

# The Relationship between the Chateauroux and Venice 7 Mss. of the *Chanson de Roland* in the Two Clusters of Assonance: A Reassessment<sup>1</sup>

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Until 2005, when the *Roland Corpus* edition was published, C and V7 shared the dubious distinction never to have been the subject of a fully annotated critical edition, although they are the only complete Old French versions in rhyme of the *Chanson de Roland* known today. The Duggan edition of *The Châteauroux-Venice 7 Version* remedied this in respect of V7, taken as the basis on which to recreate the CV7 model and fully annotated; but, although both mss. are examined in depth and carefully analysed in detail in Duggan's Introduction—and some lines from C and even one *laisse*, C 66<sup>2</sup>, are inserted as integral to the CV7 model—the full C text is given only as a transcription and relegated to Duggan's Appendix B.

It is to remedy this state of affairs that I have been preparing a fully annotated, critical edition of C—made all the more necessary because close examination of the text raises serious doubts as to the validity of Segre's argument (Segre 148-65) that C turned from his rhymed model, shared with V7, to an assonanced source in order to make good damage suffered by that model at some time after V7 had been copied. It is cited by Duggan on page 34 of his Introduction, somewhat cautiously for he writes that C “departs from sole dependence on the tradition in rhyme [...], perhaps because its exemplar in rhyme had suffered material

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<sup>1</sup> Originally submitted May 2012. In the meantime, *The Châteauroux Version of the 'Chanson de Roland'*, ed. Marjorie Moffat, Berlin: de Gruyter Mouton, 2014, has been published.

<sup>2</sup> Line numbers are indicated in roman text and *laisse* numbers in italics.

damage” and comments “partial damage, in that case, because C still contains in those sections readings from the rhyming tradition.”

It is a key tenet in the Segre argument that, because V7 is fully rhymed, its model, the CV7 model shared with C, was also fully rhymed and that V7 was therefore an earlier copy than C; but there is no proof that any such *Roland Rimé* ever existed prior to V7. The evidence Segre gives of C’s turning to an early assonanced source to make good damage in the CV7 model can equally well support the opposing view that C, the earlier ms., represents the CV7 model reading and that later V7 turned to an early rhymed exemplar in order to eliminate the assonance and pseudo-rhyme in his model. The presence in V7 of words, first hemistichs and complete lines which match the C reading give credibility to this. Belief in the anteriority of C is initially based on material features such as small size of ms., poor quality of parchment and a more primitive style of decoration than that in V7, but there is also considerable structural, historical and textual evidence. This is set out in detail in my edition of C. The aim of the present article is simply to compare and analyse the situation in the two ‘clusters of assonance’, to open a new window on the C-V7 relationship and the relative dating of the two manuscripts.

The term ‘cluster’ is used here because there is in each case no continuously assonanced passage but rather a small number of assonanced *laissez* interspersed with imperfectly rhymed *laissez* containing what Segre terms ‘pseudo-rhyme’ in two or three lines. To reduce the complexity of the relationship examined, the repetitions in C are not considered here. Thus the two passages under consideration are 1) *C laissez 73-90*, lines 1197-1410, *V7 laissez 74-90D*<sup>3</sup>, lines 1227-1476, and 2) *C laissez 202-18*, lines 3217-3481, *V7 laissez 187-208D*, lines 3132-3583. The *laisse* numbers of the Mortier 1943 edition (which match those in mine) are used for C, but the Duggan *laisse* numbers are used for

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<sup>3</sup> *Laisse* numbers followed by *D* refer to their numbering in Duggan’s edition of V7. See Works Cited.

V7; the line numbers, identical in the Mortier and Duggan editions, are cited to obviate confusion; for O, the numbers of the Whitehead edition of 1942 are used, for P, T and L the Mortier numbers. Since the V7 text in the Duggan 2005 edition indicates corresponding *laissez* alongside the *laisse*-number, it is hoped that readers will find this easy to follow in practice. In the first passage, the C and V7 readings will be compared with those of O and T, since P and L are still *acephalous* at this point; in the second passage, C and V7 will be considered in relation to O, P, T and L, but V4 will not generally be cited, since it is a later manuscript, dating from 1320-45 according to D'Arcais' assessment ('Les Illustrations') and may have been contaminated by the other two Gonzaga mss. Italics are used for the *laisse* numbers and for quotations from the texts; roman is used for line numbers.

These two passages need to be seen in the context of the relationship between C and V7 in the rest of the text. Certainly the most visible and unquestioned feature is the close textual match between the two manuscripts, highlighted in the Foerster edition of 1883 by the printing of almost all the lines 'in tandem', with C the dominant text and V7 variants beneath; and the recent Duggan edition of the Châteauroux-Venice 7 version (*La Chanson de Roland – The Song of Roland: The French Corpus*) inserts lines from C occasionally into the Critical Text (which aims to recreate the original CV7 model). Nevertheless, discrepancies between C and V7 do occur, even in the main body of the text: there is variant line-order on occasion, omission or insertion of lines, correction by V7 of C's individual alexandrines to decasyllabic metre (in the earlier part of the text as well as in the long passage in the final section), improvement of C's rhyme word or whole line by V7 and, very occasionally, replacement of one or two lines in C by 4, 5 or 6 lines in V7. C and V7 each have at least 39 instances of such variants in the first 72 *laissez* alone, slightly fewer in subsequent sections of the poem. What is constant is that V7 has the dominant role in modifying the text of his CV7 model.

The same is true when one looks at whole *laissez*. In the whole text, C has only one *laisse* without equivalent in V7: C 66, 14 lines rhyming in *-on*, found in roughly similar form in O 61, 8 lines with *-un*, *-ur* assonance, V4 55, 7 lines with *-o-* assonance, but with at most 4 lines approximating to T 1, 10 lines with *-on* rhyme. It was found in the CV7 model, for C 1099: *Donez me l'arc, lo gant et lo baton* and C 1106: *Plorant li done l'arc, lo gant et lo baston* are a clear allusion to the CV7 'commissioning of Ganelon' in *laissez* 26, 28 and 30, and C and V7 are the only versions in which the ill-omened dropping of all three symbols of authority has been mentioned. V7 may have omitted this *laisse* in error; but the V7 scribe could equally well have rejected the CV7 model's *laisse* as seen in C 66, partly because C 1094-98 and 1003 are irrelevant additions and obscure the thrust of Roland's speech, partly through dissatisfaction with the repeated element in C 1106, which clashes with C 1120 in the next *laisse*: *Donez li l'arc, n'i alez plus tarjant*, confirmed by O 782 in *laisse* 62, V4 711 in *laisse* 56 and T 23 in *laisse* 2. Since V7 seems to check over each *laisse* in his model before beginning to write, his omission of C 66 may well be deliberate.

Equally deliberately, V7 also inserts *laissez* not found in C or any of the collateral versions. Thus, in the final part of the text, *laissez* 374 and 375D, V7 7229-61, containing speeches addressed by Aude to Roland, are unique to V7. More pertinently, in the second cluster of assonance there are four *laissez*, V7 196, 199, 205 and 207D, which have no equivalent in any other version. V7 196 expatiates on Oliver's last thoughts before his death, V7 199 recounts Roland's thoughts on all he has lost—and both address Aude as well as Charlemagne. This allusion, anticipating the long Belle Aude passage in the final section of the poem, serves to prepare the reader / listener for it. V7 205 and 207 recount the fighting by Gautier, Turpin and Roland against the Saracens, extra detail which serves little purpose and is written in pedestrian verse. Also, in the earlier part of the text, there is practically no match between C 58 and V7 58, 59D: C omits V7 58D either through error or as incomprehensible, but C 58 and V7 59D manifestly derive from different sources. V7 was

either writing additional material himself or using another, different redaction; in all these modifications, V7 was the dominant 'agent of change'.

In the first cluster of assonance, C, whether assonanced or rhymed, offers a consistently close match with O; but C also closely matches V7 in the majority of laisses in this passage where C and V7 share the same rhyme, showing that both derive from the same CV7 model. At the same time, there is an intermittent but persistent concordance between the rhymed laisses in V7 and T and a considerable match between V7 and O. The match between C and V7 is very noticeable in the four laisses where C has full-blown assonance: in C 74-75, 82, 83 and 86-87. Whilst C 74-75, being assonanced, is closer to the assonanced version in O 67, its source does not, apparently, differ greatly from that of V7 75, though the latter has extra lines and paraphrases which match T 8. Thus C 1208 (= O 826): *Li doze per sunt remés en Espaigne* > V7 1241-42 (= T 101-102): *Li doce per, qi sunt de grant poissance, / sunt en Espaigne remés par lor vaillance*. V7 1243 (= T 103) continues with: *ovoc Rollant, ou il ont grant fiance*, an additional line not found in C or O. C 1209 (O 827) then ends with: *avoit en lor conpaigne*, where V7 1244 (T 104) ends with: *furent de conoissance*; but the first hemistich is identical in all 4 versions. After this C 1210 reads: *N'i ont poor, ne de morir desdaigne* whereas V7 1245, T 105 and O 828 have an identical line that ends with *doutance*. These variations reveal significant features beyond a simple OC versus V7T confrontation. First, the use by V7T of the first line in CO to furnish the first hemistich of each of their 2 lines suggests a chronological difference, so that the single line was the CV7 model's reading, subsequently modified in V7 on the basis of T's source. This also permitted a conversion from O's assonance to the V7T *-ance* rhyme. Since both C and O lack the *Rollant* line, V7 1243 (T 1030), it was probably a simple expansion of the text, but not in the CV7 model. Since C *laisse* 74 is apparently rhymed in *-aigne* and O *laisse* 67 is assonanced in *-an..e/-aigne*, the OC rhyme word *conpaigne* poses no problem, but V7 needs to emend this to *conoissance* on the basis of T's reading—

showing that *conpaigne* was the CV7 model reading. This situation is underlined by the change in the next line, where O 828, V7 1245 and T 105 are identical but C 1210 changes *dotance* to *desdaigne*—a necessary change because this is the end of *laisse* 74 in C, 3 lines in which C, like O, already has 2 lines ending in *–aigne*. The redactor or scribe is sensitive both to the rhyme and to the change of theme at this point: 3 lines summarising the facts of the rearguard's situation, followed in contrast by 12 lines depicting Charlemagne's tormented state of mind. O, V7 and T have a single *laisse* of 15, 18 and 19 lines, assonanced in O, rhymed in *–ance* in V7 and T. C 75 contains 12 lines with *–an...e* assonance matching most of O's lines, but with occasional variants. C 1211-13, 1215, 1218 and 1220, which share V7's *–ance* rhyme, closely match V7 1246-48, 1250 (with modified first hemistich), 1255 and 1254. Eight out of C's 15 lines thus accord with V7—but the *–aigne* element in the assonance poses problems in conversion to rhyme. At the same time, 10 of V7 75's 18 lines match T *laisse* 8, 19 lines with rhyme in *–ance*: namely V7 1241-1247, 1250, 1253 and 1258; and the first hemistichs of V7 1253: *Anuit m'avint [...]* and 1258: *Las, se jel pert, [...]*. (= T 116 and 119) match those in C 1219 and 1222. Overall, one is left with the impression that, where V7 and T are identical and differ from C and O, this arises from V7's dissatisfaction with the CV7 model reading, as found today in C, and V7's recourse to T's source for a better, smoothly rhymed reading.

C 82, the 14-line, strongly assonanced *Torchis de Tortolose* *laisse*, has such a difficult *–o–* assonance and so few relevant rhyme words available that it becomes in V7 83D a 16-line *laisse* with *–ez* rhyme. V7 matches T 15, 11 lines rhyming in *–ez*, exactly in 7 lines (V7 1352-55, 1357-58, 1360 = T 196-201, 203) plus a further 3 lines with slight variants. Despite the assonance-to-rhyme conversion, V7 1352 retains the first hemistich in C 1299: *Cil dist au roi*. C 1300-01: *Plus vaut Mahons qe Seint Piere de Rome*. / *S'a lui serviez, l'honor dou canp avrome* and C 1303: *Veez m'espee qi mout est bone e long* match all but the final rhyme word in V7 1353-54: *Mielz valt Mahon qe seint Peres assez*. / *Servez le*

*bien, l'onor del champ avrez* and V7 1359: *Vez ci m'espee qi est trenchant assez* where V7 matches T 197-98 exactly but T 202: *Vez cy l'espee dont ly branc est lettrez* only in the first hemistich. Finally, C 1304-08 are paraphrased in V7 1360 (= T 203) and V7 1362-63. T 204 ends the *laisse* with *Mort est Roullant et a honte tournez*, but C 1305-08 matches O 927-30 and it is V7 1363: *Jamés en France ne sera coronez* which transforms O 930: *Jamais en tere ne porterat curone*, C 1308: *Jamais ou chief ne portera corone* into rhyme. C's assonance, for which there are good reasons, accords closely with O 74, 916-30, but the lines quoted above are visibly the basis of V7's rhymed version—suggesting that they were found in the CV7 model. It is V7 which transforms this *laisse* to *-ez* rhyme by turning to a version much earlier than T but from which T eventually derives.

Similarly, the 8-line C 83 with *-e-* assonance is transformed in V7 84D to 11 lines rhyming in *-is*. This roughly matches T 16, 10 lines in *-is*. T 1368-70, 1372-74 are closest to V7 but there is a partial match in most of the other lines.

C 86-87 represent one *laisse*, as in O 78. This is the third *laisse* based on a Saracen peer which stubbornly remains assonanced. This may be because of the awkward assonance and lack of vocabulary available or the want of suitable epic formulæ to match the *laisse*-content, but the force of public opinion, familiarity and resistance to change probably also played a large part in its retention. C's 14 lines are here transformed into V7 87's 21 lines rhyming in *-er*, but V7 1411, 1414, 1416, 1420, 1424-26, 1428-29 all match the first hemistich of C's version of the line; and the final line is practically identical, C 1369 reading: *Desoz un sab s'adobent et corerent* and V7 1431: *Soz la sapoie se corrent adober*. There is no sign here of C's turning to a different assonanced source and attempting to convert it to rhyme. Rather, this again is V7 transforming assonance into rhyme, using the CV7 model as the basis for the first hemistich where possible, but turning for his rhyme to an exemplar from which T eventually derived. T 19, 20 lines rhyming in *-er* like V7,

matches *V7* 87 fairly closely in 10 lines (T 251-54, 256-57, 259-61<sup>4</sup>, 263) with approximation in a further 4 lines.

However, in the eight *laissez* (C 73, 77, 78, 80, 81, 84, 85 and 90) where C, V7 and T share the same rhyme and where C and V7 so closely match that they are printed ‘in tandem’ by Foerster, the degree of accord between V7 and T varies, hovering around the fifty per cent mark. In contrast, V7 accords closely with C. Thus, in C 73 = *V7* 74D, both C and V7 have a slightly suspect rhyme in the first line: C 1197 ends with: *e li val tenebros* despite the requirements of the –or rhyme, but V7 1227 conforms to the rhyme, using the faulty graphy, *tenebror*, and T 89 in *laisse* 7 later solves the problem by reading *et plains de tenebroure*. Thereafter, C 1198-1206 are practically identical to V7 1228-36 although Duggan validly substitutes C 1204: *De lor enfanx et des gentis uxor* (as representing the CV7 model) for V7 1234: *De lor enfanx qu’ot chascuns de ses uxor*, which is hypermetric. In C, the *laisse* ends with C 1207: *C’as porz d’Espaigne a laisié son nevor*—the modification of *nevo* or *nevold* producing a faulty graphy but an exact rhyme. Instead of this line, V7 inserts lines 1237-40: *Por son nevou, Rollant le poigneor, / Qu’il a laissé entre gent paienor. / Bataille en iert par si ruste vigor / Dont douce France sera en grant error*. In T 7, this becomes T 98-100: *Pour son nevou Roullant, le poigneour / Qu’il a lessié entre la gent paiennour: / Il ne scet pas de lui la grant tristour*. T thus matches 2 of V7’s 4 lines, but substitutes one different line for V7’s 2 final lines. In the *laisse* as a whole (12 lines in T, 14 in V7, 11 in C) T matches V7 closely in 7 lines (and partially in 2 lines), C in 5 lines.

In the subsequent seven *laissez* in this group, where C and V7 so closely match and clearly derive primarily from the same CV7 model, it is, however, more profitable to examine the lines in which C’s reading, with a less felicitous turn of phrase or rhyme, is modified by V7 in an improvement endorsed by T.

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<sup>4</sup> At this point, on page 8 of the Mortier edition of T, there is an error in line-numbering in which 5 lines are lost between 260 and 270.



Thus *C* 77 contains 4 variants from *V7* 78*D*, *T* 10: *C* 1241: [...] *d'un baston ensemant*, but *V7* 1286: *d'un bastoncel tochant*, where *V7* = *T* 20, 138, matched in *O* 861, so *C*'s scribal error; *C* 1242 *por mout bel contenant* > *V7* 1287: *si li dist en riant*, identical to *T* 139; but *C* 1244: [...] *et tormant* becomes the variant readings, *V7* 1289 [...] *et affant* (emended by Duggan to *ahant*) and *T* 141 [...] *eu paine moult grant*; similarly, *C* 1245: [...] *ses vencu esramant* becomes *V7* 1290 [...] *si'n ai vencu alquant* but, with further improvement, *T* 142: *Avez fait batailles que veismes ne scé quant*. In this *laisse* *C* has 14 lines, *V7* 15 lines, of which 11 match closely.

In *C* 78, *V7* 79*D*, *T* 11, *C* 1264: *Tuit sunt jugié li .xii. conpegnon* > *V7* 1310: *Sera par nos misse a destrucion*, exactly matched by *T* 160. *C* lacks *V7* 1305; *V7* lacks *C* 1262; *C* and *V7* each have 11 lines, of which 9 lines match.

In *C* 80, *V7* 81*D*, *T* 13, *C* 1274: *Puis qe il est sor son chival corsier* > *V7* 1325: *Puis que il doit sor son cheval monter*, identical to *T* 174; *V7* 1328, an essential line omitted by *C*, is confirmed by *T* 177 and *T* 178: *Ne Olivier n'en pourra eschaper* confirms *V7* 1331, although *T* varies from *V7* 1330. Otherwise *C*, 15 lines, and *V7*, 15 lines, match in 9 lines + 5 in part.

In *C* 81, *V7* 82*D*, *T* 14, *C* 1291: *Vint mille homes ou escu ou enseigne*, which *V7* lacks but Duggan inserts as *V7* 1342, is found in *T* 189 as: *A .xx. mille hommes chescun ara enseigne*; *C* 1292: [...] *de mort li faz estregne* > *V7* 1343: [...] *qu'il tiennent a chastaigne*, matched by *T* 190; *V7* 1344, an additional line, is not found in *C* or *T*, but *V7* 1345: *Il n'est pas droit qe Oliver remaigne* is found as *T* 191: *Ne cuidez pas O. y remaigne*. *C* has 8 lines, *V7* 10 lines, but they match closely in only 5 lines.

In *C* 84, *V7* 85*D*, *T* 17, *C* 1322: *Si aiderez a conduire ma jant* is substituted by Duggan for *V7* 1380: *Si guierez mes compaignes et [...]*, where *T* 218 reads: *Si conduiray mon barnage le grant*. Duggan also inserts the first hemistich of *C* 1325 in place of *V7* 1383: *Ensilies iert [...]* in a line *T* lacks. On the other hand, *C* 1328: *Nos les ferons vermelles*

*de lor sanc* is matched by T 222, where V7 1386 changes the word-order to avoid the pseudo-rhyme *sanc* (common to C and T) but Duggan substitutes C, probably because of V7's clumsy, inaccurate syntax: *de lor esanc les fèrons rojeiant*.

The consistent pattern of V7's correction of C's reading being confirmed by T is found in C 85, V7 86D, T 18, in the second hemistich of V7 1391 = T 228 (in Proper Names different from C) and in C 1340's awkward line, *En Renchivaus Rollant vuel qe l'ocie*, which both V7 1397-98 and T 239-40 treat as a faulty combination of two lines. V7 1404, which C lacks, is confirmed by the identical T 244, and V7 1409, with *A Saint Denis prendrai herbergerie* identical to T 249, changes the word order in C 1350 to avoid *Denise* as pseudo-rhyme at the line-end. Finally, in C 90, V7 90D and T 24, V7 1465 = T 371 varies from C 1402, V7 1466 = T 372 corrects the final word of C 1403, V7 1471 = T 372 corrects the incorrect form (past participle where infinitive is needed) in C 1407. C and V7 match closely in only 6 lines, because of minor variants.

This is a substantial number of modifications to the C reading in a small number of laisses where otherwise C and V7 are for the most part identical. That, in these lines, V7's version is extremely close, if not identical, to that in T can only mean that V7, a much earlier ms. than T, copied them from a rhymed source to which the T scribe eventually had access, either directly or via intervening copies. At the same time, the close match between C and V7 in the lines not affected in this way shows that the C-V7 concordance derives from the shared CV7 model. V7's reference to a different source (shared with T) shows that the CV7 model was not perfectly rhymed in the passages examined here. V7's 'borrowings' from the other, fully rhymed source in order to emend C's imperfect lines show that C's is the earlier version, copied from the shared CV7 model.

There remain the four laisses where C and V7 either have different rhymes or do not correspond closely. In them, T always has the same rhyme as V7.

*C* 76 is the architypical ‘Segre thesis’ *laisse*: it has 17 lines in *–or* rhyme in which *traïsor* (for *traïson*, *C* 1226) and *ciglator* (for *ciglaton*, *C* 1228) are the much-cited examples of Segre’s pseudo-rhyme. Here, where *O* 68 has 19 lines with *–u–* assonance (9 ending in *–ur/–ure*, 10 in *–un/–une*), the first 3 lines of the *laisse*, all ending in *–or*, have tempted the redactor into opting for the more difficult conversion, which he cannot sustain. The V7 scribe, having read through the *laisse* in the CV7 model as usual before writing, has recognized the difficulty and turned to his alternative rhymed source (the eventual source of *T* 9), which offers the *–on* alternative. However, V7 needs two *laissez*, 76*D* with 11 lines and *–ons* rhyme (plus an additional line after 1265, excised by Duggan perhaps as an unnecessary hypermetric alexandrine) and 77*D* with 15 lines in *–on*, to replace the 17 lines in *C* 76. Later, in *T*, these are reduced to a single *laisse*, *T* 9, 17 lines with *–on* rhyme. In *laisse* 76*D*, V7 1259–63 match *T* 120–24 almost exactly, but *T* omits the rest of 76*D*, V7 1264–69, 7 lines peculiar to V7. In V7 77*D*, where *C* lacks V7 1271, V7 1270–71 = *T* 125–26: *Par toute Espagne mande Marsilion / La ou il scet les Sarrasins felon*; V7 1272–73 (*contes, viscontes, les plus riches baron / les Amoravies de longes region*) are not in *T* but matching first hemistichs are found in *O* 849–50 (*Cuntes, vezcuntes e dux e almacurs / Les amirafles e les filz as cunturs*). V7 1272 matches *C* 1231 in the first hemistich (*Contes e dus* [...]), but 1273 has no equivalent in *C*; V7 1274 (*qatre cent mille* [...]) matches the first hemistich of *C* 1232. In all, V7 77*D* matches *T* in 8 lines. It also, in V7 1262 and 1282, exactly matches *O* 845 and 858 where *C* and *T* have variants. *C* 76 omits 2 lines in *O*, 850 and 854, but otherwise closely matches *O*’s first hemistichs; the readings in the second hemistichs are frequently modified to obtain the *–or* rhyme or to improve on it: *O* 849 *chevals et cameils et leüins* > *C* 1229 [...] *camels, chevaus, lion et ors*, *O* 853 [...] *plus halte tur* > *C* 1234 *suz en auzor*, *O* 856 [...] *les vals et les munz* > *C* 1236 *environ et entor*, etc. In this, the modifier shows a better knowledge of French and greater expertise than is characteristic of the *C* scribe. These lines in *C* read like the text of the CV7 model.

C 79, 1265-71, has 6 lines with *-art* rhyme but ends with: *Se truis Rollant, ne laserai ne:l mat.* C's is a distinctly truncated text. It corresponds closely to O 71 (9 lines assonanced in *-a + consonant*), C 1266 and 1271 matching O 886 and 893 exactly, but omits O 891: *Devant Marsilie cil s'escriet mult halt* and 892: *Jo cunduirai mun cors en Rencesvals.* V7 80D, 12 lines rhyming in *-art*, modifies the detail in the OC lines and changes their line-order; it lacks any exact equivalent to O 891 but has in V7 1319 (*En Rencesvals metrai mon estendart*) a rough equivalent to O 892. V7 1320 matches *Se truis Rollant* [...], the first hemistich of O 893, C 1271, but lacks the rest of the line. V7 closely matches T 12, 11 lines with the same rhyme, which keeps V7's line-order, but changes V7's last 2 lines, 1321-22, to a single line, T 171 ending with *feroy grant essart*, the second hemistich of V7 1322. C and V7 match closely in only 3 lines.

C 88, 21 lines, rhymes in *-is* with some imperfect rhyme, e.g. C 1382: *Bataille arons, ce croi, de Saracins* which in V7 1445 becomes *De Saracins la bataille en avreis* and in T 346 *Des Sarrasins la bataille ont Francoys.* V7 88D, 19 lines, rhymes in *-eis* but has *sors* as rhyme word in 1438 (*noirs* in T 340), a line not found in C or O. It has 10 lines matching T 22, 20 lines with *-ois/-oys* rhyme<sup>5</sup>, but there are many minor variants. The rhymes in C and V7 are very similar and some 8 lines match closely, but there is considerable paraphrase. O 79 has 23 lines and *-ei-* assonance with 10 instances of *-eis/-eiz*. It is noticeable that V7 1434 = O 995, V7 1435 (omitted by C) roughly matches O 998, but C 1374 = O 999 = T 339 which V7 omits.

C 89 (11 lines), V7 89D (14 lines) and T 23 (17 lines) all rhyme in *-or*; O 80, 11 lines of which 10 closely match C, has *-u-* assonance. C 1391 opens the *laisse* with an alexandrine: *Olivers est montez sor un pui alciore* which V7 1451 and T 354 both reduce; C 1396 and O 1022 each

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<sup>5</sup> T *laisse*s 20 and 21 are not found in any other version, so this *laisse* may mark a change of source in the T model, particularly as the match between V7 and T diminishes in subsequent *laisse*s and discontinues completely between V7 92 and V7 119.

have a single (but different) line describing the Saracen army which V7 1456-8 and T 361-63 expand to 3 lines. Where O 1024 reads: *Guenes le sout, li fel, li traïtur*, C 1398 [...] *en a fait traïsor* (cf. V4 959: *oit faite la traïsor*) becomes in V7 1460 *jel tieng a traïtor*, in T 365 *je le tien pour traïtor*—perhaps through the misreading of *li fel li t.* at an earlier stage or through the Italian scribe's reading of *faire traïtor* as meaning 'play the traitor'. The complex mix of matching or half-matching lines in this small group of *laissez* shows at one moment V7's links with the CV7 model, at another its links with T's source.

After this first cluster of assonance, followed in C by *laissez* 91-100, C and V7 revert to a consistently close match based on the CV7 model. P *laisse* 1 opens at line 1553 in C 102 (1498 in V7 92D) and thereafter P derives for at least 2 quires from the same model as C and V7. T 25 in 5 of its 9 lines matches V7 91D, but T 26, 22 lines rhymed in *-ez*, matches V7 108D (22 lines, *-ez* rhyme) in 10 lines—and also C 118 in the same lines. T 27 breaks off after 9 lines which match V7 109D, C 119 in 7 lines; it does not resume until V7 120D, line 2028, C 130, line 2077. L does not open until V7 119D, C 129, so there are just C, V7 and P which closely correspond in the fourth quire of the CV7 narrative (C 101-29).

P generally matches CV7 more closely than do TL in the fifth quire, C 130-61—particularly in C 147-49, where OTL lack CV7P's account of Gautier's battle with Amauris and his army. In the sixth quire, C 162-96, CV7's accord with the collateral versions becomes more variable: sometimes almost identical, sometimes almost nonexistent, so that C 191 is found only in V7 and there is poor match with PTL in C 192-96. Throughout this section of the text, the match with O is variable: the first 7 lines of C 100 match the beginning of O 91, but then C's new material and repetition (C 101-29) mean that O 91 is completed only in C 129; thereafter, the CV7 rhymed version matched by P (and to a lesser extent TL) roughly corresponds to O, but also inserts extra lines and *laissez*; O omits the repeated *laissez* C 190-96 at the end of this section.

The second cluster of assonance encompasses C 202-18, V7 187-208D: 17 *laissez* in C because C combines two *laissez* into one in C 210,

22 *laissez* in V7 because of the four additional *laissez* unique to V7<sup>6</sup>. This passage corresponds to *O* 140-54, *V4* 152-68, *P* 101-21, *T* 90-107 and *L* 59-78. *P* is mainly rhymed but retains assonance in 103, 109, 113 and 116, with occasional possible pseudo-rhyme in 102, 105, 106, 108, 111 and 114. *P* also has occasional repetition of assonanced and rhymed versions of the same *laisse*. *T* is fully rhymed; so too is *L*, but with some imperfect rhymes in 59 and 67. The position of *C* is clear: whilst *O* has no *laissez* equivalent to *C* 203, 206 and 216, in all other *laissez* *C*, whether assonanced or pseudo-rhymed, corresponds closely to *O*. *V4* 153, 155 and 166 are equivalent to the *laissez* *O* lacks, but have a poor match with *C*; as a later Gonzaga manuscript, *V4* may have been contaminated.

In this passage it is vital to take into account V7's 4 additional and unique *laissez*, referred to henceforward using the sigma [V7+]—and indeed to consider the context as well as the content of each individual *laisse* in this passage—when comparing the different versions.

*C*'s five *laissez* with full-blown assonance (*C* 204, 207, 211, 213 and 218) occur at intervals in this passage. Comparison of the first four of these with the corresponding V7 *laissez* (189*D*, 192*D*, 198*D* and 201*D*) shows that V7 paraphrases *C* in converting *C*'s assonance to a closely-related rhyme, but retains the occasional line or hemistich where possible.

Thus V7 189*D*, 16 lines with *-iez/-ez* rhyme, corresponds to *C* 204, 16 lines with mix of *-ee/-en/ -ien*. In the first line of 204, *C* 3246: *Li cons Rollant va ferir de s'espee* matches the first hemistich of V7 3170 plus the first hemistich of V7 3171—but the extra material in *C* 3247 bears no resemblance to V7 3171. V7 3172 exactly matches *C* 3248: *Fabrin d'Espagne i a permi trenchee*, but thereafter the remaining lines in V7 paraphrase *C*. However, V7's first 2 lines, 3170-71, exactly match

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<sup>6</sup> V7 194*D* and 198*D*, which appear to be matched only by PTL, are the rhymed versions of *C* 209, rhymed in *-oi*, and *C* 211, assonanced in *-a..e*.

P 1868-69 in *P 103*, T 1411-12 in *T 92* and L 947-48 in *L 61*. It is therefore important to assess the degree to which each of the collateral versions, P, T and L, is linked to the V7 version where C is assonanced—and particularly whether the earlier correspondence of V7 to T persists and is extended to P and L. With this end in view, P, T and L will be examined separately in relation to *V7 189D, 192D, 198D* and *201D*.

*P103*, 15 lines with *-ie-* assonance, paraphrases *C 204*. It matches *V7 189D*, 15 lines with *-ie* rhyme, in 5 lines and roughly approximates to V7 in the remainder, consistently matching the first hemistich—and showing an intermediate stage in conversion to rhyme. *P 106* has 35 lines, 24 with *-ie* rhyme followed by 11 with *-i..e* assonance; it matches *V7 192D* in 12 lines in the first part, but matches C closely in at most 9 lines in the whole *laisse*; *P 112*, 15 lines with *-ee* rhyme, is almost identical in 11 lines to *V7 198D*'s 13 lines, but *P 113* approximates to *C 211* in an assonanced version of the same *laisse*. *P 115*, 20 lines with rhyme in *-ant*, closely matches *V7 201D* in 13 of its 18 lines. In sum, P matches V7 in 5 out of 15 lines, in 12 lines out of 35, in 9 lines out of 15 and in 13 out of 18 lines.

V7's rhymed *laisses* are almost identical to *T 92*, *95*, *100* and *102*, although *T 102* inserts 19 additional lines: *T 92* has 12 lines, of which 10 match *V7 189D* closely, with the same rhyme in *-iez/-ez*; *T 95*, 18 lines rhymed in *-ie*, has some 10 lines matching *V7 192* (25 lines with *-ie* rhyme); *T 100*, 15 lines with *-ee* rhyme, matches *V7 198D* in 12 lines and *T 102*, whose 36 lines in *-ant* include 19 additional lines unique to T, matches *V7 201* in 11 lines. Thus T matches V7 in 10 out of 12 lines, in 10 lines out of 18, in 12 lines out of 15 and in 11 lines out of 17 + 19 = 36 lines.

*L 61*, *64*, *69* and *72* match the same V7 *laisses* to a variable but limited degree: *L 61* in 4 out of 8 lines, *L 64* in 8 out of 23 lines, *L 69* in 5 out of 10 lines and *L 72* in 9 lines out of 17.

The dominant position of T in relation to the V7 readings is clear; but the P - V7 match is also strong, indicating that V7 here turned to a shared rhymed model.

The evidence therefore suggests that 1) where C had full-blown assonance, V7 was once again using an alternative model, the slightly later redaction from which T eventually derived, instead of or in supplement to the CV7 model; 2) where P retained assonance, the V7 rhymed model was presumably not available to it—and P's paraphrase of C shows that P's source was a different redaction from that in the CV7 model; but 3) for P, despite the large size and high quality of the manuscript, it was perfectly acceptable to combine an assonanced and a rhymed version in sequence in a single *laisse* or to have an assonanced and a rhymed version of a *laisse* in sequence in the text.

The fifth assonanced *laisse* is a special case in which the context is extremely important. *C* 218, 15 lines assonanced in *-e-*, is the final *laisse* in this passage; at *C* 219, the familiar 'in tandem' match of C and V7 is re-established (and persists to the end of the poem). *V7* 208*D*, 31 lines with *-iez* rhyme, matches C in just 4 lines: *V7* 3571, *Lacent lor lances et lor trenchant espiez*; *V7* 3575-76, *e a Turpin fu sis escuz brisiez / e sis aubers rompuz e desmaiez* and *V7* 3578, *par mi le cors feru de quatre espiez*. Even here, these shared lines are standard formulæ relating to battle; *V7* 3571 is identical to *C* 3473; *V7* 3575-76 relating to Turpin and his hauberk are found as *C* 3476: *Turpins de Reins ses escuz especiez* and *C* 3478: *Et ses osberc runpuz et desmailliez*; *V7* 3578 matches *C* 3479 exactly. *P* 121 (21 lines, pseudo-rhymed in *-ier*) is closely matched by *T* 107 (15 lines, *-er* rhyme) and both derive from a source similar to CO but different from V7's model. *L* 78 paraphrases V7 but approximates to several lines in C. To make sense of this situation, this *laisse* must be seen in relation to its location. Not only is it the final *laisse* of the cluster, but it also follows a sequence of *laises* unique to V7: 196*D*, 199*D*, 205*D*, 207*D*. For these, the V7 scribe had been using an alternative source and had just copied *V7* 207*D* from that source; faced with an assonanced *laisse* in the CV7 model, he turned to it for 208.

At this point the copyists of PTL were probably turning to a different source from that of V7 at the beginning of a different redaction. Carlo Beretta in his *Studio dei rapporti fra i manoscritti rimati della 'Chanson*



*de Roland*' (Beretta 108) begins his fourth section at *P* 120, *V7* 207 because he considers that to be the point at which PTL divide from CV7. Certainly, after *C* 218 (*V7* 208*D*), PTL derive from a different redaction from CV7 until the beginning of the last section of the text: *Granz fu li deus* [...], *C* 5887.

When one looks at the six *laissez* where *C* and *V7* have the same rhyme and closely match line for line, one finds that *C* and *V7* often accord surprisingly closely with the assonanced *O*, particularly in the first hemistich of lines where *C* has an imperfect rhyme. The Segre thesis supposes that *C* turns to an assonanced model in order to make good damage sustained by the CV7 model after *V7* had been copied, but in many of these lines it is only the final words or order of words which are modified in *V7*, an extremely tiny amount of damage or wear. This accords better with *C* as the earlier, less polished copy of the CV7 model and *V7* as the later improver. In many cases, *V7*'s modification is supported by *T*, sometimes by *P* and occasionally by PTL.

Thus *C* 202 (18 lines), *V7* 187*D* (17 lines + *C* 3223 inserted by Duggan), *P* 101 (16 lines), *T* 90 (16 lines) and *L* 59 (14 lines) all rhyme in *-is*, though *P* and *L* have the odd *-ir* pseudo-rhyme. *O* 140 (18 lines) is assonanced in *-i-*. *V7* matches *C* closely in 11 lines, but improves on some *C* readings: where *C* 3218 has the ungrammatical *mort gesis* and *PL*'s pseudo-rhyme *gesir* matches *O*, *V7* 3133 reads *tant gesir ocis*, *T* 1385 *gesir tant d'ocis*; *V7* 3136, like *P* 1822, *T* 1838 and *L* 922, substitutes a much-needed finite verb, *mete/metra*, for *C* 3221: *o lui*; *V7* and PTL omit *C*'s final line, 3234, with difficult rhyme word *is*. *T* matches *C* in 6 lines, but *V7* closely in 10, approximately in a further 3 lines.

*C* 208, *T* 96 and *O* 144 all have 8 lines; *V7* 193*D* has 11, *L* 65 has 12 and *P* 107 14 lines. CV7PT rhyme in *-ent*, *L* in *-ant*; but *O* has *-ent/-enz* mix. There is a very close match in the first 5 lines of COPL, 4 lines in *T*; *V7* also matches these 5 lines in 3254-56 + 3258-59 but *V7* 3257: *ne puet müer q'il ne s'en espöent* is an unnecessary addition, changing the implication of the sentence; the other versions lack it. There is

considerable variety in the remaining lines but little match: C's final line, 3320: *Dist Olivers, 'Dahait ait le plus lent'*, matches O 1938 and P 1997, but is not found in V7TL; nor is C 3319, which differs from V7 3261; V7's final 4 lines, 3261-64: *Ferez i, Franc, nes espargner nient! / Et il si font, par lor fier maltalent / et Oliver mostre son brant sanglent / A maint paien a fait le cuer dolant*, are identical in all but one word to T 1483-86, but match L in only the final line.

C 212 (20 lines), V7 200D (30 lines) and T 101 (24 lines) all rhyme in *-é*; P 114 (45 lines) mixes *-é* and *-ez* endings, L 71 (33 lines) has *-ez* rhyme and O 149 (21 lines) has *-e* + consonant assonance. V7 3369-74 have no match in COPTL and V7 3378-81 are not found in C, P or L, but V7 3380 is matched by T 1559 and approximates to O 2002. C 3380's hypermetric second hemistich ending *devant e deré* is corrected in V7 3385 to *et devant Dé*, as in O 2007, but not found in PTL.

C 214 (12 lines) has the same *-is* rhyme as V7 202D (14 lines), T 103 (16 lines) and L 73 (10 lines); but P 116 (13 lines) is assonanced in *-i-* like O 151 (11 lines). C's first 2 lines, 3397-98, paraphrase O 2024-25 but become a different 3-line paraphrase in V7 3406-08, P 2163, T 1606-08 and L 1156-58. P 2166 matches C 3399, not found in V7 but paraphrased by T 1609 and L 1159; V7 3412: *Tant mar i fuistes, franc chevalier eslis* is matched only by T 1611. C 3405 has a strange reading, [...] *li cons pasmez s'est ils*, where OPL read: *pasmet li marchis*, but V7 3416: *li cuns chaï pasmis* and T 1618: *le duc c'est pasmis* change *pasmer* to a second conjugation verb.

C 215 (21 lines), V7 203D (22 lines), P 117 (23 lines), T 104 (20 lines) and L 74 (18 lines) all rhyme in *-uz*; C and V7 match both O 152 (21 lines with *-u-* assonance) and PT extremely closely, L slightly less. Where V7 3428 matches O more than closely than C does, C 3417 has a scribal misreading: *de Rencevals s'en fuz* where O has *desuz cez vals s'en fuit* and L 1170 *dou mont dela les fuz*, but V7 3428 reads *aval est descenduz*, closely corresponding to P 2185, T 1630. In the next line, C 3418 with its pseudo-rhymed *Rollant q'i viegne a luz* differs from O 2044: *qu'il li aiut* and also from V7 3429: *Rollant apelle dolant et*

*irascuz*, where P 2186, T 1631 and L 1173 match V7. Similarly, C 3419: *com vallant on es tuz* ends in O 2045 with: *vaillanz hom, u ies tu?* but in V7 3430 becomes *que es tu devenuz?*, matched by P 2187, T 1632 and L 1174. C 3423, ending hypermetrically: *me suis del estor issuz*, differs from V7 3434: *soloie estre tis druz* which matches P 2191, T 1635 and O 2049. C 3426, with second hemistich: *o lances mes cossuz*, seems to be a scribal misreading, perhaps of *suis consuz* with verb *consivre*, to strike or attack, or reading *m'es*: 'here I am' and the same verb. V7 3437, O 2051, P 2194, L 1179 all agree on using the verb *ferir*, past participle *feruz/ferut*. T omits this line. Finally, V7's final line, 3441: *iriement est a Gauters venuz*, has no match in OC but matches P 2199 = T 1640 = L 1182, all beginning *Isnellement* but T and L changing *Gauters* to *Rollant*.

C 216 (26 lines), V7 204D (37 lines + 3458 = C 3440, 3469 = C 3447 inserted by Duggan), P 119 (32 lines), T 105 (19 lines) and L 76 (27 lines) all rhyme in *-anz/-ants/-ans/-ant*. C and V7 closely match in 18 lines. Duggan substitutes P 2248: *De mon hauberk m'ont rompu toz les pans*, adjusted to V7's graphies, for V7 3467: *desmaillé est mis auberc jaceranz*; C 3446 almost matches P 2248 and the corresponding L 1225 but ends its hypometric second hemistich with *ganz*: a scribal error for *geranz*, with the *er* symbol omitted. O lacks this *laisse*. V4 166 (26 lines) matches C quite closely, though not PTL—but V4's *-ant* rhyme implies contamination.

Into this *laisse* V7 inserts 13 additional lines, V7 3445-46, 3451, 3455-57, 3461-64, 3475-76 and 3478, most of which have no match in V4PTL, except that V7 3464: *Vendu nos somes a noz acerins branz* = V4 2189 and is almost C 3445: *Bien sunt vendu a lor acerins brans*, with the standard formula *acerins branz* echoed in P 2241; otherwise the only match is the accord of V7 3475: *Non faz je, sire, ce dist li quns Rollanz* with V4 2197—though V4 readings are suspect—and with the first hemistich of T 1659. V7 has variants from C in a further 9 lines: the single words *hardi* in V7 3444 and PTL where C reads *vasaus*; *rendez* in V7 3448 and PTL where C has *prestez*; also V7 3468: *Ge suis navrez de trois espiez trenchanz* where C 3447: *plaies ai tant en costez et en flanz* is

confirmed by PTL. Looking at variant hemistichs, one finds V7 3472: [...] *il est bien aparanz* where C 3450 and T 1654 agree on [...] *par lo mien escianz*, but V7 3473: *vos estes mi garanz* supported by P 2251 and T 1657 where C 3451 reads *si vos ting a garanz*. V7 3477 paraphrases C 3453, V7 3479 changes C 3454, but PTL lack these lines. This unusual situation suggests that, with the very next *laisse* (205) being unique to V7, the proximity of a source of additional *laisse*s led the scribe to turn to his alternative model for extra lines or improved readings in order to ‘flesh out’ the account of Gautier’s battle.

There remain four *laisse*s where C and V7 have the same rhyme but are too dissimilar to be printed together: C 203, 205, 206 and 217 corresponding to V7 188D, 190D, 191D and 206D; plus two *laisse*s with a different rhyme, C 209 and V7 194D, C 210 corresponding to V7 195D and 197D.

C 203 is a special case: its opening lines, 3235-41, are roughly matched by V7 188D, 3150-51, 3153-57, but the remaining 13 lines in V7 are completely different, the final 12 lines giving an account of the Death of Blanzardin not found elsewhere. C 203 has 11 lines with *-ee* rhyme but *frere* C 3237 and *enperere* C 3241; V7 has 20 lines rhymed in *-ee*. O lacks this *laisse* and V4 153 has 9 lines, 1977-85, corresponding to it, and exact match with C in 5 lines, but poor accord with V7. P 102 (34 lines) has 21 lines with *-ee* rhyme, but pseudo-rhyme *devierent* in line 1853 which CV7TL all lack, then 13 lines with *-ee/-ere* mix: these are two versions of the same *laisse*, P 1834-54 + 1855-67, with extra lines inserted into both groups. L 60, 14 lines with *-ee* rhyme, matches P 1836-47 exactly in 10 lines, partly in 3 lines, but adds one extra line, L 940 unique to L, and omits P 1839. L has no close match with C. C matches P’s later version, 1855-67, in 7 lines out of 11 compared with mainly single hemistich match with P 1836-54. T 91 has 11 lines with *-ee* rhyme, just as C does, but has very little match in detail with either C or V7; T has partial match with P in 7 of P’s first 13 lines but the last 2 of these, T 1409-10, are identical to C 3244-45 and V4 1984-85. There are certain striking features of this *laisse*. First, P’s repetition of

approximately the same lines within a single *laisse*, which is surprising, given the size and quality of the P manuscript, makes C's two repetitions less of a scribal aberration, more of a tolerated practice in the late thirteenth century. Second, within this repetition one finds confusion over two individual words: *l'amor* and *la mort*. Thus P 1839 reads: *Ensamble as Frans vos ai m'amor donnee* and T 1403: *Ensemble as Frans nous soit l'amour donnee* where, after a matching first hemistich, C 3237 and V4 1979 read: [...] *devons morir, beau frere/fré* and V7 3153: [...] *nos ert la mort donee*. This results in very different readings in subsequent lines—but later P 1857: *Ensamble [...] devons morir* accords with the CV7 reading. Third, P 1845-54 and L 942-46 match in recounting how Rollant killed Justin de Valfondee; but V7 3159-69 recounts in quite different terms from a different source how Roland killed Blanzardin—the only ms. to round off the story of Blanzardin in this way. P also inserts later, P 1858-60, irrelevant lines relating to Girart de Vienne and Charlemagne which seem to have strayed from another *chanson*. In this complicated situation, one can identify at least three different sources: P's first source, shared with L; P's second source related to C, V4 and the first 7 lines of V7; but a third source for V7's unique 12-line 'Death of Blanzardin'. T's text may derive from a fourth source, a mix of lines from the other sources.

Seen in the context of the other *laissez* in this cluster of assonance which have been examined, V7's distinctively different *laisse* is the first sign of a pattern which has already been identified: the introduction of additional *laissez*, unique to V7, to prepare the reader for the incidents recounted in Section C of the poem or to make good any inadequate coverage of a vital incident. C 191 = V7 181D, plus C 3071-72 = V7 3035-36, have earlier introduced Blanzardin, whereas all the other versions forget him. It is typical of the V7 scribe's attention to detail for him to introduce Blanzardin's death in order to complete the story. This also implies that these lines were not in the CV7 model, but were deliberately inserted later by V7.

*C 205* (26 lines + 2 vital lines omitted in error) and *V7 190D* (33 lines) both rhyme in *-on* and roughly match in 22 lines, of which 11 are identical. *C*'s omitted lines, which relate to Marsile, are confirmed as essential by *V7 3189, 3208* and *OV4PTL. P 104* (55 lines), *T 93* (28 lines) and *L 62* (34 lines) have the same *-on* rhyme. The *C-V7* match with *O 142* (27 lines with *-un/-on/-oign* assonance) in 20 lines serves to demonstrate how the easier assonance encourages an early conversion to rhyme: *O*'s text offers not only a plentiful variety of nouns ending in *-on* but also verbs whose *-ons/-ont* endings need only to drop the final consonant. The close accord between *C* and *V7* shows that the *CV7* model was fully rhymed in this *laisse*. *V7* accords with *P* in 15 lines, with *T* in 14 lines and with *L* in roughly 7 lines, but there is no correlation between *V7PTL* readings and any *V7* variations from *C*.

*C 206* (7 lines) and *V7 191* (12 lines) both rhyme in *-u*; *P 105* (12 lines), *T 94* (10 lines) and *L 63* (11 lines) have the same *-u* rhyme. *O* lacks this *laisse*. Here, there is a mix of matching lines: 7 of *V7*'s lines, *V7 3217* and *3219-24*, are identical to *T 1451-57* and only slightly modified in *P 1938-44* and *L 989-95*; but *C 3290: Le cheval broche des esperrons agu* is matched only by *P 1942*, not *V7TL*, and *C 3293* is a paraphrase not found in any other version. The final line is found in all the texts, but in slightly modified versions: *Dist l'un a l'autre, 'Li niés Charlle a vancu'* in *CPL* becomes *A voiz escrie [...]* in *V7 3228* and [...]  
*Ly roy Charles nous a [...]* in *T 460*.

*C 217* (11 lines) has *-is* rhyme like *V7 206D* (23 lines), *T 106* (10 lines), *L 77* (14 lines) and *P 120* (19 lines), though this last has several imperfect rhymes. *O 153* has 10 lines with *-i-* assonance. All the manuscripts agree on the first line: *Rollanz a duel, si est maltalentis*, though *CTL* have the present tense, *OV7P* the past. After this, the most striking feature is *V7*'s lack of match with the other versions in *V7 3508-22* and *3526-30*, *ie* in 20 lines out of 23. *V7 3523: De chaus d'Espegne lor a a jeté morz dis* matches *O 2058, C 3458* closely, but only the second hemistich in *PTL*, with modification of number and sometimes word-order; *V7 3524: E Gauter quatre et l'archevesque sis* is found in

OCPTL, again with variety of numbers; but V7 3525: *Dient paien*: ‘*Ce sunt diables vis*’ matches OCT in the first hemistich, although C 3460 = O 2060 reads: *Felon homes a cis* in the second; here P 2263, L 1238 read *Païen s’escrient*, ‘*Ci avons maus amis* [...]’ T 1666: ‘*Cy avon mauvés amis*’. C corresponds to O in 9 lines, though with some variant details. It is rarely identical for a whole line with any of the varied P, T or L readings. V7 206D probably derives its greater length and lack of conformity to the other versions from its position between two of V7’s unique laisses, 205 and 207, where an alternative model was available.

There is a very varied situation in the above 4 laisses, but V7’s independent attitude remains constant. The remaining two laisses, C 209 and 210, differ in rhyme from V7 194D and 195 + 197D.

C 209, 12 lines rhyming in *-oi*, but with final consonants omitted from many rhyme words, is paraphrased by V7 194D, 16 lines rhymed in *-iez*. C closely matches O 145, 12 lines assonanced in *-o-*. P has both rhymed and assonanced versions: P 108, 22 lines rhymed in *-iez* with *-ier* variants in 5 lines, classed as rhymed by Segre in *La Tradizione della ‘Chanson de Roland’* (Segre 64, Tavola III), matches V7 closely in 12 of its first 17 lines; P 109 (12 lines and *-a-* assonance) is very close to OC. V7 matches T 97 (20 lines, *-ez* rhyme) closely in 10 lines and L 66 (18 lines with *-iez*, *-ier* endings like P 108) in 6 lines. Because of C’s very different rhyme, it has no close match with PTL. C retains O’s first hemistich in most lines, but C’s modifications for the rhyme show no sign of contamination by reference to the rhymed versions. P provides evidence of two different versions available—and V7 apparently chose one as a different exemplar to avoid the faulty *-oi* rhyme in the CV7 model. Out of 16 lines in V7 194D, 10 are found in almost identical form in PT, endorsing that choice: P 1999, 2003-05, 2007-14 and T 1487, 1490-96, 1499-1501.

C 210 (20 lines, *-uz* rhyme with several *pseudo*-rhymes) corresponds to V7 195D (13 lines, *-u* rhyme) plus V7 197D (11 lines, *-er* rhyme). V7 196D (14 lines, *-ent* rhyme) is not found in any other version; the V7 scribe turns to a different source so as to insert an additional reaction

from Oliver to his fatal wound—giving triplication in the group 195-97D and preparing a balance between Oliver's *laisse* and the longer 'Roland' *laisse*, 199D, not found in any other version. V7 196D contains lines 3299-3301: *Hé, Aude, suer, pulcele de jovent! / Mais ne vesrai vostre mariement. / Cil vos mantegne a cui le mont apent!* in anticipation of Roland's speech in 199D, where lines 3345-52 begin *Et vos, belle Aude, amie, que ferez? / Ja vostre frere ne moi ne reverez [...]* and speak of Aude's grief before ending: *Od vos cuidoe estre a joie asemblez, / Mes ne puet estre. Mis jors est aprestez! / Cil vos porgart qui en cros fu penez!* This also prepares the ground for the later Belle Aude episode in the final section of the poem.

This is highly significant in terms of the C version. The first 9 lines in C 210 (3333-41) match V7 195D in 7 lines, with pseudo-rhymes *tuz* (C 3338) and *luz* (C 3341) easily corrected by V7's change to *-u* rhyme. C 3333-41 closely match O 146 (13 lines, *-u-* assonance) but omit O 1957: *Brandist son colp, si l'ad mort abatut*, which is matched by V7 3287. C also omits O 1962-63 and modifies O 1964: *Aprés escriet Rollant qu'il li aiut*, which becomes: *Puis en apele Rollant qe veigne a luz* in C 3341 = V7 3293. PTL have mainly *-u* rhyme with a few *-uz*; P 110 (19 lines) roughly matches C in 7 lines, C 3333-36, 3338-40, but P more closely matches V7 in 8 lines; T 98 (13 lines) = C in 6 lines, V7 in 9 lines; L 67 (13 lines) closely matches C in 2 lines, V7 in 3 lines.

At this point, C's first line, *Voit Oliver qe a mort est feruz*, is repeated as C 3342, followed by the second line of V7 195D, *De lui venger mout entalentez fu* (V7 3282), previously omitted by C. All the other versions have a new *laisse* here: O 147 (13 lines, *-e-* assonance), V4 160 (13 lines), V7 197D (11 lines), P 111 (21 lines), T 99 (11 lines) and L 67 (14 lines), all with *-er* rhyme. In each, this *laisse* opens with a first hemistich identical to that in the preceding *laisse* (i.e., *Sent Oliver / Oliver sent [...]* / *Quant Oliver se sent*), a potential source of scribal error. V7 matches P in 6 lines, L in 5 lines, but T in 9 out of 11 lines. C matches O in the first hemistich in 9 lines, V7 in the first hemistich in 6 lines. It seems that the repeated *Voit Oliver [...]* in his model (the CV7



model) caused the scribe to restart *C* 210 in error, inserting V7 3282 (thus showing that this was in the CV7 model), then realized his mistake but continued in the same rhyme, creating a single longer laisse while converting his model to *-uz* rhyme. OV4PTL all confirm that these were two consecutive laisses. Only V7 inserted the additional laisse 196*D*—the CV7 model did not contain this laisse, for otherwise *C*'s scribal error could not have occurred. This must mean that *C*'s copy of the model was made earlier than V7's.

In conclusion, the evidence that *C* is a slightly earlier manuscript than V7 is cumulative. It starts from the material evidence: the small size of ms., single-column layout, poor quality of parchment and simpler decoration, but it is based firmly on the variations between the two texts. These variations may be in single words, single hemistichs, lines or laisses. The fundamental feature common to all this evidence is V7's role as the agent of change.

Thus, where *C* has assonanced laisses, V7 has rhyme. Comparison of the texts reveals that V7 retains what he can of the assonanced version: full lines where the rhyme matches, hemistichs where the assonance differs from his rhyme. However, V7 turns to an alternative (rhymed) source for the other readings, a source linked to *T* in the first cluster of assonance, to *T*, *P* and sometimes *L* in the second.

In the laisses where *C* and V7 have the same rhyme and match closely, there is much less need for modification, but V7 emends *C*'s pseudo-rhymes and any other errors by reference to the same source, again shared to varying degrees with *P*, *T* and *L*. Where *C* and V7 have the same or a similar rhyme but the two texts do not closely match, or where *C* and V7 have different rhymes, there is in the first cluster a complex pattern of concordance between V7 and its CV7 model in some readings, but between V7 and *T* in others. The same complexity is also found in some laisses in the second cluster of assonance, but the most striking feature is V7's independent insertion of incidents such as the 12-line 'Death of Blanzardin' passage and of a completely different version of individual laisses, not supported by PTL.

V7's reference to a separate rhymed source not known to PTL or OC is confirmed by the insertion of *laissez* not found in any other version into the second cluster, by his recourse to the same different model in order to replace the assonanced *C 218*, the final *laisse* of this cluster, and to supplement his modifications to *C 203* and *C 216*.

In these two groups of *laissez*, the many matching lines in *C* and *V7* show that both derive from the CV7 model, though the *C* scribe copies this exemplar uncritically and sometimes inaccurately, whereas *V7* emends the readings of the CV7 model where necessary. The evidence cited in this article shows that *V7*, as consistently the modifier, must be the later version. *C 210* confirms this: that two *laissez* in OV4PTL become a single *laisse* in *C* can only be explained as scribal error, based on identical opening lines in 2 consecutive *laissez* in the CV7 model, just as there are in OV4PTL. *V7* inserts between them an additional *laisse*, *196D*, unique to *V7*, which alters the whole situation. This makes sense only if *V7* is later in date than *C*.

Acceptance of *C* as the earlier manuscript colours the reading of variant words, hemistichs, lines and *laissez* in *V7* and the evaluation of the authority of *C* throughout the text. It also puts a new complexion on the repetitions and their associated clusters of assonance and, via them, on the whole structure of the rhymed redaction and the evolution of the C-V7 version. On the one hand, it simplifies the schema by eliminating an extra 'assonanced source' in relation to *C*; on the other hand, it adds a missing link to the schema pattern by bringing the T and P versions into sharper focus in relation to *V7*.

The evidence cited in this article raises the question of re-examination and revision of the Segre thesis. It also demonstrates the need for a full edition of *C*, since the Duggan reconstruction of the CV7 model becomes problematic.

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