made: first, Cruelties Against the Saracens; second, Cruelties Against the Christians. All cases that can not be made to fit this classification will be assembled under Miscellaneous Cruelties.
Cruelties Against the Saracens

The enemy par excellence for the mediaeval Christian was the Saracen or pagan. Whether the majority of the wars during the time that the Chansons de Geste assumed their form were against the Saracens or whether the example of the earlier epic caused the authors of the later poems to give their action a religious setting is by no means certain. But the fact remains that the larger part of the epic enemies are Saracens. The authors looked upon all peoples of different religion as pagan. Saracen and pagan, so far as the French epic is concerned, may be said to be synonymous.

The shock was necessarily tremendous when the European Christians clashed with another people of almost wholly different religious and political traditions. France had to make a gigantic effort to hurl back a people that swept like a whirlwind across northern Africa and subdued Spain, completely changing language and laws, in little more than a century. The very existence of all institutions was at stake and the incentives to battle were many. With some it was the lust for gold, the love of adventure, the laxness of a frontier life, the love of power; but above everything else we see the desire to obtaining promised propagate the Christian religion, and the hope of the reward for such a meritorious work. The Chansons de Geste reflect the life of the time faithfully in many other respects, and we have, therefore, every reason to believe that their story of the struggle between Aryan and Semite is, in the main, true. The great importance of the
wars on the borders of Spain and France, between Mohammedanism and Christianity, and the absolute sway of the mediaeval church in Europe, makes it natural to begin a study of the Christians in the Middle Ages with the inhumanity which they manifested towards their enemies from Arabia.

The fact that a Saracen was a Saracen not only excused any torture that might be inflicted upon him but it made it the duty of every good and true bearer of the cross to treat him in the most horrible manner possible. The passage which follows is significant and interesting, aside from being very rare in this country. The poet asks for the attention of his hearers because of the great fame of his hero. We are to hear of the sons of Aymeri in general and especially:

Del quen\[te\] Guillaume, li hardi combatant
Cil au cort nes, li preus et li vallans,
Li mieudres hom qui ainc caisinist de branc.
Molt ama Deu toustans en son vivant;
De lui siervir ne fu ainc recreans.
Onques n'ama Sarrasin ne Pier sant.
Quant les tenoit, nes aloit manecant.
Ja en sa cartre n'en alast ,I. metant.
Ne n'en prendoit ne or fin ne argent.
La raençon en prendroit à son branc.
Aus et lor loi aloit amenuisant,
Et la loi Deu aloit tous jors haucant.
Dex l'en rendi ,I. louier isi grant,
Que li sien angle l'enportent cantant
En paradis, qui est resplendisant.
La est en gloire et o Deu sejornant. (1)
Por scie amor i fet vertus molt grant.

Almost identically the same lines occur in Aliscans under considerably different conditions. Vivien has been killed and Guillaume is left alone among a great host of Saracens. He sees that it is useless to try to fight any longer and decides to flee rather than throw away his life. There seems to be an attempt to justify this action:

(1) La Chevalerie Vivien, ms. of Berne, fol. 9vo.
Puis il voit k'i ne peut avancier
Et ke sa force ne li peut esforcir,
S'il plus demeure, por fol se peut tenir,
Quant por .I. cop en veut .C. requellir.
Bien vos puis dire, por voir et sans mentir,
Ainc nus hom d'armes ne peut tès fois souffrir
Com fist Guillaume, qui Diex muist benîer.
Molt se pena tos tans de Dieu servir
Et de sa loi ensaucier et tenir;
Ainc n'ot .I. jor vers païns de losier.
Quant les tenoit, nes faisoit pas langir,
Nes faisoit mie en sa prison jesor,
Ainc n'en fist un à raechom venir,
Mais à droiture l'ame dou cors issir.
Por chou nel porent ainc Sarrasin chirir;
Mais nostre Sires le veut si maintenir
Ke ses sains angles tramist à sen fenir,
Et si est sains; Diex l'a fait benîer
En paradis celestre. (1)

Vivien, the nephew of Guillaume, is also represented as a
brave knight and true Christian. His cruelties do not fall short of
those of his uncle. He has just been knighted and is setting out
on his first campaign against the pagans. The account of him and
his men continues as follows:

Il sont entré en Espagne la grant,
La terre gastent as Turs et as Persanz,
Tuent les fames, ocient les enfanz.
Par tote l'ost fet crier Vivien:
"Qui porra prendre nul païen mescreant
N'en preigne mie né or fin né argent,(2)
Mès il li toille la teste maintenant"

We have other evidence to show that Vivien tortures the Saracens.

He is besieging Barcelona:

devant
Tant sist,Wivien l'alosé
Qu'il fist a forche les grans murs craventer,
Si prist la vile, nus nel peut contrester.
Qui en Dieu ne valt croire fist W. decoler. (3)
Et cil qui Dieu valt croire fist il en fons lever.

(1) Aliscans, Guessard, vv. 624-642. Cf. Aliscans, edition of Halle,
vv. 624-640a, b, etc. There are some variations in the text but the
two passages are essentially the same.
(2) Guillaume d'Orange, Jonckbloet, I., p. 164: vv. 62-68 of
Li Covenans Vivien.
(3) La Chevalerie Vivien, ms. of Bologna, fol, 82vo.
The zeal of Vivien was by no means unusual for the time, as subsequent citations will show. Today such conduct is inconceivable in anyone but the veriest savage.

Another passage will show that the inhabitants of Barcelona did not fare worse than their co-religionists in other places.

Viviens fut molt gentis e molt beirs.
Ains puis celle ore que il fut adobeis,
N'avoit li anfes .I. sol jor reposes
De Sarrasins oirre e afole.
Cant il peut prentre Sarrasin ne Escler
Il no velt mie por avoir rachater. (1)
Tout maintenant li fait lo chief coper.

Vivien was not at all exceptional. He was just what the age demanded. The same manuscript furnishes evidence that his acts were abetted by his colleagues, and gives a vivid picture of the extent of his barbarity. The following applies to him and his men:

Cil sont entrei en Espagne la grant.
Gastent les terres as Turs e as Persans.
Tuent les meres, s'occient les enfens.
Par tote I'ost fait crier Viviens:
"Quipora prendre paien ne mescreant, (2)
N'en preigne ja ne or fin ne argent,
Mais il li toille la teste maintenant."

It seems well to assemble at this point all references to Saracens who fell into the hands of the Christians and either refused, or were not given an opportunity, to become proselytes. After Charlemagne has taken Saragosa, he breaks the idols and razes the pagan temples to the ground. Some of the Saracens are baptized. The rest

(2) Supra. (3) As a matter of fact the Koran prohibits even pictures, both of men and animals. The conclusion is, therefore, that the images of the Christians were veritable idols, and that they naturally ascribed the same things to their enemies.
are killed: some are burned; others, hanged; and the remainder are (1) killed in various ways.

A terrible massacre of Mohammedans is recorded in Aspremont. The men are killed outright and the women are baptized, either willingly (2) or forcibly.

The real test of the genuineness of the conversion of a Saracen seems to have been his willingness to force his subjects into the baptismal fount. Ganor has aided the young Gui in avenging his father. During the time that he is in France he sees Gui's mother. Aye had always been counted a very beautiful woman and now that she is a widow she is irresistible. Ganor falls in love with her. He is such an excellent man and such a valiant warrior that we are sure that she will accept him. But she does not do so at once. Whether she is conscious of her power or whether she really has religious scruples that cause her to overlook every other good trait is not safe to say. We only know that she refuses to marry a pagan. Ganor, lured by such an exceptional reward, readily becomes a Christian. He seems immediately to be filled with a thirst for blood. Before we are allowed to see the marriage performed we are halted in front a gruesome picture:

Puis a fet ses barons Ganor crestienner
Et cil qui ne se voult à ce fet acorder (3)
Li rois Ganor li fet le chief du bu coper.

In the sequel to Aye d'Avignon, we have a similar case. The A-miral du Coine is in love with the beautiful Flandrine. He is converted and is at once a true Christian:

Et l'amirant du Coine crestienté donnée
Et toute sa meisnée aussi crestiennée (4)
Et que cheu ne voult fere, s'at la teste coupée.

Duke Naimes relates the history of Narbonne to Charlemagne. He says that the city was taken by Roland and that all of the pagans were dismembered. The Christians take Busbante and kill all those who will not be baptized. Namieri has conquered the Saracen, Rambaldo. He holds him on the ground and urges him to become a Christian. When he refuses, Namieri strikes off his head. The Narbonnais take Tortosa and massacre those who will not be baptized: "He who would not be baptized, they cut to pieces." The same inhuman treatment was accorded the people of Barcelona. The country round about was devastated and all who would not be baptized were killed. The Narbonnais take Perpignan and kill all who will not surrender, "and some of them asked to be baptized." The people of the cities of Pertugio and Girone ask to be baptized and are well treated. The same procedure is repeated in other cities.

In an unusually bloody battle before Terragona, the Saracens yield and flee. The Christians pursue them, "killing them with the sword, without pardoning the life of anyone, to avenge the dead Christians." The people of Terragona open the city gates and cry: "Baptism! Baptism!" The Christians capture a ship which is carrying away some prisoners. All of the Saracens are killed and cast into the sea. They tie lead around the neck of Morando, the Saracen chief, and throw him into the water.

Note (4) page 14: Gui de Nanteuil, p. 95.
By the use of strategy the Christians get possession of a fortress. The Saracen who had made himself master of the place and all his men are beheaded.

In view of the foregoing citations, there can be no doubt of the attitude of the Christians towards an enemy of different religion. Such barbarity is inconceivable in civilized people, it is the history of the mediaeval Christian. To him, the mere fact of a pagan's being a pagan was more than reason enough for murdering him.

As horrible as these cruelties are, they are paled by the awfulness of other instances. The following cases have to do more with individuals than whole communities.

Rainouart, the son of Desramé, has become a Christian. Because his father will not give up his old religion, Rainouart kills him. He displays the head on a pillar before the palace and throws the body into the sea.

Namieri is surrounded by his army after a brilliant victory near Narbonne, and is fighting Lionfero. The Saracen is being worsted. Namieri commands him to surrender and be baptized. Lionfero replies that death is preferable. The fight begins again and Lionfero is completely vanquished. He tells Namieri that he has a request to make. He is told that he will be granted anything except permission to go away with only the promise of being baptized. When he asks that his body be sent to his father, Namieri agrees and then beheads him.

(2) Runenberg, La Geste Rainouart, p. 86.
Just after Guillaume takes Nîmes, he captures Marette, the young brother of the Saracen king, Aspirotto. Guillaume orders him to be baptized. The Mohammedan says that he prefers to die, and curses the Christian religion. Guillaume siezes him and throws him from one of the palace windows.

Fierabras, after his defeat by Oliver, became a Christian. His father, Balant, is still a pagan. Charlemagne orders Fierabras to kill him but the son hesitates. Finally, the emperor asks for a man who will rid him of this wicked pagan. Then Ogier speaks:

"Volentiers l'ocire, car forment m'a pené."
Il a traite Courtain au puig d'or noilé.
La teste li trencha, voiant tout le barné, (2)
Et Fierabras li a le meffait pardonne.

Guillaume is fighting his way from the Aliscans to Orange. He has just encountered the fifteen Saracen kings and killed five of them. Then the sixth, Esmeré, addresses him as follows:

"Sire Guillaume, dist li rois Esmeré,
Porquoi m'as tu à tort desireté
Et pris ma terre outre ma volenté
Et mes .II. freres, ke tant avoie amé,
Batis tu tant en ton palais listé
Ke de leur sanc en coururent li gué?"
Et dist Guillaume: " Vos dites niceté.
Puis que li hom n'aime crestienté,
Et il het Dieu et despit carité,
N'a droit k'il vive, je (le) di par verté,(3)
Et ki l'ocist s'a destruit .I. malfé."

Qui ne veut croire Dieu s'ot la teste caupée.
(3) Aliscans, p. 33. It seems advisable in some cases to give the old French. It leaves less chance for errors and is frequently more vivid than a summary could be.
The two persons whom Guillaume is here charged with killing are evidently the sons of Tibaut who were siezed and killed at taking of Orange. There seems to be some disagreement about who actually did the deed. For example, the king of Cordova, in talking of this event to Tibaut, says of Guillaume:

Orange a prise et tes fiz detranchiez.

On the other hand, there are passages that indicate that Guibour committed the crime: Tibaut, in his anger, addresses Guibour, who is absent. He tells how she betrayed him by receiving Guillaume and his companions into Orange, and then he continues:

Malament m'a de mes filz departiz.
Prist en les testes sor un perron voutiz.(2)
Feme est deables, et ses faiz et ses diz.

Another mention is found in the Nerbonesi and is, in substance, as follows: Guillaume and his friends have just taken the city. When they arrive at the palace, Guibour hurls one of Tibaut's sons to the ground from the balcony. But the supposed author of the poem, Uberto di San Martin, says: "To me, who have done these last books of the Nerbonesi, it does not seem that this could have been, for many reasons. The first, neither Guibour nor Bertrand would have allowed it. Rather they would have sent him to his father. In the second place, Guibour was so virtuous and amiable, equally with reference to cruelty and infamy, that she would not have done it. In the third place, I do not find that this cruelty was ever attributed to any of the Narbonnais. However, they say it." Further mention of the death of

(2) Ibid., fol. 135vo.
(3) Andrea da Barbino collected the story of the Narbonnais in Italian, but it seems that part of the work was done by other persons.
(4) Nerbonesi, I., pp. 414-415.
this child is made in the Nerbonesi: "il nostro signore re Tibaldo d'Arabia fu rotto a Oringa; e anche vedete che per forza gli anno tol- ta ancora la sua donna, e morto il suo figliuolo." There is no doubt but what the crime was commited, for we find that Tibaut resolves to lay siege to Orange to avenge the loss of Guibour and the little son who perished there. Andrea de Barbino probably finds the death of this child charged to Guillaume but does not want to admit it of his hero.

The following additional references will indicate that the were cruel in the extreme towards those that fell into their hands. Ugone da Fieravilla captures the Saracen, Aliostro, whom he knows to be a great enemy of Namieri. He kills him and throws the head at the feet of Namieri as a trophy. Guiot, a young Christian, beheads Desramé who is lying on the ground, unable to rise on account of his wounds. Cornuafer, a Saracen who has been spying in France, has just returned to the court of his king. He begins the account of his adventures by saying:

"A Paris fui o plus mestre donjon
  O je vi Charle o le flori guernon;
  Cort tint molt riche, s'i ot maint haut baron.
  Tot lor covine soi mout bien jusq'en son.
  S'il m'i seissent, nëlise reançon, (5)
  Ainz me pandisent an guisse de larron".

The natural consequence of this passage is that Saracen spies were, if not regularly, generally hanged. But the Christians committed even more sickening outrages on spies. We find that Guillaume d'Orange caused them to be mutilated horribly. He gouged out their eyes and tore their tongues from their mouths.

A similar cruelty is recorded in *Le Siège de Narbonne*. The defenders of the city have been almost starved when Roumans and Guillaume force their way through the besiegers with provisions for the famished host on the inside. After he has satisfied his hunger, Aymeri regains all of his savagery. He has some Saracen spies, whom he has captured, brought before him. With his own hand he mangles them; from each one of them he cuts a hand, the lower lip, the nose, and tears an eye from its socket. The half dead Saracens are then sent as a present to their chief.

This suggests the famous passage where Vivien mutilates some Saracens and sends them as a present to the emir of Cordova. Vivien has taken the Saracen city of Porpallart and has been making it his headquarters for seven years. One day a ship arrives at the city. Vivien goes down to see who is in charge of it:

Li preus Wiviens ne se vait targier.
Il et sa gent se font tost haubergier.
Vers la nef se vont u furent li païen.
Et quant païen les virent vers els a aprochier,
Esfree furent durement, che sachies.
Li maistres va devant, cil qui miels sot plaidier.
Et Wiviens les prist a araisonier:
"Dont estes vous, fait il, dites moi sans atargier!"
Li maistres respont: "Sire, d'un estrange raisnier,
Si sommes homme Desrame au vis fier,
Le riche roi qui tant fait a prissier,
Qui Cordres a trestot a justicier.
Xl. rois a soz lui a baillier.
Par Mahomet, li xv. sont si fil.
.I. fil a iil perdu, dont molt est courechies.
Vi. ans a ja passe qu'il ne le vit des iels.
Che fu tous li mainnes, mentir ne vous en quier."
Wiviens ot de cel roi qui tant par estoit fiers.
Volentiers feroit cose dont se deust courechier.
Ces paiens fist tous prendre sans longes atargier.
Tous .i. et .i. les a fait mahaignier.
L'un fist colper le brach et a l'autre le pie.
L'autre a les iels creves, l'autre a le nes trenchie.
Le langue ou les orelles ont li auquant trenchie.
N'i ot .i. seul paien qui ne fust mahaignie,
Fors seulement que .iii. tant en i a d'entier.

(1)

Chaus a pris Wiviens, si lor fist fianchier
Qu’il merront cele nef a ces Turs mahaignier
Tout drolement a Cordres ou rois Desrames ert.
Dist Wiviens: "Or entendes, paien!" 
Vous en ieres a Cordres sans point de delaier,
Si dieres vo seignor, Desrame le guerrier, (1)
Cest present li envoie li vassaus Wiviens,
Li neveus a Guillaume d’Orange, Brachefier."

Still another similar incident is found in Bataille Loquifer.
Desramé has resolved to capture and imprison his rebellious son,
Rainouart, who has run away and taken up his abode in France. Isabras and Clarion are given charge of the ship that carries the army. They are much in dread of Rainouart and decide to try to take him by stratagem. By promising him great stores of wealth they succeed in inveigling him, with his wife and barons, to board the ship. The gangplank is raised and the pagans fall upon the French. But Rainouart with his "tinel" is too much for them. Clarion then suggests another plan. The pagans will shut themselves up in the cabin of the ship, and the French, who know nothing of navigation, will be forced to surrender. The cabin seems to be unable to stand against the terrible blows of Rainouart and the pagans agree to surrender and be baptized. Rainouart accepts the offer with pleasure. Then, every one is feasted.
As was usual for Rainouart, he falls asleep. He awakes the next morning to find his companions dead and his "tinel" gone. The pagans are in the ship's boat. It is their intention to sink the abandoned ship before Rainouart rouses from his stupor. Here again, they are foiled. Rainouart hears his wife, the beautiful Aelis, lamenting and leaps into the boat. Before any one can stop him he seizes his "tinel" and falls upon the pagans. In a few minutes, only fourteen of them are

(1) La Chevalerie Vivien, ms. of Bologna, fol. 82vo-83ro. Cf. Guillaume d’Orange, Jonckbloet, I, p. 166; vv. 105-126 of Li Covenans Vivien.
left alive. Rainouart binds the survivors and bides his time to arrange a more cruel fate for them than mere death. Towards evening, a French vessel comes to the assistance of Rainouart. All of the dead Saracens are loaded into the ship (dromon). After the captives have been mutilated in the most inconceivable manner, they are thrown in with the cadavers and sent away as a present from Rainouart to his father.

The case of Rainouart is, in some respects, a special one. He was born a Saracen but left home because he disagreed with his father, Desramé. Guillaume finds the young giant working as a scullion in the kitchen of king Louis and takes him to Orange. Guibour recognizes him as her brother. He is armed and, even before his baptism, becomes the mainstay of the Christian army. After he has been knighted, he marries the king's daughter, Aelis. There can be, then, no real objection to listing all of the cruelties of Rainouart as cruelties of a Christian.

Besides these just mentioned, other acts of Rainouart are unquestionable to be placed in the category of cruelties. For example, he comes upon a Saracen, Valegrapes, whom he calls his brother, and refuses to greet him because he is not a Christian. After a short parley, Rainouart kills him, all unarmed as he is, giving as a reason that he was a pagan.

The following recital is perhaps more curious than cruel. Rainouart (in Italian, Rinuardo) has just killed a Saracen prisoner. He is being censured for it when Guillaume arrives on the scene and asks

(1) Runeberg, J., La Geste Rainouart, pp. 36-37.
why he did it. Rainouart replies: "Because he had never renounced his religion. Now, your religion demands that whosoever will not renounce his religion (paganism) shall be killed, and, if you had killed him, it would be my duty to avenge his death, (Rainouart and the prisoner were kinsmen.) and I do not want to have to seek vengeance":

(1) Guillaume laughs at this reply.

Rainouart, after he becomes a Christian, is down-cast on account of the death of his wife. The following reasons are given for his dejection: Firstly, he had not kept his vow to Christ in not killing his father, or at least having him baptized; secondly, he had killed certain ones of his brothers, who had become prisoners, without first having them baptized, which had caused the loss of their souls. Rainouart becomes a pilgrim and a hermit in order to atone for these sins.

(1) Nerbonesi, II., pp. 514-515.
(2) Ibid, p. 530.
(3) Ibid, p. 531.
CRUELITIES AGAINST CHRISTIANS

Having demonstrated that the Christians were out and out savages in their treatment of enemies of a different religion, the next step will be to show that, in their relations with each other, they were guilty of even greater inhumanity. The following incidents will be, as nearly as possible, divided into two groups: first, cruelty in war; second, cruelty in civil relations.

The treatment of traitors will form the larger part of the first of these subdivisions. The regular manner of punishing a traitor seems to have been hanging. Guillaume, protector of the young king, has fifteen men hanged as traitors, and beheads as many more for the same offense. The following passage seems to state the law in the case of men who betrayed their fellows:

"Je voz fera as forches balloier. (2) Home traître doit on ainsiz paier" (3)

The same sentiment is expressed in Renaus de Montauban. Again, Parise innocently and unwittingly poisoned her brother-in-law, Beuve. Raymond is going to burn her. She protests her innocence and the treacherous Milon offers to defend her cause. He purposely allows himself to be vanquished. Clarembauz learns of his perfidy and hangs him to a gallows. With one other citation, the matter will be left as sufficiently clear:

Li parent Guenelon ja nus n'en ara droit. (5) Qui les pendroit as fourques grant osmosne feroit.

If this were the only punishment inflicted on traitors, the Christians would go on record as more cruel than the Saracens. But further investigation makes a worse case against them. The prominence of La Chanson de Roland makes it well to begin with the punishment of Ganelon for betraying the French at Roncevaux. As soon as Charlemagne is convinced that Ganelon has been the cause of Roland's death, he has him bound. His beard and mustache are plucked out; they beat him with their fists and with sticks; they put a chain about his neck and lead him along as if he were a bear; they make him ride in disgrace on a miserable pack mule. The cooks and scullions are allowed to do all these things so that Ganelon's shame may be as great as possible.

When they arrive at Aix-la-Chapelle, Charlemagne orders the traitor to be tied to a pillar in front of his palace. People come and beat him with sticks and knotted ropes till he cries out with pain. After a time, the king calls a council to decide how Ganelon shall be put to death. They are all for freeing him except Thierrí who proposed to hang him and throw his body out to be torn to pieces by dogs: Si com felon qui felonie fist. In the verses that follow the last citation, Pinabel maintains the cause of Ganelon against Thierrí but is vanquished. Ganelon is then killed. In order that the recital may not lose any of its horror, the text will be given:

Quatre destriers font amener avant,  
Puis si li leient et les piez et les mains.  
Li cheval sont orgoillos et corant,  
Quatre serjant les acoeillent devant  
Devers une ive qui est enmi un champ.  
Tornez est Guènes a perdition grant.

(1) The regular punishment for traitors among the Arabs was to deprive them of their wealth. (Dozy, Recherches, I., p.330.) (2) Roland, vv. 1816-1829. (3) Ibid, v. 3734ff. (4) Ibid, vv. 3831-3833.
Trestuit si nerf molt li sont estendant,
Et tuit li membre de son cors derompant.
Sor l'herbe verte en espant li clers sans.
Guènes est morz come fèl recredanz: (1)
Qui tradist altre, nen est droit qu'il s'en vant.

The fate of Ganelon does not stand alone as the most atrocious cruelty to traitors. Charlemagne is charged in another place with tying traitors to the tails of horses and dragging them to death. Again, Pynabel is said to have been killed in the same way. Still another instance is found in Daurel et Beton. It seems necessary to outline briefly the story of this poem. Beton is saved by Daurel, a jongleur, from the fury of the false Gui when he is a mere child. He grows up at the court of the king of Babylon and returns to avenge his father. After he has captured Gui, he turns him over to Daurel because Gui had killed his child. The traitor is tied to the tail of a horse and dragged from one end of Poitier to the other till he is killed. His body is then thrown out to be devoured by vultures.

There are two mentions of the punishment of Macaire. He makes insulting advances to the queen, Blanche Flore. She resents the insult and complains to Charlemagne. He does not believe her. Macaire, out of vengeance, has Charlemagne discover an ugly dwarf in the queen's room. The king is so angry that he is on the point of burning her but changes his mind and sends her into exile. Later, he learns the treachery of Macaire and punishes him as follows:

Machario fait lier tot en primer
E à civals elo lo fait trainer
Par tot Paris e devant e darer.
Darer lui vait pèon e civaler,
Picoli e grandi, garçon e baçaler,
Si grandement e ucer e crier.

Quant a ço fato, retorne à li placer;

Ilec fait un gran fois alumer.
Ilec le fi e arder e bruxer. (1)

In another poem it is said that Makaire was pulled to pieces by four horses.

The terrible battle between Macaire and the grey-hound of Auberi reminds one of the gladiatorial combats of Rome. It is, perhaps, well to pause for an account of this unusual bit of savagery. The queen had been sent away, escorted only by Auberi. Macaire followed in the hope of killing him and getting possession of Blanche Flore. He does overtake him and kill him. But, during the fight, the queen escapes to the woods. Macaire returns to Paris. Some days later, Auberi's dog bounds into the palace and tears open Macaire's cheek. Some of the knights follow the dog and find the dead body of Auberi. They at once accuse Macaire of murder. To prove his innocence, he has to fight the dog. After a terrible conflict, he is vanquished and punished as described above.

Another case in point in the matter of traitors is that of Berangier and his kinsmen, who decided to be rid of Parise in order that her lineage might be exterminated. They send her some poisoned fruit but she does not eat it. When the treachery is discovered, the punishment follows:

Beranger et Gontagle et lo felon Herdre,
Les mains derer lo dos fait estroit noer.
Il an fait I. grant feu d'espines alumer;
Li traitor i furent maintenant traîné,
Toz III. ou feu les ont et flatiz et getez.
Li feus fu granz et chauz, tantost fu ambrosé; (4)
Les harms d'euz s'en vont à enfer osteler.

Only one other instance has been noted where the punishment of a traitor was so severe. Boeve has been sold to the Saracens by his

mother who married her husband's murderer, Doun. The young Christian grows to manhood at the court of the king of Babylon. Finally, he returns to England and, with the aid of Escopart, a pagan giant whom he has proselyted to Christianity, succeeds in defeating Doun whom he kills in a most horrible manner:

"Sire Boves," dist il, ne vus qer celer, de crier merci ne me avera mester; ma mort vus vodrais volontiers pardonner si ke a une cop me facez tuer".

"Nun fray", dist Boves, si deu me pusse eyder!" Boves ad fet de plum aporter une fosce fet il en tur aparailer, de plum boylant le fet tot empler pus ad fet Doun par dedens getter.

"Ore se poet", dist Boves, sire Doun bainer,(3) Si il eyt freyd, ore se purra chaufer"

The feeling seems to have been that men guilty of especially heinous offenses merited a worse fate than hanging.

The following incidents are not so closely connected with the military. As for that matter, Macaire, Doun, Gui, and Berangier might be regarded rather as criminals than traitors in the modern use of the word. They had not betrayed their country and may, therefore, be considered murderers. Their punishment then falls into the list of cruelties of the Christians in civil relations. In this connection, the cruelty to women next demands attention. The first thing that strikes one about the treatment of women may not be generally accepted as a cruelty, but it is so commun that it deserves mention. The king seems to have had undisputed authority in the disposition of a lady's hand. It was not unusual for a man to force a woman to marry him against her will. It is a little strange that

(1) Cf. Daurel et Beton. (2) The scene of this poem is in England. (3) Boeve de Haumtone, vv. 2357-2367.
the king should be represented as forcing a woman to marry the man (1) who had murdered her husband. Charlemagne is often bribed to inter-
pose his authority in marriages of this sort.

Two instances of royal intervention in the matter of marriages are worthy of notice. Hugues, who covets Aceline, the wife of Orson, and who is Orson's best friend, sells him into bondage to the Sara-
cens, and, with the help of Charlemagne, forces Aceline to marry (2) cruelties him. The long list of inflicted on Aceline because she will not submit to her husband will be taken up later.

Beuve is the husband of Charlemagne's sister, Ermengart. Gui, who is the sworn friend of Beuve, covets his wife. One day while they are hunting Gui kills him and, in order to escape detection, puts him into the teeth of the wild boar that they had been chasing. (3) Charlemagne compels his sister to marry Gui.

Whether or not it was a cruelty to force a woman, under circum-
stances peculiarly atrocious, to marry a man against her will may be debatable, but there can be no doubt about the barbarity of the re-
citals which follow. Ermengart fears that Gui will kill Beton, the child of her first husband, and sends him away to be nursed by a peasant. When Gui pretends that he wants to bring up Beton as his own son and asks to see the child, Ermengart replies that she found


Cf. Boeve de Haumont, vv. 2099-2100:

Ore vus dirai de Miles l'adverser
Ke fist Josian mal gre le sun esposer.

There is, however, no mention of the king's having any part in the co-ercion,
him dead by her side, seven days ago. Gui says that she has lied. She replies that he is better at lying than she since he, and not the wild boar, killed Beuve. At this, Gui springs to his feet and kicks her with his spurs till the blood runs from her sides. Then Ermen-gart confesses that she has sent her son away, and says that he will live to be a man and avenge the murder of his father. This statement brings to mind another cruelty of Gui's which is of sufficient im-portance to warrant a slight pause. He offers a reward for the information that will enable him to apprehend Beton. Erbart, a fisherman, accidently lands upon the island where Aiceline is hiding with the young noble. He hurries back and announces his discovery to Gui. Daurel, the jongleur, arrives at the island ahead of Gui and carries the child to his own wife. When Gui reaches the island and asks for Beton, Aiceline tells him that some sailors have stolen her ward. He is not deceived by this reply. He decides to torture the nurse into a con-fession. He has some sharp thorns brought and strikes the unfortunate woman in the breast with them till the blood and milk stream out.

After this digression, we return to the cruelty of a husband to his wife. Aymeri thinks that his sons are too idle and prepares to send them out to battle in the army of Charlemagne. Hermengart, his wife, objects and tells her husband that he is acting foolishly; that the pagans will learn that the city is without defenders and will come to destroy them. Aymeri is so angry that he strikes her with his fist so hard that she falls and her face turns black from the blow.

Again, Hugues is angry with Aceline because she will not submit to him and beats her unmercifully. He even gets so angry that he hits her in the teeth:

Hugues fait a la dame assez de deshonor:

Li traitres la bat et par nuit et par jour,
Si la feri aus dens, tant par fu plains d'irour.
Aval la clere face li sans vermaus an cor,(2) Teins est li orilleus de sanc et de suour.

Only one other case of a woman's being beaten by her husband has been noted. Hunbaut, who is represented as a very vile man, is angry with his wife because she will not aid him in a treason that he is planning, and strikes her in the mouth with his fist.

It seems not to have been uncommon for a husband to burn his wife alive if she were thought guilty of inconstancy. Charlemagne, through the knavery of Macaire, is led to believe that his wife has been unfaithful. He makes preparation to burn her. The people are assembled and the fire is lighted. The priest confesses her and learns that she is pregnant. Her sentence is commuted for this reason to exile.

The situation of Parise is very similar. She unwittingly lets her brother-in-law, Beuve, eat some poisoned fruit that was intended for her. The traitor, Berangier, makes Raymond believe that his wife has intentionally killed his brother. He is ready to burn her, when the priest who confesses her tells her husband that she is pregnant. (6) She escapes being burned but is sent off alone into exile.

(1) Orson de Beauvais, vv. 611-618; 778-783; 825-856; 1171-1181.
(2) Ibid, vv. 774-783.
(3) Aiol, vv. 7258-7282. Cf. Claremmbauz seizes the second wife of Raymond and has her abused by his men. (Parise, p. 62ff.)
(4) Cf. Tristan et Isolt; and also Chrétien de Troyes, Yvain, vv. 3721-3769; 4318-4385.
(5) Macaire, p. 47ff.
(6) Parisc, p. 19.
The matter of this confession of Parise is of sufficient importance to excuse a slight digression. After Raymond has granted life to his wife, he allows the priest to be burned for the reason that he had betrayed the secrets of the confessional. This is a rare incident; no other mention of the violation of the confessional has been found in the Chansons de Geste. The charge is still made that priests allow innocent men to die, and guilty ones to go unpunished, rather than make public a single bit of information which has been obtained in the confession.

We return to the story of Hugues and Aceline. As stated in the preceding pages, Hugues beat her. When he found that he could gain nothing by it, he resorted to the most unheard-of cruelty. He had her buried in the ground up to her waist and starved her in the hope of forcing her to yield to him. Finally, he realizes that she will never be submissive to him, and decides to burn her. She is already (1) Parise, pp. 21-25. (2) "A decision involving an interesting romance, and also of considerable importance to the followers of the Roman Catholic faith, was recently rendered by the ninth chamber of the civil court of the Seine, which imposed upon the Abbé Breton, vicaire of the Cathedral at Meaux, a fine of 200 francs and costs for betraying the secrets of the confessional. The court held that by no consideration of public or private interest was such violation of the confessional to be held excusable." (Law Notes, subsequent to Dec. 6, 1901, and probably from the year 1902.) Traces of the inviolability of the confessional are seen among the Protestant priests. Chester Gillette was executed for murder. He made a confession to his spiritual advisers who gave out the following statement:

Because our relationship with Chester Gillette was privileged we do not deem it wise to make a detailed statement and simply wish to say that no legal mistake was made.

(Signed) Henry McIlravy, Cordelle Herrick.

(Kansas City Star, March 30, 1908.)

Representative ApMadoc introduced a bill in the house of the Illinois Legislature to prohibit the violation of the confessional. The bill is made to apply to Roman Catholics and Protestants alike. The maximum punishment is to be not more than five years imprisonment in the penitentiary. (Chicago Inter-Ocean, April 2, 1909.)
being dragged to the lighted fire when she is saved. In view of the unusual circumstances in connection with this torture, it seems well to give the text which relates these savage acts:

"Traîtres", dit la dame, "Dex te puist maleîr! Tu me fais ce a honte et a dolor morir:
Mainjent moi laisardes, coleuvres et fremis,
Et les henchs me fallent, ne me puis soutenir.
Car me tranche la teste, que plus ne puis garir;
Ausi ne pourais tu a mon corps avenir,
Ne jai n'avrais pousance certes de moi ovrir."
Et quant Hugues l'antant, le sanc cuide marrir.
Lors l'a traite de terre, si l'ait fait desfuir:
A cinc serjans la fit tot maintenant sasir,
Une chape li fait aflubler et vestir,
Sor un roncin la fit a reboison ceïr.
Hugues prant la duchesse, li traîtres falis:
D'âne chape l'aflublent, de Deu soit il honnis,
Par dedevers la corpe li a torné le vix:
Ardoir voudra la dame au gent cors signori.

Par dedefors Biauvaiz, bien une leue grant,
Fit Hugues fare un feu d'aurbepines pienans:
Mener i fait la dame qui out le cuer dolant,

Et quant Hugues l'antant, or a teul maltalant
Qu'il ne pouf dire mot; a deus pons la reprant,
Vers le feu la traîne; mout la vait laidangent.

"Pute", dit li traîtres, "c'alez sarmonnant?
Que ja home ne fame ne vous seront garant."
Dont vient il li fol, par les treces la prent:
Jai l'avoi tant menée après lui traînant
Que près dou feu l'a traite: ************
Et Doz le referi de son poig ou menton,
Que trois dans maxelez li abait ou sablon:
Joste le feu l'abat, ou il vousit ou non,
Que toute en ot breulee sa barbe et son gernon:
Toz i fut remès Hugues an mi le vif charbon, (1)

The objection may be urged that in none of these instances were the women burned. This is not, however, any real objection, for in each case the fire was lighted, and the victim escaped only by the most unexpected good fortune. The poet at least knew of something quite as horrible, if he had not seen an actual burning. He

(1) Orson de Beauvais, vv. 2007-2123.
probably let his heroine be dragged before the fire when she was innocent to make his picture more effective. It would never do to let her be burned if she were innocent. The natural conclusion to be drawn from these instances is that burning was not unusual for women found guilty of adultery. However, the Chanson de Saisnes affords a striking contrast. Charlemagne and his warriors are fighting the Saxons along the Rhine. One day the news comes that all their wives, save one, have given themselves over to the valets and servants that have been left behind. Charlemagne and his army besiege the adulteresses and their minions who have fortified themselves in the tower of Saint Herbert. Through the assistance of a divine miracle, the fortress is taken and the men take back their wives.

Only two cases of a wife's being cruel to her husband have been noted. It may be that the women were better than the men; and it may be that the poets were too chivalrous to mention the savagery of their lady auditors; or it may be that women were almost wholly in the power of men. At any rate the women of the Chansons de Geste sometimes used their husbands ill. The cruelty of Lubias is indeed terrible. Her husband, Amis, is dying of leprosy and she drives him out to die alone in a miserable shanty. One Sunday as she is returning from church, Amis falls at her feet perishing with hunger. She abuses him heartlessly and goes away while he is lying where he fell. She is wishing that he were dead when one of her vassals suggests that she issue an order forbidding any one to furnish him food, and assures her that, if this program is followed, he will die very soon. She immediately accepts his counsel.

(1) Gautier, Les Epopees Francaises, II., p. 503.
(2) Amis et Amiles, Hofmann, v. 2227ff.
The Anjou-Norman version of this same poem records a similar inhumanity. Amile contracts leprosy and his wife, Florentin, drives him out of the house. He lives deserted except for the companionship of a squire. In order that he may die more quickly, she forbids any one to carry him food or give it to him when he begs it. The change of names is the essential difference in the two versions.

The story last referred to calls to mind cruelty to children. Lubias beats her son, Girart, unmercifully for carrying food to his father. Florentin kills her son for a similar offense. Again, Boeve is cruelly beaten by his mother because he reproaches her for her treachery to his father. She strikes him to the ground, and then orders him to taken away and killed. The boy's teacher saves him by a ruse. When his mother learns that Boeve is still alive she sells him to the Saracens.

The only other instances of cruelty to children bring out the devotion of the vassal to the lord in a very striking manner. Daurel has placed the baby Beton in the care of his wife, Beatris. Gui, as we recall from the preceding pages, learns of the whereabouts of the child. He comes before the jongleur's house and commands him to surrender the young lord. Knowing well that Gui intends to kill him, Daurel hesitates. Finally, on the advice of his wife, he hands over his own child. We both admire and pity Beatris as she says:

"Morra mon filh, Monsenher er salvatz"

Thinking that the jongleur's child is Beton, Gui takes him by the heels and dashes out his brains against a pillar before the eyes of

(6) Daurel et Beton, v. 1013.
of the horror-stricken parents. Another passage indicates that such happenings were not infrequent:

"Furent mais gente en cest siecle vivant
Qui por autrui livraissent lor anfant (2)
Com fist Reniers et sa fame ausiment."

(1) Daurel et Beton, v. 1031ff.
MISCELLANEOUS CRUELIES

Certain actions of the characters of the *Chansons de Geste* have been noted which border on cruelty. They are, for the most part, single instances, and it seems advisable to set them apart as Miscellaneous Cruelties, although they are incidents that deal with the civil relations of the Christians. Another reason for making a separate group of the events that follow is that they more evidence of brutality than cruelty.

The sons of Aymeri de Narbonne seem to be characterized by their savagery. Their regular reply to any news or speech that displeased them was a blow of club or fist. Hermengart, with true motherly solicitude, sends two messengers after her sons, who have been driven away from home by their father, with some pack animals loaded with money and clothing. She wants her sons to be able to appear well at Paris. Jocerant, one of the messengers, approaches Hernaut and tenders him the treasures sent by his mother. Hernaut refuses them and tells the messenger that she should have given them to him. Fouque, the second messenger, now takes a hand. He says that he does not dare to return to Hermengart without having delivered the treasures. Hernaut is so angry and impatient that he seizes a club and strikes the unfortunate Fouque to the ground. It is true that Hernaut did not want his father to say in after years that he had been able to attain renown

only through the aid of his mother, but we can not excuse his treatment of the messenger. Later on, Guillaume reproaches his brother for having abused Fouque and is answered with a blow.

The Narbonnais arrive at Paris on the eve of Pentecost. There are not enough lodgings for everyone. Hernaut drives out the duke of Bourgogne to make room for an abbot whom he finds bewailing the lack of accommodations. All the brothers join in driving a body of priests from their quarters to provide for their uncle, king Boniface. Later, Hernaut and his brothers come to the house that once belonged to Roland. Some Germans have taken possession of it, and they invite the Narbonnais in to supper. One of the Germans, during the course of the meal, waives a knife threateningly at them and tells them that they must go as soon as they have finished eating. Hernaut leaps to his feet, seizes the poor Teuton, and literally tears his mustache out by the roots. The Germans are, after a long brawl, driven from the house. Hernaut afterwards kills one of them who is going along unarmed.

The following citation indicates that noble prisoners were well treated and that any abuse of a Christian captive was censured. Charlemagne is beating Ricars, one of the sons of Aymon, when Ogier comes up and says:

"Avoi, sire empereres, ci a grant traïson. Certes, n'est pas bamage de batre son prison. En une autre maniere vos vengies del baron". (7)

Renaus has been reconciled with Charlemagne but has promised to

spend his life in exile. He wanders about until he comes upon some masons who are building a monastery. He is given employment as a helper. He does his work so well that he is praised by the head mason. This makes the men jealous. As Renaus is eating his noon meal of bread and water in a corner by himself, they fall upon him and beat in his skull with their hammers. They then put him into a bag and throw him into the river. It is likely that a church tale of some martyr has been grafted on to Renaus de Montauban, which attenuates slightly the atrocity.

Ajol kills the brother, the oncle, and the two cousins of the beautiful Mirabel, who is accompanying him. He cuts off their heads, fastens them to his saddle, and rides off with them.

Poisoning seems not to have been practiced extensively, although there is occasional mention of it.

(1) Renaus de Montauban, p. 450ff.
(2) Ajol, vv. 5602-5605.
(3) Gaydon, p. 3, 9; Parise, p. 2, 6; Aye d'Avignon, p. 19, 22.
CONCLUSION

As stated in the introduction, the conclusions to this paper are to be based on the data that has been cited. The first thing will be to summarize and generalize the pages that have gone before. The evidence indicates, in the first place, that the Christains of the Chansons de Geste were frequently cruel. The Teutonic invaders of France were savages, and it stands to reason that they would continue to be so for a long period after they came into contact with an older and a superior civilization. The bloody practices of these Germanic people are the best indications of their barbarism. Charlemagne is called the successor of the Caesars, but was more like the successor of the early Merovingian kings of France. His methods were those of his predecessors. He appeared in the imperial robes but twice and was known under the double title of King of the Franks, and Emperor of Rome. His chief power came from his prerogatives as a Germanic king, and was much less an emperor during his life time than in the memory of the people. This is what history says of Charlemagne. The Chansons de Geste represent him as a very primitive king, his only connection with Rome being his desire to spread Christianity.

The matter of his supporting the Christian church calls to mind the treatment accorded to the Saracens in the Chansons de Geste. The Christians invariably used them barbarously. To kill a Saracen was to display a special virtue and a laudable religious
zeal. It was no violation of honor or justice to fall upon him in overpowering odds, or to murder him when he was defenseless. There was but one way for a non-Christian prisoner to save himself. He could, at times, choose between baptism and death — men, women, and children fared alike. This method of doing missionary work is no more nor less than an indication that the Christian church was dominated by the ideals of barbarism. The church, in its organization, was largely Germanic; and the barbarian converts early formed the majority of those who took orders. As a result, Christianity came to sanction primitive methods for maintaining its integrity. The Chansons de Geste show this mediaeval savagery and intolerance in all of its horror.

If the Christians had only ruthlessly pursued the Mohammedans in battle, they would not appear in such a bad light. We find, however, that Saracens were not infrequently mangled beyond recognition. The notion that they were doing a service to their religion by mutilating their enemies shows that the Christians were masking their savagery under the name of the church. There seems to be no doubt but that the church was for a long time ruled by the standards of primitive paganism that came from across the Rhine.

The Christians were no less cruel in their relations with one another. The statement has already been made that traitors were regularly hanged. The Chansons de Geste show that, in a great number of cases, this punishment was thought too mild. In fact, quartering and burning were appallingly frequent. The punishment of all

of all offenders stands out in the Chansons de Geste as a matter of personal vengeance. This agrees with the personality of the law as established from other sources. The Chansons de Geste state, and truly, that a frequent manner of establishing the guilt or innocence, of those accused of serious crimes, was by the trial of combat.

The matter of cruelty to women throws much light on her position in early France. She had almost no voice in the disposition of her hand, and was frequently compelled to marry a man who was especially repulsive to her. In many cases the husband was brutal and cruel to her. The instances of husbands' beating their wives are, perhaps, more brutal than cruel. But the burning of women is of sufficient frequency in the Chansons de Geste to warrant the conclusion that such torture was far from unusual. No civilized people could be capable of such inhumanity. We must, therefore, regard it as further evidence of the essentially primitive conceptions of the Christians in the Middle Ages.

The instances of cruelty of a wife to her husband are not of sufficient number to make any general conclusion sure. But there can be no objection to the statement that there were many women who were utterly devoid of even the gentleness of domestic animals. The fact that the worse type of women appears in the later Chansons makes it still more difficult to reach any absolute decision about the cruelty of women. It is reasonably certain, however, that the percentage of vile women was considerable.

The women seem usually to have had the greatest love for their children, although there are instances of perfectly terrible barbarity on the part of mothers. Here again we are brought face to face with the matter of literary fashion, for it is only in the
Chansons of the decadence that we meet mothers who beat their children cruelly. The feeling of the Chansons de Geste seems to be that a mother who abused her child was very despicable.

The cruelty to children by men who wanted to keep a fief that a child might inherit is, perhaps, more significant. It is only, natural, however, that the man who would murder the father would try to kill the heir. There appears to have been no interference on the part of the king when a child was killed by a man who wanted his lands. This is an indication of the weakness of the crown, as well as evidence of the inhumanity of the unscrupulous vassal.

The passages cited concerning the Narbonnais show that even the greatest warriors were brutal in the extreme. A man who answers every unpleasant speech with a cuff is not far removed from a savage. But this is what came natural to the recently converted Christians that we find in the Chansons de Geste.

It does not seem possible to obtain any more definite results by viewing the various groups of cruelties separately. But, taking them all into consideration, there is ample reason for the conclusion that the Chansons de Geste show the Christians as very little removed from primitive men. They tortured their enemies without mercy; they showed no compassion for wrong-doers; they committed blood curdling murders without cause; women and children were shamefully treated. We believe that the Christians are faithfully depicted in the Chansons de Geste.
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