THE PSEUDO-TURPIN

Edited from

Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Latin, MS. 17656

with an Annotated Synopsis

by

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TO

WARD THORON
PREFACE

This edition of the ‘shorter’ Pseudo-Turpin is addressed to two groups of readers. The text itself, with its variant readings, is primarily meant for students of the manuscript tradition. The annotated Synopsis is offered to the larger group of antiquarians of less specialized interest, in the hope that it will prove useful as an introduction at once to the matter of the chronicle and to the problems arising from it. With the latter purpose in mind, I have sought to make the Synopsis also applicable to the ‘longer’ Turpin published by Castets and Thoron, by describing, on pages 12–16, the principal omissions of the shorter text and by distinguishing those few notes that do not apply equally to both versions.

I regret that Dr C. Meredith-Jones’s valuable critical edition of the Pseudo-Turpin (Paris: Droz, 1936) came to hand too late for use in the preparation of this volume.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge generous financial assistance from the Mediaeval Academy of America and from the authorities of Connecticut College. I have, besides, received from Mr Thoron encouragement and favors too numerous to mention, for which no expression of gratitude can be adequate.

H. M. SMYSER

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THE PSEUDO-TURPIN

B.N., Fonds Latin, MS. 17656
INTRODUCTION

THE Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi is usually called the Pseudo-Turpin, after that graceless Unknown who, writing in the middle of the twelfth century, had the temerity to pass his chronicle off as the mémoires of Archbishop Tylpin, or Turpin, of Rheims, a contemporary of Charlemagne. We shall presently return to this pseudonymous author and his purposes; for the moment it will suffice to remark that his chronicle may be characterized in outline as the story of the wars by which Charlemagne, in legend only, conquered the whole of Spain and Galicia.

In 1880, Ferdinand Castets brought out an edition based upon seven manuscripts in the library of the Medical College of Montpellier.¹ This edition, because of its somewhat parochial authority, was considered from the beginning a makeshift — seven is by no means a tithe of the manuscripts in existence and those manuscripts are scattered far and wide through the libraries of Europe.² Nevertheless, it was to serve as the best available for over fifty years. During that time, students of the Pseudo-Turpin, following Philip August Becker and Joseph Bédier, came with more and more assurance to look upon it as a redaction and to select as the original a text preserved in a twelfth-century codex, the so-called Codex Calixtinus, in the Cathedral Archives of Santiago de Compostela. Finally, in 1934, Mr Ward Thoron printed the Compostela version.³

Castets’s text, so long of service, by no means lost all usefulness on the appearance of Thoron’s, for collation of manuscripts by various hands has proved it no isolated redaction peculiar to Montpellier but a type far more widespread than the Compostelan. Thus, to the student of the history of the Pseudo-Turpin, Castets remains an indispensable complement to Thoron.

The Thoron and Castets texts may be taken together as representative of the ‘longer’ and ‘older’ Pseudo-Turpin, in comparison with the text published herein, the ‘shorter’ and ‘younger.’ The classifying of Thoron and Castets together causes no difficulty — their differences, as the reader

¹ Published at Montpellier by the Société pour l’Étude des Langues Romanes.
² See G. Baist’s review of Castets, Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, v (1881), 422 f. The critical edition which Baist here promises was never to appear.
³ Boston, the Merrymount Press. Thoron did not use the Codex Calixtinus but two independent fourteenth-century copies. He judged, from the similarity of these copies, even in illuminations, to the Calixtinus as described in print, and from their exact agreement with each other, ‘with few variations in spelling and still fewer in punctuation,’ that he was faithfully reproducing the Calixtine version. That this judgment is wholly correct is the inference to be drawn from our Appendix iv, note 2.
can see for himself by referring to the specimen chapter published in Appendix iv, are not great — but the terms 'longer,' 'older,' 'shorter,' and 'younger' are regrettably vague and are employed only faute de mieux. Actually the Thoron-Castets texts are but some ten or fifteen per cent longer than our text, which is thus in fact a redaction rather than a mere epitome, and they are not much older as time is reckoned in the life of a work which was circulated for centuries. The original Turpin must have been written after 1139; in all likelihood it appeared in the decade 1140-1150, though one scholar, Max Buchner, has shown some reason for thinking that it may even postdate 1160. On the other hand, the manuscript reproduced in this edition is one of the oldest extant manuscripts of any version and may safely be dated as earlier than 1200; yet it was not chosen on the ground that its version is the earliest of the shorter Turpin but on the opposite ground that it is the latest — that it is a final product of successive redactions. It is derived, as we shall see, from a short Turpin of about — at latest — 1184, and between that parent version and the longer Turpin there is at least one further intermediary short version. It seems likely that the first author of a shorter Turpin began his meddling with the longer chronicle at a time when it was comparatively new.

In his Légendes épiques, Joseph Bédier gives a most illuminating account of the probable origin and raison d'être of the Pseudo-Turpin. The chronicle can properly be understood, he thinks, only when it is assumed to have been composed as part and parcel of a large compilation, the Book of St James, the oldest complete manuscript of which is the aforementioned Codex Calixtinus, in the Cathedral Archives of Santiago de Compostela. The Book, of which a Pseudo-Calixtus II is compiler, part-author, and general editor, consists of five Parts as follows: (1) the Sermons and Office of St James; (2) the Miracles of the Saint; (3) his Translation from Jerusalem to Compostela and the Invention of his tomb after the Moorish conquest; (4) the Pseudo-Turpin; and (5) A Guide for Pilgrims to Compostela. To be sure, the Turpin is much more popular and has been much more widely disseminated than the Book as a whole, but that fact does not imply that it antedates the Book — indeed, nearly all manuscripts of the Turpin betray an original connection with the Book by joining to the text of the chronicle more or less lengthy fragments of the other Parts; for example, our Chapter XL is a portion of Chapter vii

1 See Joseph Bédier, Légendes épiques (Paris, 1929), iii, 68, 81.
2 See page 35, note 1, below.
3 The Codex Calixtinus has never been printed in full; an edition is even now pending under the care of Dr Walter Muir Whitehill. Bédier used manuscript copies of some of the portions not in print — see Légendes, iii, 76 n., 77 n., 78 n., and 79 n.
of the Pilgrims’ Guide. Moreover, worked into the narrative of the Turpin are to be found certain passages similar to or identical with passages elsewhere in the Book — in the Sermons or Office (Part i), or the Translation (Part iii), or the Guide (Part v).

The Book of St James Bédier characterizes as an instrument for glorifying the Apostle and his shrine at Compostela and more especially for inciting the faithful of France to make the pilgrimage to that shrine. Pope Calixtus II (†1124), he thinks, doubtless owes his recall from the grave for the posthumous task of writing and editing to the fact that during his lifetime he had favored Compostela. The real authors (more than one hand can be recognized) were French clerics — so much is evident from such phrases as ‘nos, gens gallica,’ ‘gens nostra gallica,’ ‘gens gallica, optima scilicet,’ and the like, which occur in the Turpin and the Pilgrims’ Guide. That a work of which the aim was the aggrandizement of Galician Santiago should have been written by Frenchmen is best explained on the supposition that the Frenchmen were affiliated with Cluny, for during the eleventh and twelfth centuries that great monastery interested itself deeply in the affairs of Spain and Galicia, where it established many houses, and especially in the affairs, and well-being, of Santiago. Indeed, it was the abbot of Cluny who, in 1120, obtained from Pope Calixtus an archiepiscopal status for the see of Compostela, and this favor is to be distinguished only by its magnitude from numerous others which Cluny performed for the Galician establishment. Probably Cluniac and certainly French is, then, the provenance of the Book, and the function of the Book is the advertising of Compostela.

We need only to look at our chronicle to see how well it fits into the scheme of the Book as Bédier explains it. The chronicle is given out as the work of Bishop Turpin, who died before the beginning of the ninth century. Such amiable mendacity is characteristic of the Book — a special, short account of the Translation by a ‘Pope Leo’ is adduced to reinforce the longer account which is the body of Part iii; and, as we have just seen, ‘Pope Calixtus,’ who died at least fifteen years before the Book was composed, lends his authority to the whole — covers the whole and reinforces, as it were, the unimpeachable guarantees of Turpin and Leo. (Indeed, the spirit of the Pseudo-Calixtus lived on in the Codex Calixtinus even after his work was finished, for that Codex and some manuscripts copied from it have as postscripts numerous further ‘authentifications.’) We have evidence, too, in the Turpin of the editorial work of Calixtus, notably in our Chapter xxxvii, where the ghostly Pope tells us of the death of Bishop Turpin and the invention of his grave. From the point of view of the chronological scheme of the Book, in so far
as any exists, the chronicle has its rôle: at the end of Part III, the body of St James has been translated from Jerusalem to Iria (El Padron) and thence to Compostela. Part IV — the *Pseudo-Turpin* — in the course of describing Charlemagne’s wars tells how the Emperor wrested St James’s tomb from Saracen dominance, how he enlarged and endowed the church of Compostela, and how he made it an episcopal see — indeed, made it the prime see of Western Europe. Thus Part IV in a loose fashion continues the history of St James’s shrine from the point at which Part III breaks off. It will be noted, too, that in doing so, it contributes with the utmost directness to the purpose of the *Book*. It has been objected that Charlemagne, rather than St James, is the prime subject of Turpin’s chronicle, but everywhere Charlemagne is a crusader of Galicia, a crusader of St James; in the end, the glamour with which he is invested redounds to the glory of Santiago de Compostela. For the rest, the chronicle partakes of the tendency of the *Book* chiefly in advertising the attractions of the pilgrims’ routes — the battlefields on which Charlemagne fought, the cities which he besieged, the abbeys which he founded, the tombs of his heroes, their relics, the chapel of Montjardin, the miraculous groves of Sahagún and Saintes.¹

We must speak in the plural of the authors of the *Book*, but, so far as I can see, the *Turpin* may well be considered the work of a single individual, it being understood that this individual had many sources and sometimes dipped into them for whole passages *verbatim* — as, for example, when he used a cento out of Venantius Fortunatus. An interesting contribution to our knowledge of the Pseudo-Turpin is to be found in a recent work by a Benedictine, P. Pius Fischer.² It seems that in the chronicle there is a far greater number of Biblical phrases than anybody not long steeped in Holy Scripture would realize. Fischer points these out and observes that every one of them occurs also in a liturgical book. Where there is a difference of word-order between the Bible and the liturgical book, the Pseudo-Turpin, as would be expected, follows the liturgical book. The quotations seem to be written down from memory, with considerable accuracy, and, among them, quotations from the Psalms are especially prominent. All this would indicate that our author was no lay-brother or member of minor orders, but a full-fledged monk, using his Breviary and his Missal for long hours of the day and required, as all monks have been required since the days of Benedict, to read the Psalter through once a week. Apart from this, our knowledge of the Pseudo-Turpin, of this

¹ Copious illustrations of the purposes of the *Pseudo-Turpin* may be found throughout the notes. See especially page 44, note 3.
² *Die französische Übersetzung des Pseudo-Turpin nach dem Codex Gallicus 52* (Wertheim am Main, 1932), pp. 96 f.
monk of Cluny, as we may probably add, must be inferred from the con-
tent of the chronicle. He seems to have had a wide familiarity with
*chansons de geste*, with folktales and legends of one sort and another, and
some familiarity with more edifying matter in homilies and saints’ lives.
Certainly it is safe to say of him that he entered with gusto into his rôle
of bishop to the extent that he was ready to moralize at the drop of a hat.
Whether he was always wholly serious in this moralizing and therefore
to be considered exceedingly naïve — see, for example, the theological
debate on page 13, below — or whether he sometimes had his tongue in
his cheek, the reader must decide for himself, according to his conception
of the Middle Ages. An amusing example of our chronicler’s quickness
to preach a sermon is implicit in one of the notes to the Synopsis (page 30,
note 3). In a story told by St Peter Damian, a heathen king reproves
Charlemagne for treating some of his dependents as paupers. This was
but just, Damian observes, for Christ said, ‘Inasmuch as ye have done it
unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.’
That is the climax and end of the story. But when the Pseudo-Turpin
re-tells this anecdote, in his own way, the suggestion of a moral is too
much for him and he is off:

Herein is to be seen how great is the guilt of any Christian who does not serve
the poor of Christ as zealously as he can. If Charlemagne [was rebuked] be-
cause he treated paupers ill, what shall happen on judgment day to them that
mistreat the poor? How they shall hear the terrible voice of the Lord saying,
‘Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire! For I was an hungry, and ye
gave me no meat, et cetera.’ It is to be considered that God’s religion and his
faith is of little worth in a Christian unless it is supplemented by good works.
As the Apostle said —

and so forth.

The parent manuscript of the shorter *Pseudo-Turpin* was not of the
Thoron type, but of the Castets type, though lacking a few of Castets’s
divergences from Thoron. (See the *stemma* on page 52, below.) This
manuscript underwent some revision and abridgment, and the product
was a *Turpin* of the type of *B.M., MS. Nero A xi*. If the reader cares to
compare our Appendix iv, Paragraphs 1 and 2, with Appendix 1, Chapter
viii, he will observe that the revision was slight; as for abridgment, the
*Turpin* of this redaction lost the episodes described in Sections II–VII on
pages 13–15, below. The original of the Nero type I designate *ONA*. In
its turn it, too, was to undergo a revision; it was to be embellished, made
more ornamental, particularly in Chapters i–iv, vi–viii, xii–xiv, and
xvii. This embellished shorter *Turpin* had an interesting history. In
the year 1165, the Anti-Pope Paschal III, at the behest of his master,
Frederick Barbarossa, canonized Charlemagne. Some time thereafter,
Frederick caused to be written a *Vita Karoli Magni*, an uncommonly elaborate saint's life for the new saint. The author of this *Vita* revelled in a florid and metaphorical style, and it is not surprising to find that when he desired to incorporate part of the *Pseudo-Turpin* in his book he chose the embellished version and the most ornamental portion thereof: Chapters I-IV and VI-VIII. To be sure, in two passages he added further embellishment, but in the main the text was satisfactory as it stood. The version which he used is preserved in B.N., MS. 17656, the manuscript printed in this edition.

This history of the embellished *Pseudo-Turpin* I recounted at some length in an article in *Speculum* for April, 1936, and the details and evidences there presented need not be repeated here. It remains, however, to introduce an important document not known at the time I wrote that article. Recently Mr Ward Thoron obtained from Spain a photostat of a manuscript of the *Turpin, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, No. 1617*. This he very kindly placed at my disposal, pointing out that in it I should find a text and a prefatory letter of considerable interest in the history of the shorter *Turpin*.

*Madrid* 1617 was probably written in the fourteenth century; certainly it is a copy. It begins with a 'Preface of Count B. to Frederick, Emperor of Rome, concerning the passion and miracles of St James.' Thereafter, in order, come the Pseudo-Calixtus's General Prologue to the *Book of St James* (fol. 3-4), his Prologue to the Translation (fol. 4v-6), the Translation (fol. 6-10v), the Pseudo-Leo's lesser Translation (fol. 10v-12), a letter of the Pseudo-Calixtus which serves as an epilogue of the Translation (fol. 12-15), the Pseudo-Calixtus's Argumentum for the Miracles (fol. 15-16), the Miracles (fol. 16-38v), and the *Pseudo-Turpin* (fol. 38v-72v) — in short, the preface of Count B. is followed by the General Prologue and Parts III, II, and IV of the *Book of St James*, in that order. In phrasing, the General Prologue and Parts III and II as found in Madrid differ somewhat from the *Book* of the Codex Calixtinus; there has

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1 Vol. xi, pp. 277-293: 'An Early Redaction of the *Pseudo-Turpin*.'

2 Its *Turpin* has a considerable number of variants where texts which are below it on the stemma agree with either Thoron or Castets, or both. In Ch. iii, var. to l. 21, it corrects an erroneous 'que' which must have appeared in the original to 'quas' (see *Speculum*, xi, 283 f.).

3 The manuscript is clear but has been damaged along the top margins, and the first line or lines of some pages are gone.

4 Assuming that the Codex Calixtinus is fairly represented in B.M., Addit. MS. 12213 and the fragments published in Ulysse Robert, *Bullaire du Pape Calixte II* (Paris, 1891), 11, 257 f. (General Prologue); Flores, *España Sagrada*, 111, 407 f. ('Leo's' letter); the Bollandist *Catalogus codicium hagiographorum bibliothecae Regiae Bruxellensis* (Brussels, 1886), Pt. 1, i, 66-69 (Translation); and *AASS. Bol.*, vii Jul., 47-58 (Miracles).
evidently been some conscious redaction, though there is nowhere shown so marked a tendency to ornateness as characterizes portions of the embellished shorter Turpin. On the other hand, the Pseudo-Turpin of Madrid is an embellished shorter Turpin and, more than that, it stands somewhat closer to ONA than does our text or the Turpin portion of the Vita Karoli Magni. That is to say, the Madrid Turpin offers us the embellished shorter version in what is relatively its most primitive form. It thus stands in direct line of ascent above the text (OA) which was used by Frederick's scribe in the composition of the Vita and which is preserved in the manuscript printed in this volume. We might pardonably assume that Madrid is the original embellished version; certainly it is the 'original' among those known.

In all this the prefatory letter does not enter, nor even the fact that it makes Frederick the recipient of the text under consideration. The letter may be briefly summarized (for the full text, see Appendix v):

'B. hayonensis comes' sends to Emperor Frederick an illuminated book of the Passion and Miracles of St James, written by Pope Calixtus II, and likewise a book of Archbishop Tilpin of Rheims concerning the heroic deeds of Charlemagne in Spain. The former book may contribute to the Emperor's spiritual welfare, the latter stimulate him to achievements in mundane affairs. Count B. is mindful that Frederick has honored him very often among the great ones of his court, and he will make none but Frederick a sharer in this gift. Count B. obtained the codex with great difficulty, having caused it to be sought out by his clerks and notaries. It was originally composed partly at Cluny, partly at Tours, and partly at St Denis. Valeat honor vester.

That 'B. hayonensis comes' is an error for 'B. hanoniensis comes' (B. count of Hainaut) is the inference to be drawn not only from the close relations of the powerful Baldwin V of Hainaut with Frederick but also,

1 For example, in the General Prologue of the Codex Calixtinus, 'Calixtus' makes extended observations on the fitness of his several books to be read in church, in the refectory, etc. Madrid omits practically all of this, probably because it was not consonant with Madrid's own contents and destination to a layman.

2 Our text, which, following Gaston Paris, we may call A, agrees with the Vita (P) in a number of readings as against Madrid (M) where M agrees with the older texts. For example, Ch. 1, var. to l. 4: AV have 'triumphalis,' not in M, Thoron, Castets; Ch. 1, var. to l. 7: AV 'vulnerum adhue egrotantii aliquantulum ut,' but M, Thoron, Castets, 'vulnerum aliquantulum egrotantii ut'; Ch. 1, var. to l. 12/14: AV, 'enim que,' but M, Thoron, Castets, 'enim divulgata que'; and Ch. 1, var. to l. 14/15: AV fail to mention St Denis as source, but M, Thoron, Castets mention 'sancti Dionisii cronica regali.' A also (in portions not represented in P) omits two passages found in M and ONA—see pp. 15 f., below, Pars. VIII and IX.

3 See the last sentence but two in the letter, p. 110, below.

4 The words 'per clericos' are contracted falsely; for the reading of them I am indebted to the kindness and acumen of Professor Adalbert Hämel of Würzburg.

5 An admirable source for Baldwin's life is the Chronicon Hanoniense by Baldwin's notary, Gislebertus of Mons (ed. L. Vanderkindere [Brussels, 1904]). See especially pp. 95-end. See also the Annales of Jacques de Guyse (ed. de Fortia [Paris, 1831]), Vol. xii.
Introduction

and more directly, from a document long ago published and discussed by Gaston Paris and Theodor Auracher. This document is a preface by one Nicolas of Senlis to a French translation of the *Pseudo-Turpin* which he made about the year 1200. Nicolas begins by complaining that the *contes rimes* of Charlemagne are nothing but lies, and then continues as follows:

Li bons Baudoin, li cuens de Chainau, si ama molt Karlemaines. Ni ne vout onque croire chose que l'on en chantast; aiz fist cercher totes les bones abeies de France e garder par totes les aumaires por saver si l'om i troveroit la veraie estoire; ne onques trover ne li porent li cler. Tant avint que uns sis clers si ala en Borgogne por l'estoire querre eissi cum a Deu plot; si la trova a Sans en Borgogne. . . . Li clers au bon comte Baudoin contrescrit l'estoire e à son segnor l'aporta, qui molt la tint en grant cherte tant que il vesqui. E quant il sot qu'il dut mourir, si envoa son livre à sa seror, la bonne Yolent la comtesse de Saint-Pou, e si li manda que par amor de lui gardast le livre cum ele vivroit. La bone comtesse ha garde le livre jusqu'à ore. Or si me proie que je le mete de latin en romans sans rime; por co que teus set de letre qui de latin ne le seust escrire, e por ce que par romans sera il mieus gardés. Or si orés que li bons arcevesques en raconte.

The two documents — the Latin letter of 'B. hayonensis comes' (which we may call LL) and the French preface of Nicolas of Senlis (FP) — dovetail nicely. Count Baldwin of Hainaut, brother of that Yolande who became countess of St-Pol (FP), sought out through his clerks and notaries (FP, LL) the true story of Charlemagne — a scribe actually found it at 'Sans' in Burgundy (FP). Baldwin cherished this book as long as he lived (FP), making only his benefactor Frederick I a sharer therein (LL). He willed the book to his sister Yolande, who caused it to be translated into French (FP).

This dovetailing, together with the fact that Frederick's scribe actually made use of the version of the *Turpin* to which LL is prefixed, would indicate that both documents should be taken at face value, that is, should be considered genuine and independent of each other. One further fact points in the same direction. Baldwin's book, which he willed to Yolande, should have contained (since it was the original of our Madrid manuscript) not only the *Turpin* but also the Translation and Miracles of St James. Some twelve years after the composition of FP, namely in 1212, there appeared a French version of the *Miracula sancti Iacobi* from the pen of a certain Pierre, who writes at the end of his work:

Ci fine la translation mons. saint Jaque et si miracle que Calixtes li apostoles

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traita en latin por s'amor; et Pierres, par le commandement la contesse Yoland, mist en romanz cest livre.¹

An important difficulty arises when we consider the question of dates — so important that it may lead some to seek an entirely new solution of the problem of 'Count B.' and LL. Frederick's Vita Karoli Magni has usually been dated soon after (within a year or two of) 1165, the year in which Frederick caused his Anti-Pope Paschal III to canonize Charlemagne,² whereas Baldwin the brother of Yolande did not become count of Hainaut until 1171. The dating of the Vita rests upon a sensible assumption. There is no doubt that the author of the Vita was mindful of the canonization, and the reader of his pious eulogy normally assumes that he was enshrining in his Latin phrases a canonization which had recently taken place. The Vita has the 'ring' of 1165. Nevertheless, a possible reconciliation of the difficulty and, as I think, the simplest and best reconciliation is a re-dating of the Vita. The author of the work nowhere makes any statement which he might not have made six, or for that matter, twenty-five years³ after 1165, if we suppose only that he — or rather Frederick — could remain so long mindful of the canonization.⁴ The canonization of Charlemagne was never accepted by a duly elected Pope of Rome; we can easily imagine, therefore, that Frederick did, indeed, hold it in his consciousness and that he might see fit to urge St Charlemagne upon the clergy and nobility not only in 1165 but at any time thereafter. Perhaps he would be especially inclined to issue such a work of propaganda as the Vita before 1177 or between 1184–1187, when he was more or less at odds with the Roman curia.

If we are to accept the letter of Baldwin V as genuine and its terminology as anything but pure hyperbole, the most likely date for the composition of the Vita is some time after 1184. In that year Baldwin was signal ly 'honored among the great ones of Frederick's court' — indeed, honored above the greatest, for he was chosen to carry the sword in the imperial fashion before the court. The occasion was that brilliant tournament at Mainz which von Giesebrecht has characterized as one of the

² The Vita was evidently written in one piece, for an exhaustive table of contents follows the pref ace in all the older manuscripts, in fact in thirteen of the fourteen used by Rauschen in his edition (Die Legende Karls des Großen [Leipzig, 1890], pp. 17–93).
³ Frederick was alive when the book was finished — see, for example, Bk. III, Ch. 19. He died in 1190.
⁴ As evidence that the Vita was written soon after 1165, Rauschen cites three passages: the General Prologue; Bk. I, Ch. 1 (near end); and Bk. III, Ch. 19 (ed. cit., pp. 3, 17, 21, 92 f.). Note that on p. 17 it is not the Vita which is dated three hundred and fifty-one years after Charlemagne's death, as has sometimes been wrongly stated, but the canonization. See also Rauschen's Excurs on the canonization, pp. 129–137.
very climaxes of mediaeval chivalry; present to witness, and perhaps envy, Baldwin's distinction were such superior nobles as the Dukes of Saxony, Austria, and Bohemia. In 1184, too, Baldwin had other lively reasons for gratitude to Frederick: he had been entertained with great cordiality at Hagenau and he had received Frederick's advice and pledge of support in his claims upon the inheritance of Namur. Between that time and 1188, when Frederick guaranteed his elevation to prince of the empire, Baldwin had every right to address his benefactor in such terms as make up the letter prefixed to Madrid. I would suggest 1184 as the earliest possible date of the Vita. It should be remembered that even if we take the terms of LL to be pure hyperbole and seek to date LL soon after 1171 we are still faced with a choice between the commonly accepted date of the Vita and the genuineness of LL.

Long ago, in 1865, Gaston Paris, discussing the Turpin of B.N. 17656, came to a noted conclusion. He observed that this Turpin lacked, among other matters found in the longer versions, a phrase and a passage which tended, each in its way, to magnify the importance of the monastery of St Denis. Knowing nothing of the history of the version, he naturally supposed it to be originally French. As it was hardly likely that a Frenchman, especially a Frenchman concerned with the transmission of a chronicle, would omit anything which reflected to the credit of St Denis, Paris decided that the phrase and the passage were interpolations and that the lack of them in 17656 was proof that 17656 was the original Turpin and the longer versions merely redactions. It is interesting in the light of what is now known to see exactly how Paris was led to

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1 Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit, ed. B. von Simson (Leipzig, 1895), vi, 71. See also vi, 63 ff. and Gislebertus, ed. cit., pp. 154-163.
2 Baldwin had evidently been selected in part lest jealousy be aroused among the greatest vassals — see von Giesebrecht, vi, 67. In general Baldwin owed Frederick's backing to the latter's policy of developing a strong county on the northwest border.
3 A slight difficulty remains to be mentioned: The French translation to which Nicolas's preface is now attached can hardly be derived from 'B's' version; though agreeing with M in many omissions, it contains the theological debate described in Par. II of p. 13, below, which disappeared in OMA. The translation has been through the hands of a garrulous saintongeais scribe; he may have added the passage from another Turpin; or (and this is much more plausible) Nicolas's preface may here be attached to another than his own translation. The work ends with a colophon by Nicolas, but this would, of course, accompany the preface in any and all wanderings. — I may remark that Mr Thoron, whose advice in connection with LL has been especially helpful, has always maintained, even long before LL turned up, that the Vita was of later date than 1165, his ground being that Frederick would have felt no need to address such a book as the Vita to Paschal III, who was his mere creature.
5 The phrase is 'in sancti Dionisii cronica regali.' It alters the sense of the text in such a way as to make it seem that St Denis, even in Turpin's time, was a center of royal historiography, whereas it did not actually become that until the days of Suger (1151). The passage narrates privileges bestowed by Charlemagne on St Denis — see our Appendix ii.
make this blunder. The phrase and the passage survived the abridgment which produced the first shorter *Turpin*, *ONA*. Furthermore, they are to be found in the first embellished shorter *Turpin*, in the ‘B. of Hainaut’ version, that is. Thus the glory of St Denis got as far as Frederick’s court. But the Hohenstaufen chronicler who revised the version of ‘B. of Hainaut’ to make that later one drawn upon in the *Vita* and preserved in 17656 (the version *OA* in the stemma below) was not especially interested in St Denis and the two references were dropped.\(^1\) This leaves us with the seeming anomaly of a French manuscript of the *Turpin* which, as it were, pointedly ignores the monastery of Suger, the center of French historiography. In other words, Paris’s error lay in supposing that his version had originated in France and then been copied in Aachen, whereas actually it had originated in Aachen and been brought to France. A case complementary to this, and one which is likewise to be explained by recourse to the history of the shorter redaction, is the lack of the chapter descriptive of Charlemagne’s person and regimen, Chapter xx of Thoron and Castets, in not only *MS. 17656*, but in the ‘B. of Hainaut’ version as well. Frederick, as a noted admirer of his predecessor, would doubtless have enjoyed this chapter and it would have certainly found a place in 17656 if he or his historians had ever seen it. But it had fallen at the hands of the redactor of *ONA*, whose chief interest was evidently not Charlemagne but the abridging of a chronicle too long to suit his taste. Much that is contradictory in the shorter *Turpin* is to be explained in similar fashion by the fact that no single purpose animated the various redactors.

\(^1\) The author of the *Vita*, however, refers twice to St Denis. See Bk. i, Ch. xv, and Bk. iii, Prol. (ed. Rauschen, pp. 37, 67), or, for the latter, our Prefatio, which is identical with Bk. iii, Prol.
MATTERS OF THE LONGER TURPIN OMITTED IN MS. 17656

(Number I probably was not found in the source [O Castets] of the shorter version — it is not in Castets. Numbers II–VII were dropped by the redactor of ONA, Numbers VIII, IX by the redactor of OA. — See the stemma, page 52, below.)

I.† (A letter of the Blessed² Pope Calixtus)

Calixtus, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved brother bishops and all other persons of Holy Church, and to all Christians of the present and future, greetings and apostolic benediction!

You have heard how the Saracens have been persecuting our brethren in Spain, how they have slain many and sold many into slavery in far lands, and how they have destroyed churches. You have heard, too, of the thousands upon thousands of Christians who have died as martyrs in the battles of the Saracen border.

We read in his Gests³ how Charlemagne crusaded in Spain and how Archbishop Turpin of Rheims, having summoned to Rheims the bishops of France and Lorraine, decreed remission of sins for any man who would go to Spain to fight and be martyred for the Faith. And this dispensation has been corroborated by all popes to our own time: witness the Blessed Urban, who, in the Council of Clermont, urged the faithful to go on a crusade to Jerusalem. Now, therefore, we re-affirm that all who put on the sign of the cross either for Spain or Jerusalem shall be granted forgiveness of sins, and all who suffer martyrdom there shall be crowned among holy martyrs in the kingdom of heaven.

Certainly such crusaders were never so needed as now. Wherefore, we beseech and direct that every bishop and prelate in his synods and councils and in the consecrations of churches constantly urge this papal injunction above all others, exhorting his priests to make it known to the lay body; and whosoever does so shall have a reward like that of the crusaders, and whosoever transmits this letter from place to place and from church to church and preaches the crusade to all shall receive eternal glory. — Fiat, fiat, fiat!

Dated at the Lateran before one hundred bishops in council.

This letter should be read and expounded in all churches every Sunday between Easter and St John’s Day.† Amen.

For brief discussions of this interesting if not very subtle forgery, see Reinhardt Dozy, *Recherches sur l’histoire et la littérature de l’Espagne*

† Thoron, Ch. xxvi. ‡ That is, ‘the late.’
* Doubtless the *Pseudo-Turpin* is meant, though the *Turpin* mentions no council of Rheims such as is described immediately below. The council may be a confused recollection of Charlemagne’s councils of Compostela and St Denis (Chs. xix and xxiv in Thoron). † June 24.

II. In Chapter xxi — the continuation of the combat between Roland and Ferracutus — the theological debate between the two warriors is very much shorter than in the long versions, where Roland is more prolix concerning the Trinity, and, thereafter, takes up other dogmas:

The Trinity [he says] is like a sounding zither — art, strings, and hand combine, but there is only one zither; it is like an almond — shell, inner skin, and kernel, but only one almond; like the sun (brightness, radiance, and heat); like a cart-wheel (axle, spoke, and rim); like Ferracutus himself (body, members, and soul). Ferracutus acknowledges now that he understands the Three-in-One. Roland proceeds to explain how Christ is the son of God, born of a virgin. Certainly God, who causes weevils, vermin, fish, vultures, apes, and serpents to procreate without male seed, can make a virgin give birth to a son. Ferracutus grants that that may be so. When Roland next undertakes to explain the resurrection the giant is again highly incredulous. The apologist touches upon the dead grain of wheat that sprouts, the dead lion's-cubs that are resurrected by the lioness's breath. But how could Christ go to heaven? asks Ferracutus. Roland points out that Christ came down from heaven and therefore could go back up. What goes down can go up, be it a point on a mill-wheel, or a flying bird, Ferracutus himself on a mountain-side, or the sun. At this juncture (quite understandably) the fighting is resumed.

About eight hundred words are omitted in our text. To be sure, the matter breaks the flow of the narrative badly, but it is highly amusing. It reminds the modern reader of Pulci.

III. Between our Chapters xxiv and xxv, there is in the long texts a chapter on the personal appearance and regimen of Charlemagne. It has a length of about one and three-quarters folio pages (16r–17r) in the Codex Calixtinus. Modeled on Einhard (though showing no close relationship) it is among the most interesting chapters in the chronicle.

Charlemagne is portrayed as a dark-haired, well proportioned, handsome giant, eight feet tall by the measure of his own feet; his face was a palm and a half in length, his beard a palm. He had the eyes of a lion and could dart terror into any who opposed his will. His girdle was eight palms long, not counting the part which hung loose. He ate little bread, but could consume a quarter of a mutton, or two chickens, or a goose, or a leg of pork, or a peacock, or a crane, or a whole hare, at one meal. He drank but little wine. With one blow of his sword he could split an armed mounted knight and his horse together; he could easily bend four horse-shoes at once, and he could stand a knight-in-armor on a palm and lift him as high as his head.

1 Thoron, Castets, Ch. xvii. 2 Thoron, Castets, Ch. xx.
He was lavish in giving, just, and eloquent. On the four holy days of Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, and St James, he held court with crown and scepter. The naked sword was carried before his tribunal in the imperial fashion. As he slept, knights in three watches of forty to a watch guarded him; each knight held a sword in one hand and a candle in the other. The author cannot tell of Charlemagne’s boyhood at the court of the ammiral Galaffrus of Toledo, and how Galaffrus made him a knight, and how he slew Galaffrus’s enemy, the mighty Saracen king Braimantus, and how in later life he conquered many lands and built many churches and abbeys and gathered many relics of the saints, and how he became emperor of Rome, and went to the holy sepulchre and brought back wood of the cross for many churches. Sooner do the hand and pen fail than the fund of these stories. Therefore, the author will proceed with his brief narrative of what happened when Charlemagne returned to France after freeing Galicia.

IV.¹ In Chapter xxv, after the statement that not one of the twenty-thousand Christians escaped, there is lacking a gruesome elaboration: ‘Some were pierced with spears or lances or arrows, some decapitated, some felled by axes, some clubbed to death, some flayed alive, some burned, some hanged on trees.’ Slightly further along, we find that this passage has been omitted:

Warriors should not take wives or other women on campaigns. It is neither decent nor expedient. Those two great kings Darius and Antony took women to their wars, and each was conquered, Darius by Alexander, Antony by Octavius Augustus.

V.² In Chapter xxvi, two abridgments are to be noted:

(1) Roland’s address to his sword is shorter by perhaps a fourth. The lost phrases are repetitious: ‘Who shall possess thee hereafter?’ ‘The fearless, the never-terrified.’ ‘How often with thee have I avenged the death of Jesus Christ, how many Saracens slain, how many enemies cut down’ — and so forth.

(2) In his prayer, Roland omits some elaboration of the hardships which he has suffered and most of a ‘cyclic’ description of Christ, ‘who ascended into heaven, who in his boundless mercy forgave the woman taken in adultery, and forgave Mary Magdalene, who opened the doors of Paradise to the repentant robber,’ and so forth.

VI.³ The description of the Liberal Arts (Ch. xxxiv) is cut down to about half its original length. Omitted matters include:

A characterization of Orthography as a department of Grammar.
A statement as to the importance of Music in worship. ‘The singer who does not know this Art cannot control his voice; he sounds like a mooing cow. His

¹ Thoron, Castets, Ch. xxl. ² Thoron, Ch. xxi, Castets, Chs. xxii—xxiii.
³ Thoron, Ch. xxii, Castets, Ch. xxxi.
voice wavers like a line drawn to a crooked ruler.' David and his companions played various musical instruments as accompaniment for the Psalms.

The statement that Dialectic makes the wise man articulate and forces the fool to keep silent. But then, ‘If you once set your foot firmly in Dialectic you will never get it out.’ (Castets, too, has lost this.)

A brief characterization of Rhetoric; this is in Nero — see var. to l. 32.

Explanations of the functions of Geometry and Astronomy. Through the former, one can measure fields or whole provinces; through the latter, one can foretell coming events, as Herod and the Magi foretold the birth of Christ.

A more explicit caveat against Nigromantia. The man who uses this black divination puts himself in the power of devils. ‘Pyromantia’ means fiery divination, ‘hydromantia,’ watery, and they lead their practitioners to the fire and water of Avernus. Wherefore Job says: ‘From too much heat they pass to snow-waters.’ Let the reader of Turpin’s book avoid such divination. (Part of this is in Nero — see vars. to ll. 51, 52/53. Of the remainder, most is not in Castets.)

VII. In the Castets version (Appendix B) we find an epistle of ‘Pope Innocent.’ This does not belong in the Pseudo-Turpin at all and, indeed, is found in only one of Castets’s manuscripts. It belongs among the additamenta at the end of the Codex Calixtinus, where it serves as a final ‘authentification’ for the entire Book of St James. See Bédier, Légendes, III, 86-88, and Baist, Zs. f. rom. Phil., v, 423.

VIII. In Chapter xxxiv, our version lacks a long passage found in Nero (see Appendix II, below). This is also in Madrid; it was therefore first omitted in OA.

Charlemagne calls a great council of bishops and princes at St Denis. He ordains that from that time forth no king of France shall be crowned nor bishop ordained or received at Rome without the counsel of the pastor of St Denis, and the king and bishops shall owe obedience to that pastor. Moreover, every householder of France must annually pay four nummi to the building of the church. Serfs who of their own will give a like amount shall be thereafter free.

On the night after the council, St Denis himself appears before Charlemagne in a dream, saying he has interceded for the souls of those who have been or ever shall be slain in wars against the Saracens in Spain or who shall give money to the church of St Denis. The passage ends with an etymology of ‘France’ (‘frank,’ free, through the gift of nummi to the church of St Denis!).

The Privileges detailed in the former part of this passage are similar, even in wording, to the Privileges conferred by Charlemagne upon Compostela in Ch. xxiv. See page 37, note 3, below.

1 Thoron, Ch. xxii, Castets, Ch. xxx.
IX.\footnote{Thoron, Ch. xxiv, Castets, Appendix A.} The letter of the Pseudo-Calixtus (Ch. xxxvii) breaks off with a paraphrase of 11 Corinthians, i, 7. In the longer Turpin it continues, giving etymologies of the names ‘Rotolandus,’ ‘Oliverus,’ ‘Karolus,’ and ‘Turpinus’ (‘quia non turpis’ — in other words, lucus a non lucendo), and asserting that from the battle of Roncesvalles down to the present day masses have been celebrated on the seventeenth of June for the souls of all who at any time have been slain in the wars against the infidel in Spain or the Holy Land.

This passage, like the preceding, was first omitted in OA. See Appendix III, below.
SYNOPSIS

[Prologue: The object of this book is to record the signs of Charlemagne's righteousness, such as can be learned from the annals of his reign and such as miraculously have appeared in our own times. Whoever desires to learn of Charlemagne's battles and victories will readily find those in the very famous Gests. The beginning of this section, the third, of the present work is taken from that letter which Archbishop Turpin of Rheims sent to Leo-prand, dean of Aachen, and which we find in the Chronicles of the Franks at St Denis in France. That letter describes Charlemagne's battles in Spain; we can give only a small portion of it, since we are concerned with describing Charlemagne's righteousness and, as we have often said, not his military deeds.]

Chapter I (Turpin's letter to Leoprand, dean of Aachen): Whereas you bade me some time ago as I lay at Vienne recovering from wounds to write you how Charlemagne liberated Spain and Galicia from Saracen power, I am sending to your Brothership an account of the triumphant deeds which I saw in the fourteen years during which I accompanied the King and his army through Spain and Galicia. These deeds have not been described adequately in any chronicle.

Ch. II: The apostle James is the first to preach the word of God in Galicia. After he has been slain by King Herod and his body has been translated by sea from Jerusalem to Galicia, his disciples confirm Galicia

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1 This 'Prologue' is no part of the Pseudo-Turpin proper, but rather the introduction to Part III of the Vita Karoli Magni. Its presence in our manuscript is fortuitous, as has been explained in Speculum, xi (1936), 282-285.

2 Rauschen annotates the word 'gestis': 'Gemeint ist Pseudo-Turpin' (Die Legende Karls des Grossen [Leipzig, 1890], p. 67 f.). Since, however, the Pseudo-Turpin is spoken of immediately below as a 'letter,' this 'gestis' may perhaps be generic and meant to include the Descriptio quaeliter Karolus magnus and other Latin or even vernacular legends of Charlemagne.

3 The author of the Vita looks upon the whole Pseudo-Turpin as a letter from Turpin to Leoprand — see above. It is more logical to consider Chapter I as a 'covering letter' for the chronicle, which Turpin is sending to Leoprand.

4 'Find in the Chronicles of the Franks,' etc. — doubtless a false assertion, by means of which the writer hopes to gain authority for his 'letter.'

5 Notably in the General Prologue to the Vita (Rauschen, pp. 17 f.). Compare Chapter I of Bk. I (pp. 20-22) and the Prologue to Bk. II (pp. 45 f.).

6 This letter is prefatory to the chronicle and is not numbered in Thoron and Castets, whose Chapter I is the following. I put Thoron's and Castets's chapter numbers in the margins — Thoron's in Roman, Castets's in Arabic.

7 See the preceding note.

8 For the Latin Translation (Part III of the Book of St James) see Walter Muir Whitehill's forthcoming edition of the Codex Calixtinus, or Romania, xxi (1902), 256-261 (ed. from B.N., MS. 13775, by Paul Meyer), or the Bollandist Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum bibliothecae regiae Bruxellensis, Pt. 1, i, 66-69.
in the faith. But the Galicians later fall away from Christianity, and they live as infidels to the time of Charlemagne. Now when this emperor has subjugated and made Christian many regions of the world, he is resting from his labors and planning never again to wage war. But one night in a vision he sees a starry way reaching from the Frisian sea over to Galicia, where, lost to men's knowledge, the body of James lies.

Ch. III: After several nights Charles begins to wonder what this vision\(^1\) may mean. Then one night in a trance he sees before him a man of indescribable beauty; this apparition declares himself to be the apostle James, who lies forgotten in Galicia. He exhorts Charlemagne, as the great liberator of Christianity, to earn the crown of eternal blessedness by faring forth under the way of stars against the pagan Galicians. He shall go to James's basilica and 'memoriam,'\(^2\) and after him, to the end of the world, pilgrims will make the journey for their sins, praising God and the deeds of might which he will perform. The apostle will be his helper. Thrice the apparition comes before Charles. Charles assembles his army and sets out.

Ch. IV: The first city besieged is Pamplona. For three months its mighty walls hold out. Then Charlemagne prays to the Lord and St James to help him. The walls crumble.\(^3\) The Emperor spares such Saracens as will be baptized and slays the rest. Other Saracens, when they hear this, surrender themselves and their cities and give tribute to Charlemagne; the whole land is laid under tribute. When the pagans see what splendid men the French are, and how excellently equipped, they receive them with honor and without resistance.\(^4\) Then Charlemagne, after visiting the sepulchre of St James, proceeds to El Padron.\(^5\) There he thrusts his lance into the sea and gives thanks to God and St James for having conducted him in safety to this natural limit of his

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\(^{1}\) The 'starry way' need not, of course, be treated as a vision. The unembellished shorter texts, and the longer texts as well, treat it as a natural phenomenon. Where our text in Ch. II has: 'Cum per visum nocte intuitus est in celo quandam viam quasi stellatam,' etc., the other versions read: 'Statimque intuitus est in celo quandam viam stellarum,' etc., and here, where our text has: 'Karolus . . . cepit secum meditari . . . quid hic visio significaret,' the others read: '[Quam viam] Karolus . . . cepit . . . premeditari quid significaret.'

\(^{2}\) In the longer versions 'sarcophagum.' 'Memoriam' is doubtless a corruption of 'marmorium' — marble tomb.

\(^{3}\) Compare the destruction of 'Grannopolim' in Ch. xxxvi, below, and the remarks about Lucerna, Capparra, and Adania in Ch. v. For a discussion of these 'destroyed cities' and other 'destroyed cities' in the chansons de geste and elsewhere, see Smyser, 'The Engulfed Lucerna of the Pseudo-Turpin,' Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature, xv (1933), 49-73 (espec. 58-61).

\(^{4}\) The first of numerous passages in which the author betrays his pride in his nation.

\(^{5}\) 'Petram limitarem'; in most versions of the Turpin, 'Petronum'; that is, the village at which the boat bearing St James's body is supposed to have come ashore. See the Translation (Part II of the Book of St James) referred to above. It is the Iria Flavia of the Romans, and was for long the episcopal see of Iria. Cf. page 36, note 1, below.
Those Galicians who have fallen away from the preaching of James and his disciples he causes Turpin to baptize — such, that is, as freely wish regeneration and have not yet been baptized. All others he either slays or makes captive. He goes through Spain from sea to sea.

**Ch. V:** The author gives a list of fourteen cities in Galicia and some hundred cities, islands, and territories of Spain which Charles conquers.

1 'Infinxit in mari lanceam suam.' Charlemagne was not the first conqueror who, in legend at least, set some token or monument — a stone, a pillar, a statue, an altar — at the limit of his conquest. Strabo, for example, declares that Alexander built altars at the limits of his expedition into India and in so doing imitated Heracles and Dionysius (Geog., iii, 5). See also G. L. Kittredge, *The Pillars of Hercules and Chaucer's "Trope,"* *Putnam Anniversary Volume* (New York, 1909) pp. 545-566. Possibly the Pseudo-Turpin was directly or indirectly influenced by one or another of the many versions of the Alexander romance which mention Alexander's pillars. See, for example, F. P. Magoun, *The Gests of King Alexander of Macedon* (Harvard University Press, 1939), p. 216.

2 Dozy did excellent work in making identifications in this list (Recherches, 3d ed., 11, 382-392). His presupposition that the order of names must be in some wise — if only confusedly — geographical was largely mistaken and, as Bédier has shown, handicapped him in at least one instance (Légendes épiques, iii, 156 f.), but the following identifications and commentary do much to make the list comprehensible:

- Visunia: Viseu; Lamecum: Lamego; Dumia or Dumio is a cloister with a church, a half-league from Braga; Columbia: Coimbra; Lucum: Lugo; Aureini: ancient Aria, modern Orense; Iria; Tuda: Tudela; Mindonia: Mondóñedo; Bracara metropolis: Braga, the metropolitan see; the city of St Mary; probably Santa Maria Arrifana; Wimarana: Guimarães; Crunia: la Coruña; Compostela, 'at that time small'.

- Auscala: Alcalá de Henares; Godelfia: Guadalajara; Talamanca: Uzcá; Uceda: Ucles; Ulmas: Ulmás; Canallas: Canáles; Madrid: Madrid; Maqueda; Sancta Eulalia: in Spanish, Santa Olalla; Talavera: Talavera; Medinaceli: Medinaceli (Dozy thinks the etymology offered in the text absurd and merely suggested by coelum, sky); Berlanga: Berlanga; Oma; Segunda: Sigüenza; Segobia: Segovia; Auvilla: Avila; Salamanqa: Salamanca; Sepumilega: Sepúlveda; Tolctum: Toledo; Klarava: Calatrava; Badaoi: Badajoz; Turgel: Trujillo; Talavera (T. de la Reina, in the province of Badajoz on the left bank of the Guadiana); Godiana: Guadiana (the author mistakes a river for a city); Emerita: Mérida; Altancora: [Alcántara]; Palentia: Palencia.

Lucero ventosa, called Carcensa, in Vallis Viridis: a mythical city in the neighborhood of Palencia (see, however, *The Engulfed Lucerna,* *Harvard Studies and Notes*, xv [1933], 49-73; here the myth of Lucerna is seen to have been inspired by ruins of the lacustrine era along the pilgrims' route far northwest of Palencia); Caparras: ruins of a Roman city near Plasencia; Austruga: Astorga; Oviedo: Legio: León; Kirionem: Carrión; Burgas: Burgos; Nageras: Nájera; Blagurria (var. Klagurria): Calahorra; Urantia, called Arthus: perhaps Urantia is Irun, of which a Basque name is Urunz; there is, besides, a cloister named Irunz near Estella and a village named Arcos between Calahorra and Estella, to the west; Stella: Estella; Klatuhaus: Calatayud; Miraculam (var. Miracula): Milagro (or Miraglo) in Navarre; Tutelle: Tudela; Saragutia: Saragossa; Pamplona: Pamplona; Baiona: Bayonne; Jakka: Jaca; Oca: Huesca (of its many towers only two remain, according to Madoz); Terracota: Tarragona or (more likely — see below) Tarazona; Barbarstra: Barbarastro; Boras (var. Rosas): Rosas; Urgellum: Urgel; Elna: Elna; Gerunda: Gerona; Barcelona; Tarragona — long version; Tererida: Lérida; Tortosa: Cardona — long version; Aurelium: Aurelia or possibly Oreja (also once called Aurelia).

Adania, which is said at the end of the chapter to have been destroyed, Dozy cannot identify. Hispanida may represent 'Hispalia,' an ancient name for Seville, but Seville appears further on in the list. There are two Escalonas, one northwest of Toledo, one southwest of Calatayud; Barba and Galli represent Berbegal or Berbejal (three leagues from Barbarastro); Balague: Balaguer; Burjiane: Burriana; Quotante: Cutanda; Ubeda; Baeza: Baëza. The words 'vel Troissa' are a corruption of Petrosia (see variants). The 'fit' of 'in qua fit argentum' Dozy takes to
Ch. VI: Charles destroys all idols in Spain except that idol known as Salamcadis (that is, in Arabic, the 'God of Cadiz'). The Saracens believe that Mohammed himself made this idol and shut up in it a legion of demons to protect it. Any Christian who approaches it perishes, as does any bird which alights on it, but the Saracens themselves may pray to it and come away unscathed. It is a brazen statue of a man, erect, on an ancient graven rock by the seaside, a rock square at the base and rising as high as birds ordinarily fly. The image faces south and holds in its right hand a mighty key. This key, the Saracens say, will fall in the year in which is born in France that future king who shall subjugate all Spain to Christianity. As soon as the Saracens see the key fall they will bury their treasures and flee.

mean 'mine' rather than 'work'; he thinks Petroissa either Pedroso (southeast of Guadalcanal) or Pedroche (near Pozoblanco) — silver mines are found at both places. Valencia; Denia; Satura (var. Sativa); Setabia, otherwise Schatiba or Jativa; Granada; Granada; Sibilia; Seville; Corduba; Cordova. Abula is borrowed from the martyrologies — Secundus, one of the 'Seven Apostles of Spain' preached at Abula. Aceintina is civitas accitana or Acci, otherwise Guadix (the tale of the miraculous olive is taken from the Martyrology of Ado — see Migne, P. L., cxxxxiii, 267); Bisertum: Bizerta in Africa, northwest of Tunis (an establishment of religious knights); Maiores: island of Majorca; Bugia (ex more habet regem): Bougie (founded in 1065 or 1068; it became a royal residence in 1069); Agabiba insula: Gerbi (or Zerbi) (island off Tunisia, in the gulf of Gabès); Boaram (in the long versions Goharan): from the Arab name, Wahrân, for the city of Oran in Barbary; Melodia: Minorea (?) Evicia; Iviza or Ibiza; Formenteria: Formentera. Alcorcor Dozy cannot identify; we might hazard a guess that it is Alcaraz, in the province of Albacete. Almaria: Almeria; Maneka: Almuñecar; Gilmataria (var. Gilbataria): Gibraltar; Kirago (var. Cértago): Carteya (very near Gibraltar); Septra, que est in districtis Hispanie ubi maris angustis et concursus, et Gesir similiter et Taruph: Ceuta, Algeciras, and Tarifa (on the straits). The 'Terspanorum' of our text is 'Hispanorum' in the longer version. Alandaluf is El Andalous, Andalusia.

The intimate knowledge of Spain shown by the author of this list led Gaston Paris to posit a Spanish author for a portion of the chronicle (De Pseudo-Turpino [Paris, 1865], pp. 14-24). Paris's theory has long since been discredited. Perhaps, however, the French author had at hand a ready-made list of Spanish place-names. Such lists of place-names, usually in rhyme, were not unknown in the Middle Ages — see the Reliquiae Antiquae of Wright and Halliwell (London, 1845), t, 127, 159, 269 f., 271-273; 11, 41 f.; the English Historical Review, xvi (1901), 501-503; and An Old English Miscellany, ed. Morris (E.E.T.S., xxi (1875), 145 f. See also J. E. Wells, Manual of Writings in Middle English (New Haven, Conn., 1926), pp. 432 f. — Note that the remark about Bugia gives a terminus a quo for the source list, if any. 'Abula' is presumably Avila and an interpolation of our author. The reference to Torquatus occurs also in Calixtus's Prologue to the Translation (Part III of the Book).

1 'Salamcadis' is a corruption of 'Sanam Qadis' — Arabic for 'Idol of Cadiz.' An actual colossus in the bay of Cadiz is the basis of this story; it is described, and also fabled about, by numerous Arabian geographers. René Basset, mindful of the classical stories of the pillars of Hercules, says that it may be supposed that we are here concerned with a statue of Hercules of which the club was mistaken for a key and which survived after the Arabian conquest (as below, p. 100), but not many will be willing to make this rather large supposition on the basis of the evidences which he adduces. The classical stories are too contradictory or at least vague, the span of time involved too great, to admit easily of any such identification. On the other hand, a variety of Arabian folktales concerning the statue of Cadiz and numerous other monuments, real or imaginary, in the lands about the western Mediterranean and in the Canaries do, as he says, testify to the existence of a new adaptation of the legend of the ne plus ultra (p. 101). In this new adaptation, the purpose of the monument was not
Charles remains three years in Spain and, with the gold which the native kings and princes give him, enlarges the basilica of St James; in it he installs priests and canons of the order of St Isidor (of Seville), to it he gives books and altar cloths and bells and other comely things. With the rest of the gold and silver (a vast amount) he returns to France and builds churches — the church of the Virgin Mary and the church of St James, in Aachen, a church of St James at Béziers, and another at Toulouse, to keep men from sailing to their deaths in the Western Ocean, but to keep enemies out of Spain.

In Arabian geographies, the statue of Cadiz is said to be some six cubits tall and to be on a base some sixty cubits high. It represents a bearded Berber. The robe is fastened about the body under the arm-pits; the left hand holds the two corners of the skirt. The right hand, holding a key, points toward the straits, as if to say: "This passage is closed to all." The waters there are never calm, and sailors wait for the key to fall from the hand and for the sea to subside before they venture into it. According to other Arabian authorities, the key fell about the year 1005, and about 1145 a covetous ammiral destroyed the statue, hoping to find treasure in it (or perhaps under it? — note that in our text the Saracens are to bury their treasure).

In the Saga Olaf's Konungs hins Helga (ed. O. A. Johnsen and Jón Helgason [Oslo, 1930] 1, 49 f.) Olaf (1030), on one of his most unsaintly expeditions down the coast of France and to the Mediterranean, casts anchor in 'Karlsár' to wait for a favorable wind with which to pass through the Straits of Gibraltar. The name 'Karlsár' has never been satisfactorily explained; Dozy shows that previous attempts to identify it with the Garonne or Minho are unsatisfactory. He suggests that it means the 'Karl's River,' the River of the Man (indeed, he says, the big man, insisting that Old Norse 'Karl' means 'big man') and is to be identified with the bay of Cadiz with its 'man' — its colossus. Lending color to this ingenious suggestion is a dream which Olaf has one night when he is anchored in Karlsár: a formidable hero appears before him and orders him to proceed no further but to return to Norway. Dozy's implication is, of course, that we have here once again the legend of the ne plus ultra. If it be credited, we may say that our Salamcadis, besides being an actual monument well known to Arabian geographers and favored by Arabian story-tellers, plays a minor rôle in a Norse saga. (See René Basset, 'Les Légendes arabes d'Espagne: I. L'Aqueduc et la Statue de Cadix,' La Tradition, vi [1892], 97-103; and Dozy, Recherches, 3d ed., ii, 300-314, and xcv—xcviii. For the key as a symbol of closure, see A. Delatte, Le Musée Beige, xviii [1914], 83-85; for a story of the destruction of a devil-infested statue and the subsequent finding of treasure, see Moses Gaster, Exempla of the Rabbis [London, 1924] 1, 152 f. [These two last references could be multiplied endlessly.])

Note that the key has not yet fallen, even though Charlemagne has conquered Spain 'from sea to sea.' Such discrepancies are common in our pot-pourri chronicle. 1

1 This church is described at length in Part v of the Book of St James (ed. Fita and Vinson [Paris, 1882], pp. 46-61). An excellent modern study is K. J. Conant's Early Architectural History of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela (Cambridge, 1926).

2 Of the six churches named in this paragraph, the Church of the Virgin at Aachen is the only one certain founded by Charlemagne. Einhard tells us that Charlemagne built the church in honor of the Mother of God and ordained that he be entombed in it (Ch. xxxi). The Church of St James at Aachen is probably the St Jakoba-Pfarrkirche; it is very ancient, but there is no authority other than local legend for laying its construction to so remote an age as Charlemagne's. (See Käntzler, 'Über Karlseinen,' Annalen des historischen Vereins für den Niederheim, xiii [1862], 88; F. Wissowa, 'Bibliographische Uebersicht,' Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins, xvii (1895), 293 f.; and O. Dresemann, Die Jakobskirche zu Aachen [Aachen, 1888].)

3 The abbey 'Sancti Iacobi Biterrensis' is several times mentioned in the documents discussed and printed by the Benedictines Claude Devic and J. Vaissiere in their Histoire générale de Languedoc (Toulouse, 1872); it was an Augustinian monastery, certainly in existence by 900; see iv, 584.

4 In 844 Charles the Bald issued a charter for a cathedral at Toulouse "in honore sancti Stephani, seu et sancti Iacobi apostoli" — in other words, he combined as a cathedral a church of St Stephen...
and another in Gascony between Dax and Saint-Jean de Sorde on the route to Compostela, and still another in Paris between the Seine and Montmartre, and many other churches and abbeys.

Chapter VII: When Charles has returned to France, he hears that an African king, Aigolandus, has conquered Spain and slain many of the Christians who have been left to defend the country. The King returns with

(VI, 6) 1 Dax, here called 'Axa,' is the Ais-en-Gascogne of the chansons de geste. Incidentally, Charlemagne is popularly supposed to have founded an abbey at Dax and also the abbey of Saint-Jean de Sorde — the latter tradition is corroborated by 'vieilles archives' (Thore, as below; see also Bédier, Légendes, iv, 420 f.) I find no trace of a church of St James in this region; perhaps the 'church' was one of the many hospices of the Pèlerins de Saint-Jacques.

The 'route to Compostela' (via iacobitana) of this passage is the fourth and last of the great French routes described in Part v of the Book (Fita and Vinson, p. 3). It runs from Tours to Poitiers to Saint-Jean d'Angély, to Saintes to Bordeaux to Dax to Sorde to Ostabat. There it is joined by the route from le Puy (via Conques and Moissac) and the route from Vézelay (via Saint-Leonard-en-Limousin and Périgueux). The 'trunk route' then runs through the port de Cize to Ponce la Reina, which it is joined by the French route from Arles (via Saint-Gilles, Montpellier, Toulouse, and the port d'Aspre). (See Adrien Lavergne, Les Chemins de Saint-Jacques en Gascogne [Bordeaux, 1887], pp. 46-49; J. B. Thore, 'Essai sur l'Histoire de Gascogne,' Bulletin de la Société de Borda à Dax, v (1880), 205 n.; Bédier, Légendes, iii, 334-340; and Part v of the Book, ed. Fita and Vinson, pp. 2 f., 12 f.) See Map at end of volume.

1 Probably our author, had in mind an establishment on the right bank referred to in 1119 by Calixtus II: 'in suburbio Parisiacae urbis, ecclesiam S. Iacobi.' This church became known as Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie. There is no evidence that it existed in Charlemagne's time. The Pilgrims of St James of the Saint-Jacques-de-l'Hôpital (also on the right bank) had a seal which showed Charlemagne with St James. The seal is of interest as suggesting that the brothers knew and believed in this passage in the Pseudo-Turpin. Their establishment, however, dated back only to about 1322; before that they were housed in St Eustache or Quinze-vingt. (See L'Abbé Lebeuf, Histoire de la Ville et de tout le Diocèse de Paris [Paris, 1883], i, 65, 196-203.)

2 That is, Berber.

4 The war against Aigolandus, with various digressions, occupies Chs. vii-xix. It may be divided into four episodes to be named after the four cities in or near which the chief action takes place: (1) Campis (Chs. vii-xi); (2) Agen (Ch. x); (3) Saintes — this reads somewhat like a variant version of Episode 1 — (Ch. xi); and (4) Pamplona (Chs. xii-xiii).

The Saracen king Agolant plays a leading rôle in the Chanson d'Aspremont, which tells of Charlemagne's conquest of Italy, and in various other versions of the same story (in David Aubert's Conquestes de Charlemagne and in the Karlamagnussaga, for example); in fact, if we take the Charlemagne cycle as a whole, we should associate Agolant with the tradition of Charlemagne's wars in Italy rather than with that of the wars in Spain. Gaston Paris has shown that Agolant was probably originally a creature of this tradition and probably figured in some chanson in it before the Pseudo-Turpin was composed (Histoire poétique de Charlemagne, ed. Paul Meyer [Paris, 1905], pp. 247-249). The story of our Chs. viii-xix, however, bears no likeness worth mentioning to the story of Aspremont, except, of course, in the name of the Saracen hero-king.
an army and with Duke Milo 'de Angularis' as his chief in command.

Not to be passed by in silence is an exemplum which God showed concerning those who withhold alms willed to them for distribution among the poor: While Charles and his army are at the Basque city of Bayonne, one Romaricus on his deathbed bequeaths a horse to a kinsman with the injunction that he sell it and give the money to clerics and to the poor. But the kinsman, after selling the horse, spends the money on himself for food and drink and other necessities. When thirty days have passed, the dead man appears in a nocturnal vision before his kinsman and tells him that, though his own sins have now been forgiven, the kinsman's dereliction has caused him to be delayed in the underworld; the dead man proceeds now to peace, but the kinsman will on the morrow suffer in hell. In the morning the guilty man talks openly about his vision, and while the warriors are discussing it a host of demons, howling like wild animals, snatch him aloft. The army searches for him, but not until twelve days later, as they are going through the littoral wilderness of Navarre, do they find his broken body, on a high rocky headland. His soul, it is believed, had been taken to the infernal regions. 'Wherefore all may know who keep for themselves alms entrusted to them' — etc.

Ch. VIII: Charles and Milo encounter Aigolandus in Campis on the

Of the several chansons de geste not of the Aspremont tradition in which Agolant appears, most may be disregarded in any quest for sources of the Turpin, either because they use 'Agolant' merely as a name of convenience or because they are patently derivatives of the Turpin. One, however, is noteworthy.

In 1906, Paul Meyer published a fragmentary Chanson d'Agolant, which he had found in a manuscript of c. 1200. The original Chanson he considered some hundred years older. The fragment tells how Charlemagne, about to join battle with the Saracen Agolant, divides his army into five corps, over which he places favored paladins; a single combat between Agolant and Ogier is then described. The scene is Spain and the fragment obviously belongs among those chansons (such as the Entret d'Espagne and the Price de Pampelune) which narrate events prior to the battle of Roncesvalles and which form a grand cyclic prologue to the Chanson de Roland. Meyer contended that the older poem of which this Chanson d'Agolant was a redaction was the source of the Aigolandus episodes of the Pseudo-Turpin. ("Fragments de Manuscrits français," 1, Romania, xxxv [1906], 22-31.)

Bédier opposed this contention, pointing out that Meyer's Chanson may just as well be a derivative of the Pseudo-Turpin as a source. In a case such as this evidences as to priority are ambiguous. For example: the combat between Agolant and Ogier in the fragment is not found in the Pseudo-Turpin; this may mean that the author of the Turpin, in the interests of brevity, omitted an episode of his source, or it may just as well mean that the author of the Agolant invented an episode to give body to the bare narration found in the Turpin (see "Legendes," iii, 135-137).

Attempts to find an historical counterpart for Agolant have been made by students of the Chanson d'Aspremont but have not produced any very satisfactory result: 'Agolant' is supposedly derived from 'Aghlab,' the name of a dynasty of which at least one ruler (Ibrâhîm-ibn-Ahmed) led in wars in Italy (see Siegfried Szogs, Aspremont: Entwicklungsgeschichte und Stellung innerhalb der Karlsgeste [Halle a. d. Saale, 1931], pp. 25-27). As is pointed out below (p. 30, n. 3) the sources of a large part of the fourth Aigolandus episode are legends of Charlemagne's wars against Wittelkind. If the Aigolandus story had any original unity, this part must be looked upon as contamination.
Cea, at the place where Charles has since built a church to the martyrs SS. Facundus and Primitivus.\(^1\) Aigolandus suggests that Charles send twenty men, or forty, or a hundred (he may choose what number he will) to do battle with an equal force of Saracens. Charles sends out a hundred warriors. These slay, to the last man, the hundred pagans detailed to meet them. Then two hundred Christians overwhelm and massacre two hundred Saracens. Then two thousand Christians ride out against two thousand heathen. Of the latter many are slain and the rest flee. The two kings agree that on the following day they will bring their whole armies together in general battle.

That night, after the Christians had zealously made ready their weapons, many thrust their lances upright into the ground before the camp. In the morning some of these lances are found to have grown bark and leaves. These their owners cut off near the ground; from the roots thus left have sprung groves which may still be seen. In the battle Duke Milo, father of Roland, is slain, along with a host of other Christians whose spears had sprouted.\(^2\) Charles's horse is killed, and the Emperor himself, with two thousand foot, is surrounded; he draws his sword and cuts down many Saracens. At nightfall the two armies withdraw to their camps. On the following day four dukes arrive from Italy with reinforcements for Charles. Aigolandus flees to León and Charles returns to France.

Ch. IX: Just as Charles's warriors made ready their weapons before battle, so should we prepare our weapons, that is, our virtues, before we undertake the battle against vice. Whoso puts virtue before vice, his spear shall sprout and his victor's soul shall be crowned in heaven. 'Yet is he not crowned except he strive lawfully.'\(^3\) And just as Charles's knights died in war for the faith, so ought we to 'die to vice' and live with holy virtues in the world,\(^4\) that we may deserve the flourishing palm of triumph in the celestial kingdom.

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\(^1\) The Pilgrims' Guide (Part v of the Book of St James) in its enumeration of shrines says: 'Item visitanda sunt Corpora beatorum martyrum Facundi scilicet et Primitivi, quorum basilicam Carolus fecit' (Fita and Vinson, p. 44). The place is Sahagún (that is, 'San Fagon'). The two saints suffered martyrdom in the third century. A church had been built to hold their relics as early at least as the beginning of the tenth century. The Benedictine monastery of Sahagún became inordinately powerful, as a fosterling of Cluny, in the late eleventh century. Thereafter, its power waned. See G. G. King, The Way of St James [New York, 1920], ii, 118-151; and Manuel Risco, Santos del Obispado de León, in Florez's España Sagrada, xxxiv, 314-336.

\(^2\) This same folk tale is told again, with a different setting of course, in Ch. xi. The Pilgrims' Guide twice refers to the miraculous grove of Facundus and Primitivus: (1) 'pratum, ubi hastae fulgurantes victorum pugnatorum ad Domini laudem, infixae olim, fronduisse referuntur' (Fita and Vinson, p. 6); and (2) 'prata nemorosae, in quibus infixae hastae lancearum pugnatorum fronduisse referuntur' (p. 44). See the note to the tale as it appears in Ch. xi.

\(^3\) ii Tim. ii, 5. 'Sic et nos mori debemus vitiis et vivere virtutibus sanctis in mundo.'
Ch. X: Aigolandus collects a great army of many pagan peoples and kings — Saracens, Moors, Moabites, King Teremphinus, King Burrahellus — and seizes the Gascon city of Agen. Then he sends to Charles and demands that Charles come to him with a small retinue. He promises rich gifts if Charles will submit to his overlordship. (His real purpose is to learn what Charles looks like, in order to be able to slay him in battle at some later date.) Charles comes to Agen; he brings a large force of men, but these he leaves out of sight of the city. He and a single follower disguise themselves as messengers and proceed into Agen. They tell Aigolandus that Charles is willing to do military service for him and be his man, and that he waits outside the city with forty followers; Aigolandus is to bring a like number and come to him for a peaceful conference. Aigolandus dismisses them, agreeing to come. Then Charles and his comrade spy out the weak portions of the defenses and discover what kings are in the city. They escape to the men outside. Aigolandus comes out with a great force to kill Charles, but Charles escapes. He goes to France, gathers a great army, and returns to Agen. He besieges the city for six months; in the seventh month he arrays great engines against the walls. But one night Aigolandus and his princes escape through latrines to the Garonne, which flows by the city; they swim to safety on the other side. On the following morning, Charles enters the city; he slays ten thousand Saracens; some others manage to escape by swimming the river.

1 The complete list of peoples and kings runs as follows (the identifications are based chiefly on Dozy [Recherches, 2d ed., xi, 375-378; 409-416):

Sarracenos (a vague name, used very generally in the Middle Ages to designate all heathen; its original meaning may have been 'Easterners,' 'Orientals'); Mauros (Moors); Moabitas (a Biblical tribe whose name was applied in the Middle Ages to the Morabites — in Spanish, Almoravides — an African tribe, probably the Berbers); [Ethiopes, Sarrannos, Pardos, Africanos — long version only]; Persas (Persians); Teremphinum (in the longer versions Texephinum) regem Arabum (Te-choufin or Texefin, viceroy of Spain, 1126-1137 or -1138); Burrahellum (or Burrahellum) regem Alexandrie (unidentified); Mutium regem Burgie (in the longer versions Avitum regem Bagie; Avit is the Spanish transcription of the common Arabian name Abbald; as for Bagie, see the note to Ch. v, above. ‘Avitum regem Bagie’ is thus a plausible name; no such character can be found, however); Hospinum regem Acie (or Agabibo) (Pio Rajna derives the Orinel of the chansons de geste from Hospinum — see Romania, xviii [1889], 36 n.); Faturium (or Fatimum) regem Barbarie (a plausible name, but unidentified); Alis regem Maroch (Ali, sultan of Morrocco, 1106-1143); Aphinorgium regem Maiorice (unidentified); Mautionem (or Maimonem) regem Meque (Maimon is an Arabian name; perhaps our Maimon of Mecca is one ammiral Ali ibn-Maimon, mentioned in the Chronicle of Alphonso VII and in Ordericus Vitalis); Ebrahum regem Sibilie (Ibshim governor of Seville, 1116-after 1123); and Altumaiorem regem Corduie (the great Almanzor [d. 1002]. Almanzor appears in the chansons de geste as Amaoire; ‘Altumaoire’ is a folk-etymology of this Old French form; see also page 50, note 2, below).

2 ‘Latrinas.’ The longer versions have ‘latrinas et foramina’ (holes). Presumably by ‘latrinas’ are meant privy-seats which overhung the river. See E. L. Sabine, ‘Latrines and Cesspools of Mediaeval London,’ Speculum, ix (1934), 304 f. — outhouses were often corbelled to outer walls overhanging water.
Ch. XI: Aigolandus takes refuge in Saintes. When Charles arrives with his army Aigolandus agrees to fight a battle for the possession of the city. On the night before the battle, the Christians stick their spears upright in the ground before the camp, which is in a meadow on the Charente between the castle of Taillebourg and the city. In the morning the spears of many, namely, of those who are to receive martyrdom in the approaching battle, are found to have grown bark and leaves. Four thousand Christians are slain that day. Although his horse is killed, Charles fights valiantly afoot and he and his men rout the pagans and drive them into the city. The Christians then surround the walls, all except the wall that runs along the river. During the night Aigolandus and his army attempt to escape across the river. Charles follows them and slays the king of Arabia and the king of Bougie and some four thousand other infidels.

Ch. XII: Aigolandus takes his army through the pass of Cize to Pamplona. He sends a challenge to Charles. The Emperor summons all his armies. He decrees that no Frenchman who will go with him into

1 Compare the folktale of Ch. viii and the note thereto. The flourishing lances of Saintes are described in the Kaiserchronik eines Regensburger Geistlichen, ed. Edward Schroeder (M.G.H.S.S.Vernac., 3, Pt. 1), ll. 14990-15014: In this case the 'warriors' are women whom the Emperor has disguised as knights in a successful attempt to frighten the Saracens into surrendering. With them he has returned through the pass into France and encamped in a green field. The lances are thrust into the ground and in the morning are found to be flourishing. The place is known as 'Sceftewalt' — the forest of lances. Charlemagne builds a church to commemorate the event: 'Sö haizet iz “domini sanctitas”' — that is, of course, Saintes.

The Kaiserchronik was composed between 1132 and 1152; it is therefore about contemporary with the Pseudo-Turpin. Its source for the expedition in which the folktale of Saintes occurs is evidently Latin — besides the 'Domini sanctitas' cited above it uses the phrases 'in Yspaniam,' 'in Galitiam,' and 'ad Portam Cesaris.' Though Bédier has no apparent warrant for saying that this source was 'antérieur à la Chronique de Turpin' (Légendes, 111, 320), he is probably right in deeming it some piece of clerical propaganda, other than the Turpin, in favor of the pilgrimage to Compostela.

This miracle of the lances is narrated in connection with the siege of Montjardin in the Karlamagnussaga and David Aubert — see G. Paris, Histoire politique, p. 265.

The folktale of the lances of Saintes is a hardy perennial. Late in the nineteenth century, G. M. Olivier Beauregard heard from a priest of La Rochelle and recorded in the Revue des Traditions populaires (ix 1894, 504) the following story: Louis IX, on the evening after his victorious battle of Taillebourg (August, 1242), encamped beside the Charente near Saintes. His men thrust their spears into the ground. In the morning it was found that the spears had put forth foliage. To commemorate this miracle the saintly king caused an altar to be erected, and this he called Notre-Dame d'Ecurat ('e curare'). A church was later built to cover the site of the altar and bear its name, and the village of Ecurat grew up around this church.

Probably Beauregard's tale goes back to a popular origin only by way of the Pseudo-Turpin. The author of Gui de Bourgogne has his young hero, en route to Spain, ride past 'le bois que Karles fist planter.' This is doubtless recollection of the Pseudo-Turpin. Unfortunately, the author of Gui did not have very definite ideas of the geography of the Turpin, and Charlemagne's 'bois' is on the route between Bordeaux and Dax, that is, far south of Saintes. See the edition of Guessed and Michelant [Paris, 1858], ll. 313-320.

The warriors whose spears have put forth leaves rejoice in the miracle. They dash foremost into the battle and kill many Saracenés before receiving the crown of martyrdom.
Spain shall thereafter do service for any alien; he decrees also that all serfs who do hard labor for evil lords shall be freed if they too will go with him, and their descendants shall be freemen for all time. He liberates men from the workhouses, he gives ample funds to the poor and garments to the naked, he reconciles enemies to each other, he restores those deprived of their heritages to their proper rights, he gives military vestments to squires and the skilled-in-arms, he extends pardon to those whose evil deeds have cost them his favor. Thus he draws to himself friends and enemies, natives and aliens. And I, Turpin, archbishop of Rheims, give absolution and benediction to them all so far as God has granted me the power to do so.

Ch. XIII: With 134,000 men Charles sets out against Aigolandus. These are the names of the chief warriors:

1, Turpin, who with fitting exhortations inspired the faithful to fight for Christ and frequently took part in the fighting myself; Roland, duke of the armies, count of Le Mans and prince of Blaye, nephew of Charles, son of Duke Milo and Bertha the sister of Charles; Oliver, second duke of the armies, son of Count Rainer, himself count of Geneva; Estult, count of Langres; Arastagnus, king of the Bretons; Engeler, the Gascon, duke of Aquitania (after the slaughter of Roncesvalles the city of Aquitania was deserted); Gaifer, king of Bordeaux; Galerus; Gerin; Salomon, comrade of Estult; Baldwin, brother of Roland; Gandeboldus, king of Frisia; Hoel, count of Nantes; Arnaldus de Bellanda; Naimon, duke of Bavaria; Ogier, king of Dacia (concerning his mighty deeds French songs are sung to this very day); Lambertus, prince of Bourges; Sanson, duke of Burgundy; the Roman prefect Constantine; Reinaldus de Albaspina; Gualterus de Turmis; Guielinus; Guarinus, duke of Lorraine; Bego; Albericus the Burgundian; Berardus de Nublis; Wirnardus; Esturmitus; Theodoric; Berengarius; Haito; and Ganelon, who was to turn traitor.

1 'Natives and aliens' — 'domesticos et barbaros.' Note, too, the provision that no Frenchman need serve an alien in the future: 'preceptique ne alicui barbare genti Franci amplius deservirent.' The whole paragraph gives us an interesting insight into the nationalism of the Pseudo-Turpin, and also into the structure of society in his time.

2 The characterization of Roland as 'princeps Blavii' is peculiar to the Pseudo-Turpin. Evidently it is an attempt to explain why he was entombed at Blaye (in tradition, at least). See page 44, note 4, below.

3 Small wonder, since the city never existed.

4 'Usque in hodiernum diem.' The Pseudo-Turpin evidently forgets that he is supposed to be a contemporary of Charlemagne; or it may be that this allusion to the songs about Ogier was originally a marginal gloss, supposedly written by Calixtus II, the 'editor' of the whole Book, and copied into the text by mistake. See page 38, note continued, below, and the Index, s.v. 'Usque.'

4 Our text omits Yvorius, whose name follows Theodoric's in the older versions. See page 45, note 4, below.

Of this roll, the following names appear in the Oxford Chanson de Roland (ed. T. A. Jenkins [Boston, 1924]) and thus were certainly known to romance before the composition of the Turpin: Turpin; Roland; Oliver; Engeler the Gascon, duke of Aquitania (Engelie le Gascon de Bordele [=Bordeaux]);
The army gathers in the so-called 'Landes' of Bordeaux; it covers the space of a two-days' march in length and breadth; the noise that it makes...
can be heard twelve miles. It goes through the passes of Cize and comes to Pamplona, where it fills all the space between the river Rune and a certain mountain on the Way of St James three leagues from the city.

Ch. XIV: Charles demands that Aigolandus give up the city. The pagan decides to come forth to fight. He asks for a truce, to confer with Charles in person.

Ch. XV: Aigolandus brings his army out of Pamplona and it is ranged facing Charles’s along the Way of St James; in view of the hosts the commanders begin their conference. (Charles, to Aigolandus’s great wonder and delight, speaks Arabic; he learned the tongue as a boy, when he spent a short time at Toledo.) Aigolandus asks by what right Charles claims Spain and Gascony, since they have not belonged to his forbears. Charles answers that Christ has chosen the Christian people to be rulers of all the world. Aigolandus says that Christianity is not the true faith, Charles that it is — that the souls of Christians after death go to Paradise and eternal life, whereas souls of Mohammedans go to hell: ‘Wherefore it is obvious that our religion is worthier than yours.’ Charles charges Aigolandus to accept baptism; Aigolandus refuses. They agree that they must fight a battle to determine which is the true faith; shame be to the loser and eternal glory to the conqueror. For his part, Aigolandus says, if he loses he will submit to baptism, provided he is allowed to live.

1 The Rune, or Runa, is mentioned in the Pilgrims’ Guide (Fita and Vinson, p. 8), where it is confused with the Arga. See Bédier’s ingenious note in his Légendes (iii, 294), and also A. Thomas, ‘La Rivière de Rune dans l’épopée française,’ Romania, xxIII (1894), 146-148. In the present passage it seems to me that by Rune may be meant a little tributary of the Arga which flows past Pamplona on the south to join the Arga a few miles west; this tributary is unnamed on the best available modern maps. Or the confusion of the Guide may simply again be present in the Turpin.

2 In Ch. xx of the long versions (see page 14, Par. III, above), we read that Charlemagne, exiled in his boyhood, went to Toledo and was there knighted by the ammiral Galaffrus. Later the young knight slew the Sarcen Brainantus, arch-enemy of Galaffrus.

For a treatment of this legend of Charlemagne’s enfances — it is known as the ‘Mainet’ or ‘Meinet,’ after the pseudonym which the boy-exile bore — see Karl Bartsch, Ueber Karlmeinet (Nuremberg, 1861), pp. 1-24; and G. Paris, Histoire politque, pp. 227-246, and Notes additionelles (by P. Meyer). Of a large number of allusions to the legend of Mainet, these two in the Turpin are the earliest; and the full treatments of the story are considerably later.

3 Compare Ch. xxxi, where Roland and Ferracutus engage in a theological debate in an interlude of a combat.

4 In a life of Mathilda, queen of Henry I the Fowler, written toward the end of the tenth century, is to be found the following anecdote: Charlemagne is carrying on a holy crusade against the heathen king Wittekind [of Saxony]. Finally, the two commanders agree to settle their war upon the issue of a duel between themselves — ‘utrisque plaece principibus, ut ipsi singuli invicem dissimuleret.’ When the combat takes place, the Lord is moved by the prayers and tears of the faithful to give the victory to Charlemagne. Wittekind suffers a change of heart and becomes Christian, and all his followers do likewise. (See the Pita Mathildis [sic] reginae antiquier, ed. R. Koepke, M.G.H.SS., x, 576; and G. Paris, Hist, polit., p. 292.)

This combat between Wittekind and Charlemagne doubtless lies at the back of the present episode of the Turpin — see page 30, note 3, below.
Synopsis

Twenty Christian knights are sent against twenty Saracens; the Saracens are all slain. Then forty Christians slay forty Saracens, then a hundred Christians slay a hundred Saracens. A second hundred of Christians are sent out against a like number of Saracens, but this time the Christians take fright, flee, and are killed. (This is a warning to us that, as we fight for the faith against vices, we do not turn our backs upon the battle, for if we do so we shall be prey to an inferior foe, that is, to evil spirits, and shall die miserably in sin.) Then two hundred Christians kill two hundred Saracens; then a thousand Christians a thousand Saracens. Aigolandus is by now convinced of the superior value of Christianity; he promises that on the following day he and his people will accept baptism. He returns to his army and tells them of his decision. Some demur.

Ch. XVI: When he comes the next day to be baptized, Aigolandus finds Charles at table surrounded by religious in various vestments. He inquires as to the meaning of the vestments and is told that such and such habits denote bishops and priests, such and such denote monks, canons regular, and so forth. Meanwhile, however, he spies twelve paupers, segregated from the other diners. Very poorly clad, and seated on the ground without table or cloths, they are supplied but sparingly with food and drink. He is told that these are ‘messengers of God’ to the number of the apostles; Charles provides for them for the sake of our Lord. Aigolandus resents the fact that Charles entertains his religious, his own vassals, far better than ‘God’s messengers’; he decides forthwith that Christianity is no true faith and announces that he will not be baptized. He asks, and is granted, permission to withdraw; he makes ready to recommence the war on the following day.

1 Note that the text makes a nice distinction: Aigolandus requests his kings and chieftains to be so good as to be baptized and orders his folk to be baptized — ‘dixit regibus et majoribus suis se velle baptismum recipere, et precepit cunctis gentibus sui ut baptizarentur.’

2 ‘Lintaminibus.’ The usual word is ‘mantile’ or ‘mantilium.’ See Damian, as quoted below, and Alwin Schultz, Das höfische Leben zur Zeit der Minnesinger (Leipzig, 1889), 1, 369. ‘Lintamines’ are altar-cloths in the rubrics of Missals, Ceremonials, and other such ecclesiastical books.

3 St Peter Damian (1072) in his ‘De Eleemosyna’ (Opera Omnia, ed. C. Gaetano [Venice, 1783], iii, col. 209) inveighs against lords who feast at high tables while their pauper dependents sit naked on the floor among dogs. These lords have embroidered tablecloths (‘mantilibus seu variantes pecies’); the poor man must eat from his lap. Damian once heard this story from Duke Gothfredus (Duke of Lorraine, 1065-1069): Charlemagne, after a prolonged war, vanquished and took captive the heathen king of the Saxons (Wittekind). Once when Charlemagne was dining, enthroned and at a high table while his poor dependents sat upon the ground, the captive Saxon, at a table some distance away, sent him a message. ‘How,’ he asked, ‘can you expect me to worship your God, when you yourself flout his commandments?’ ‘Did not Christ say (Damian continues), “Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me”?’

Our story resembles Damian’s not only in general outline and in the rather striking mention of tablecloths, but also in the particular that near the end it gives a quotation which, like Damian’s, comes from Matthew xxv (see the text, page 72, below). More than that, Damian’s quotation is
When Charles realizes that his lack of charity has cost him his converts, he causes all the poor in his army to be sought out and copiously provided for. Let this be a lesson to all Christians to be ever mindful of the needy. Faith without good works is like a body without a soul.

Ch. XVII: In the battle (on the following day) the Christians surround their enemy and slaughter them by the thousands. Aigolansus himself is slain, and only the king of Seville and Altumaior of Cordova, with a few of their followers, escape.

Ch. XVIII: Charles, because he fought for the true faith, overcame Aigolansus. So may we all triumph, through faith in Christ and through good works.

Charles pitches camp at the bridge of Arga on the Way of St James.

Ch. XIX: The night after the battle, some of the Christians return to the battlefield and despoil the bodies of the fallen. When they have loaded themselves with booty, Altumaior of Cordova swoops down upon them and slays them all. These Christians are like some religious, who, having conquered vice, return to vice and thus lose eternal life.

Ch. XX: Furre, prince of the Navarrese, comes to Mount Garzin and sends a challenge to Charles. Charles proceeds to the mountain and a battle is imminent. On the night before the outbreak of hostilities...

Matthew xxv, 40; the Pseudo-Turpin's is the very next verse, xxv, 41. Incidentally, the Turpin's quotation is much less apposite.

Wattenbach speaks of Damian's story as a 'further development' ('weitere Entfaltung') of the anecdote in the tenth-century life of Mathilda, cited above (page 29, note 4). We may say that at any rate it certainly is a part of the same tradition of Charlemagne's wars with the Saxon Wittekind and that, equally certainly, that tradition was known to the author of our chronicle. (See W. Wattenbach, Der Mönch von Sankt Gallen [translation], 3d ed. [Leipzig, 1890], pp. 101 f. [Beilage III]; G. Paris, Hist. polit., pp. 291 f.; and A. D'Ancona, 'Le Fonti del Novellino,' Romania, III [1874], 171.)

1 See above, page 25, note 1, end.

1 The Way crosses the Arga southwest of Pamplona at Ponte la Reina.

2 Furre (OF Fôrre or Foure) was evidently the Saracen protagonist of a chanson of the siege of Noles, which survives only in somewhat disparate epitomes and in various allusions, the earliest being II. 1775–1779 of the Oxford Chanson de Roland (ed. Jenkins; cf. I. 198). According to the epitome in the Karlamagnusaga, Charlemagne once sent Roland and Oliver to besiege Noles, held by King Four.; he commanded them, however, to spare Four's life. The young knights take the city, but in doing so kill Foure. Charlemagne comes to Noles, and when he learns that Foure is dead grows so angry as to slap Roland's face with his glove.

The lost chanson probably in some wise explains an expression frequently found in the chanson de geste: 'vengier Foure,' meaning to undertake more than one can accomplish. But it explains nothing in regard to this passage in the Turpin, so far, at least, as it can be reconstructed from the epitomes and allusions. The Turpin's 'prince of the Navarrese' seems wholly gratuitous, although it accords with the use of Mount Garzin (Montjardin), which is in Navarre (as identified by Bédier, Légendes, 111, 127 ff.). (See G. Paris, Hist. polit., pp. 263 f., and Notes additionelles [by Meyer]. Other allusions will be found in Aymeri de Narbonne, ed. Louis Démaison [Paris, 1887], I, II, 289–284; La Chanson des Saxons of Jean Bodel, ed. Michel [Paris, 1839], II, 81; and Gui de Bourgogne, ed. Guesnard and Michelant [Paris, 1858], pp. 1, 57.)

4 Montjardin. See the preceding note. See also Ch. xxx, below.
Charles prays God for a sign as to which of his men will perish on the morrow. When day breaks, certain of the Christians have the mark of a blood-red cross on their shoulders. These men Charles does not take to battle; he leaves them behind in his chapel. But how inscrutable are the ways of God! When the battle is over and Furre and three thousand of his pagans (and no Christians) have been slain, Charles returns only to find that the men in the chapel are dead!

A certain giant, Ferracutus by name, next sends a challenge. He is at Nájera, whither he has been sent, by the ammiral of Babylon, from Syria with 120,000 Turks; Charles hastens to meet him. The giant is about twelve cubits tall, his face is about a cubit in length, his fingers three palms. He asks that there be single combats, and Ogier the Dane is sent first against him. Ferracutus coolly picks Ogier up as though he were the meekest of sheep and carries him under one arm into captivity. Reinaldus is next carried off, and when Constantine and Hocel are sent

* Bédier sees in this episode a local legend of Montjardin (Légendes, iii, 102). I do not know of any significant analogues. For a tale of a phantom host of red cross knights who fight beside crusaders at 'Alkasa' in 1217, see the Miracles of Caesarius of Heisterbach, Lib. viii, cap. 66 (AASS. Bôl., vi July, 355 or translation of Scott and Bland [London, 1929], 11, 68 f.).

1 Ferracutus appears as 'Fernagu' or 'Fiernagu' in the vernacular; he is not a prominent figure, but in a trouvére's song published by Bonaventure de Roquefort in his État de la Poésie française (Paris, 1815) we find an allusion to a poem of 'Fernagu à la grant teste' (p. 305), and in Oinel (ed. Guissard and Michelant [Paris, 1859], ii, 419 f.) a reference to Roland as the slayer of 'Fernagu.' Gaston Paris considers that the form 'Fernagu' is likely to be older than 'Ferracutus'; the latter name has an 'apparence d'un sens' such as the Pseudo-Turpin would strive for in turning a French proper name into Latin — one thinks, for example, of his Latinization of 'Aumaçon' as 'Altamarin,' which suggests 'high great.' Consequently, Paris posits a lost popular poem on 'Fernagu' as source of the present episode of the Turpin — that is, of all save the theological debate, which he considers the work of our chronicler.

There is no denying the possibility that a poem on Fernagu antedates and was a source of the Pseudo-Turpin, but Paris's grounds for positing it are rather slight. The allusions in Roquefort and the Oinel both belong to the thirteenth century (see Roquefort, p. 91, and Guissard and Michelant, pp. viii f.), and the priority of the form 'Fernagu' is thoroughly questionable. The suggestion of 'iron-hide' in Ferracutus ('ferrea cutis') is exactly apposite to the central motif of the episode — the invulnerability of the giant. 'Fernagu' may very well be a corruption of 'Ferracutus,' much as the vernacular 'Oinel' and 'Ouel' are corruptions of 'Hospinus' (see page 25, note 1, above).

Moreover, certain of the livelier details of this engaging combat in our chronicle are duplicated later in chansons de geste in combats to which Fernagu was no party — notably in the combat between Ogier and Bréhus (ninth Branche of Ogier, ed. J. Barrois [Paris, 1842]), iii, 398 ff.) and in that between Oliver and Fierabras (Fierabras, ed. Kroeber and Servois [Paris, 1862], ii, 186-1536). (See Hist. poët., pp. 265 f.)

4 In the versions above OMA we have Dacus here, and not Danus. 'Dacus' agrees with Ogier's description in Ch. xiii: 'Ogier, king of Dacia,' and with the statement in Ch. xxiii, below, that Charlemagne gave lands to the Dacians who fought with him (he gave lands to his various peoples, but no Danes are mentioned). The author of our version was probably influenced by the later legends of Ogier, in which he is a Dane. No songs which refer to Ogier as a Dacian rather than a Dane have come down to us.
together against the giant, Ferracutus simply takes one under either arm and delivers them to his prison. Thus, two at a time, are twenty of Charles's men carried away. Charles is afraid to send any more knights, but Roland begs to go and finally wins permission. The giant picks Roland up in his right hand and sets him before him on his horse. But Roland seizes the giant by the chin and turns him over backwards; both fall together to the ground. A mighty duel follows; each kills the other's horse and each is deprived of the use of his sword. They fight with fists and stones until the hour of nones; at nightfall they make a truce and each returns to his camp to rest until the morrow, when, they agree, they will fight afoot and without lances.

Ch. XXI: In the morning the warriors meet again without horses. Ferracutus brings his sword, but it is of no use to him since Roland has brought a long, twisted club. With this he belabors his enemy, and he strikes him with his fists and with great round stones. Often Ferracutus suffers Roland to strike at will, yet Roland cannot wound him. At noon Ferracutus is sleepy and Roland grants him a truce so that he can take a nap. Ferracutus lies down and Roland, being a polite young man, puts a stone under his head to make him sleep more comfortably. (Such truces were made as a regular thing and rigidly respected by Christians and Saracens alike.) When the giant awakes, he and Roland fall to talking and Roland asks him how it is that he needs fear neither sword, nor club, nor stones. Ferracutus says that he is vulnerable only in the navel. (Ferracutus speaks Spanish, a tongue that Roland can understand well enough.) The two then fall to disputing as to which holds the true religion. Roland undertakes to explain the doctrine of the Three-in-One, but the discussion reaches a stalemate and the pair resume their combat with the agreement that whichever wins shall be considered to have vindicated his own faith.

Roland parries a great blow from the giant's sword, but his cudgel is cut in two and the giant throws him to the ground and falls upon him. Roland utters a prayer and twists himself far enough to grasp the giant's dagger. He manages to pierce Ferracutus through the navel. The giant is mortally wounded; the Christian forces pour into the city and fort and release their captive comrades.

1 "Ut erat iuvenis alacer."
2 In some of the later versions of this story in vulgar tongues (for example, in the English Roland and Vernagu [ed. S. J. H. Herbage, E.E.T.S., Extra ser. xxxxi]), the giant is made to snore and Roland puts the stone under his head to lessen the noise (p. 54).
3 The theological discussion is much fuller in the longer versions. See page 13, Par. II, above.
4 Roland 'missit manum suam ad mucronem eius' (not suum). Roland has brought only a club to the combat. See the following note.
5 In folklore there are two kinds of invulnerability. These we may name, for convenience, the 'Achilles' kind (the charm covers all parts of the body save one) and the 'Balder' kind (the charm...
Ch. XXII: Ebrahim, king of Seville, and Altumaior, both of whom escaped the slaughter of Pamplona, get command of a force of ten thousand and occupy Cordova. Charles hastens thither; the pagans come forth to meet him. But the footsoldiers of the heathen wear barbarous horned masks which make them look like devils and they beat drums. They present such a terrifying sight and make such a terrifying noise that the horses of the Christians take fright and the Christian forces are driven back. On the following day Charles's warriors blindfold the eyes, and stop up the ears, of their horses. This time the Saracens give way and many of them are slain. In their midst is a red banner erect upon a cart drawn by eight oxen. The Saracens believe that none of their number will ever flee from battle so long as that banner stands. Charles himself rides into the enemy host and cuts down the standard. The Saracens protects from all substances or weapons save one. (Sometimes, it may be remarked, we find a subject who enjoys both kinds of invulnerability; for example, J. F. Campbell records a tale of a man who was vulnerable only to the bristles of a boar and that only in one place — a mole on the sole of his foot; but such double invulnerability is exceptional.) Ferracutus's invulnerability is of the Achilles type. He dares confess his one spot of vulnerability because Roland is armed only with a club (which cannot pierce a navel) and the giant is confident of finishing him off before he can get any other weapon. Roland has made the error, which nearly proves fatal, of assuming that Ferracutus's invulnerability is of what we have called the Balder kind and that a club or stones may be effective where a sword is not.

Many heroes of the Balder type are vulnerable only to their own weapons — Grendel's mother, for example, in Beowulf (ed. F. Klaeber [Boston, 1922], lii. 1557—1590) and Hallagrímur of the Ænla, Ch. 30 (ed. Gísason and Þórunn [Copenhagen, 1875], pp. 57 f.). The fact that Roland kills Ferracutus with the latter's own dagger can, however, be explained by the circumstances already noted above and need not indicate any confusion of motives.

(See J. F. Campbell, Popular Tales of the West Highlands [London, 1892], 111, 54. Of the following examples of invulnerability I owe a number to Professor George Lyman Kittredge: (1) [Achilles type]. F. M. Luzel, Contes populaires de Basse-Bretagne [Paris, 1887], 1, 255 [palm], 111, 322 [spot over heart]; Tawney's Kathâ Sarit Sûgara, ed. N. M. Penzer [London, 1924—1928], 1, 127 [hand], 129 [spot between shoulders]; and J. Stanley Gardiner, Journal of the Anthropological Institute, xxvii [1898], 507 f. [eye, toe]. (2) [Balder type]. James Shirley, The Young Admiral [Works, ed. Gifford and Dyce], 111, 123 f., 144—149, 157—160, 178 f. [proof against blade and shot]; Theodor Hampe, transl. Malcolm Letts, Crime and Punishment in Germany [New York, 1929], pp. 105, 110 f. [against bullets]; Penzer-Tawney, Kathâ Sarit Sûgara, as above, iv, 63 [against iron, stone, and wood], viii, 52 [against cut or thrust]; Felix Liebchee, Zur Volkskunde [Heilbronn, 1879], p. 346 [against iron and bullets]; Adalbert Kuhn, Sagen aus Westfalen [Leipzig, 1859], i, 357 [against bullets]; and Robert Baron, Mira [London, 1647], p. 314 [against shot and blade]. Further examples may be found in Stith Thompson's Motif-Index of Folk-Literature [Helsinki, 1933].)

1 That is, Ibrahim of Seville (the real Ibrahim was governor of Seville 1116 — after 1123) and Almanzor, the Aumacpr of the chansons (the real Almanzor died in 1002). See page 25, note 1, page 32, note 3, above, and page 50, note 2, below.

2 The ten thousand come from septem urbanus, as follows: Seville, Granada, 'Desentina' (the longer versions of the Turpin have de [from] Saiva, that is, the city known in atlases as Setabis, Schadiba, or Játiva), Denia, Ubeda, Abula, and Baeza. All these cities are found in the great list of Ch. v, above, and in a proximity that raises the suspicion that the Pseudo-Turpin made up this present list by referring back in his own manuscript. The seven cities appear in the great list respectively as numbers 87, 86, 85, 84, 80, 89, and 81. Cordova is number 88. Our chronicler seems to have been his own source in this passage.
are routed and eight thousand, including the king of Seville, are slain; Altumaior escapes to the city with two thousand followers.¹

¹ Max Buchner in his article ‘Pseudo-Turpin, Reinald von Dassel und der Archipoet’ (Zs. f. franz. Spr. u. Lit., 11 [1923], 1-72) asks: ‘Who does not recognize in this Saracen standard-cart (‘Fahnenwagen’) the “carroccio” of the Milanese?’ (p. 45), and he proceeds to quote a passage in the Carmen de Frederico I descriptive of the battle of Carcano (August 9, 1160), between Frederick and the army of Milan. It was a custom of the Milanese, run the Latin verses, to take into battle a cart (plaustrum) drawn by four oxen, on which was raised their standard. This was their rallying place, to be defended with utmost valor. Frederick sees it, cuts his way to it, slays the oxen. Victory is his. (Ed. Ernesto Monaci under the title Gesta di Frederico I in Italia [Rome, 188]); see pp. 124 f.) In other early sources (Buchner here uses the narrative of W. von Giesebrecht’s Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit [Braunschweig, 1886], v [1], 283), we are told that the standard was that of St Ambrose, a cross and a banner; that Frederick fought his way to the cart, killed the oxen, hurled the cart into a ditch, and cut down the standard.

Buchner finds in R. Holtzmann’s source-study of the Carmen (Neues Archiv, xlv [1922], 277) the judgment that the portion of the Carmen which contains the ‘carroccio’ episode is drawn from a lost account of the earlier years of Frederick’s reign, by some member of Frederick’s court; it therefore most probably has a basis of fact in the battle of Carcano. He concludes that our episode in the Turpin is likewise a reflection of that battle.

Buchner’s case is impressive, and it gains rather than loses strength from further investigation. The Italian chronicler Otto Morena, describing the battle of Carcano in his De Rebus Laudentibus, says: ‘Imperator vero cum suis Teutonicis et aliquibus aliis robuste contra Mediolanenses irruens, fere usque ad carozolum [= carroccio] ipsorum, ubi erat multitudo peditum Mediolanensium, eos impulit magnamque ipsorum peditum copiam ... interfecit ac boves ipsius carozoli occidit et ipsum carozolum incidit crucemque deauratam, que supra perticam carozoli fuerat, atque vexillum ibi positum abstulit’ (ed. Ferdinand Gütterbock, M.G.H.SS., nov. ser., VII, 119 f.). Morena’s testimony is particularly valuable. He was conscientious, he was writing shortly after the event (within the year probably), and he wrote of what he had seen or had heard about from eye-witnesses. Güterbock says (ed. cit., p. xviii): ‘Schwerlich hat hier, ... wie bei anderen damaligen Schriftstellern [among them the author of the Carmen], Material der kaiserlichen Kanzlei in grösserem Umfang Verwendung gefunden. Und noch weniger ist hier an eine Benutzung anderer Geschichtswerke zu denken.’ Thus Morena gives us independent testimony of the best sort. It should be added also, that the ‘carroccio,’ as an institution of the Milanese, is mentioned by Morena under dates earlier than 1160; that two letters of the year 1162, one written by Frederick himself, the other by his secretary Burchard, describe the surrender by the Milanese of their ‘carroccio’ in March of that year; and that a lengthy list of allusions to standard-carts in Du Cange (s. v. Carrocium) shows that the ‘property’ was chiefly associated with Milan and chiefly known after and through the battle of Carcano.

The date of 1160 seems rather late for a terminus a quo for the Turpin, and we are not absolutely compelled to accept it. The agreement between our chronicle and the histories of Frederick may be in part due to coincidence. Standard-carts were not unknown at an earlier date. For example, the chronicler Bernold of St Blasian († c. 1100) writes of Papal troops fighting against Henry IV (anno 1086): ‘Unde et crucem altissimam in quodam plaustro erectam et rubro vexillo decoratum usque ad locum certaminis secum deduci fecerunt’ (M.G.H.S., v, 444 f.), and in 1138 King Stephen of England bore the banners of his saints upon a cart to the ‘Battle of the Standard’ against David of Scotland (Charles Oman, The Art of War [London, 1924], i, 390 ff.). But the fact remains that this episode of the Turpin looks very much like a reflection of the battle of Carcano as it was described in the earliest reports.

(The letters alluded to concerning the surrender of the ‘carroccio’ in 1162 are: Frederick to Count Ivo of Soissons, in Martin Bouquet’s Recueil des Historiens de la France [ed. L. Desfossé (Paris, 1798), vii, 689 f.]; and Burchard to Nicolaus, abbot of Siegburg, in the Germaniarum Rerum Scriptores of Marquard Freher [ed. B. G. Struve, Strasburg, 1717], i, 230-332. See also L. A. Muratori, Antiquitates Italicar [Milan, 1739], 11, cols. 489-493 [a discussion of the Carroccio]; Struve’s Freher [as above], i, 697; and E. Ottmar, ‘Das Carmen de Frederico,’ Neues Archiv, xlvi [1926], 430-439.)
Ch. XXIII: On the following day Altumaior yields the city to Charles, but, upon submitting to be baptized and becoming Charles’s man, he receives it back. Charles gives the various provinces of Spain to such of his men as want to remain in the country: the lands of the Navarrese and Basques to the Bretons, Castile to the French, Nájera and Saragossa to the Greeks and Apulians, Aragon to the Pictavians, maritime Andalusia to the Germans, and Portugal to the Dacians and Flemish. The French don’t want Galicia — it seems too poor a country.

Thereafter, nobody dares challenge Charles’s power in Spain.

Ch. XXIV: Charles disbands his army and comes to the tomb of St James; he quickens in the faith those Christians whom he finds there; unbelievers he slays or exiles to France. Then he calls a council in Compostela of bishops and princes, and he rules that thenceforth all Christian prelates and princes of Spain and Galicia shall be subservient to the bishop of St. James. He does not make Iria an episcopal see — that village (for he does not consider it a city) he subordinates to Compostela.

In this last, note especially p. 431 n. Of the various chronicles which are here [after Holtzmann] drawn from the courtier’s lost account, John of Cremona is known only from Burchard von Ursberg [† 1226] and only Burchard comes down through the battle of Carcano [see Ottmar, page 484]. The Annales Mediolanenses (1 and 2) referred to by Giesebeech have been edited by O. Holder-Egger [Gesta Federici I Imperatoris in Lombardia, Hanover, 1892]. Annales 2 were written before 1183, probably soon after 1177 — see Holder-Egger, p. 6.)

After the miraculous discovery of St James’s tomb at Compostela had made western Galicia a goal of pilgrims (probably by 850), Iria (El Padron) was only less visited than Compostela itself, thanks doubtless to the legend that the boat bearing St James’s body from Jerusalem had come ashore there and to the fact that it was an episcopal see (cf. page 18, note 5, above). But the bishops of Iria, desiring to stress their apostolic tradition and to associate themselves as closely as possible with the popular shrine, took to adding to their title of ‘Iriensis Sedis Episcopus’ the phrase ‘et Apostolicae Sedis.’ As time passed, they occasionally dropped the ‘Iriensis Sedis’; they came to divide their residence between Iria and Compostela; then to reside most of the year at Compostela. Finally, in 1095, Bishop Dalmatius obtained a papal bull removing the episcopacy from Iria to Compostela. In 1100, Diego Gelmirez became bishop of Compostela. A man of boundless ambition, he obtained for Compostela an archiepiscopacy (1120) and inspired in his partisans the desire for such prerogatives as are said in this chapter actually to have been bestowed upon them by Charlemagne. Naturally, the Compostelans belittled Iria. They pretended in their Historia Compostelana (c. 1140) that the episcopacy had been transferred from Iria to Compostela in those remote times when the body of St James had been first discovered; and in the Pseudo-Turpin, with less consistency than effrontery, they pretended that Compostela had always, and Iria never, been the episcopal see. The Turpin perhaps reflects this partisanship in some degree in Ch. iv, when Charlemagne, after visiting Compostela goes to El Padron — the ecclesiastical name for El Padron, i.e., Iria, is not used — but it is most outspoken here. Those Galicians who knew anything of the recent history of their church must have recognized the sheer presumptuousness and mendacity of the Compostelans, but, of course, pilgrims from afar could be well enough imposed upon. — That the Pseudo-Turpin must have felt a momentary qualm is the implication of a phrase in Ch. v: Compostela is among the cities conquered by Charlemagne ‘quamvis tunc tempora parva.’ (See R. Dozy, Recherches, 3d. ed., ii, 397–409; and the Historia Compostelana, ed. Henrique Flores, España Sagrada, xx [Madrid, 1769], pp. 8, 23–26, 257, 546, et passim. For interpretations of the history of Iria and Compostela which rely upon the Historia Compostelana and thus differ widely from Dozy — without, as I think, being nearly as plausible — see P. B. Gams, Die Kirchengeschichte von Spanien [Regensburg, 1874], ii (2), Bk. 15, esp. p. 368; and the Catholic Encyclopedia, s. n. Compostela.)
I, Turpin, with nine other bishops dedicate the church and altar of St James. To that church Charles allots all Spain and Galicia and ordains that every householder of Galicia shall pay it annually four nummi and shall then be free from all service. And he ordains that it shall be known as an Apostolic See, since the apostle James lies buried there. And there the councils of the bishops of Spain and Galicia shall be held; and bishops shall receive their staves of office and kings their crowns at the hands of its prelates. Just as John and his brother James besought the Lord that they might sit the one on his right hand and the other on his left in heaven, so in the terrestrial kingdom of Christ the apostolic see of John is at Ephesus in the east and the apostolic see of James at Compostela in the west. Three apostolic sees are the chief and juridical sees, just as there were three most favored apostles. Rome is the prime see of all the world, but as James was second only to Peter among the apostles on earth, and, indeed, in heaven ranks above him in order of martyrdom, so Compostela is second only to Rome among sees, for at Compostela James preached and there he is buried and there does he still work miracles and bestowed ceaseless blessings. The third see is Ephesus, the see of the blessed Evangelist, where he preached, where he performed his miracles, where he built his church, and where he is buried.

Galicia, rescued from the Saracens by the grace of God and St James and by the efforts of Charles, remains orthodox in faith to this day.

1 Cf. Mark x, 35-40. * See the note on Iria, above.

* This chapter, detailing the privileges bestowed by Charlemagne upon Compostela, has numerous points of similarity, even in wording, to a second passage found in the longer Turpin and in the shorter Turpin of the Nero-version, where similar privileges are said to have been granted the church of St Denis. For a description of this passage, see page 15, Par. VIII, above, and for the passage itself (from MS. Nero) see Appendix 11, below. We have seen before that the Pseudo-Turpin sometimes repeats himself — for example, he gives the miracle of the flourishing lances twice and he twice tells how, in answer to Christian prayers, God destroyed the defenses of a city.

Independently of the Pseudo-Turpin there exists a forged charter in the name of Charlemagne. This is 'witnessed' by nineteen prelates, first among whom is 'Archbishop Turpin,' and grants to St Denis the privileges described in the long Turpin and our Appendix 11 (see No. 286 in M.G.H.DD. Karolina, 1, ed. Engelbert Mühlbacher [1906], pp. 428 ff., Bédier (Légendes, iv, 173, 421]). Mühlbacher dates this charter after 1165 and sees in it a fabrication based upon the Turpin. Buchner, however, undertook to date the piece 1147-1149 in an article entitled 'Das gefälschte Karlspreßstück für St Denis' (Historisches Jahrbuch, xlii [1922], 12-28, 250-265) and in a subsequent article, 'Pseudo-Turpin, Reinald von Dassel u. der Archipoet' (Zs.f.franz. Spr., li [1928], 10-20), to prove that it was not an imitation but a source of the St Denis passage of the Turpin. This, by corollary, would make it a source, or rather, a model for the present chapter (xxiv); it would also give us 1147 as a terminus a quo.

To his dual undertaking — of dating No. 286 in the years 1147-1149 and of showing it to be a source of the Turpin — Buchner brought a wealth of learning and deep insight, and it would be impossible to do him full justice in a mere note. Admittedly, too, antecedent probability favors his case: the simplest explanation of the triple relationship between the three privileges — the Turpin Compostela, the Turpin St Denis, and No. 286 — is his: No. 286 was written first, the Pseudo-Turpin imitated it for the benefit of Compostela in the present chapter, and he imitated it again, this time much more closely, in the latter part of his chronicle. Buchner illuminates and demonstrates this
Ch. XXIV: On his way back to France Charles stops at Pamplona. He probability fully, but I believe that his case must be said to lack that flat and final proof necessary to establish a terminus a quo. When his various evidences as to the priority of No. 286 are assayed the strongest proves to be this: The Turpin St Denis passage (our Appendix 11) provides that no king shall be crowned without the advice of the abbot ("sine assentu et concilio abbatis"); this is a not very cogent statement and seems like a corruption of the parallel passage in No. 286, where we read that no king may be crowned or bishop consecrated without the "assent et advice of the abbot ("absque assensu et concilio abbatis"). So far as it goes (and that is not very far) this is good. The rest of the evidences immediately suggest a host of doubts and qualifications. The 'senselessness' ('Sinnlosigkeit') which Buchner finds in the statement in Turpin, Ch. xxiv: 'Every household shall pay four nummi and then shall be free from all service' does indeed exist if by 'service' ('servitute') is meant servitude and not feudal duties, and it is not to be found in No. 286, where we read that every household is to pay four nummi and that any serf who pays a like amount shall be thereafter free. But the Turpin St Denis passage contains the statement that all householders shall give four nummi and adds — in the longer versions, though, as it happens not in Nero, our Appendix 11 — that all serfs who pay a like amount shall be thereafter free (Castets, p. 56). Thus the 'Sinnlosigkeit' in Ch. xxiv can be cleared up by reference to the Turpin St Denis passage as well as by reference to No. 286 and so cannot be used to show a priority of No. 286 over the Turpin. Again, the assertion that kings and bishops shall receive their tokens of authority in the privileged church is much more fully elaborated in No. 286 than in the Turpin, but it may be questioned that the bare statement in the Turpin is 'recht dunkel,' or, in fact, 'dunkel' at all. Finally, Buchner contends that No. 286 is much more fresh and colorful than the passages in the Turpin. This may merely indicate that the forger of St Denis improved upon the bare statements of the Turpin, written by a man to whom St Denis was only a secondary interest, or who, at any rate, was more practised at forging biography than legal documents. — The chapter ends, 'Usque in hodiernum diem.' See page 27, note 4, above.

1 Chapter xx of Thoron and Castets is omitted in our version. See pages 13 f., Par. III, above.  
2 See page 14, Par. IV, above. — From this point forward to the end of Ch. xxxiii, the subject of our chronicle is the story of Ganelon's treachery and the disaster of Roncesvales. The version of the Chanson de Roland found in the Oxford MS. is older than the Turpin; possibly the versions found in Venice 4 and the rhymed redactions are also older. On the other hand, the Turpin is older than any manuscript of the Chanson de Roland, possibly excepting the Oxford, which may be about contemporary but is usually dated c. 1170. As it is natural to assume that our author drew at least part of his material from some version or other of the Chanson, we might turn to a comparison of Chs. xxv-xxxiii with the French poem, in hope not only of finding the source of this portion of the chronicle but, what is more important, of clearing up various obscure passages in the Chanson manuscripts. But we should be disappointed.

The story of Chs. xxv-xxxiii is so widely different from the story of the Chanson de Roland as to make impossible any comparison of phrase for phrase or item for item. The Turpin, with its episode of the Saracen women, its loose, cursory treatment of the battle proper, which is the body and dramatic raison d'être of the Chanson, its fleeting account of Charlemagne's revenge, its relatively full account of Roland's prayer and of the embalming and interring of the heroes' bodies, so say nothing of its special rôle for Archbishop Turpin, is a thing apart from the French epic. Indeed, so far as the extant Chanson de Roland is concerned, we might even conclude that the Pseudo-Turpin in his Chs. xxv-xxxiii was stringing together pilgrims' legends, known to him as such or in the form of ballads, in complete ignorance that there existed any epic treatment of his story whatsoever.

But it has been considered possible to use the Pseudo-Turpin in another fashion in studying the Chanson de Roland. Gaston Paris, in his edition of the Latin Carmen de predicione Guenonis (Romania, xii [1882], 465-518) sought, by comparing the plot of the Chanson with the story of Roncesvalles as it appears in the Turpin and in various other early works, notably the Carmen de predicione, to delve into the pre-history of the Chanson de Roland, for the purpose of uncovering a putative lost epic which should have developed into the epic preserved with more or less fidelity in our various manuscripts of the Chanson. Actually he uncovered — save the mark! — the epic which developed into the epic which developed into the epic preserved in our manuscripts; that is, he decided that he
learns that two Saracen kings whom he has made his subjects, namely, Marsirius and his brother Belegandus, are serving him with but simulated loyalty. To them, Charles sends Ganelon with the command that they could distinguish not one but two pre-Chansons: the elder, which for some unexplained reason he placed in the 'tenth or eleventh' century, is preserved for us after a fashion in the Turpin; the younger is preserved in the Carmen; and their end product is the extant Chanson.

For example: In the elder pre-Chanson, the motive of Ganelon's treason was simply greed — he was bribed. This motive is preserved in the Turpin. In the younger pre-Chanson there was added to this motive a second, a hatred of Roland so bitter that it had broken out in a 'scene' before all the chieftains of the army. This second motive appears, with the first, in the Carmen and the Chanson. So far so good; but later in the story, after Charlemagne has heard Roland's horn, there occurs the episode of Ganelon's dissuading the emperor from paying any attention to the blast. In the elder pre-Chanson there was no difficulty here, and there is none in the Turpin — Charlemagne does not suspect Ganelon of harboring any animosity or practising any treason and so allows himself to be dissuaded. But in the younger pre-Chanson, Charlemagne should have been on his guard against Ganelon as an enemy of Roland. How the younger pre-Chanson handled this situation we can only infer from the Chanson (the Carmen, however, evades the difficulty by leaping over the scene), in which we have a crude and telling inconsistency: Charlemagne hears the blast of the Oliphant and Ganelon ridicules his fears; shortly thereafter, for no apparent reason, Ganelon is thrown into chains and mocked as a traitor. (See Romania, x, 496 f., 510.) Or again: In Ch. xxv of the Turpin, Charlemagne opens the negotiations with the Saracens by sending Ganelon off with an ultimatum. This trait is found also in the Carmen and must therefore be a characteristic of the younger pre-Chanson. In the extant Chanson, however, the negotiations are opened by Marsile, who sends a chiefly, Blancadrin, to Charlemagne; when Blancadrin returns, Ganelon accompanies him, bearing the ultimatum. That Blancadrin's embassy is an interpolation (of the redactor of the extant Chanson) is evident from certain inconsistencies to which it gives rise: to explain his sending Blancadrin, Marsile says that he lacks forces and must make peace with Charlemagne, yet later he both says and demonstrates that he has ample forces; with Blancadrin returning to Marsile, Charlemagne does not need any bearer for his ultimatum, yet he sends Ganelon; and so forth. (See Romania, xi, 489-492; and Guido Laurentius, Zur Kritik der Chanson de Roland [Altenburg, 1876], esp. pp. 9-14.)

Gustav Brücker in his Das Verhältnis des französischen Rollandsliedes zur Turpinschen Chronik u. zum Carmen (Rostock, 1905) accepted and elaborated upon Paris's theory, using the same method. But the theory has not found acceptance. Even the two simplified examples which I have given must certainly suffice to show that Paris's theory staggers under its own weight. It is regrettable that the nineteenth century's palaeontological method sometimes ran away with the nineteenth century's greatest historian-of-literature. In his Légendes (III, 394-398), Bédié has summed up the opinions of Tavernier, Stengel, Baist, and Becker that the Turpin in relation to the Chanson de Roland has no 'valeur d'ancienneté,' and points out that Paris's fundamental error lay in constantly making the assumption that the simpler form must of necessity be older than the complex. Since the Turpin is an epitome, which is to say, a simplification, this assumption was more than merely hazardous.

(See also Bédié, Légendes, III, 279 f. Paris re-stated his theory in his Littérature française au Moyen Âge [Paris, 1909], pp. 59-64, and in the Introduction to his Extraits de la Chanson de Roland [Paris, 1891]. For further bibliography on this subject, see Bédié, Légendes, III, 395 and notes, and for a summary of scholarship to 1905, see Brücker, as above, pp. 1-20.)

Needless to say, numerous later versions of the battle of Roncesvalles combine the matter of the Chanson de Roland with episodes and names from the Turpin. Among these may be mentioned Mousken's Chronique Rime, ll. 6598-9959 (ed. de Reiffenberg [Brussels, 1836]), 1, 262-374) and the English Song of Roland (ed. Heritage, E.E.T.S. Extra ser. xxxv). In such, the direct influence of our chronicle is sufficiently plain.

1 Only Marsirius (Marsile), and not Belegandus, is named in this place in the Chanson de Roland. On the other hand, Baligant appears much further on as hero of a long, probably interpolated, episode (Oxford, ll. 2609-3681). There he is not Marsile's brother, but his sovereign. Paris points out that the Pseudo-Turpin forgets about Belegandus when he reaches the climax of his story — forgets to
either accept baptism or pay tribute. They send him great quantities of gold and silver and precious objects and wine and also a thousand beautiful Saracen women. But they bribe Ganelon to betray his master. Consequently, Ganelon tells Charles that Marsirius has agreed to become a Christian and that he will come to Charles in France to be baptized; moreover, he will hold all Spain in see. Charles makes ready to go through the pass of Cize. After consulting with Ganelon he puts Roland in command of a rear guard of twenty thousand to hold the pass at Roncesvalles; with him are many of the greater knights. The main army proceeds through the defile.

But because on several preceding nights some of the Christians, drunk on the wine which Marsirius had sent, have lain with the Saracen women and with Christian women who had come with the army from France, many of the rear guard are slain. Marsirius and Belegandus, upon Ganelon’s advice, have been for two days and nights in ambush in the groves and hills about the pass. When Charles, with Ganelon and Turpin and the main body of the army, has gone through the defile, the two pagan kings, with ninety thousand followers, descend upon the rear guard. There is fierce fighting and the ninety thousand are slain to a man. But then a Saracen reserve of twenty thousand sweeps down, and the fatigued rear guard cannot hold its own. Every Christian is killed, except Roland, Baldwin, Turpin, Theodoric, and Ganelon. The pagans withdraw one league.

How does it happen that the Lord allowed those innocent of fornication to be slain along with the guilty? The answer is that, had the innocent lived to reach their homes, they might there have committed worse sins and thus have lost eternal life. As for the guilty ones, they wiped out their sin by the passion of the sword. This is a lesson to priests and
other religious not to get drunk and sully themselves with women, for if 
they do so they will be conquered by their enemies (that is, evil spirits) 
and lose immortality.

After the battle Roland scouts about the pagan host. In a grove he (22) 
comes upon a black Saracen, who is hiding. Roland seizes him and binds 
him to a tree. Then, after climbing a hill and reconnoitering the enemy 
forces, he returns to the route at Roncesvalles, on which some survivors1 
are making for the pass. He blows his ivory horn2 and about a hundred 
Christians rally to him. With these he returns to his captive. They 
unbind the fellow and take him to a point from which they can view the 
pagan army. Roland forces him to point out Marsirius. Then the little 
band charges into the enemy ranks. Roland slays Marsirius, but all his 
followers are killed and he himself is gravely wounded.

Ch. XXVI:3 When Belegandus learns of the death of Marsirius, he and 
his warriors depart from the country.

The wounded Roland rides alone to the entrance of the pass of Cize, 
where he dismounts beside a marble rock under a tree. He draws his 
sword Durenda4 and, after apostrophizing it and voicing a mighty resolu-
tion that it shall never fall into unworthy hands, he brings it down thrice 
on the rock. What more? The boulder is split in two but the sword is 
undamaged. Then he blows his horn of ivory, hoping that Christian (23) 
refugees in the woods will come to him. So mighty is the blast that it is 
said to have split the horn down the middle and to have ruptured the 
veins and sinews of Roland’s neck. Charles, eight miles away in Val-
carlos, hears it.5 He proposes to return to Roland’s aid, but the schem-
ing Ganelon dissuades him, saying that Roland is always blowing his 
horn without cause and that now he is probably merely hunting.

Baldwin passes by where Roland is lying and Roland asks him to fetch 
water. But Baldwin can find none, and, perceiving that Roland is nearly 
dead and fearing lest he himself fall into the hands of the Saracens, he 
gives Roland his benediction and rides away to overtake Charles. Then

1 Simply 'illi', but Christian survivors must be meant, despite the fact that this contradicts the 
statement that all but five Christians had been slain.

* For the rôle of Roland’s ‘Olifant’ see Jenkins (ed. cit.) p. 86 n., and Paris’s careful analysis in 
Romania, xiv, 507 n.

* See page 14, Par. V, above.

4 In the chansons, Durendal or Durendart. The name has never been explained, since the ety-
mology offered in the Pseudo-Turpin, ‘Durum ictum cum ea da,’ is hardly satisfactory! In the 
Chanson de Roland, Durendal is said to have been given Roland by Charlemagne at the behest of God; 
in the Chanson d’Aspremont Charlemagne is said to have obtained the sword from Eaumon, ‘sire 
devers Orient’ (this is the son of Aigolandus). In some epics it is said to have been made by Wayland; 
in Fierabras by Wayland’s brother Munificans. See Jenkins (ed. cit.), p. 77 n.; and Bédier, Legendes, 
ii, 388 n. Concerning the disposal of the sword, see page 45, note cont., below.

5 The sound was carried, in the Turpin though not in the Chanson, by an angel — ‘angelico ductu.’ 
To our chronicler, this ‘angelico ductu’ probably seemed a rationalization — it made an otherwise 
incredible story credible.
Theodoric appears. He laments over his comrade and urges him to make his confession. (Roland had taken communion and been confessed that morning before the battle; it was the custom of all warriors so to be prepared for death by bishops and priests who accompanied the army.) Roland utters a long and fervent prayer with formulas and gestures of repentance.¹

Ch. XXVII: Roland dies and angels carry his soul up to heaven.

¹ Holding the skin and flesh of his chest he thrice repeats: 'Jesus Christ, son of the living God and the Virgin Mary, with all my heart I confess; and I believe that thou my Redeemer livest and that one day I shall be resurrected and in my flesh shall see God my savior.' Then he places his hands over his eyes and says: 'Him shall I see and him shall these eyes behold.' Opening his eyes and crossing himself, he goes on: 'All things of this world are hateful to me, for I know that the eye has not seen, nor the ear heard, nor the heart of man conceived of that glory which God has prepared for those who love him.' Then he spreads his hands and implores the divine mercy for his slain comrades.

P. Pius Fischer points to the Breviarium Monasticum (Response to the first lection of the Office of the Dead) as source of part of this scene. There we read, in paraphrase of Job xix, 25: 'Credo quod redemptor meus vivit et in novissimo die de terra surrecturus sum; et in carne mea videbo Deum Salvatorem meum.' A second source Fischer finds in the same Breviary in the fifth lection of the second Nocturne of March 12 (Feast of St Gregory the Great). Gregory, before he became pope, was a papal emissary to Constantinople, where he met the Patriarch Eutyches. Eutyches had denied the doctrine of resurrection, but 'paolo post incitum in morbum incidisset, instante morte, pellem manus suae tenebat multis praesentibus, dicens: "Confiteor, quia omnes in hac carne resurgemus."' (March 12 is, of course, in Pars Verna; in the Breviarium Romanum this passage appears as the fourth lection of the second Nocturne of March 12. See P. Pius Fischer, Die französische Übersetzung des Pseudo-Turpin nach dem Codex Gallicus 52 [Wertheim am Main, 1932], pp. 94 f.)

The question might be raised whether in this second case we have a borrowing or whether Eutyches and the Pseudo-Turpin were not each familiar with a traditional gesture and formula of the dying penitent. Moreover, the words 'Credo quod ... Salvatorem meum' may have come into our chronicle not directly from the Breviary but through the medium of a traditional prayer which the dying man repeated during Extreme Unction (or at any rate, the dying cleric). Note that Roland puts his hands over his eyes. In the sacrament of Extreme Unction as it has been celebrated from time immemorial, the priest anoints the eyelids (before proceeding to anoint in turn the ears, lips, nostrils, and hands — the five organs of the five senses through which the dying man has sinned) and as he does so says 'Per istam sanctam unctionem et suam piissimam misericordiam, indulgeat tibi Dominus quicquid per visum deliquisti. Amen.' It is perhaps not without significance that a prayer supplied by Gother for the use of the penitent at this place in the Sacrament runs: 'My eyes have seen vanities, but now let them be shut to the world, and open to thee alone, my Jesus; and pardon me all the sins I have committed by my seeing' (in the Appendix to the Ordo Administrandi Sacramenta in Missione Anglicana [London, 1812], p. 199). Gother's prayer may have been wholly his own creation, but again it may have had a mediæval prototype, and this prototype rather than the Breviary may have been the direct source of Roland's prayer in the Turpin.

(Some thirty early texts of the Sacrament of Extreme Unction are published by Hugues Ménard in his Notæ et Observationes in Librvm Sacramentorum Sancti Gregorii papæ in Gregory's Opera, Benedictine edn. [Paris, 1793], iii, cols. 537-556, and by Edmund Martène in his De Antiquis Ecclesiæ Rituibus [Venice, 1783], i, 299-355. The formula which I give above is found in several of these and in the present Rituale Romanum; the remaining and greater number have: "Ungo oculos tuos de oleo sanctificato, ut quicquid illicito visu deliquisti, huius olei unctione expietur. Per Dominum.

* These are a cento from Venantius Fortunatus (605). See Migne, P. L., lxxxviii, 'Epit. Exoti,' 13-14, 17-18 (col. 158); 'Epit. domni Gregori,' 5-6 (col. 153); 'Epit. Leonii,' 11-12 (col. 161); 'Epit. Calacteici,' 13 (col. 159); 'Epit. Attici,' 13-18 (col. 166); 'Ad Gregorium,' 1 (col. 198); 'Ad
As I, Turpin, am saying a requiem before Charles in Valcarlos, in a (25) trance I hear singing voices in the heavens and lo! as they pass over the zenith I see after them a phalanx of hideous warriors as if returning from a foray with booty. I ask these warriors what they are doing and they say that they are bearing Marsirius to hell and that the angel Michael is carrying that hero who blows the horn, and many other heroes, to heaven. As soon as mass is over, I tell Charles what I have learned. While I am still talking, Baldwin rides up and tells us of the disaster of Roncesvalles. The army hastens back along the route it has just traversed. Charles himself finds Roland and laments over him loud and long.

When the hero’s body has been embalmed, the army holds a wake over it the night through with songs and many fires.

Ch. XXVIII: Early in the morning Charles and his men go to the other (26) dead and to the wounded, at the scene of the main battle. Oliver, flayed and horribly mutilated, lies bound to stakes which hold him in the form of a cross. There is great sound of lamentations as each warrior bewails his friends. Charles swears he will have revenge. He makes haste to move on after the Saracens; for his sake the sun stands still and that day has the length of three days. He comes upon the enemy at Saragossa on the Ebro and slays four thousand. Returning to Roncesvalles, Charles takes cognizance of widespread rumors that Ganelon has brought about the disaster. He orders an ordeal by combat. Pinabel represents Ganelon, Theodoric the accusers. Theodoric kills Pinabel. Charles causes Ganelon to be tied to four horses and so torn to death.

Ch. XXIX: The warriors take care of their dead friends’ bodies: they
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cut the bellies and remove the stercora; they embalm the corpses with myrrh or balsam or, lacking those aromatic substances, as many do, with common salt. They prepare litters, or they fasten the bodies on horses, or carry them on their shoulders or in their arms. Some bodies are buried on the spot; in some instances a warrior transports the body of his friend to the latter’s home in France or another country, or transports it as far as he can until advancing decay forces him to commit it to the ground. The warriors carry the wounded on ladders over their shoulders.

(28) Ch. XXX: Most of the dead of Roncesvalles, and also those who died miraculously in the chapel of Mount Garzin, are buried in the cemeteries of Arles and Bordeaux.

(29) Ch. XXXI: Charles conducts the body of Roland on two mules to Blaye, where he has it entombed in the church of St Romain with the sword at the head and the trumpet at the feet. (Later the horn was shamefully removed to the church of St Séverin at Bordeaux.)

1 This touching passage, which speaks so clearly for the loyalties of the twelfth century, has no counterpart in the Chanson de Roland.

8 See Ch. xx, above.

Bédier shows that there were two conflicting traditions as to Charlemagne’s route through France on the return from Roncesvalles and consequently as to the disposition of the relics. The one tradition took him through Bordeaux and Blaye, the other, through Arles. (Of the four routes [see page 22, note 1, above], that of Bordeaux is the most western, that of Arles the most eastern.) In the Chanson de Roland, for example, Charlemagne takes the Bordeaux-Blaye route (see Oxford, II. 3682-3694); in the Karlamagnussaga, the Arles route. The Pseudo-Turpin reconciles these two traditions to the extent that Charlemagne divides the bodies of his martyred knights equally between the two routes. (See Légendes, III, 354-360.) Note that, although the Emperor himself goes by way of Blaye (Ch. xxxi), he makes a special gift to the poor of Arles (Ch. xxxiii) and that Turpin is so extravagantly politic as to go by way both of Blaye and Arles — he goes to Blaye first and then across country to Arles. His destination is Vienne, but his route is decidedly circuitous.

4 For an account of the church and cemetery of St Romain at Blaye, see Bédier, Légendes, III, 345-354; for an account of the church and cemetery of St Séverin at Bordeaux, see the same, III, 341-345. The earliest known record of a non-poetic sort to place Roland’s body at Blaye was written by Hugues de Fleury, who died shortly after 1119. Later records tell us that in the crypt of the church of St Romain there are — or at least as late as the sixteenth century there were — three sarcophagi of white marble, bearing no inscriptions. These are doubtless the ‘blans sarcous’ mentioned in the Oxford Chanson de Roland as the repositories of the bodies of Roland, Oliver, and Turpin — in the Chanson, it will be recalled, Turpin was slain at Roncesvalles (II. 3688-3694). In other chansons than the Oxford Roland, Oliver is nearly always said to have been entombed at St Romain, and the third sarcophagus is sometimes held to be that of Turpin, sometimes that of St Romain himself, and sometimes that of the Belle Aude, Roland’s affianced, the sister of Oliver. Note that in our chronicle, immediately below, Oliver is said to have been entombed at Belin. The Pilgrims’ Guide (ed. Fita and Vinson, pp. 43 f.) agrees in this. — The Pseudo-Turpin has previously referred to Roland as ‘prince of Blaye’ (see page 27, note 2, above) and at the opening of this chapter it declares that he had founded the church of St Romain and established canons regular in it (see the text; the ‘ipse’ probably refers to Roland and not Charlemagne). This association of Roland with Blaye during his lifetime is peculiar to the Turpin; doubtless it was excogitated to explain why Roland should have been taken to Blaye for burial. (See Bédier, as cited above. The ‘six’ of page 354 n. 2 should be ‘xxxix.’)

The Pilgrims’ Guide (ed. Fita and Vinson, p. 43) puts the Olifant at St Séverin, as do the Oxford
Gandeboldus, Ogier, Arastagnus, Guarinus, duke of Lorraine, and many others are buried at Belin.\footnote{The Pilgrims’ Guide (pp. 43 f.) offers this same list of illustrious dead at Belin. All are buried in a single tumulus. This tumulus emits a sweet odor, which has curative value. (Actually there are several Roman tumuli at Belin — see Bédier, Légendes, \textit{iii}, 341, and \textit{iv}, 413).} Happy that starveling village to have such relics! At St Séverin in Bordeaux are Gaifer, Engeler, Lambertus, Galerus, Gerin, Reinaldus, Gualterus, Guielinus, and Bego, with five thousand others. Hoel is entombed in his native Nantes with many of his Bretons.

\textit{Ch. XXXII:} For the salvation of these men Charles gives to the poor a vast amount of money, clothing, and food, and in memory of Roland he gives outright to the church of St Romain all the land for six miles around and the castle of Blaye and its appurtenances and the sea below the town.\footnote{'Totumque oppidum blaviense cum ceteris que sibi pertinent et etiam mare quod sub eo est.' 'Oppidum' may mean \textit{town} rather than \textit{castle}. As for the gift of the sea below the town (the bay of the Garonne): perhaps in addition to the ordinary riparian rights were some rights of taxing the ferry-boats by which pilgrims crossed to and from Bordeaux. On the other hand, it is likely that our chronicler had no very exact ideas in this passage but was simply seeking to create an impression by a liberal use of legalistic jargon.} Moreover, he frees the canons of this church from all offices except one: on the anniversary of the martyrdom of Roland and his companions, they shall feed and clothe thirty paupers and shall say thirty masses and psalters with vigils — the full service.\footnote{John William Gunn, of St Paul’s Church, Cambridge, Massachusetts, has been so obliging as to explain this passage to me. The \textit{Psalterium}, or reading of the whole Psalter, is recommended as a form of suffrage for the dead in many necrologies and monastic custumals. 'Vigiliae' are the services of the wake; in the modern Catholic ritual, as is well known, the wake is held only on the night before the funeral; evidently in the Middle Ages wakes were sometimes held also on the nights before the anniversaries. (Note that in \textit{Du Cange}, where 'Vigiliae' is defined simply as 'Officium, quod pro Defunctis canitur,' the examples speak of 'Vigiliae et Missae' for the dead, 'septenae Missae, totidemque Vigiliae.') Probably the 'ceterisque plenariis ... obsequiis' should be taken as referring to the final prayer after the mass, namely the Responso, the Responsorio, the Absolute or final Absolution, which begins with the 'Liberi.' These go to make up the full funeral mass, and it is that full mass that the \textit{Pseudo-Turpin} prescribes for the anniversaries — or rather thirty of them.} This shall be done perpetually in commemoration not only of those who died at Roncesvalles but of all

\textit{Roland} and numerous other \textit{chansons}, which declare that Charlemagne filled the horn with gold coins before presenting it to the church. \textit{Philippe Mouskes}, on the other hand, seems to have known a legend which placed the Olifant at St Romain (see the \textit{Chronique Rimée}, II. 8166–8169 and cf. G. Paris, \textit{Romania}, \textit{xi} [1882], 506). Perhaps the churches of St Romain and St Séverin were at one time at odds as to which of them possessed the true Oliphant — see Bédier, \textit{Légendes}, \textit{iii}, 343 — or perhaps there once was actually such a theft as is complained of here in the \textit{Turpin}. — ‘Roland’s sword Durendal’ was to be seen at St Romain as late as 1466. This passage was doubtless the authority for the relic; certainly no authority could have been derived from the \textit{Oxford Chanson de Roland}, which makes no disposal of the sword, or from various other versions of the story of Roncesvalles, which concur in stating that Durendal was hurled into a river and thus preserved from less worthy hands than Roland’s. See Bédier, \textit{Légendes}, \textit{iii}, 354 and 368 n. 1, and page 41, note 4, above.
Synopsis

Christians who have at any time died or ever shall die for the faith in Spain.1

Ch. XXXIII: When I, Turpin, with some of our warriors, have come from Blaye through Gascony and Toulouse to Arles, I meet the army of the Burgundians, who have parted from us in Ostabat and come through Morlaas and Toulouse2 bringing their wounded and their dead, whom they intend to bury in the cemetery of Aliscamps.3 These dead we inter.4 Constantine and many other Romans and many Apulians are taken by sea5 to Rome, where they are buried. For the sake of their souls Charles gives much money to the poor of Arles.

Ch. XXXIV: We come to Vienne, where I remain to recover from injuries. Charles proceeds to Paris. At Paris he honors the church of St Denis;6 then he goes on to Aachen, where he constructs the hot and cold baths and where he makes rich gifts to the church of the Virgin, which he himself has founded. On the walls of this church, and also on the walls of a palace which he has built next to the church, he causes to be painted representations of stories from the Old and New Testaments.7 On the

1 'Or ever shall die' — a provision to encourage crusaders. A similar provision occurs elsewhere in the Pseudo-Turpin; see Appendix 11 (Nero on St Denis), Ch. xxxvii, below, and Thoron, Ch. xxvi — see page 12, Par. I, above.

2 The Toulouse route, the most eastern of the four routes through France, does not go through Ostabat. The Burgundians must be imagined as cutting across country eastward from Ostabat for some twenty or thirty miles, to get on the Toulouse route. Unlike Turpin, however, they do not go out of their way (see page 22, note 1, and page 44, note 3, above). Morlaas is on the Toulouse route, a few miles northeast of Pau. Its church is dedicated to the virgin martyr Saint Foi (whose sepulchre is at Conques on the Le Puy-Moissac-Ostabat route — see the Pilgrims' Guide, p. 28) and had Cluniac affiliations. In 1154 a new chapel was authorized for the use of pilgrims — see the Cartulaire de Ste Foi de Morlaas, ed. Leon Cadier (Pau, 1884), pp. 20-22.

3 Aliscamps, within the limits of Arles, is an avenue lined by tombs of the Gallo-Roman era. The Romans knew it as 'Elysii Campi' — thus it is another 'Champs Elysées.'

4 They are: Estult, count of Langres; Salomon; Sanson, duke of Burgundy; Albericus the Burgundian; 'Girardus' (the 'Wirnardus' of Ch. xiii, above); Esturmitus; Hato; Theodoric; Yvorius (that is, Ivorie, one of the douzeperas in the Chanson de Roland; his is the one name omitted in our Ch. xiii but found in the older texts, where it follows Theodoric's); Berardus de Nublis; Berengarius; Naimon; 'and ten thousand others.'

Of the thirty-one knights (besides Turpin) listed in Ch. xiii as accompanying Charlemagne to Spain, all are now accounted for, except Baldwin, who is presumably still alive — he escaped from the massacre of Roncesvalles — and Constantine. Immediately below, we learn that Constantine's body was sent to Rome for burial. It seems somewhat heedless of the Burgundians to have interred Theodoric along with their dead; he not only escaped from Roncesvalles but is sufficiently alive thereafter to overcome Pinabel in single combat — see Ch. xxviii. — Certain correspondences of order between this list and the list of Ch. xiii suggest that our chronicler was leafing back in his manuscript, as he had done once before (in his Ch. xxii).

5 Arles, of course, is a port of the Rhone.

6 See Appendix 11 for a passage not found in our text but found in Nero and the longer Pseudo-Turpin. See also page 15, Par. VIII, and page 37, note 3, above.

7 The site of the palace is now occupied by the Rathaus, which dates from the latter part of the fourteenth century. — Paul Clemen, who doubts whether these picturizations ever existed at Aachen, thinks that the Pseudo-Turpin may have confused Aachen with Ingelheim, where there are indeed
walls of the palace he causes also to be painted representations of his wars in Spain, and of the Seven Liberal Arts. (The liberal arts of Grammar, Music, Dialectic, Geometric, Arithmetic, and Astronomy are characterized; Rhetoric is not mentioned.) Each art has its daughter, that is, its little book.  

Nigromancy is not depicted, for it is evil.

Ch. XXXV: Charles's death is revealed to me in this wise: As I am once intoning the *Deus in Adiutorium* at Vienne, in a vision I see a host of hideous warriors parading before me towards Lorraine; one, who looks like an Ethiopian, lags behind. I ask him where they are going, and he tells me that they are bound for Aachen to fetch the soul of Charles to hell. I conjure him in the name of the living God to come to me on the way back. I have scarcely finished my psalm when they return and the same demon tells me how they have fared. A certain headless Galician, he says, has put into the scales so many great stones and beams of churches which Charles has built that the good outweighs the bad and the soul of Charles escapes. Thus I learn that Charles is dead and, be-


* The author probably has in mind some such series of manuals of the Seven Arts as makes up Books III-IX of Martianus Capella's *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* (ed. Adolf Dick [Leipzig, 1923]). There are many, and they were widely disseminated. Martianus's was the most popular of all. It is allegorical and is the basis of the mediaeval picturizations of the Arts, such as this which Charlemagne is supposed to have had made in his palace. See also Émile Male, *L'Art religieux du xiii*-siècle* (3d ed., Paris, 1910), pp. 97-112, and W. H. Cornog, *The Anticlaudian of Alain de Lille* (Philadelphia, 1935), pp. 31 f.

* See pp. 14 f., Par. VI, above. — In the longer texts the reader is expressly warned to have nothing to do with the manual of 'Nigromandia,' the 'liber sacratus immo execratus.' Castets points out (ed. cit., p. 60 n.) that this is the famous book with which Maugis is always armed. (Maugis, or Malagigi, is the Merlin of the *chanson de geste.* He figures especially in the romances of the Quatre fils Aymon group.)

* Psalm 69. In the *Breviarium Vienne*niss* it appears in the Feria quinta ad Nonam.*

* According to tradition, St James was beheaded by Herod. Thus there is reason for his appearance here as a 'headless revenant.'

* Gaston Paris has pointed out (*Hist. polit.,* pp. 444 ff.) that the source, or at least a striking analogue, of this episode is to be found in the *Gesta Dagoberti I Regis Francorum* (in Bouquet's *Recueil,* ed. Delisle, II [1869]), Ch. XLIV (p. 593). A hermit, John, living on a desert island, is approached by an old man who admonishes him to pray for Dagobert, at that moment dying. John prays. Suddenly he sees a boat close to the shore; in it evil spirits ('teterrimos spiritus') are transporting Dagobert to hell. The king is bound and the spirits are beating him, but he is calling constantly upon St Denis, St Maurice, and St Martin the Confessor to liberate him. Suddenly there is a roar of thunder and the heavens open; the three saints, clad in snowy garments, have come to rescue Dagobert and carry him to Abraham. The author of the *Gesta* concludes his story with the statement that Dagobert during his life had been especially lavish of gifts to churches of SS. Denis, Maurice, and Martin.

Cognate to this analogue of Paris's and in respect to the mode of rescue closer to the *Pseudo-Turpin* is the following episode in the *Dialogues of Caesarius of Heisterbach* (viii, 77; translation of Scott and Bland, 11, 78 f.). John, later dean of Aachen, at the crisis of a grievous illness, sees at one side of his bed several strangers with a pair of scales and at the other side three great confessors:
because of the beneficence of St James, to whom he has built many churches, is gone to heaven. Charles and I had made an agreement that if either felt himself about to die he would make arrangements that knowledge of his death, as soon as it occurred, would be carried to the other. Fifteen days after this vision a messenger arrives with news of Charles's death, which occurred exactly at the time that I saw the hideous host, that is, on the twenty-eighth of January, in the year 814. The messenger tells me that after his return from Spain, Charles always commemorated the anniversary of the battle of Roncesvalles by making bounteous gifts to the poor and by causing requiems to be sung. The King is buried in the circular church of the Virgin at Aachen.1

In the three years preceding his death, certain portents of that event were reported: the sun and the moon were dark for seven days; the name 'Karolus princeps' on the wall of the church of the Virgin disappeared miraculously; the door between this church and the palace fell of itself; a wooden bridge over the Rhine at Mainz, which Charles had built with much difficulty, burst spontaneously into flames and was consumed; a great flash of fire across his way as he was out riding so frightened Charles that he dropped his spear2 and fell from his horse.3

St Martin of Tours, St Gotthardt, bishop of Hildesheim, and the Blessed Bernard. The strangers weigh John on their scales against some wooden blocks. He is found wanting. But the confessors add to John's side of the scales a beggar-boy whom he has habitually befriended, and John and the beggar-boy together outweigh the blocks. Caesarius concludes with the remark that a very similar story appears in the life of John the Pious, concerning Peter the tax-gatherer. — A second similar story will be found in the Dialogues of Gregory the Great (iv, 31; ed. Umberto Morica [Rome, 1924], pp. 274 f.). Finally, in an anonymous twelfth-century life of St Henry (Emperor Henry II), a recluse sees the devil on his way to the death bed of a prince (Henry) and adjures him to return after the death and tell what has happened. The devil comes back, groaning with chagrin. He and his fellow demons, he says, were weighing the dying man's sins against his good deeds and showing the former to be preponderant, when suddenly a certain 'burned One' cast into the balance a chalice and Henry's soul escaped. (Henry had once made a famous gift of a chalice to the church of St Lawrence at Merseburg; the 'burned One' is the martyred St Lawrence. This scene is depicted in the bas-reliefs of Henry's beautiful tomb at Bamberg, a masterpiece of the renaissance sculptor Riemenschneider.)

See AASS. Bol., iii July, p. 763; cf. p. 723. Further parallels will be found in Eugène Lévéque, Les Mystères et les Légendes de l'Inde et la Perse (Paris, 1880), p. 246 (Rashnu's scales in the Avesta); and C. Pitiolet, 'Premiers Essais de Caballero,' Bulletin Hispanique, x (1908), 392-395 (one deed of goodness turns the scales for a wicked knight).

1 See Einhard, Ch. xxxii. The church is actually octagonal.

2 'Aucona.' Einhard here has 'iaculum.' The only other known appearance of 'aucona' in a Latin text (it sometimes appears in Romance texts) is in the Pilgrims' Guide (p. 18): the Navarrese, or Basque, always carries two or three 'iacula, quae auconas vocant.' The word is, of course, an evidence that the Pseudo-Turpin was originally part of the Book of St James. See Bédier, Légendes, iii, 109.

3 These portents are borrowed, with few changes, from Einhard's Ch. xxxii. (Incidentally, Einhard borrowed some of them from Suetonius — see, for example, Augustus, xcvii and Nero, xlvii.)
In the foregoing exemplum it is shown that whoever builds churches prepares a place for himself in the heavenly kingdom.

Ch. XXXVI: It is fitting to add yet another miracle which Christ is said to have performed for Roland before that hero went to Spain. When the nephew of Charles had for seven years been besieging Grenoble, he received word by an angel that his uncle, shut up in a fortress in Worms and sore beset by three pagan kings, needed his aid. Roland was in a quandary — he was reluctant to lift the siege of Grenoble, and yet he was too pious a nephew to ignore an appeal from Charles. For three days he and his army fasted and prayed. At the end of that time the walls of Grenoble crumbled and Roland was able to go to Charles, whom he rescued.

May he who reads this book ask God’s grace for Turpin.

Ch. XXXVII (Pope Calixtus on the invention of Turpin’s remains): Turpin at Vienne, worn out by many wounds and hardships endured, did not long outlive Charles. He was buried outside the city across the Rhone. In our own times his body was rediscovered and removed over the river to a church in the city; and it is there now venerated.

It is to be believed that all who were martyred in Spain won the crown of eternal glory; moreover, Charles and Turpin, although they were not slain at Roncesvalles, have shared in the heavenly reward as they shared in the sufferings of their martyred comrades. ‘As we were partakers of the suffering,’ said the Apostle, ‘so shall we be also of the consolation.’

This phrase makes the whole preceding paragraph seem an interpolation, but both the paragraph and phrase are found in the Codex Calixtinus. *Paranimphus.*

The introductory sentence of this chapter sounds somewhat apologetic, but it is probably not his repetitiveness that the author is deprecating (the miracle is the same as that described in Ch. iv) so much as his reversion of many years in time. Repetition was apparently no fault in the Pseudo-Turpin’s eyes, but he seems to have had, in common with the authors of the chansons de geste, a strong feeling for proper chronology.

The text reads that Turpin was buried ‘lucta urbem ultra Rodanum silicet versus orientem in quadam ecclesia,’ and that later some of ‘our’ clergy found him and removed him ‘ab illa ecclesia, que vastata erat . . . citra Rodanum in urbem et sepelierunt eum in ecclesia alia, ubi nunc veneratur.’ Vienne is actually on the east bank of the Rhone, and it has been inferred either that the Pseudo-Turpin was not aware of that fact or that ‘orientem’ (which appears even in the Codex Calixtinus) is an error for ‘occidentem.’ Gaston Paris would evade the difficulty by punctuation: ‘lucta urbem, ultra Rodanum silicet, versus orientem, in’ (etc.), a device which H. L. D. Ward considers not wholly satisfactory. But is it not wholly satisfactory? As Mr Thoron has pointed out to me, Paris’s punctuation would allocate Turpin in the church itself, in the east, or choir, end, a proper burial place for a bishop. — Buchner notes that our chronicler cannot have been seeking to promote any shrine of Vienne, since he leaves unnamed the church in which Turpin is buried — ‘ecclesia alia, ubi nunc veneratur.’ He suggests that the church from which the body was supposedly removed was that of St Columba, on the west bank of the Rhone (‘Pseudo-Turpin, Reinald von Dassel u. der Archiprater,’ p. 47).

Cf. 11 Corinthians i, 7. See page 16, Par. IX, above.
Ch. XXXVIII: Galicia remains long in peace after Charles's death. But Altunmaior of Cordova (again) invades it; he comes to Compostela and plunders the apostolic church. Indeed, Saracens with their horses are quartered in the church, and the unholy men even evacuate beside the altar. For this impiety some of the men are smitten with dysentery, others become blind. Altunmaior himself is afflicted in both ways. Upon the advice of one of his Christian captives, a priest, he calls upon the God of the Christians to restore his health and his sight, promising in return to abjure Mohammed. Fifteen days later he is again well. He leaves the land of St. James, extolling the true Creator and his apostle.

Ch. XXXIX: Later Altunmaior invades Spain and plunders the church of St. Romain at Ornix. One of his dukes, actuated by greed, attempts to chop down a rich pillar and is turned to stone — to this day the effigy remains and pilgrims say that it emits an evil odor. Altunmaior is impressed by this miracle; again he praises the God of the Christians, whose disciples can thus defend themselves even after they are dead. He also makes the observation that St. Romain is less merciful than St. James, for whereas St. James has restored Altunmaior's eyesight, St. Romain, having turned a man to stone, lets him remain stone permanently.

Altunmaior leaves Spain. And for long after, no Saracen dares invade the country of St. James.

Ch. XL: Julius Caesar, so tradition runs, once sent three peoples, Nubilians, Irish, and tailed Cornubians, into Spain to punish the Spanish for failing to pay tribute. This punitive force was to kill all males and let the women live. They laid waste much of the land, but the Castilians routed them and drove them into the coastal mountains. Of the mountaineers they killed all the men and raped all the women. The children born of this rape were known as 'Navarri' — that is, 'non veri,' not true or legitimate by birth. The Navarri first took their name from the city of Nadaver, which Matthew converted to God.

1 Castets's Appendix B, a forged letter of Pope Innocent, does not appear in our version. See page 15, Par. VII, above.
2 Compostela was actually destroyed in 997 by Altunmaior (Muhammad Ibn Abi-Amir, al-Mansur), but the Saracen spared the tomb of the saint — legend has it, at the plea of a monk who was worshiping there. See the Encyclopedia of Islam, s.n. Al-Mansur; and R. Dozy, Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne (Leyden, 1932), 11, 258-261. An account similar to this in the Turpin is to be found in the Historia Compostelana (Florez's Esp. Sag., Vol. xx), pp. 14 f. — For a folktale of blasphemers who were punished by ulcers of the throat, see Caesarius of Heisterbach, Dialogues, viii, 27 (translation of Scott and Bland, 11, 27 f.).
3 I am unable to identify St. Romain of Ornix (vars. Orniz, Orvix, Orviz) or cite parallels to the story told concerning it.
4 Here Thoron comes to an end with a letter of the Pseudo-Calixtus not found in our text or Castets. For a description of it, see page 12, Par. I, above. — Appendix D is the last of Castets.
5 This chapter appears, word for word, in the Pilgrims' Guide (pp. 18 f.). It is the less uncomplimentary half of a lengthy description of the Navarrese (pp. 16-19). — Note that we are offered conflicting etymologies of 'Navarri,' one right after the other.
Ch. XLI: Charles is known as Charles the Great for this reason: Once he stops at a nunnery for prayers after hunting. On this evening, a she-bear, which has been wont to attack the poor at the convent gate, makes a foray. Charles, armed by the abbess Landrada with a bar, slays the beast single handed, with one blow. His companions, who have skulked the while, give him the appellation.

At the same nunnery is a noble and pious girl named Amalberga, a ward of the abbess, Landrada. The young king falls in love with her. Amalberga is incorruptible; one day, however, the king attacks the girl. She breaks away from him and gets into the church, though she breaks her arm in doing so. She calls upon the Virgin and regains her calm; her arm, too, is made whole again. But fearing more trouble she flees with her brother Rodingus to their native land of Tempseca on the river Schelde. Thus is Charles saved from evil lust and thus does Amalberga preserve her chastity.

1 This chapter is not found in the longer Pseudo-Turpin nor anywhere in the Codex Calixtinus. The two anecdotes which it contains were originally told of Charles Martel, but by the eleventh century (at latest) they had become attached to Charlemagne. (See G. Paris, Hist. poit., p. 442; cf. pp. 376, 383, and AASS. Bol., 11 July, 88-102.) They are briefly recounted with considerable differences of detail in an early life of St Amalberga (AASS. Bol., as cited, and Jean Mabillon, AASS. Benedicti [Venice, 1734], Sec. Tert., Pars II, 217-221). Philippe Mouskes retells them, evidently following our version (Chronique Rimlé, ed. de Reiffenberg, II. 4094-4149). Presumably this chapter is drawn from some life of Amalberga.
THE MANUSCRIPTS

A. Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Latin, MS. 17656, olim Notre-Dame 133. Twelfth century (on paleographical grounds); cannot have been written before 1179 (see the last item in the codex as described below), and probably was written soon after 1184 (see pp. 9 f., above). The codex contains: The Vita Karoli Magni, 'iussu Frederici augusti conscripta,' complete except for Prologue and Chapters i–vii of Part III (foll. 1r–28); the Pseudo-Turpin, prefaced by the Prologue of Part III of the preceding article and with an extra, final chapter peculiar to itself and D (foll. 28r–47); Einhard's Vita Karoli (foll. 47r–56); De magistro Alcuino (foll. 56); De Karolo Martello (foll. 56r–57); William of Malmesbury's De Gestis Anglorum (foll. 57–109); De magistro Berengario (foll. 109–113); Rythmus de diversis ordinibus hominum (foll. 113–116); excerpts from Suger's Vita Ludovici VI (foll. 116r–119r and 158–160); William of

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Jumièges's *Gesta Normannorum*, as interpolated by Ordericus Vitalis (foll. 120-157*); and *De nostri temporis concilio a papa Alexandro III Rome celebrato anno . . . MLXXIX* (sic, for 'MCCLXXIX'); this is a list, by provinces, of the archbishops and bishops who attended the council (foll. 160-162*).

The codex is parchment, written in double column and numbered in a later hand. Throughout there are traces of a much later hand. See Léopold Delisle, *Inventaire des manuscrits latins de Notre-Dame et d'autres fonds conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris, 1871), p. 61; and the description of *D* (Addit. 39646), below.

**D. British Museum, Additional MS. 39646.** Vellum; twelfth century. The contents of the whole codex are minutely similar to B.N. 17656, of which it is probably a copy. See, for a full description, with remarks upon *A*, British Museum: Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts, 1916-1920 (London, 1933), pp. 123-129; *Speculum*, xi (1936), 285 n. 1; and the last Note on page 54, below.

**M. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, No. 1617.** See pages 6 f., above. The Madrid *Turpin* lacks no portion of our text save Chapter xli.

**N. British Museum, MS. Nero A xi.** Vellum; thirteenth century. The codex contains: a Code of Cistercian regulations, entitled *Carta Caritatis* (foll. 1-7*); the *Pseudo-Turpin*, lacking the initial letter of Turpin to Leoprand and our Chapter xli, besides, of course, our Chapter xli; for the form of this *Turpin*, see the Introduction above (foll. 8-64*); and William of Jumièges's *Gesta Normannorum* (foll. 65-107*). See H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum* (London, 1883), 1, 546 ff.

**H. British Museum, MS. Harley 108.** Vellum; fifteenth century. The first item of the codex is a *Turpin* of the *Nero A xi* type, lacking the Leoprand letter and, of course, our Chapter xli, and preceded by two abridged and rather garbled episodes of the *Turpin* (the combat between Roland and Ferracutus, foll. 4*–5*, and a 'De Prodicione Ganalonis' — the battle of Roncesvalles, the vision of Turpin, and the execution of Ganalon — foll. 5*–7*) and by a copy of Chapter xx (description of Charlemagne) of the longer version (fol. 8). After the *Turpin* come: An account of the expedition against Egypt by John de Brienne, king of Jerusalem, in 1218 (foll. 31*–40*); a letter from the Patriarch of Jerusalem to Pope Innocent III, describing the Sultan Saphadin (foll. 40*–44*); the Voyage of St Brandan (foll. 45–62); extracts relating to Scripture history from Vincent of Beauvais (foll. 62*–124*); and a Chronicle of the Archbishops of York, extending to 1352 (foll. 125–159*). See Ward, as above, pp. 574-576.
The copyist was obviously English, for he sometimes uses the British ‘ff’ for ‘F’ and writes ‘Mersirii,’ ‘mergine,’ for ‘Marsirii,’ ‘margine.’

R. British Museum, MS. Royal 13. D. i. Vellum; late fourteenth century; double column. The codex contains: Higden’s Polychronicon, continued to 1380 (foll. 2-174'); Geoffrey of Monmouth’s Historia regum Brit. (foll. 175-212); a Turpin of the Nero A xi type, though lacking, besides the portions which Nero lacks, the chapter on Spanish towns (our Chapter v) and many phrases (fols. 212v-221'); to this are appended: 1) an account of the Translation (Qualiter Iacobus translatus est in Galeciam), 2) De sollemnitate beati Iacobi, and 3) the chapter on the appearance and regimen of Charlemagne from the longer Turpin (Thoron, Castets, Chapter XX) (foll. 221v-222); a Genealogy of Henry III of England, drawn from Yuor (foll. 222v-225); a miscellany consisting of Testaments of the twelve Patriarchs, two chronological tables, Biblical legends, Mirabilia of Ireland, etc. (foll. 225-248v); and the ordinary continuation of Higden (foll. 249-254v). See Ward, as above, pp. 248, 572.

Printed editions included in the stemma:
Ferdinand Castets, Turpini Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandii (Montpellier, 1880).
Vita, iii, i-vii: Vita Karoli Magni, ed. Gerhard Rauschen (Die Legende Karls des Grossen [Leipzig, 1890], pp. 66-74).

Notes

The hypothetical original X for N, H, and R is demanded not only by the lack in those three texts of the Leoprand letter, which is found in the longer version and in OMA, but also by a number of readings in which two or all of them agree as against OMA where OMA preserves the original.

H and R have a common original independent of N. This original, O, differs from X only in unimportant particulars.

D is almost certainly a copy of A. Note the small number of variants and see Chapter x, var. to l. 3, and Chapter xli, var. to l. 29, in which D seems to reflect the foliation of A. See also Chapter xxiv, vars. to l. 52.
Prefatio in epistola Tulpini archiepiscopi. [fol. 28']

Propositi nostri negotii lingua licet balbutienti, affectu tamen affluenti parte transcursa superest de exuberanti amenitate vernantis agri flosculos adhuc quamplures collectos in presentis serie operis conferre et quasi de abstrusis favorum cellulis aromatici saporis mella producere. Quia vero christianissimi beati Karoli virtutes et merita licet pro modica parte attigimus, interim adhuc etiam gloriosam seriem signorum ipsius delibemus: sola ea nunc quoque degustantes que per annales eiusdem principis ipsi legimus vel que nostris temporibus mirifice contingisse gloriatur. Si quis vero, ut predictum est, nosse desiderat insignia prefati victoriosissimi Romanorum principis prelia et multiplices celeberrimasque ipsius victorie palmas, quas deifice virtutis gratia frequentissime optimiuit, manifeste et notabiler in preclarissimis illius gestis repperire poterit universa. Inde enim patenter declaratur qualiter sagitta eius numquam retrorsum abierit nec declinaverit clipeus eius a bello et hasta non est aversa, cum tamen ipsius vigilantissima et Deo devota sublimitas pro Christi nomine nullum subterfugerit periculum vel sancte fidei nomen propagare vel hostes sancte Dei ecclesie expugnare. In presentiarum igitur tertie huius distinctionis initium ab ea epistola assumemus quam Tulpinum remensem archiepiscopum Leobrando aquisgranensi decano transmisisse in cronics Francorum apud sanctum Dyonisium in Francia repperimus. Est enim eadem epistola per omnes et singulos sue porrectionis articulos iustissimi et victoriosissimi Karoli magni approbativa, cuius, cum sit continentia ordo preliorum in Hispania a prefato imperatore gestorum, pro arbitrio tamen nostro, ut presens exigebat intentio, de multis paucas declaravimus, que in presenti ad miraculorum gloriam conessimus: historialia ipsius gesta, ut sepe iam diximus, ab hac serie excludentes. Summe igitur Trinitatis exorato auxilio executionis insistamus proposito.

I. Epistola Tulpini remensis archiepiscopi Leobrando aquisgranensi decano transmissa sanctitatis beati Karoli magni assertiva.

Tulpinus Dei gratia remensis archiepiscopus ac sedulus triumphalis victorissimi

5 10 15 20 25 L. 1/6 Epistola — placeas om. NHR | 1/3 Epistola — assertiva | Incipit ystoria Karoli magni imperatoris edita a Tilpinus remensi archiepiscopo M 4 Tulpinus | blank space for large initial T D | Tilpinus M | triumphalis om. M
5 Karoli magni in expeditione Hispamiae socius Leobrando aquisgranensi decano salutem in Christo. Quoniam nuper mandastis mihi apud Vien-
nam cicatricibus vulnerum adhuc egrotanti aliquantulum ut vobis scriberem qualiter imperator noster famosissimus Karolus magnus His-

paniam et Galiciam a potestate [fol. 29r] Sarracenorum liberavit: mira-

biliwm gestorum apices eiusque laudanda super Hispamiae Sarracenis
trophea, que propriis oculis intuitus sum .xiii. annis Hispaniam perambu-

lans et Galiciam una cum eo et exercitibus suis, pro certo scribere ves-
trequre fraternaliti mittere non ambigo. Magnalia enim que rex gessit
in Hispania in nullis plene chronicis sufficierent inveniuntur divulgata et,

10 ut mihi scripsistis, ea plenaria repperire vestre nequivit fraternalitas.
Vivas et valeas et Domino placeas.

II. DE BEATA VISIONE STELLARIS VIE.

Gloriosus itaque apostolus Christi Iacobus aliis apostolis et Domini
discipulis diversa mundi climata adeuntibus in Galicia, ut fertur, verbum
Dei primitus predicavit. Deinde eius discipuli ipso ab Herode rege
perempto ac corpore illius a Iherosolimis usque in Galicin per mare
translato in eadem terra Galicie fidem Christi et predicationem apostoli
confirmaverunt. Sed ipsi Galicie populi postea peccatis suis exigentibus
Christi fidem abnegantes usque ad beati Karoli magni tempora in in-
fidelitate permanerunt. Hic vero Karolus magnus, postquam multis
laboribus diversa orbis regna, Angliam scilicet et Galliam, Germaniam,
Baioarium, Lotaringiam, Burgundiam, Italian ceteraque regiones in-
numerisque urbes a mari usque ad mare divinis munitus subsidiis
invincibili potentie sue brachio subiugavit et ab infidelium potestate
liberavit, christiano imperio subdidit, tanto igitur sudore ac gravi
fatigatus labore, ut requiem sibi dare nec amplius bellum iniret pro-
suit; cum per visum nocte intuitus est in celo quandam viam quasi
stellatam incipientem a mari Frisie et tendentem inter terram teutonicae
et Italian, inter Galliam et Aquitaniam, rectissime transeuntem per
Guasconiam Bascalumque et Navarriam atque Hispaniam usque Gal-
ciam, ubi corpus beati Iacobi tunc temporis latebat incognito.
III. Qualiter sanctus Iacobus beato Karolo magno apparuit.

Hec igitur cum beatus Karolus per singulas pene noctes conspiceret, cepit secum meditari sollicite quid hac visio significaret. Cui talia corde meditanti vir quidam pulcherrimam ultra quam dici fas est habens specialis nocte in extasi apparuit dicens: Quid hic agis, fili Karole? At ille inquit: Quis es, Domine? Ego sum, inquit, Iacobus apostolus Christi, filius Zebedei, frater Ioannis evangeliste. Ego sum quem dominus Ihesus de mari Galilee sua ineffabili gratia vocare dignatus est, quem Herodes rex occidit gladio, cuius corpus in Galicia, que a Sarracenis oppressa detinetur, incognitum requiescit. Unde admodum miror quod terram illam a Sarracenorum dominio minime liberasti, qui tot urbes tantasque regiones tibi subieciisti. Quapropter tibi [fol. 29r] notifico quia sicut Dominus omnium regum terre potentissimum te constituit, sic ad preparandum ad me viam fidelium et liberandum terram meam de manibus Moabitarum ex omnibus te principibus elegit, ut coronam exinde e terre beatitudinis consequaris. Quod autem instar vie stellate in celo vidisti hoc significat, quod tu cum magno exercitu ad expugnandam gentem perfidam et visitandam terram meam de manibus Moabitarum ex omnibus te principibus elegit, ut coronam exinde ete temporibus tuis usque ad finem presentis seculi. Nunc igitur perge quamcitius poteris, quia ero auxiliator tuus in omnibus sperans propter labores coronam tibi a Domino preparatam in celestibus, et usque ad novissimum diem erit nomen tuum in laude. Hoc modo beatus Iacobus apostolus Christi militi Karolo magno tribus apparuit vicibus. Quibus imperator excitus et ammonitus atque apostolica promissione fretus, coadunatis exercitibus multis, proiectus expugnare gentes Hyspanie per fidas aggressus est.

IV. De subita ruina murorum Pampilone.

Prima urbs quam obsidione cinxit Pampilona exstitit, et sedit circa eam tribus mensibus sed eam capere non poterat, quia muris inexpugnabilibus munita erat. Tunc precem ad Dominum et sanctum Iacobum fudit dicens: Domine Ihesu Christe, pro cuius fide et amore hoc iter arripui, da...
mihi ut hanc urbem capere valeam ad laudem et honorem nominis tui. Et ad beatum Iacobum sic ait: O beate Iacobe, si verum est quod mihi apparueris, presta ut illam capiam. Tunc Deo prestante et beati Iacobi intercessione muri contracti funditus corrurunt, sicut legitur divinitus factum de muris Iherico. Itaque Sarracenos qui baptizari voluerunt ad vitam reservavit, eosque qui rennuerunt gladio feriendos tradidit. His auditis ceteri Sarraceni invictissimo Karolo magni ubique sese in dedicationem tradebant obviamque ei tributa mittebant et urbes ultro reddabant et facta est illi tota terra illa sub tributo. Mirabatur gens sarracenica videns gentem gallicam validam scilicet et decenter ornatum atque armatum sed et facie et statura elegantem eosque honorifice et pacifice recipiebant armis etiam abiectis. Deinde beatus Karolus visitato beati Iacobi sepulcro accessit ad Petram limitarem et in finxit in mari lanceam suam agens Deo grates et sancto Iacobo, qui illum huc usque conduxissent, dicens qua ulterius ire nec progridi posset. Galicianos vero qui post beati Iacobi discipulorumque eius predicacionem a fide recesserunt baptismi gratia per manus Tulpini archiepiscopi regenerari fecit, illos scilicet qui ad fidem sponte converti voluerunt, qui nondum baptizati erant. Illos autem qui ad fidem Christi converti noluerunt aut gladio interemit aut sub Christianorum imperio captivavit; deinde per totam ivit Hispaniam a mari usque ad mare.

V. Urbes et maiiores ville quas tune adquisivit in Galicia ita a vulgo dicuntur: Visunia, Lamecum, Dumia, Colimbria, Lucum, Aurelias, Yria, Tuda, Mindonia, Bracara metropolis, civitas sancte Marie, Wimaranana, Crusia, Compostella, quamvis tunc temporis parva. In Yspania: Auscala, Godelsfaiar, Talamanca, Uzda, Ulmas, Canalias, Madritas, Maqueda, Sancta Eulalia, Talaveria, que est fructifera, Medinacelim, id est, urbs excelsa, Berlariga, Osma, Seguntia, Segobia, que est magna, Aavilla, Salamanga, Sepumilega, Toletum, Klarrava, Badaiot, Turgel, Talavera, Godiana, Emerita, Altancora, Palentia, Lucerna ventosa, que dicitur

VI.

Idola et simulachra que tune in Hyspania invenit penitus destruxit, preter ydolum quod est in terra Alandalup, que vocatur Salamcadis. Cadis dicitur locus proprius in quo est Salam, quod lingua arabica Deus dicitur. Tradunt Sarraceni que tune in Hyspania invenit penitus destruxit, preter ydolum quod est in terra Alandalup, que vocatur Salamcadis. Cum vero aliquis Sarracenorum causa orandi vel deprecandi Mahumet accessisset, incolunmis recederebat. Super quod si avis forte resedisset, mortem incurrebat. Est igitur in maris margine lapis antiquus opere sarracenico subtiliter exsculptus super terram situs, inferius latus et quadratus, superius vero altissime erectus quantum solet avis in sublime volare. Super quod si avis forte resedisset, mortem incurrebat. Cum vero aliquis Sarracenorum causa orandi vel deprecandi Mahumet accessisset, incola recederebat. Super quod si avis forte resedisset, mortem incurrebat. Est igitur in maris margine lapis antiquus opere sarracenico subtiliter exsculptus super terram situs, inferius latus et quadratus, superius vero altissime erectus quantum solet avis in sublime volare. Super quod si avis forte resedisset, mortem incurrebat. Est igitur in maris margine lapis antiquus opere sarracenico subtiliter exsculptus super terram situs, inferius latus et quadratus, superius vero altissime erectus quantum solet avis in sublime volare. Super quod si avis forte resedisset, mortem incurrebat. Est igitur in maris margine lapis antiquus opere sarracenico subtiliter exsculptus super terram situs, inferius latus et quadratus, superius vero altissime erectus quantum solet avis in sublime volare.
legibus in novissimis temporibus subiugabit. Mox ut viderint clavem lapsam, gazis suis in terra reconditis omnes fugient. Ex auro quod Karolo reges et principes Hispании deederunt beati Iacobi basilicam tunc per tres annos in illis horis commorans augmentavit, antistitem et canonicos secundum beati Ysidori episcopi et confessores regulam in ea instituit, eamque libris et palliis atque campanis vel ceteris ornatibus decenter ornavit. De residuo vero auro argentoque immenso quod de Hispании attulit, regressus inde multas ecclesias fabricavit: ecclesiam scilicet beati virginis Marie que est Aquigrani, et basilicam sancti Iacobi in eadem villa, et ecclesiam que est apud Biterrenium urbem, aliamque in honore eiusdem apostoli apud Tolosam, et illam que est in Guasconia inter urbem que vulgo dicitur Axa et sanctum Iohannem Sordue via iacobitana, et ecclesiam sancti Iacobi que est apud urbem Parisius inter Sequanam et montem Martirum, et ecclesias atque abbatias quas per orbem sibi subditum construxit plurimas.

VII.

Reverso demum in Galliam Karolo quidam rex affricus nomine Aigolandus cum suo exercitu terram Hispании sibi subiugavit interfectis innumeris eictisque de oppidis et urribus christianis custodibus, quos ad custodiendum terram Karolus reliquerat. His auditis Karolus cum innumero exercitu rursum proficiscitur in Hispании, fuitque cum eo dux exercituum Milo de Angulariis. Sed nunc nobis silendum non est quam grande quam manifestum exemplum tune nobis Dominus ostendere sit dignatus, super his qui mortuorum elemosinas ad erogandum pauperibus sibi commissas iniuste retinent. Nam cum apud Baionam civitatem Basclorum Karoli exercitus castra metatus esset, miles quidam nomine Romaricus valde eger et morti iam proximus, accepta penitentia et eucharistia a sacerdote, cuidam consanguineo suo precepit ut equum quern habebat venderet pretiumque clericis et egenis erogaret. Quo mortuo consanguineus ille suus cupiditatis stimulo tacebat centum solidos equum vendidiit pretiumque illius in cibo et potu alisque sibi necessariis velociter expendit. Sed quia iniqua gerentibus divini judicii vindicta solet aliando quando esse proxima, transactis triginta diebus apparuit ei nocte per
MS. 17656

visum mortuus dicens: Quoniam ea que habebam pro salute anime mee ad dandum pauperibus tibi commisi, scias omnia peccata mea a Domino fuisse dimissa. Sed quia iniuste eleemosinam meam retinuisti, noveris [fol. 30r] in tartareis penis moram [me] fecisse. Te autem in eodem loco penali, unde egressus sum, scias crastina die futurum et me in requiem iturum. His dictis mortuus disparuit vivusque tremefactus evigilavit. Qui cum summo mane narraret omnibus cuncta que audierat et totus exercitus de tanta visione inter se loqueretur, affuerunt subito clamores in aere super illius examinatum et dilaceratum in cuiusdam rupis fastigio, cuius ascensus tribus leugis extendebatur supra mare, distans a prefata urbe quatuor diei itinere. Demones siquidem ibidem miseri corpus abiecerant animamque, ut creditur, ad Tartara rapuerant. Quapropter sciant omnes qui mortuorum eleemosinas sibi ad dispertiendum commissas fraudulenter detinuerint se propter hoc a districto iudice Deo puniendos.

VIII.


20 mea mihi a M 22 penes om. D | 22/23 penes me ... sum, scias crastina die iturum (?) et (?) me M 24 iturum futurum M | 25 narraret M 26 inter se om. M 29/30 Queritur a militibus et pedibus quatuor diebus per montes et valles et nusquam M 31 Narrorum M

22 Me lacking also in D.

VIII. 1 For the N-version of this chapter, with variants from HR, see Appendix 1 2 rex magnificus D 3 per Hyspaniam Aigolandum M | 3/4 illum in blurred M | 4/5 Campis ... ameno M 6 Facundivi D 8/9 Appropinquante autem Karoli exercitu M 11 vel unus M 12 vel duo contra duo decentant erasures and alterations M
statim interfeci sunt Mauri. Item misit Aigolandus duo milia contra 15
.i. milia, e quibus alia pars occisa est, alia terga vertit. Tertia vero die
iecit sortes Aigolandus secreto, in quibus agnovit Karoli detrimentum.
Et mandavit ei ut ad pugnam plenariam contra eum die sequenti veniret,
quod ab utraque parte concedum est. Tunc astiterunt quidam ex
Christianis qui sero ante diem belli arma sua bellica studiose preparantes
hastas suas in terra [fol. 32v] in fixerunt erectas ante castra, scilicet in
pratis iuxta prefatum fluvium; quas summo mane corticibus et frondibus
invenerunt vestitas: hii scilicet qui in acie proxima palmam mortirii pro
fide Christi erant accepti. Ultra quam dici est ammirantes tantum-
que miraculum divine gratie ascribentes abscederunt hastas prope terram,
20
quarum radices que in terra remanserunt ex se postea magna generave-
runt nemora, que adhuc in eodem loco apparent. Erant autem multe ex
hastis fraxineae. Die igitur sequenti sens misit contra hostes pugna,
in qua Christianorum occisa sunt .xl. milia, et dux Milo Rolandi genitor
ibidem palam mortirii adeptus est, cum his quorum haste, ut dictum 30
est, fronduerant; sed et Karoli equus in eadem pugna interemptus est.
Tunc Karolus constanter permanens cum duobus milibus christianorum
peditum et ipse pedes, cum se inter innumera hostium milia cerneret
circumvallatum, evaginavit gladium suum et multos Sarracenorum tru-
cidavit. Die vero advesperascente tam Christiani quam Sarraceni in
35
castra revertuntur. Altera die venerunt de finibus Italiae quatuor duces
in auxilium Karoli cum quatuor milibus virorum bellatorum. Quod ut
Aigolandus agnovit, in fugam versus in Legionensium fines secessit, et
Karolus interim in Galliam remeavit.

IX.

In prefata acie fas est intelligi salutem pro Christo certantium. Sicut
enim Karoli milites pugnaturi ante bellum arma sua preparaverunt, sic
et nos arma nostra, id est bonas virtutes, contra vitia pugnaturi parare
debemus. Quisquis enim vel fidem contra hereticam pravitatem, vel
karitatem contra odium, vel largitatem contra avaritiam, vel humilitatem
contra superbiam, vel castitatem contra libidinem, vel orationem con-
tinuam contra demoniacam temptationem, vel paupertatem contra felici-
tatem, vel perseverantiam contra instabilitatem, vel silentium contra

M 17 Karolo M 21 in terra om. M 22 prefatum om. M 24 fas est potest
M | 24/25 ammirates ... hastas M 31 pugna] villa M 32 milibus] militibus M
33 innumera] universa M 34 Sarracenos M 36 Alters] Alia over erasure M 37 bellatorum
pugnatorium D

IX. 1 No chapter-break here NHR 2 acie] facie M 3 bella R 4 parare] preparare D
6/7 caritatem contra ... militatem contra superbiam M 6 vel om. H 7 libidinem] luxuriam H 7/8 libidinem, et sic de alis ponit: haste R 7/9 contra continuam M 9 stabilitatem M
8 Demonicam] MS. dominican; so also D; M is scarcely legible but evidently also reads dominican.
iurial, vel obedientiam contra carnalem animum ponit: hasta eius florida erit et in celesti regno victoris anima coronabitur qui legitime contra vitia decertaverit in terra. Non coronabitur, inquit, nisi qui legitime certaverit. Et sicut Karoli pugnatores pro Christi fide obierunt in bello, sic et nos mori debemus vitis et vivere virtutibus sanctis in mundo, quatinus palmam de triumpho floridam habere mereamur in celesti regno.

X.

Inde Aigolandus adunavit sibi gentes innumeris: Sarracenos, Mauros, Moabitas, Persas, Terenphinum regem Arabum, Burrahel regem Alexandriam, Mutium regem Burgie, Hospinum regem Acie, Fatuirum regem Barbarie, Alis regem Maroch, Aphiniurgium regem Maiorice, Mautionem regem Meque, Ebraum regem Sibilie, Alismarem regem Cordanie; et venit Agennum usque ad civitatem gasconiam et cepit earn. Deinde mandavit Karolo ut veniret ad se pacifice cum parva militum turma promittens ei aurum et argentum ceterisque gazis .xx. equos oneratos, si imperiis suis tantum subiaceret. Sed Karolus hoc animadvertens cum duobus milibus fortium usque ad quatuor miliaria prope Agennum urbem venit et ibi dimisit illos occulte et venit cum sexaginta tantum militibus usque ad montem qui est prope urbem, unde potest civitas videri. Ibique dimisit illos et mutatis suis vestibus optimis, sine lancea, retro supra dorsum clypeo transverso, ut mos nuntiorum tempore belli est, cum solo milite venit ad urbem. Ilico quidam ab urbe egressi venerunt ad illos sciscitantes quid quererent. Nuntii sumus, inquiunt, Karoli magni regis missi ad Aigolandum regem vestrum. At illi duxerunt illos in urbem ante Aigolandum. Qui dixerunt ei: Karolus misit nos ad te, quia ipse venit, ut imperasti, cum .xl.

| 10/11 florida erit | florida et victrix in die iudicii Dei erit. O quam felix et florida erit NHR (with Dei florida R) | 11 et om. NHR | 11/12 coronabitur qui legitime — nisi om. H | 11 coronabitur om. NR | que M | 12 decertavit R | 13 impugnatores MD | fide Christi DNHR | 14 et om. N | debemus mori R |


13 Prop] MS. properavit.
militibus et vult tibi militare et effici tuus, si vis illi dare quod pollicitus es. Idcirco veni ad eum cum .xl. de tuis similiter pacifice et loquere ei. Tunc armavit se Aigolandus et dixit eis ut redirent ad Karolum et dicerent ei ut expectarent eum. Nondum putabat Aigolandus ilium esse Karolum qui sibi loquebatur; Karolus vero tune eum cognovit et exploravit urbem qua parte erat ad capiendum facilior, et vidit reges qui erant in ea, et rediit ad milites quos retro reliquerat, cum quibus rediit usque ad duo milia. Aigolandus quidem citius est insecutus illos cum .vii. milibus militum volens perimere illos et Karolum, sed ipsi animadvertentes fugere ceperunt. Deinde Karolus rediens in Galliam coadunatis sibi exercitibus multis venit ad urbem Agennum et obsedit earn et sedit circa earn sex mensium spatio. Septimo vero mense aptatis iuxta murum petraris et mangarellis et trois et arietibus ceterisque artificiis ad capiendum castellum, nocte quadam Aigolandus cum regibus et maioribus suis per latrinas exiens fraudulenter fugit et fluvium Garonam, qui fluit iuxta urbem, transmeantes a Karoli manibus evaserunt. Die vero sequenti Karolus urbem magno triumpho intravit. Tunc quidam ex Sarracenis gladio occisi sunt, quidam per Garonam cum magnopeto evaserunt; decem tamen milia Sarracenorum perempta sunt. 40

XI.

Inde Aigolandus venit Sanctonas, qui tunc Sarracenorum subiacebat imperiis, et ibi cum suis commoratus est. Karolus vero subsecutus est illum et mandavit illi ut redderet urbem. Ipse vero noluit reddere sed exilivit ad bellum contra eum tali convenientia, ut illius esset urbs qui vinceret alium. Sero vero ante diem belli castris et aciebus et turmis preparatis in pratis, scilicet que sunt inter castrum quod dicitur Talaburghus et urbem iuxta fluviwm qui est Charanta, infixerunt Christiani hastas suas in terra ante castas.


25 Nondum] MS. Nundum,
34/35 MS. capienda castella altered from capiendos castellos.


5 Exilivit] Ti underscored for deletion.

XII.

Iterum Aigolandus transivit cum exercitu portus Cisereos et venit usque Pampilonam, et inde mandavit domno nostro regi Karolo quod ibi expectaret eum causa bellandi. Quo audito Karolus cum summa celeritate omnes exercitus suos ex omnibus regni sui finibus convenire precepit mandavitque per totam Franciam ut omnes servi qui sub iugo duro et malis exactionibus pravorum dominorum religati tenebantur soluti a servitute proprii capitis et venditione deposita cum omni sua progenie presenti et Ventura semper liberi permanerent; precepitque ne alicui barbarae genti Franci amplius deservirent: illi scilicet qui cum eo in Hispanicam ad gentem perfidam debellandam pergerent. Omnes etiam quos in ergastulis vincitos repererit absolut et qui paupерiores erant hos ditavit,
nudos vestivit, inter se discordes pacificavit, omnes armis doctos et scutigeros militari habitu decen\[fol. 33r\]ter ornavit et quos ab amore suo merita illorum separaverant Dei dilectione compunctus in gratiam suam revocavit. Amicos et inimicos, domesticos et barbaros, ad profiscendum in Hispanicam sibi sociavit; et ego Tulpinus Remorum archiepiscopus dominica auctoritate et absolutio atque benedictione, quantum a Domino mihi concessum erat, eosdem a peccatorum vinculis relaxabam.

XIII.

Coadunatis igitur c. triginta quatuor milibus virorum bellatorum perfectus est in Hispanicam contra Aigolandum. Hec sunt nomina principum pugnatorum qui fuerunt cum domno rege nostro Karolo: Ego Tulpinus Remensis archiepiscopus, qui dignis monitis fidelem Christi populum ad preliandum animabam ipsoque Sarracenos armis propriis sepe expugnabam; Rodlandus dux exercituum, comes cenomannicus et princeps Blavii, nepos Karoli, filius ducis Milonis de Angulariis natus ex Berta sorore Karoli, cum quatuor milibus virorum fortium; Oliverius dux secundus exercituum, miles acerrimus, bello doctissimus, brachio et mucrone potentissimus, filius Raineri comitis, comes scilicet gebennensis, cum tribus milibus bellatorum; Estultus comes linensis, filius Odonis comitis, cum tribus milibus militem; Arastagnus rex Britagnorum, cum .vii. milibus virorum fortissimorum; Engelenus dux Aquitanie, cum tribus milibus pugnatorum. Iste omnes docti erant omnibus armis, nec non arcubus et sagittis. Hic vero Engelerus, natione gasconicus, dux vestivit, maiolos pacificavit. NHR 14 restituit relevavit. NHR omnes et M 15 habitu honorifice ordinavit. NHR 15/16 suo iuste separaverat. NHR 16 dilectione amore R 16/17 compunctus ad amicitiam suam omni convertit. Amicos etiam et NHR 17/18 ad pergendum in Hispanicam omnes sibi NHR 18/20 sociavit. Et quos rex sibi sociabat, ego Turpinus dominica auctoritate et nostra et benedictione et absolutione a peccatis omnibus relaxabam. NHR

urbis Aquitanie fuit, que scilicet urbs sita est inter Limovicas et Pictavis quam etiam Cesar Augustus primum in illis horis fundavit et Aquitaniam nominavit, cui predictas Bituricas et Lemovicas Pictavimque et Sanctonas atque Engolismam quam etiam Cesar Augustus primum in illis horis fundavit et Aquitaniam nominavit, cui predictas Bituricas et Lemovicas Pictavimque et sanctonas et Engolismam cum provinciis suis subiugavit, unde et tota patria illa vocata est Aquitania. Hec vero civitas post Engeleri mortem viduata duce suo versata est in vastitatem, eo quod omnes cives illius in Runcevalle gladio perierint, nec ab aliis ulterius habitari vel excoli valuit. Gaiferius quoque rex Burdegalensium cum tribus milibus bellatorum cum Karolo in Hyspaniam profectus est. Galerus; Gerinus; Salomon socius Estulti; Balduinus frater Rodlandi; Gandeboldus rex Frisie, cum .vii. milibus hominum; Hoellus comes nammetensis, cum duobus milibus; Arnaldus de Berlanda, cum duobus milibus; Naaman dux Bairoarie, cum .x. milibus; Ogerius rex Dacie, cum .x. milibus pugnatorum, de quo usque in hodiernum diem vulgo canitur quod innumerum fecerit mirabilia. Lambertus princeps bituricensis venit cum duobus milibus virorum. San...
athletae et proceres; isti sunt incliti bellatores fidem Christianitatis in mundo propalantes, cum quibus domnus noster Karolus rex Francorum et imperator Romanorum Hyspaniam subegit auxiliante Domino ad laudem et gloriam nominis sui. Tunc omnes copie exercituum congregate sunt in landis, ut dicitur, burdegalenisibus totamque terram illam cooperiebant in longum et latum itinere duorum dierum. Spatio miliarium .xii. in longitudinem audiebatur fremitus et sonitus illorum. Itaque Arnaldus de Bellanda prior transiiit portus Ciserces et venit Pamiloniam, quem secutus comes Estulfus est cum suo exercitu. Deinde venit Arastagnus rex et Engelerus dux cum suis exercitibus simul. Postea venit Gandeboldus rex Frisie cum suis militibus. Deinde Ogerius rex Danorum cum suis et Constantinus prefectus cum suo venit exercitu. Novissime vero venit Karolus imperator cum reliquis exercitibus, et cooperierunt totam terram a flumine Rune usque ad montem qui distat ab urbe tribus leugis via iacobitana. Octo diebus moram fecerunt in transitu montium.

XIV.


XV.

Itaque datis inter se trebis egressus est Aigolandus ab urbe cum suis exercitibus et dimissis illis iuxta urbem venit cum .l. e maioribus suis exercitibus in landis burdegalenisibus coadunantur cooperiebant autem totam terram longitudine scilicet et latitudine duabus dietis NHR (with duabus dietis om. R) 43/44 congregate sunt| congregate M 46 longitudine NHR| audiebatur NH| Itaque Item NHR 47 Berlanda D| prior transiiit primus transmeavit NHR 47/48 quem secutus comes| statim insecutus eum NHR 49 Arentagnus N Arastangus H Aristagnus R 49 Engelerus cum suo exercitu NHR 49/52 Gandelbodex rex cum suo exercitu. Deinde Ogerius et Constantinus cum exercitibus suis venerunt. Novissime autem venit Karolus cum suis exercitibus et cooperierunt totam NHR (with autem omnium [B venit HR and suis* aliis HR] 51 et inde M 52 cooperierunt M cooperiebant D 54 iacobitana et octo MR| in transitu montium| ad transmeandum portus NHR

XIV. 1 Non chapter-break here NHR 3 et om. R| sin om. NHR| autem| vel H 4 Videns — civitatem Aigolandus vero vidit quia urbem NHR 4/6 tenere non poterat contra eum et elegit magis exire contra eum ad bellum quam in ea turpiter mori NHR (with et elegit — bellum om. R) 45/56 potius...rolo ut M 6 Mandavit itaque| Tunc mandavit NHR| Karolus R [ili] sibi NH om. R 7 exercitus eius egredieretur NHR| et cum ore| et cum ore| etiam ore NHR 8 loqui liceret| loqueretur NHR| imperatorem| Karolum NHR 4 Non lacking also in D.

ante tribunal Karoli. Qui cum suis exercitibus ab urbe uno miliario
5 distabat et erat exercitus Aygolandi et exercitus Karoli in quodam plano
loco et optimo qui est iuxta urbem habens in longitudinem et latitudinem
6. vi. miliaria; via iacobitana dividebat utrumque exercitum. Tunc
[fol. 34'] dixit Karolus Aygolando: Tu es Aigolandus, qui terram meam
fraudulerent abstulisti? Tellurem hyspanicam et gasconicam bracho
10 invincibili potentie Dei adquisivi, christianis legibus insignivi omnesque
reges eius meo imperio subiugavi. Tu autem Dei Christianos me ad
Galliam remane te peremisti, meas urbes et mea castella destruxisti,
totamque terram igne et gladio vastasti. Unde multum conqueror in
presenti. Mox ut Aigolandus agnovit loquelas suam arabicam quam
15 Karolus loquebatur, miratus est multum et gavisus. Didicerat enim
Karolus linguam sarracenam apud Toletum, in qua, cum esset iuvenis,
aliquanto tempore commoratus est. Tunc Aigolandus ait Karolo: Ob-
secro, inquit, mihi tantum dicas cur terram que iure hereditario tibi non
contigerit, aut pater tuus aut avus aut abavus aut attavus non possedit,
a nostra gente abstulisti? Ideo, inquit Karolus, quia dominus noster
Ihesus Christus, creator celi et terre, gentem scilicet nostram christianam
pre omnibus gentibus elegit et super omnes gentes totius mundi dominari
instituit; tuam gentem sarracenam legi nostre, in quantum potui, con-
verti. Valde indignum est, inquit Aigolandus, ut gens nostra tue genti
subiaceat, cum lex nostra magis quam vestra valeat. Nos habemus
Mahumeth, qui Dei nuntius fuit nobis a Deo missus, cuius precepta
tenemus. Immo Deos omnipotentes habemus, qui iussu Mahumeth
nobis manifestant futura, quos colimus, per quos vivimus et regnamus.
Aigolande, inquit Karolus, in hoc erras, et nos Dei mandata tenemus:
20 vos vani hominis precepta vana tenetis. Nos Deum patrem et filium et
spiritum sanctum credimus et adoramus: vos diabolum in simulachris
suis et creditis et adoratis. Anime nostre per fidem quam tenemus post
mortem ad Paradysum et ad vitam perhennem tendunt: vestre autem ad
orcum profiscuntur. Unde patet quod lex nostra magis valet quam
vestra. Quapropter aut baptisimum accipe tu et gens tua, et vive, aut
veni in bellum contra me, ut male moriaris. Absit a me, ait Aigolans,
25 ut baptismum accipe tu et gens tua, et vive, aut veni in bellum contra me, ut male moriaris. Absit a me, ait Aigolans,
20 aut baptisimum accipe tu et gens tua, et vive, aut
veni in bellum contra me, ut male moriaris. Absit a me, ait Aigolans,

XVI.

Crastina vero die circa horam tertiam treba data eundi et redeundi venit causa baptizandi Aigolandus ad Karolum. Mox ut vidit Karolum ad mensam prandentem et mensas multas circa eum paratas discumbentesque quosdam canonicaI habitu albis indutos, quosdam clericali habitu tectos, diversosque diversa veste indutos, interrogavit Karolum de uno quoque ordine cuiusmodi gens erat. Cui Karolus: Illi, inquit, quos vides birris unius coloris indutos episcopi et sacerdotes nostre legis


53 Facile] MS. facile; so also D.

XVI. 1 No chapter-break here M De ordinibus qui erant in convivio Karoli et de pauperibus unde Aigolandus scandalum sumpsit renuens baptizari NH (with De .xiii. ordinibus H) 2 circa horam tertiam om. R | horam om. MHN | treba] treuga MHR 5/6 quosdam — indutos foliis quosdam — tectos M 5/6 albis — habi om. HR 6 diversos HR 8 birris] birris N om. HR
sunt, qui legis precepta exponunt et a peccatis absolvunt et benedictionem dominicam nobis tribuunt. Quos habitu tetro vides monachi et abbates illi sanctiores sunt, qui dominicam maiestatem semper pro nobis implorare non cessant. Quos habitu candido vides, canonici regulares dicuntur, qui meliorum sanctorum tenent sectam et pro nobis Deum implorant missasque et matutinas et horas dominicas decantant. Interea videns Aigolandus .xiii. pauperes in quodam parte misero habitu indutos, ad terram residentes, sine mensa et sine linteaminibus comedentes, parco potu et cibo utentes, interrogavit cuibusmodi homines essent. At ipse Karolus ait: Hec est gens Dei, nuntii domini nostri Ihesu Christi, quos sub numero .xii. apostolorum Domini per unumquemque [diem] ex more pascimus. Tunc Aigolandus respondit: [fol. 35a] Hi qui circa te resident felices sunt et tu sunt, et feliciter comedunt et bibunt et induuntur. Illi vero quos Dei tui omnino esse dicis et nuntios eius asseris, cur fame pereunt, et male vestiuntur, et longe a te proiciuntur, etiam turpiter tractatur? Male Domino suo servit qui sic turpiter eius nuntios recipit. Magnam verecundiam Domino suo facit qui eius famulis ita servit. Legem tuam, quam dices esse bonam, nunc ostendis esse falsam; et accepta ab eo licentia rediit ad suos et baptizari renuens mandavit ei die crastina bellum. Tunc intelligens Karolus quod propter pauperes quos male vidit tractari renuit Aigolandus baptizari, omnes pauperes quos in exercitu inventit diligenter procuravit et optime induit, cibum et potum honorifice ex more tribuit. Hinc animadvertendum est quam magnam culpam Christianus quilibet qui Christi pauperibus studiose adquirit non servit. Si Karolus regem baptizandum et gentem suam perdidit, eo quod pauperes male tractavit, quid erit de illis in extremi examinis die qui male hic pauperes tractaverint? Quomodo audient vocem dominicam dicentem: Discidete a me, maligni. ITE in ignem eternum, quia esurivi et non dedistis mihi manducare, et cetera. Considerandum est quia lex Domini et fides eius in Christianis parum valet nisi adimpleatur operibus, affirmante apostolo qui ait: Sicut corpus mortuum est sine anima, ita fides sine operibus bonis in semetipsa. Sicut paganus baptismum respuit, ildcirco qui quilibet in Karolo opera non videt recta, sic timeo ne fidem dicentem: Discidete a me, maligni. ITE in ignem eternum, quia esurivi et non dedistis mihi manducare, et cetera. Considerandum est quia lex Domini et fides eius in Christianis parum valet nisi adimpleatur operibus, affirmante apostolo qui ait: Sicut corpus mortuum est sine anima, ita fides sine operibus bonis in semetipsa. Sicut paganus baptismum respuit, ildcirco qui quilibet in Karolo opera non videt recta, sic timeo ne fidem dicentem: Discidete a me, maligni. ITE in ignem eternum, quia esurivi et non dedistis mihi manducare, et cetera. Considerandum est quia lex Domini et fides eius in Christianis parum valet nisi adimpleatur operibus, affirmante apostolo qui ait: Sicut corpus mortuum est sine anima, ita fides sine operibus bonis in semetipsa. Sicut paganus baptismum respuit, ildcirco qui quilibet in Karolo opera non videt recta, sic timeo ne fidem
baptismi in nobis Dominus repudiet in die iudicii si baptismi opera non invenerit.

XVII.

XVIII.  
Ecce quia Karolus contra Aigolandum decertavit pro pacto fidei christiana, occidit illum. Quapropter quia Christiana lex omnibus ritibus et legibus totius mundi excellit. O Christiane, si fidem bene tenueris corde et in operibus, quantum poteris, adimpleveris, veraciter super angelos cum capite tuo Christo, cuius membrum es, sublimatus eris. Si vis ascendere, firmiter crede, quia omnia sunt possibilia credenti, dicit Dominus. Tunc Karolus coadunatis sibi exercitibus suis gavisus est de tanto triumpho, et venit usque ad pontem Arge via iacobitana, ubi hospitatus est.

XIX.  
Tunc quidam Christiani gazarum cupidi mortuorum nocte illa retro redierunt Karolo ignorante in campum belli, quo mortui iacebant, et auro et argento diversisque gazis honustati ad Karolum redire ceperunt. Ilico Altumaior Cordube rex, qui erat absconditus inter montes cum aliiis Sarraecenis qui de bello fugerant, peremit omnes illos, nec unus quidem superfuit ex illis. Et erat numeros illorum qui interfici sunt ab inimicis, sic fideles quique qui vitia sua decertaverint ac penitentiam acceperint ad mortuos, id est ad vitia, iterum redire non debent, ne forte ab inimicis, id est demonibus, interficiantur. Sicut enim illi qui ad aliena spolia revertentes presentem vitam perdiderunt et nece turpi interficiunt, sic reliqui qui quem seculum dimiserunt et ad terrena negotia inflectuntur vitam celestem perdunt et mortem perpetuam amplectuntur.

XX.  
Altera vero die nuntiatum est Karolo quod apud montem Garzin princeps quidam Furre nomine Navarrorum volebat bellare contra eum. Adveniente autem Karolo ad montem Garzin dispositus venire princeps ille ad bellum contra eum die sequenti. Karolus vero sero

XVIII. 1 No chapter-break here MNHR 2 Ecce Postea vero dominus et victoriosissimus Karolus in Galliam reversus est. Ecce M 5/6 super angulos om. HR 6 Christo am. H Christi R 9 Arge M Arche H ubi et ibi NHR

XIX. 1 No chapter-break here MR De Christianis qui ad illicita spolia redierunt NH 3 redierunt abierunt NHR 3/4 redierunt ... et auro M 3 campo NHR 5 rex om. NHR 7 interfici fuerunt R interficiuntur NHR 8 pro Christo| Christi N Christianorum HR| 8/9 illi qui postquam H illi qui postea R 10 interfici sunt interficiuntur NHR| fideis quisque NHR| 10/11 decertaverint| devincit NHR 11 ac penitentiam] et primam R | acceperint| accepit NHR 12 debet NHR| est a demonibus, interficiatur NHR

XX. 1 De bello Furre| De bello Furre et victoria Karoli H 2 Garciim MH Gazini NR 3 Narrorum H Narvorum R| debellare NHR pugnare M 4/5 Adveniente — eum om. H 5 contra eum am. R

Cumque illum portaret versus oppidum, Rothlandus resumptis viribus suis in Domino confusus arripuit eum per mentum et statim evertit illum super equum retro et ceciderunt ambo simul de equo prostrati solo. Statim elevatur a terra ambo pariter et ascenderunt equos. Illico Rothlandus spata propria evaginata gygantem occidere putans equum eius solo ictu per medium trucidavit.

Cumque Ferracutus pedes esset spatamque suam in manu teneret et ei minas inferret, Rothlandus spata sua in brachio quo spatam suam gygas tenebat illum percussit, et minime eum lesit, sed spatam eum a manu excussit. Tunc Ferracutus gladio amissus percutere putans pugno clauso Rothlandum eius equum in fronte percussit, et statim eumus obiit.

Deinde sine gladiis pedites usque ad nonam pugnis et lapidibus debellaverunt. Die vero advesperascente impetravit trebas Ferracutus a Rothlando usque in crastinum. Tunc disposuerunt inter se quod die crastina in bello sine equis et lanceis ambo convenirent, et concessa pugna ex utraque parte unusquisque ad proprium remrevit hospitium.

XXI.

Crastina vero die summo diluculo separatim venerunt pedites in campo belli, sicut dispositum erat. Ferracutus tamen secum detulit spatam sed non ei valuit, quia Rothlandus baculum quendam quendam retortum et longum secum habuit, cum quo eum tota die percussit et minime lesit; percussit et eum pugnis et magnis rotundisque lapidibus, qui in campo habundanter erant, usque ad meridiem illo sepe consentiente et eum nullomodo ledere potuit. Tunc impetratis trebis a Rothlando, Ferracutus somno pregratus dormire cepit. Rothlandus vero, ut erat iuvenis alacer, misit lapidem ad caput eius, ut libentius dormiret. Nullus enim Christianorum illum tunc occidere audebat nec ipse Rothlandus, quia talis erat inter eos instituto quod, si Christianus pagano vel paganus Christiano daret trebam, nullus ei injuriwm faceret, et si aliquis concessam trebam ante diffidentiam infringere statim interciceret. Ferracutus namque, postquam satis dormivit, evigilavit, et sedit iuxta eum Rothlandus et cepit eum interrogare qualiter ita fortissimus esset, quia aut gladium aut baculum aut lapidem non timeret. Vulnerari, inquit gygas, non possum nisi per umbilicum. Loquebatur lispua lingua hyspanica, quam Rothlandus necesse est.
iam ad suos incolumis redierat, et statim Christiani una cum Sarracenis
qui Ferracutum deserebant, in oppidum, quod erat super urbem, ingenti
impetu ingrediuntur, sicque gygante perempto et castrum rapitur et
pugnatores a carcere eripiuntur.

XXII.

Post exiguum vero tempus relatum est imperatori nostro quod apud
Cordubam Ebrahunm rex Sibilie et Altumaior, qui de bello fugerant
Pampilonie, eum expectabant causa bellandi et venerant eis in auxilium
viri bellatores de vii. urbibus: Sibilia scilicet, Granada, Desentina, Denia,
Ubeda, Abula, Baecia. Tunc [fol. 38r] disposuit Karolus ire ad bellum
contra illos. Cum itaque Cordubam cum exercitibus suis appropinquaret,
exierunt reges prefati contra eum armati longe ab urbe tribus
miliaribus, et erant Sarraceni circiter x. milia, nostri vero circiter .vi.
milia. Tunc disposuit Karolus exercitum suum in tribus turmis, quorum
prima militum probatissimorum fuit, secunda peditum, ultima vero
militum extitit. Et Sarraceni similiter fecerunt. Cumque appropin-
quaret iubente Karolo prima turma militum nostrorum, venerunt ex
parte paganorum contra equos singulos ex nostris singulis pedites habentes
larvas barbaras cornutas, demonibus consimiles, tenentes etiam timpana,
que manibus fortiter percusserunt. Quorum voces et sonitus equorum
nostrorum mox ut audierunt terribilesque illorum similitudines viderunt,
nimis pavesfacit retro quasi amentes fugere ceperunt et nullomodo milites
eos tenere potuerunt. Cumque ille turme nostrorum exercituum primam
turman fugere viderunt, in fugam omnes conversae sunt. Tunc Sarraceni
valde gavis sunt et retro lento gradu insecuti sunt nos, quosque ad
quendam montem pervenimus, qui ab urbe duobus miliaribus distat. Ibi
vero omnes coadunati ex nobis ipsos consilium fecimus illos expectantes
ad bellum, quod illi videntes aliquantulum retro redierunt. Ilico tentoria
nostros fiximus ibi manentes usque in crastinum. Mane autem facto,
accepto consilio Karolus omnibus pugnatoribus precepit ut equorum su-
orum capita linteis et pannis omnes velarent, ne larvas nefandorum per-
spicerent, et aures similiter obturarent, ne tympanorum sonitus audirent.
Ars mirabilis! Ilico clausis equorum oculis et auribus accesserunt con-

XXIII.


XXIV.

Tunc dimissis maioribus suis exercitibus Karolus in Hyspaniam beati Iacobi limina adiit et quos in illa repperit patria Christianos edificavit. Illos vero qui ad perfidiam Sarracenorum redierant aut gladio peremit aut in Galliam in exilium misit. Tune constituit per civitates antistites,
presbiteros, et adunato in urbe Compostella episcoporum et principum
consilio instituit amore beati Iacobi quod cuncti presules et principes
christiani, hispani scilicet et galeciani, scilicet presentes et futuri, episcopo
sancti Iacobi obedirent. Apud Yriam presulem minime instituit,
quia illam pro urbe non reputavit, sed villam subiunctam sedi compostel-
lanensi esse precepit. Tunc in codem concilio ego Tulpinus remensis
archiepiscopus beati Iacobi basilicam et altare cum .ix. episcopis rogatu
Karoli Kalendis Iunii honorifice dedicavi; et subiugavit eidem ecclesie
rex totam terram hispanicam et Galiciam deditque ei in dote, precipiens
ut unusquisque possessor unaqueque domus totius Galicie .iii. nummos
annuatin ex debito daret, et ab omni servitute rege precipiente liber
essent. Et constituit die illo ut illa ecclesia vocaretur amplius sedes
apostolica, eo quod apostolus Iacobus ibi requiescat, et in ea episcoporum
totius Galicie et Hyspanie concilia crebra teneantur et virge episcopales
et regales corone per manus eiusdem urbis episcopi ad decus apostoli
Domini prebeantur; et si fides in aliis urbibus peccatis populorum exile-
gentibus vel dominica precepta defecerint, ibi consilio eiusdem episcopi
ad decus apostoli Domini reconcilientur, et merito in illa ecclesia vene-
rabili fides reconciliari et stabiliri decernitur: quia sicut per beatum
Iohannem evangelistam beati Iacobi fratrem in orientali parte apud Ephe-
sum Christi fides et apostolica sedes instituitur, sic per beatum Iacobum
in occidentali parte regni Dei apud Galiciam sedes eadem et apostolica
instituitur. He sunt procul dubio [fol. 39'] sedes: Ephesus scilicet, que
est ad dexteram in terreno regno Christi, et Compostella, que est ad
sinistram, que videlicet sedes his duobus fratibus filiis Zebedei in di-
tributione provinciarum contigerunt, quia ipsi petierunt a Domino ut
unus ad dexteram in regno eius sederet et alter ad levam. Tres aposto-
licas sedes pre omnibus principales sedibus in orbe merito religio christian
venerari consuevit: romanam scilicet, galecianam, et ephesianam. Sicut
35 enim tres apostolos, Petrum scilicet, Iacobum, et Iohannem pre omnibus
elegit, quibus sua secreta ceteris plenius, ut in evangelii patet, revelavit,
sic per eos has sedes pre omnibus mundi sedibus venerandas constituit.
Et merito he sedes dicuntur principales, quia sicut hi tres apostoli gratia
dignitatis ceteros precesserunt apostolos, sic loca illa sacrosancta in qui-

7 instituid] institutum est NHR | principes] reges N principes et reges H reges et principes R
9/11 Apud Yriam — precepit om. R | 10 villam] illam M | subjectam MNH 15 unusqui-
que domus NHR | Galicie] Hispanie et Galicie NHR 16 ex debito om. R 17 consti-
titur MNHR 18/19 apostolos . . . Hyspanie M | 19 totius Galicie et om. R Galicie et om. NH | crebro NH
23 ad decus apostoli Domini om. NHR | reconcilientur | in urbibus aliis reconcilientur M 27 sedes]
vides NHR | 28 instituitur] sedes instituitur NHR | sedes om. NHR 30/31 distributione| di-
visione MNHR | 31 contingunt N contingent HR | peuerant NHR | 32 alius NHR
34 venerari precipe consuevit NH 36 elegit, quibus] apostolis Dominus instituit, quibus NH
aliis Dominus instituit, quia R 37 mundi] cosmi NHR 39/40 precesserunt . . . totius M
bus predicaverunt et sepulti sunt dignitatis excellentia omnes totius orbis sedes iure precedere debent. Iure sedes romana apostolica prima dicitur, quia eam princeps apostolorum Petrus predicatione sua et proprio sanguine et sepultura dedicavit, compostellanaque sedes iure secunda predicatur, quia beatus Iacobus, qui inter ceteros apostolos precipua dignitatem et honore maiore post beatum Petrum extitit, primatum in celum tenet prius laureatus martirio, eam sua olim predicazione muni vit, sepultura sua sacratissima consecravit, et miraculis adhuc per lucratet, et indeficientibus beneficis indesinenter ditare non cessat. Tertia sedes rite Ephesus dicitur, quia beatus Evangelista in ea evangelium suum, scilicet In Principio Erat Verbum, eructavit, coudunato episcoporum concilio quos ipse per urbes disposuerat, quos etiam in Apocalipsi sua angelos vocat, eam doctrina sua et miraculis illustravit, et basilicam in ea edificavit, immo propria sepultura consecravit. Si ergo aliqua iudicia aut divina aut humana in aliis orbis sedibus sua difficultate terminari nequeunt, in his tribus sedibus legitime et iuste diffiniri debent. Itaque Galicia in primis temporibus a Sarracenis expedita virtute Dei et beati Iacobi et auxilio Karoli constat honesta usque in hodiernum diem in fide orthodoxa.

XXV.

Postquam Karolus magnus imperator famosissimus totam Hyspaniam diebus illis ad Domini et apostoli Iacobi decus adquisivit, reidiens ab Hyspania Pampilonam cum suis exercitibus hospitatus est; et erant tunc ipsi apud Cesaraugustam commorantes duo reges Sarraceni, Marsirius scilicet et Belegandus frater suus, ad admirando Babylonis de Perside missi, qui Karoli imperiis subiacebant et libenter in omnibus ei serviebant sed in caritate ficta. Quibus Karolus per Ganolonum mandavit ut baptismum subirent aut tributum ei mitterent. Tun mise[runt equos .xx. oneratos auro et argento gazisque hyspanicis et quadringentos vino dulcissimo et puro pugnatoribus ad bibendum et pu[nitur AW/J 43 compostellanaque] Compostellana quoque M Compostella namque NH Compostella R iure secunda predicatur] apostolica merito se[unda dicitur NHR (with merito) merito eius R) | predicatur] ponitur M 45 exiit et in eis primatum tenet NHR (with tenet N) 46 olim om. HR 49 beatus Johannes evangelista MNHR (with beatus om. N) 50 eructavit edidit HR 52 eamque MNHR | illustravit] illustrato D om. MNHR | basilica quam in MNHR 54 terminari forte nequeunt NH.

52 Illustravit crowded in above line.

XXV. 1 De prodizione Ganaloni et de bello Runcievallis et passione pugnatorum Karoli imperatoris NH (with Ganalonem H and imperatoris om. N) De prodizione Ganaloni et bello Runcievallis R 3 apostoli eius Iacobi NH | Domini et beati Iacobi adquisivit R 4/6 hospitatus . . . scilicet M | 5 ipsis (diebus)] temporis NHR 8 Karolus om. M | Ganalonem M Ganalonom NH Ganelonom R 9 miserunt miserrunt ei NHR . 11 quadringentos tunnellois vino HR quadringenta dolia [later hand] N] puro miserunt pugnatoribus NHR | bibendum] potandum MNHR. 5 Diebus lacking also in D. Compare variants above.

15 illi reges et NHR 18 de manu eius deinde M deinceps de illa NHR 19 ab eo de ipso NHR accepserunt NHR 19/20 vero nullatenus sed minores abstulerunt om. R 20 minores ab eos abstulerunt M 24 facerent DNHR 25/26 Cisereos . . . ebrii M 25 et ita NHR 26 sarraceno NHR 27/28 deduxerunt de Gallia deduxerunt deduxerunt (sic) M 31 etiam om. NHR 32 centum .x. milibus mille M .x. duobus milibus NHR 33/34 viginti — nonaginta de .xx. aliam de .xc. M viginti milium, aliam .xxii. milium NHR 34 nonaginta . . . xx. milium NHR 36 toti .xx. NHR 37 nostras NHR fatigato et lassos alia .xxii. milia NHR 38 nostros alios eos NR omnes nostros H 39 ex vel saltum pauci ex H militibus om. M 40/45 Rotolandum et Baldeynom et Theodricum qui dispersi per nemora tunc latuerunt H 40 Baldewinum NR Balde M et Tulpinum NHP Hilpinum M 41 Tedricum NR 42 nemora tunc latueri NR (vel latuerunt E) evaserunt MHR 22 The plural karissimis suis is justified in the Calixtine text, which reads 'blaviensi comiti et Olibero gebennensi comiti ut (etc.).' 27 Etiam MS. et; so also DM.
Hoc in loco interrogandum est cur illos qui minime fornicati sunt Dominus mortem incurrere permisit. Videlicet quia noluit ut ad propriam patriam amplius redirent ne forte graviora committerent, et ita voluit illos pro laboribus suis coronam per passionem celestis regni pendere. 

Illos vero qui fornicati sunt mortem permisit incurrere, quia per gladii passionem voluit illorum peccata delere. Illi qui inebriati et fornicati sunt significat sacerdotes et religiosos viros contra vitia pugnantes, quibus non licet inebriari et cum mulieribus coinquinari. Quod si fecerint ab inimicis suis, id est a demonibus, noverint se suerandos et eterna morte plectendos.

Itaque peracto bello cum Rothlandus solus causa explorandi adversus paganos et adhuc ab eis longe distaret, invenit quendam Sarracenum atrum, de bello fessum, in nemore latentem, et captum vivum necumque fortiter ad arborem quandam dimisit. Tunc ascendit in montem quemdam et exploravit illos et vidit quia multi erant et rediit retro ad viam Runciavallis, qua illi pergebant qui portus transire cupiebant. Tunc insonuit tuba sua eburnea, ad cuius vocem redierunt ad eum ex Christianis circiter centum, cum quibus retro per nemora reversus usque ad Sarracenum nexum reedit, quem citius a vinculis absolvit, et elevavit spatam suam super caput suum dicens: Si mecum veneris et Marsirium mihi ostenderis, vivum te dimittam; alioquin te interficiam. Nondum enim cognoscebatur Rothlandus Marsirium. Illico ivit Sarracenus ille cum eo et ostendit illi inter agmina Marsirium cum equo rufo et clipeo rotundo. Tunc Rothlandus illo dimisso, animatus ad bellum, resumptis viribus cum his quos secum habebat irruit illico super Sarracenos; et vidit quemam inter alios qui erat statura maior aliis, et uno ictu secuit ilium et equum eius per medium a summo usque deorsum: in qua una pars Sarraceni cecidit ad dexteram et altera ad levam. Quod ut alii Sarraceni viderunt illico Marsirium cum paucis in campo dimiserunt et huc illucque fugerunt. Mox Rothlandus Dei virtute fretus intravit inter acies Sarracenorum illos ad dexteram et levam precipitando et consecutus est Marsirium fugientem et potenti virtute Dei illum inter illos perenit. Tunc in eodem bello c. socii Rothlandi quos secum adduxerat omnes interfeci sunt, et idem Rothlandus iii. lanceis et hastis et lapidibus graviter percussus et attritus evasit.
XXVI.

Mox ut Beligandus Marsirii necem agnovit cum aliis Sarracenis ab illis oris ilico recessit. Theodericus vero et Balduinus, ut prediximus, et aliis quidam Christiani per nemora huc illucque dispersi et perterriti latitabant, aliis vero portus transibant. Karolus vero cum suis exercitibus iam montis fastigia transibat, et que post tergum facta fuerant ignorabat. Tunc Rothlandus tanto bello fatigatus, de [fol. 40'] nece Christianorum et tantorum hominum dolens, Sarracenorum magnis ictibus et percussionibus acceptis afflictus, usque ad pedem portus Ciserei per nemora solus pervenit, et ibi sub arbore quedam iuxta marmoreum lapidem qui erectus ibi erat in prato optimo super Runciavallem equo desilivit. Habebat enim adhuc spatam suam secum, opere pulcherrimam, acumine incomparabilem, nimia claritate resplendentem, nomine Durenda. Durenda interpretatur durum ictum cum ea da, quia prius brachium deficiet quam spatam. Quam cum evaginasset et manu eam teneret, intuitus earn lacrimosis vocibus ait: O ensis pulcherrime, sed semper dulcissime, longitudinis decentissime, latitudinis congrue, fortitudinis firmissime, capulo eburneo decentissime, cruce aurea splendidissime, superficie deaurate, pomo berillino decorate, magno nomine Dei A & Q insculpte, acumine legitime, virtute divina predite! Quis amplius fortitudine tua utetur? Quis te tenebit et habebit? Nam qui te possidebit semper erit invictus, numquam perterritus, nullis fantasias pavidus, auxilio divino circumdatus. Per te gens perfida destruetur, lex Christiana exaltabit, laus Dei et gloria et celeberrima fama adquiretur. O spatam felicissima, acutissimae, quasi simul non fuit nec erit amplius. Qui te fabricavit nec ante nec post consimilem fecit; nullatus vivere potuit qui ex te vulneratus aliquantulum exitit. Si miles ignavus aut timidus te habuerit, si Sarracenus aut aliquis perfidus, multum doleo. His ita dictis timens ne in manus Sarracenorum deveniret percussit spatam sua lapidem mar- moreum trino ictu volens eam frangere. Quid plura? In duabus partibus usque deorsum lapsi dividitur et gladius biceps illesus eductur. Deinde tuba sua altissime vocibus tonitruare cepit, si forte aliqui Chris-
tianorum qui per nemora timore Sarracenorum latitabant ad se venirent, suoque funeri adessent, spatamque suam et equum acciperent, et Sarra-

cenos persequeruntur. Tunc tanta virtute tuba sua eburnea insonuit quod flatu oris eius tuba per medium scissa et vene colli eius et nervi rupti fuisse feruntur. Cuius vox usque ad aures Karoli, qui in valle que Karoli dicitur cum exercitu suo tentoria fixerat, loco scilicet qui distabat a Rothlando .viii. miliaris versus Gasconiam, angelico ductu pervenit. Ilico Karolus voluit ad eum latus auxilium redire, sed Ganalonus passionis Rothlandi conscius dixit ei: Noli retro, domne mi rex, redire, quia Rothlandus pro minimo [fol. 4''] solet tubicinare cotidie; scias quia nunc auxilio tuo non indiget sed venandi studio aliquam feram persequens per nemora cornicinando discurrit. O subdola consilia Iude proditoris traditioni comparanda! Cumque super herbam prati Rothlandus iaceret, aquam ad resocillandam sitim nimis desiderans supervenienti Balduino ut sibi aquam preberet inuit. Qui cum aquam hoc illucque quereret nec inveniret, videns eum morti proximum benedixit ei, et formidans ne in manus inimicorum caderet equum eius ascendit et Karoli exercitum precedentem relictuo eo insecutus est. Quo recedente ilico advenit Teodericus et cepit super eum valde lugere, dicens ei ut animam suam confessione muniret. Acceperat enim ipse Rothlandus codem die eucharistiam et delictorum suorum confessionem fecerat antequam ad bellum properaret. Erat enim mos ut omnes pugnatores eucharistia et confessione per manus episcoporum et sacerdotum qui ibi aderant animas suas munirent antequam ad pugnam irent. Tunc elevatis oculis ad celum Rothlandus Christi martir ait: Domine Ihesu Christe, pro ciuus fide patriam meam dimisi, in hisque barbaris oris ad exaltandum Christianitatem tuam veni, multa perfidorum bella tuo munitus auxilio devici, famem, sitim, et innumerhas anxietates pertuli: tibi in hac hora commendo animam meam; sicut pro me de virgine nasci dignatus es, et pati, et mori, et resurgere, sic animam meam liberare digneris ab eterna morte. Quicquid in te peccaverim, remitte et animam meam in eterna requie digneris. Tu es cui non pereunt corpora nostra sed mutantur in melius, qui dixisti te velle vitam peccatoris quam mortem. Conde credo, confiteor ore, quia idcirco vis animam meam educere ut meliori vita facias vivere;


50 Precedentem] MS. precedentem.
sensum et intellectum quem nunc habet tanto meliorem habeat quantum differt corpus ab umbra. Et tenens pellem et carnem circa mammas et cor suum, ut idem Teodericus postea retulit, dixit cum lacrmosis gemiti-bus: Domine Ihesu Christe, fili Dei vivi et beate Marie virginis, totis visceribus confiteor, et credo quod tu redemptor meus vivis, et in novis-simo die de terra surrecturus sum, et in carne mea videbo Deum salvato-rem meum. Tribus vicibus carnem suam et pellem circa mammas tenens hoc repetivit, et similiter misit manus suas super oculos suos
dicens: Quem visurus sum ego et oculi isti conspecturi sunt. Et rursum apertis oculis cepit respicere celum et artus suos et pectus suum signo sancte crucis munire et dicere: Omnia terrena mihi [fol. 41r] vilescent. Nunc enim Christo donante intueor quod oculus non vidit nec auris audivit nec in cor hominis ascendit, quod preparavit Deus
diligentibus se. Deinde manus suas ad Dominum expandens effudit pro his qui in bello mortui fuerant precem dicens: Moveantur viscera misericordie tue, Deus, super fideles tuos qui hodie in bello mortui sunt; nunc etenim pro te manibus Sarra-cenorum perempti iacent. Sed tu, Domine, clementer eorum maculas absterge et ab inferis animas eorum
digneris eripere. Mitte archangelos tuos, qui animas eorum eripiant de regionibus tenebrarum et perducant eas in regna celestia, quatinus una cum sanctis martiris tuis regnare valeant et tecum sine fine letentur, qui vivis et r[egnas] per om[nia] s[ecula] s[eculorum]. [Amen.]

XXVII.

Et statim Teoderico assistente in hac confessione beati Rothlandi
anima martiris de corpore et ab angelis in eterna gloria transfertur, ubi regnat et exultat sine termino choris sanctorum martirum dignitate
meritorum coniuncta.

Non decet hunc igitur vacuis deflere querelas
Quem letum summi nunc tenet aula poli.
Nobilis antiqua decurrens prole parentum,
Nobilior gentis nunc super astra sedet.


67 Quam] MS. quaem, evidently altered from quam and to be read quem.

Egregius, nulli de nobilitate secundus, 10
Moribus excellens, culmine primus erat.
Temorium cullor, recreans modulamine cautes,
Vulneribus patrie fida medela fuit.
Spes populi, tutor viduarum, panis egentis, 15
Large pauperibus, prodigus hospitibus,
Sic venerabilibus templis, sic fudit egenis,
Mitteret ut celis quas sequeretur opes.
Doxmata corde tenens, plenus velut archa libellis:
Quisquis que voluit fonte fluente bibit.
Consilio sapiens, animo pius, ore serenus,
Omnibus ut populis esset amore pares.
Culum honoratum, decus almum, lumen optimum,
Laudebus in cuius militet omne decus.
Pro tantis meritis hunc ad celestia iunctum
Non premit urna rogi, sed tenet aula poli.

Quid plura? Dum beati Rothlandi anima exiret de corpore et ego Turpinus in valle Karoli loco prefato astante rege defunctorum missam, scilicet die .xvi. Kalendas Iulii, celebrarem, raptus in extasi audivi choris in celestibus cantantes, ignorans quid hoc esset. Cunque illi ad sublimia transirent, ecce post tergum tetrorum militum phalanse quasi de raptu 30 rediens predameque ferens ante me transivit. Cui statim dixi: Quid facitis? Nos, inquit, Marsirium portamus ad inferna; tubicinum vero virum cum multis Michael angelus fert ad superna. Tunc missa celebrata dixi concise regi: Veraciter, rex, scias quia Rothlandi animam cum multis animabus Christianorum beatus Michael archangelus deduct in celum, sed qua morte mortuus est prorsus ignoro; sed et demones cuiusdam Marsi[fol. 42].iiii animam cum animabus multorum infidelium ad incendia gehennalia ferunt. Dum hec dicerem, ecce Balduinus super equum Rothlandi omnia que facta fuerant et Rothlandum in agonia posuit iuxta lapidem in monte se dimisisset nobis enarravit. Moxque

12 Templorum | Temporibus | cautes | cives | Domini | egentum | NHR | gendium | MH | 18 libellus | H | 19 que | quod | NHR | 21 amore | honore | N | 22 Culmen | Numan | H | Lumen | R | 23 in cius | invictus | NHR | militat | R | 24 iunctum | vectum | MNHR | 25 Non premit | Nunc premit | M | Conpinit | N | poll | Dei | NHR | 25/26 poli... ret de corpore | M | 26 Quid | De visione Turpini et lamentatione Karoli super mortem Rotolandi. Quid NHR | with super — Rotolandi om. | R | anima | martiris | anima | NR | 28 .vii. decimo | MHR | 31 statim | subito | max | MNHR | 32 facitis | fertis | MNHR | inquiant | NHR | vero om. | MNHR | 33 angelus | archangelus | M | om. | NHR | 34 concito | MHR | 39 omnia | qui omnia | NHR

21 Populi | MS. pluris; so also DM.
25 Non premit | MS. Nunc premit; so also D.
28 .xvi | MS. .xvii.; so also D. See page 95, below, II. 27/28.
41 Omnem | MS. omnes; so also D; om. | M.

Tu patriam repetis, nos triste sub orbe relinquis.

Te tenet aula nitens, nos lacrimosa dies.

Sex qui lustra gerens octo bonus insuper annos,

Ereptus terre iustus ad astra redis.

Ad paradiasicas epulas te cive reducta,

Unde gemit mundus, gaudet habere polus.

His et aliis verbis Karolus Rothlandum luxit quamdui vixit. Statimque in eodem loco quo Rothlandus iacebat defunctus illa nocte cum exercitu suo tentoria fixit, et corpus exanimatum balsamo et myrra et aloe condiit, et exequias magnas cantilenis et luctibus circa eum luminarisibus et ignibus per nemora accensis honorifice cuncti illa nocte peregerunt.

XXVIII.

Crastina vero die summum diluculo armati ad locum quo bellum fuerat peractum et pugnatores perempti iacebant in Runciavalle ierunt et

XXIX.

Tunc defunctorum corpora amici eorum diversis aromatibus condierunt; alii myrra, alii balsamo, alii sale diligenter perfuderunt. Multi corpora per ventrem findebant et stercora eiciebant, et sale illa aromata non habentes condiebant. Alii feretra lignea ad ferendum ea aptabant, alii super equos iactabant. Alii humeris, alii inter manus ferebant; alii vulneratos et infirmos super colla sua in scalis portabant. Alii alios ibidem sepeliebant. Alius usque in Galliam vel ad proprium locum
amicum suum ferebat; alius portabat eum usquequo in putredinem dissolventur et tunc sepeliebat.

XXX.
Et erant tunc temporis duo cimiteria sacrosancta, alterum apud Arelaten in Ayliscampis, alterum apud Burdegalam, que Dominus per manus .vii. antistitum, scilicet Maximini aquensis, Trophini arelatensis, Pauli narbonensis, Saturnini tolosanensis, Frontonis petragoricensis, Marcialis lemovicensis, Eutropii sanctonensis, consecravit; in quibus maxima pars illorum sepelitur; et illi qui in monte Garzin gladiis intacti obierunt in his ci[fol. 43r]miteriis aromatibus peruncti sepeliuntur.

XXXI.

[9 putredine NH | 9/10 dissolveretur et tunc sepeliabant N]


3 Palliiis] MS. palleis; so also DNH.
XXXII.
His itaque viris sepulture mandatis ac pro animarum eorum salute duodecim milibus uncis argenteis totidemque auribus talentis vestibusque et cibariis, Karolus Iude Machabei memoratus, largitis egenis, totam terram que circa basilicam sancti Romani blaviensis sex miliarium spatio porrigitur totumque oppidum blaviense cum ceteris que sibi pertinent et etiam mare quod sub eo est usibus eiusdem ecclesie in allo dio amore Rothlandi dedit. Et precepit canonici eiusdem loci ne alicui persone humane servitutis officia amplius exhiberent, sed solummodo pro salute nepotis sui et ducum exercitus sociorumque eius die passionis eorum annuatim xxx. pauperes cunctis vestibus et necessariis induerent cibariis—que reficerent, et xxx. missas totidemque psalteria cum vigiliis ceterisque plenariis defunctorum obsequiis in commemoratione eorum non solum pro his, verum etiam pro omnibus, qui in Hyspania martirium pro divino amore acceperunt vel accepturi erant diligenter canonici, scilicet presentes et futuri, celebrarent, quatiminus ipsorum corone in celestibus participes effici mererentur. Quod illi sub pacto iurisurandi faciendum promiserunt.

XXXIII.
Postea vero ego Turpinus cum quibusdam exercitibus nostris a Blavio discedentibus per Gasconiam et Tolosam tendentes Arelatem perreximus. Ibi vero invenimus Burgundionum exercitus, qui a nobis in Honestavalle discesserant, et per Morlanum et Tolosam venerant cum mortuis suis et vulneratis, [fol. 43r] quos in lectulis et bigis secum illuc adduxerant ad sepeliendum eos in cymiterio quod est in Ayliscampis. In quo cymiterio tunc per manus nostras sepulture traduntur Estultus comes lingonensis et Salomon et Sanson dux Burgundionum et Ernaldus de Bellanda et Albericus Burgundio et Girardus et Esturmitus, Hato et Teodericus, Yvorius et Berardus de Nublis et Berengarius et Naaman dux Baioarie, cum .x. milibus aliorum. Constantinus prefectus apud urbem Romam

XXXII. 1 No chapter-break here MNHR 2 mandatis traditis NHR 3 milibus om. MH 5 miliariorum NHR 6 ceteris NHR 9/10 officia . . .-potis sui M | salute nepotis salute anime nepotis NH anima nepotis R | 10 et ducum exercitus om. NHR | eorumdem NHR 11 vestibus necessariis NHR 13 defunctorum om. HR 15 amore vel acceperant vel NHR 15 Acceperunt] MS. ceperunt; so also D.

per mare delatus cum aliis multis Romanis et Apulis sepelitur. Pro quorum animabus uncias .xii. milia argenteas totidemque talenta aurea Karolus apud Arelaten pauperibus dedit.

XXXIV.
Post hec Viennam simul perreximus, et ibi vulnerum cicatricibus verberibusque et percussionibus quas in Hyspania pertuli angustiatus remansit, et rex debilitatus cum suis exercitibus Parisiacam rediit urbem. Deinde veniens ad ecclesiam beati Dyonisii eundem locum honoravit et obsercationibus et oblationibus. Qui cum aliquantis dieibus ibi moram fecisset tandem apud Aquisgrani versus Leodium pervenit, et balnea aqua calida et frigida temperata in eadem villa sedule perfect et beate Marie virginis basilicam, quam ipse fundaverat, auro et argento cunctisque ornatis ecclesiasticis ordinavit, veterisque et novi testamenti hystoriis earn depingi iussit, et palatium similiter, quod ipse iuxta eam edificaverat. Bella namque que in Hyspania devicit et .vii. liberales artes inter cetera miromodo in eo depicta sunt. Gramatica scilicet illie depicta est, que est omnium artium mater, que docet quot et quales littere et quomodo debent scribi, et quibus litteris partes et sillabe debent scribi, et quibus locis dyptongon debet poni. Per hanc enim artem lectores in sancta ecclesia que legunt intelligunt: quam qui ignorant, lectionem quidem legit sed plenarie minime intelligit, sicut qui habet clavem et nescit quid intus sit. Musica ibi depicta est, que est scientia bene et recte cantandi, qua etiam divina ecclesia officia celebrantur et decorantur, unde karior habetur. Et sciendum quia non est cantus secundum musicam nisi per quatuor lineas scribatur. Hec vero ars ab angelicis vocibus et canti-bus ab initio edita est. Quis ergo dubitat voces canentium ante Christi altare in ecclesia devota alacritate emissas angelicis vocibus in celis delatus est et cum H delatus est cum R 14 uncias] missas (eri fecit et H 15 pauperibus] egenis NHR

Delatus] MS. dilatus; so also D.


5 Deinde] For additional matter found in MNHR, see Appendix II.

16 Lectores in] MS. lectores qui in; so also DM.
admiseri? Ait namque liber sacramentorum sic: Cum quibus, id est 25
cum angelis, nostras voces ut admitti iubeas deprecamur. In hac arte
magna sacra[fol. 44r]menta magnae mysteria continentur. Nam
quatuor linee quibus scribitur et octo toni quibus continentur quatuor
virtutes, id est prudentia, fortitudo, temperantia et iustitia, et octo
beatitudines, quibus anima nostra munitur et decoratur, designant. 30
Dialética in aula regis depicta est, que docet verum a falsi discernere
dispositum de verbo et de scientia. Geometria ibi depicta est, que
mensuratio dicitur terre. Ge enim grecce dicitur glis; metros, mensura.
Hec ars terrarum, montium et vallium et marium spacia et miliaria et
leugas mensurare docet. Per hanc enim senatores Roman ceteraque 35
urbes antiquas component et miliaria et vies de urbe ad urbem, et filii
Israel terram desiderabilem in funiculo distributionis latitudine et longi-
tudine mensurarunt; hac etiam arte agricole, quamvis ignorantes, terras
et vineas, prata, lucos, et campos mensurant et laborant. Arimetica est
ibi depicta, que loquitur de naturis omnium rerum, quam qui plenarie
novit, cum trurium vel murum videt, quot lapides in eo sunt, vel quot
gutte in cyfo limbhe vel quot nummi in uno cumulo vel quot in exercitu
comprehendit. Per hanc artem lapicide, quamvis ignorantem, turras altas
et muros adhuc faciunt. Astronomia ibi depicta est, que et accidentia
bona et mala, sive presentia sive futura sive preterita, que alibi fuerint
45
sciuntur. Per hanc artem Rome senatores necem virorum et bella in
horis barbaris regumque et regnum detrimentum et statum noverant.

Unaqueque artium filiam habebat sibi subiectam, libellum scilicet de se
tractantem. Dignomantia, ex qua orientur piromantia et ydromantia,
eliber sacratut execratus non ibi depictus fuit, quoniam libera
50

28/29 lineae quibus ...-tes prudcntiam H R | 29 virtutes, prudcntiam scilicet,
fortituddinem, temperantiam et iustitiam NHR | prudcntiam, fortituddinem, temperantiam et iusti-
NHR | Geometria] Rethorica quoque convenienter et placide recte docet
loqui. Rethorica grecce dicitur facundia. Ars enim ista facundos reddet et eloquentem. Geometria M
De rethorica. Rethorica que convenienter et placide recte docet loqui. Rethorica grecce dicitur fac-
cundus. Verbis enim facundum et eloquentem ars reddet. De geornetica. Geometria NHR 35
cetera NHR 37 latitudinem et longitudinem MN 38 mensuratur M 39 artium NR 40 natura iuris NHR 41 videt
videt excelsum NHR 42 gutte om. NHR | quot in] quot homines in MNHR 43/44 lapicide—
faciunt om. H | 43 turras terras et vineas, prata et turras R | altris excelsas NR | 44 adhuc faci-
in opere regis depicta est. Dictur rimatio stellarum, que accidientia NR (with Dicitur) et est R and
que] qua R] De astronomia. Astronomia in opere regis picta est. Astronomia dictur rimatio
stellarum, qua accidientia H 45/46 fuerint scientia| sunt nocens NHR | 46 artem] autem
HR | 47 regunque] facta regunque NH facta regsique R | 48/49 Unaqueque — tractantem
om. M | 48 arrium] harum septem arrium NHR | habebat sibi] habet NHR 50 et liber — depic-
tus] in aula regis depicta non R | executus in aula regis depicta non fuit N
35 Romani MD. romanis; so also DMNHR.
ars minime habetur et idcirco ars adulterina dicitur. Quod etiam eius
nomine approbatur. Mantia enim grece, divinatio latine; nigros, id est
piros, ignis; ydros, lympha; titulus nigramantiae incipit mors anime.

XXXV.

Post exiguum tempus regis Karoli mors mihi ita demonstratur: Cum
igitur apud Vienna in ecclesia ante altare die quadam in extasi raptus
precibus insisterem psalmumque Deus in Adiutorium cantarem, tetrorum
5 agmina innumerabilia militum ante me preire ac versus Lotharingiam
tendere agnovi. Qui cum omnes pertransirent, intuitus sum quendam
illorum Etiopi consimilem retro lento gradu alios insequentem. Cui dixi:
Quo tenditis? Aquisgranum, inquit, ad Karoli mortem tendimus, ut eius
spiritum ad Tartara rapiamus. Cui dixi: Adiuro te per Deum vivum ut
10 peracto [fol. 44v] itinere tuo ad me reverti non abnuas. Tunc modicum
commorati vix expleto psalmo eodem ordine ad me redierunt, et dixi
novissimo cui fueram locutus: Quid egistis? Et demon: Galecianus,
inquit, sine capite tot lapides et tantos et ligna innumerabilia basilicarum
suarum in statera suspendit quod magis appenderunt eius bona quam
15 mala et idcirco eius animam a nobis abstulit. Et his dictis demon evanuit.
Itaque ego intellexi eadem die Karolum ex hac luce migrasse et subsidiis
beati Iacobi, cui multas ecclesias edificaverat, ad superna regna merito
subvectum. Nam et ego ab illo die dicicet qua nos apud Vienna
separavimus impetraveram ut si fieri posset nuntium mortis sue mihi
20 mittet, si ante mortem meam mors illi eveniret. Similiter ipse a me
impetravert ut mortem meam illi prenuntiarem. Quapropter cum ipse
in egritudine esset detentus, facte promissionis memoratus precepit
cuidam militi suo, antequam moreretur, ut cum eius mortem agnovisset
illico mihi nuntiaret. Quid plura? Post eius mortem diebus xv. transac-
25 tis per eundem nuntium didici ab illo tempore quo ab Hyspania recessit
usque in diem mortis sue illum assidue egrotasse, ac pro salute fidelium

51 et] Sciri enim libere potest, sed operari nisi demoniorum familiaritatem nullatenus valeat et
MNHR (with sed non operari H and demonium R and nullatenus] non M) | 51/52 quod — appro-
batur om. M | 52/53 latine — anime dicunt. Nigro quo nigra, unde nigromantia dicitur quasi
nigra divinationis; piros grece rogus latine, ydros limpha, unde piromantia ignea divinationis et ydromantia
limphatica dicitur. Titulus enim nigromantiae hic est Incipit mors anime NHR (with unde — nigra
om. R and hic] clericis R) | 53 nigromantiae est Incipit M

XXXV. 1 No chapter-break here M De morte Karoli regis N De exiguo tempore Karoli H 2
mors mihi ita) mihi vita N 3 ante altare om. R | in extasi raptus om. R 4 Adiutorium meum
intende cantarem NH 5 innumerabilia DHR | prætre| prætereum MNHR 6 pertransissent
NHR | sum om. NHR 7 Cui] Ei NHR | cui primum locutus fueram NH cui prior locutus
fueram R 13 innumera MNHR 18 scilicet om. NR | qua nos] quo nos ab invicem NHR 20
illa HR 21 ipse om. NHR 23 militi alunpno suo NHR 26 fidelium] defunctorum NHR
7 Alios] MS. oculos; so also D.

XXXVI.

Sed valde dignum est ut inter cetera ad Domini nostri Ihesu Christi decus revocetur ad memoriam miraculum quod pro beato Rotlando, dum adhuc viveret, antequam ingredieretur Hyspaniam, ut fertur,
5 Dominus ostendit. Cum igitur vir venerandus Rothlandus comes Gran-

nopolim urbem cum universis Christianorum exercitibus, vii. annorum

spatio per circuitum obsedisset, velox adventit paranimphus nuntians ei

quod Karolus eius avunculus in arce quadam in horis Wormatie urbis

obcessus a tribus regibus, Wandalorum scilicet, Saxonum et Frisonum

et corem exercitibus [tenebatur] mandans et efflagitans ut sibi cum suo

exercitu succurreret et eum a paganis liberaret. Tunc nepos avunciuli sibi
dilecti anxietate mestus fluctuabat anxius quid magis eligeret: aut urbem

pro qua tantos labores passus fuerat et Christo subiugare volebat relin-
quere et avunculum liberare, aut illum dimittere et urbem expugnare. O

virum per omnia laudabilem, pietate redundantem, inter duas fortunas ita
angustiatum! Sed quid vir venerandus egerit audiamus. Tribus diebus
totidemque noctibus non manducans aut bibens sacris precibus cum suis

exercitibus vacat Deumque sibi in auxilium invocat dicens: Domine Ihesu

Christe, fili patris altissimi, qui divisisti mare Rubrum in divisiones et

eduxisti Israel per medium eius et precipitasti Pharaonem in eo, qui

Iherico muros, quibus adversantium machinatione humani artificis septeno circuitu tubis

clangentibus destruxisti, tu, Domine, destrue urbis huius fortitudinem

totamque armaturam in manu tua potenti et brachio tuo invincibili con-
tere, ut gens pagana, que in sua feritate non in te confidit, agnoscat te

Deum omnium regum cunctipotentem, Christianorum auxiliatorem et

protectorem esse, qui vivis et regnas

25 in unitate sancti spiritus Dei per omnia secula seculorum. Amen. Quid plura? Facta

tertia die sine humano tactu lapsis undique muris urbis expugnatisque

20 paganis et effugatis Rothlandus comes gavisus cum suis exercitibus ad

Karolum in terram teutonicam profectus est eumque potenti virtute Dei

ab inimicorum obsidione eripuit. A Domino factum est istud et est

mirabile in oculis nostris.

Qui legis hoc carmen Turpino posce iuvamen,

35 Ut pietate Dei subveniat ei.

XXXVII.

Beatus Turpinus remensis archiepiscopus, Christi martir, post Karoli

regis mortem modico tempore vivens apud Viennam vulnerum et laborum

10 Tenebatur lacking also in DM.

XXXVII. 1/18 XXXVII — erimus om. R | 1 Kalixtus papa de inventione corporis beati Turpini

archiepiscopi et martiris NH (with beati om. H) | 3 vulnerum] doloribus vulnerum NH
suorum angustiatus dolore migravit ad Dominum, et iuxta urbem, ultra Rodanum scilicet, versus orien{fol. 45}tem in quodam ecclesiam olim sepultur est. Cuius sanctissimum corpus nostris temporibus quidam ex nostris clericis quodam sarcosago optimo episcopalibus vestibus indutum, pelle propria et ossibus adhuc integrum invenerunt et ab illa ecclesia, que vastata erat, detulerunt illud citra Rodanum in urbem et sepelierunt eum in ecclesia alia, ubi nunc veneratur. Modo coronam victorie optinet in celis, quam multis laboribus adquisivit. Credendum est igitur quia hii qui in Hyspania martirium pro Christi fide susceperunt in celestibus merito coronantur. Et quamvis Karolus et Turpinus una cum Rothlando et Olivero ceterisque martiribus in Runciavalle mortem minime accepisset, tamen ab eorum corona perpetua non alienantur, qui passi sunt plagarum et persecutionum dolores quos cum ceteris in agone accipient. Si socii passionum, inquit apostolus, fuerimus, simul et resurrectionis erimus.

XXXVIII.

Quid patrie Galicie post mortem Karoli accidit nobis est memorie tradendum. Cum igitur post Karoli mortem Galicie tellus per multa tempora in pace quiuesceret, demonis instinctu surrexit quidam paganus Altumaior Cordube dicens quod terram galicianam et hyspanicam, quam Karolus ab antecessoribus suis adquisierat, ipse sibi adquireret legibusque sarracenis subiugaret. Tunc coadunatibis sibi exercitibus suis terras huc illucque devastando usque ad beati Iacobi urbem pervenit et quicquid in ea inventum totum diripuit. Similiter basilicam apostolicam indigne totam devastabat, codices et mensas argenteas et tintinnabula et cetera ornamenta ab ea abstulit. Cumque in ea Sarraceni ipsi cum equis suis hospitati essent, gens impia etiam digestiones iuxta altare apostolicum agere non timuit. Quapropter alii ex illis divina ulione fluxi sanguinis inter se interibant, alii vero oculorum lumina per basilicam et urbem ut ceci errantes ammittebant. Quid plura? Hac egritudine idem Altumaior tactus, omnino etiam excecutus, consilio cuiusdam capti sui eiusmodem basilicis sacerdotis cepit invocare Deum Christianorum in auxilium in his verbis dicens: O Deus Christianorum, Deus Iacobi, Deus Petri,
Deus omnium rerum, si me ad pristinam sanatatem revocaveris, Mahumeth Deum meum abnegabo et ad ecclesiam magni Iacobi rapine causa ultra non veniam. O Iacobe vir magne, si ventri meo et oculis meis salutem dederis, quicquid a domo tua abstuli restituam. Tune post xv. dies omnibus ecclesiam sancti Iacobi restitutis, ad pristinam salutem Altumaior revocatus, a terra sancti Iacobi recessit [fol. 46*] promittens se non amplius venturum in horas eius causa rapine et predicans Deum Christianorum esse magnum et Iacobum magnum esse virum.

XXXIX.
Postea vero hispanicas oras devastando pervenit ad villam que dicitur Orvix, in qua beati Romani basilica optima et pulcherrima erat palliiis et codicibus optimis et crucibus argenteis et textis aureis decorata; ad quam Altumaior veniens rapuit quicquid in ea invenit et villam devastavit. Cumque in eadem villa cum suis exercitibus hospitatus esset, quidam dux exercitium eius ingressus in eandem basilicam vidit columnas pulcherrimas lapideas, que eisudem ecclesie tecta sustinebant, que etiam in summitate deargentate et deaurate erant, et avaritie stimulis actus quendam cuneum ferreum inter bases et eandem columnam infixit. Cum itaque cuneum illum malleo ferreo fortiter magnis ictibus feriret totamque basilicam destruere temptaret, divino operante iudicio idem homo in lapidem vertitur. Qui etiam lapsi usque in hodiernum diem in effigie hominis in eadem ecclesia persistit, habens talum colorem qualem eiusdem Sarracenii tunica tunc habebat. Solent etiam peregrini narrare, qui illuc causa precum tendunt, quod lapsi ille fetorem emittit. Quod ut Altumaior vidit, ait domesticis suis: Magnus est revera Deus Christianorum, qui tales habet alumnos qui, cum a vita migraverint, tamen in vivos sibi rebelles ita se vindicant. Iacobus lumen oculorum a me abstulit, Romanus de homine lapidem fecit, sed Iacobus clementior est quam iste Romanus. Iacobus enim oculos meos reddidit mihi misertus, sed homi-

21 meis om. MNH 23 sancti Iacob[|i] dupliciter NHR 24/25 revocatus est ... amplius M | 24 recedit NHR


3 Palii| | MS. palleis; so also D.
4 Texti| | MS. textibus; so also D; textibus M.
nem non vult reddere Romanus. Fugiamus ergo ab his horis. Tunc confusus abscessit paganus cum exercitibus suis. Nec fuit postea post multum tempus qui beati Iacobi patriam infestare auderet. Sciant igitur se dampnandos in evum qui eius tellurem amplius inquietaverint. Qui vero a potestate Sarracenorum illam custodierint celesti munere remunerabunt.

XL.
Iulius Cesar, ut traditur, tres gentes, Nubilianos scilicet et Scottos et Cornubiandos caudatos, ad expugnandos Hysonorum populos, eo quod tributum ei reddere nolebant, ad Hysoniam misit precipiens eis ut omnem masculinum sexum interficerent, feminineum tamen ad vitam reservarent. Qui cum per mare illam terram ingressi essent, contractis navibus suis ab urbe Barcinona usque ad Cesaraugustam et ab urbe Baiona usque ad montem Oque igne et gladio devastaverunt. Hos fines transire nequierunt, quoniam Castellani coadunati illos expugnantes a finibus suis siecerunt. Illi autem fugientes venerunt [fol. 46] ad montes marinos qui sunt inter Nageram et Pampilonam et Baionam, scilicet versus maritimam in terra Biscagie et Alave, ubi habitantes multa castra edificaverunt, et interfecerunt omnes masculos, quorum uxores visi sibi rapuerunt; e quibus natos genuerunt qui postea a sequentibus Navarri vocantur. Unde Navarrus interpretatur non verus, id est, non vera progenie aut legitiina prosapia generatus. Navarri etiam a quadam urbe que Nadaver dicitur prius nomen sumpserunt, que est in illis horis, e quibus primitus advenerunt, quam scilicet urbem in primis temporibus beatus apostolus Matheus et evangelista sua predicacione ad Deum convertit.

XLI.
Karolus rex cur appellatus sit magus, dubia multorum opinio est. Sed ne fame licentia vulneretur fides, causam paucis reddam. Causa orationis post venationem cenobium quoddam sanctimonialium intra-verat; cum interim pernoctaturus inter vespertinas epulas quas regali luxu extruxerat, subito e vicino saltu fetosa eoque sevior ursa adesse

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25 Inquietaverint | MS. metaverint; so also DMNH. In some source manuscript a scribe probably inadvertantly omitted the symbol for qui (a q with a superscript i) in writing inquietaverint, which is the reading of Castets and the Codex Calixtinus.

XL. 1 No chapter-break here M | 1/20 XL — convertit om. NR | 1 De hoc que Navarri de vera prosapia non sunt geniri H 3 Cornibilandos ad expugnandum H | expugnandos universos Hy- spanorum M 5 tamen] tantum H 12 et Alave om. D 13/14 omnes ... e quibus M

XLI. 1/40 XLI — castitate om. MNHR
nuntiatur more solito in ipso porte limine pauperes invasura. Diffugient omnes agmen inprinis feminine, et cellularum clause angustis sola oratione cum immanti pugnant bestia. Sola Landrada, que rectrix ecclesie erat, quadam animositate inperterrita vectem quo domus obserari solebat inermi principi offert, et crebro armatum crucis signaculo in irruentem iam ursam destinat. Ille nichil motus ignavie reputans vel loco moveri, hyantis oris baratrum strenue satis operitur. Herebant ceteri: nichilo certiores quam exitum imminere principi. Inclamans illa

[Prologus. Vitam et conversationem. (The preface to Einhard.)]
Capitulum primum.

Gloriosissimus namque Christi apostolus Iacobus aliis apostolis et dominicis discipulis diversa cosmi clima adeuntibus, ut fertur, primus Gallecam predicavit. Deinde assecle apostolico corpore ab Herode rege perempto, scilicet a Ierosolimis usque ad Gallecam per mare translato, eandem Gallecam predicaverunt. Et ipsis Galleciari postea peccatis suis exigentibus fidem non sequentibus [fol. 8r] usque ad Karoli magni imperatoris Normannorum, Gallorum et Thutonicorum ceterarumque gentium tempus perfidi retro abierunt. Hic vero, postquam multis laboribus per multa orbis climata diversa regna, scilicet Galliam, Thutonicam, Barbariam, Lothoringiam, Burgundiam, Italiam, Britanniam ceterasque regiones innumerabas urbes a mari usque ad mare divinis subsidiiis munitus invincibili brachio potentie sue acquisivit et Sarracenorum manibus abstulit christianoque imperio subiugavit, gravi labore ac tanto sudore fatigatus ne amplius bellum iniret ut et requiem a se daret proposuit. Statimque intuitus est in celo quandam viam stellarum incipientem a mari Frisie et tendentem inter Thutonicam et Italiaem, inter Galliam et Aquitanniam, rectissime transeuntem per Gasconiam Basclamque et Navvaram et Hispanicam usque Gallecam, qua beati Iacobi corpus tunc temporis latebat incognitum.

Quam viam dum Karolus per singulas noctes sepe perspicaret, cepit sepissime premittari quid significaret. Cui hec summo studio cogitanti heros quidam optimam ac pulcherrimam ultra quam dicfas est habens speciem nocte in extasi aparat dicste: Quid agis, fili mi? At ille ait: Quis es, Domine? Ego sum, inquit, Iacobus apostolus, Christi alumnus, frater Iohannis evangeliste, quem Dominus supra mare Galilee ad predicandum populis sua ineffabili gratia eligere dignatus est, quem Hrodes rex gladio peremit, cuius corpus in Gallecia, que a Sarracenis adhuc opprimitur, incognitum requiescit. Unde ultra modum miror cur terram meam a Saracenis minime liberasti, qui tot urbes tantasque terras acquisistii. Quapropter tibi notifico quia sicut [Ch. 3]


6 Assecle] MS. a sedec; so also H.
17 Incipientem] MS. incipiente.
Appendices

potentiorem omnium regum terrae Dominus fecit te, sic ad preparandum iter meum et liberandum tellurem meam a manibus Moabitarum te inter omnes, ut tibi coronam eternae retributionis exinde prepararet, elegit. Via stellarum quam in celo vidisti hoc significat, quod tu cum magno exercitu ad expugnandum gentem paganorum perfidam et liberandum iter meum et tellurem et ad visitandum basilicam meam et sarcophagum meum ab his horis usque Gallecam iturus es, et post te omnes populi a mari usque ad mare peregrinantem veniam delictorum suorum a Domino imperantes illuc ituris sunt, narrantes laudes Domini et virtutes eius usque ad finem seculi presentis ibunt. Nunc autem perge quamcitis poteris, quia ego ero auxiliator tuus in omnibus et propter labores tuos tuos impetrabo tibi coronam a Domino in celestibus, et usque ad novissimum diem erit nomen tuum in laude. Taliter beatus apostolus tribus cibibus Karolo apparuit. His itaque auditis, Karolus apostolica promissione fretus, coadunatis sibi exercitibus multis ad expugnandas gentes multas perfidas Hispaniam ingressus est.

[Ch. 4] De muris Pampilionie per semetipsos lapsis.

Prima urbs quam obsidione circuivit Pampilonia extitit. Et sedit circa eam tribus mensibus et nequivit eam capere, quia muris inexpugnabilibus munitissima erat. Tunc fecit precem Domino dicens: Domine Ihesu Christe, pro cuius fide in has horas in expugnandam gentem perfidam veni, da michi urbem istam capere ad decus nominis tui. O beate Iacobe, si verum est quod michi apparuisti, da michi capere illam. Tunc Deo donante et beato Iacobo orante muri lapsi funditus ceciderunt. Saracenos vero qui baptizari voluerunt [fol. 9°] ad vitam reservavit, et qui renuerunt gladio peremit. His auditis mirabilibus Saracenis Karolo ubique pergenti se inclinabant et mittebant ei obviam tributum et reddabant ei urbes et facta est ei terra tota sub tributo. Mirabatur gens sara-cenica cum videbat gentem gallicam optimam scilicet ac bene indutam et facie elegantem et honorifice pacificeque reciepiant eos armis etiam reiectis. Inde visitato sarcofago beati Iacobi venit ad Petronum et infixit in mari lanceam agens Deo et sancto Iacobo grates, qui eum usque illuc perduxit, dicens quia in antea ire non poterat. Galicianos vero qui post beati Iacobici predicationem disciplinorumque eis ad perfidam gentem paganorum conversi erant baptismatis gratia per manus Turpini archiepiscopi regeneravit, illos scilicet qui ad fidem voluerunt converti, qui nondum baptizati erant. Illos vero qui fidem recipere noluerunt aut gladio trucidavit aut sub Christianorum imperio captivavit. Deinde [ivit] per totam Hispaniam a mari usque ad mare.

34 magno honore et exercitu H 35 expugnandum R (the -um ending in this circumstance is general in R) | 35/36 tellurem mean et HR
32 Et] MS. ad; so also HR.
33 Coronam] MS. corona | Via] MS. iam; so also H.
5 in] ad HR 7 lapsi] collapsi HR 11 sub tributo] in tributum HR
20 Ivit supplied from HR.
DE YDOLO MAHUMET.

Idola et simulacra que tune in Hispania invenit penitus destruxit, preter idolum quod est in terra Alandaluf, quod vocatur Salancadis. Cadis dicitur proprie locus in quo est Salam, in lingua arabica Deus noster. Tradunt Sarraceni quod idolum istud Mahumet, quem [colunt], dum adhuc viveret, in nomine suo proprie fabricavit et demoniaca legionem quandam sua arte magica sigillavit, [fol. 11'] que etiam tanta fortitudine illud idolum obtinuit quod a nullo unquam frangi potuit. Cum enim aliquis Christianus ad illud apropinquat, statim periclitatur. Sed cum aliquis Sarraceni causa adorandi vel deprecandi Mahumet accedit, ille incolumis recedit. Sed si forte super illud avis quelibet se deposuerit, statim 10 moritur. Est igitur in maris margine lapis antiquus opere saracenico optime sculptus desuper strictus super terram situs, deorsum latus et quadratus, altissimus scilicet quantum solet volare in altum corvus, super quem elevatur ymago illa de auricalco optimo in effigie hominis fusa, super pedes suos erecta, faciem tenens versus meridiem, et manu dextra tenens quandam clavem ingentem: que scilicet clavis, ut ipsi Sarraceni aiunt, a manu eius cadet anno quo rex futurus in Gallia natus fuerit qui totam terram hispanicam christianis legibus in novissimis temporibus subiguabat. Mox ut viderint clavem lapsam, gazis suis in terra repositis omnes fugient.

DE ECCLESIIS QUAS KAROLUS REX MAGNUS FECIT.

Ex auro quod Karolo reges et principes Hispanie dedere beati Iacobi basilicam tunc per tres annos in illis [locis] commorans aumentavit, antistitem et canonicos secundum beati Isidori episcopi et confessoris regulam in ea constituit, eamque tintinnabulis palliisque, libris ceterisque ornamentis decenter ornavit. De residuo vero auro et argento inmenso quod de Hispania attulit, regressus ab ea multis ecclesiis fecit: ecclesiam scilicet beate Marie virginis que est apud Aquisgranum, et basilicam sancti Iacobi que est apud Tolosam, et illam que est in Gasconia intern urbem que vulgo dicitur Axa et sanctum Iohannem Sordue via iacobitana, et ecclesiam sancti Iacobi que est apud Parisius inter Secanam fluvium et montem Martirum, et abatias innumeratas quas per mundum fecit.

DE REDITU KAROLI AD GALLIAM ET DE AIGOLANDO.

Demum Karolo reverso ad Galliam quidam paganus rex affricanus nomine Aigolandus cum suis exercitibus terram Hispanorum sibi acquisivit eiectis et interfectis de oppidis et urbibus custodibus christianis, quos ad custodiendam terram Karolus reliquerat. His auditis Karolus cum multis exercitibus rursum Hispaniam adiit, et erat cum eo dux exercituum Milo de Angleris.

1 No chapter-break here R 5/6 suo proprio ydolum fabricavit R 9 Sed om. HR 10 statim illico HR 18 subiguabat om. H
5 Colunt supplied from HR.
3 Locis supplied from HR.
DE EXEMPLE ELEMOSINE MORTU.

Sed quale exemplum Dominus tunc nobis omnibus ostendere dignatus est de his qui mortuorum elemosinas inujuste retinent nobis est dicendum. Cum igitur apud Baionam urbem Blascorum Karoli exercitus hospitatus esset, miles quidam nomine Romaticus valde egrotus, morti proximus, accepta penitentia et eucharistia a sacerdote, ut equum quem habebat venderet pretiumque clericis et egenis erogaret cuiam consanguiueo suo precepiit. Quo mortuo consanguineus ille invidie stimulus taeatus equum centum solidos venutadivit pretiumque cibis potibusque et vestibus velociter expendit. Sed quia malis factis divini iudicis vindicta proxima esse solet, transactis triginta diebus apparuit ei nocte in extasi mortuus dicens: Quoniam res meas pro anime meae redemtione in elemosinam tibi commendavi ad danum, scias omnia crimina mea Deum mihi dimissae. Sed quia inuiuste elemosinam meam retinuisti, per .xxx. dies in tartareis penis moras me intelliges facies. Te autem in eodem loco infernali, unde egressus sum, die crustina scias ponendum et me in paradiso futurum. His itaque dictis mortuus recessit vivusque tremefactus evigilavit. Qui cum summo mane narraret cuncta que audierat omnibus se de tanta re loquentibus, ecce subito clamores in aere, quasi rugitus leonum, luporum, et statim de medio circumstantium a demonibus in ipsis ululatibus vivus ac sanus rapitur. Quid plura? Queritur quatuor diebus per montes ac valles ab equitibus et peditibus et nunquam invenitur. Denique cum post duodecim dies exercitus noster per deserta telluris Naviarorum et Alavarum peragraret, reperit corpus eius examinantum et contractum in cuiusdam silicis fastigio, cuius ascensus tribus leugis habebatur supra mare, distans a prefata urbe quatuor dies. De mones vero eius corpus ibi eiecerant animamque ad Tartara imperiavat. Qua propter sciant qui mortuorum elemosinas sibi ad dandum commendatas inujuste retinent se damnandos in evum.

[Ch. 8] DE BELLO SANCTI FACUNDI UBI HASTE VIRUERUNT.

Postea vero ceperunt querere Aigolandum per Hispaniam Karolus et Milo cum suis exercitibus. Quem cum caute investigarent, invenierunt eum in terra que dicitur De Campis, super flumen quod dicitur Cea, in pratis scilicet in optimo et plano loco quo postea beatorum martirum Facundi et Primitivi basilica ingens [fol. 12'] et optimas iussu Karoli fabricatur, in qua et eorumdem martirum corpora requiescunt, et monacorum abbatia constituit et magna villa pinguissima in eodem loco. Appropinquavintibus vero Karoli exercitibus mandavit Aigolandus bellum secundum velle suum: vel .xx. contra .xx., vel .xl. contra .xl., vel .c. contra .c., vel .m. contra .m., vel duos contra duos, vel unus contra unum. Interea missi sunt a Karolo .c. milites contra .c. Aigolandi et interfecit sunt


14 Misit supplied from HR.
15/16 Aigolandus] MS. Aigolandus.
24 Postea] MS. et postea; so also H.
APPENDIX II

B.M., MS. NERO A xi, FOLL. 31-32 (IN PART)

The following passage is found in B.M. Nero A xi where B.N. 17656, Ch. xxxiv, reads, Deinde veniens ad ecclesiam... Qui cum aliquantis diebus... et balnea (second sentence and first part of third).

Tunc adunato episcoporum et principum concilio in basilica sancti Dionisii agens Deo et illi grates, qui sibi vim dederat paganam gentem subiugare, omnem Franciam in predio eius ecclesie dedit, sicut beatus apostolus Paulus et Clemens papa beato Dionisio in apostolatu antea prebuerat. Et precepit [ut]

omnes Francie reges et episcopi presentes et futuri pastori eiusdem ecclesie essent obedientes in Christo. Nec reges sine eius consilio essent coronati, nec episcopi ordinati, nec apud Romam recepti essent, aut dampanati. Rursum [fol. 32v] post plurima dona precepit ut cidem ecclesie unusquisque possessor uniuscuiusque domus totius Gallie quatuor nummos annuatim ad edificandum ecclesiam darent. Tunc beatum Dionisium iuxta eius corpus stans imploravit ut pro salute illorum qui libenter illos nummos darent vel dabant Domino precem funderet et pro Christianis similiter qui propria sua pro divino amore dimiserant et in Hispania in bellis Saracenorum martiriis coronam acceperant. Nocte proxima regi dormienti beatus Dionisius apparuit inquiens: Illis qui tua ammonitione et exemplo tua probitatis animati in bellis Saracenorum in Hispania mortui et morituri sunt delictorum suorum veniam et ills qui ad edificandum ecclesiam meam nummos dant vel daturi sunt gravioris sui vulneris medicinam a Deo impetravi. His a regi relatis populi nummos saluberrime promissionis devotissime offerebant. Et qui libenter reddebat Francus Dionisii ubique vocabatur, quoniam ab omni servitute liber rege precipiente erat. Hinc mos surrexit, ut terra que antea vocabatur Gallia tune Francia vocaretur, id est ab omni servitute alienarum gentium libera. Quapropter Francus liber dicitur, quia super omnes gentes alias et decus et dominatio illi debetur. Tunc Karolus rex Aquisgranum versus Leo-


4 Ut supplied from MHR.
9 Domus] MS. donat.
11 Funderet] MS. funderent.
22 Super] MS. semper (?).
APPENDIX III

B.M., MS. NERO A xi, FOL. 36 (IN PART)

*The chapter in B.M. Nero A xi which corresponds to B.N. 17656, Ch. xxxvii, closes with the following passage, not found in 17656.*

Rotolandus interpretatur rotulus scientie, quia omnes reges et principes omnibus scientiis imbuebat. Oliverius interpretatur heros misericordie, quia clemens et misericors super omnes exitit: clemens sermonibus, clemens operibus. Karolus: lux carnis, quia omnes reges carnales post Christum luce omnium virtutem et scientie et probitatis precessit. Turpinus interpretatur pulcherrimus sive non turpis, quia turpia verba et opera aliena erant ab ipso. Sextodecimo Kalendas Iulii illa die qua de mundo ad Dominum transierunt officium defunctorum, vigilia scilicet et missa Requiem Eternam, cum propriis obsequiiis et horis debet celebrari non solum pro defunctis Karoli pugnatoribus verum etiam pro omnibus qui a tempore eiusdem Karoli usque in hodiernum diem in Hispania et in Ierosolimis horis pro fide Christi martirium sumpserunt. Quot et quanta Karolus pro animarum eorum salute die passionis eorumdem egenis usus sit impertire superius legendo fas est inveniri.

\[\text{Imbuebat} \text{ Imbuebat} \text{ Preminet} H \quad \text{Sextodecimo} \text{ Octo} M \quad \text{Propriis officiis et obsequiis} M \quad \text{Defunctis Karoli} \text{ Karolo propriis} H \quad \text{Salute om.} H \quad \text{Usus} \text{ Visus(?)} M \quad \text{Impertire} \text{ Impetare} H \quad \text{Inveniri} \text{ Intueri} M\]
APPENDIX IV

A SPECIMEN CHAPTER FROM THE LONGER
PSEUDO-TURPIN

(Thoron, Ch. viii,1 with variants from Castets2)


Tunc asiterunt quidam ex Christianis qui sero ante diem belli arma bellica sua studiosissime preparantes hastas suas erectas in terra ante castra, in pratis videlicet iuxta prefatum fluvium; quas summo mane scorticibus et frondibus decoratas invenerunt: hi scilicet qui in acie proxima martirii palmam Dei fide accepturi erant, et ultra quam dici fas est admirantque Dei miraculum gratie divine adscribentes absciderunt eas prope terram, et radices que remanserunt in tellure in modum perticae in se magna postea generarunt nemora, que adhuc in illo loco apparent. Erant enim illorum multe haste de lignis fraxineis. Mira res magnumque gaudium, magnum animabus proficium ingensque corporibus detrimentum! Quid plura? Die vero illa agitur utrorumque pugna, in qua occisi sunt quadraginta Christianorum milia, et dux Milo Rotolandi genitor, cum his quorum haste fronduerunt, ibi palmam martirii adeptus est, et Karoli equus peremtus est. Tunc Karolus stans peditus cum duoibus

Castets: 4 ingens basilica 7 operatur om. 10 duo contra duo 20 corticibus 22 Dei pro Dei 24/25 generaverit arbusta, quae 26 proficium (also Codex Calix.) 29 Rotolandi 30 pedem

1 I have substituted modern punctuation for Thoron’s diplomatic punctuation.
2 Thoron’s Calixtine text differs from the actual Calixtine MS. in this chapter only in reading ‘proficium’ instead of ‘proficium’ (see var. to l. 26). (Mr Walter Muir Whitehill has very kindly allowed me to use proof-sheets of his forthcoming edition of the Codex Calixtinus.)
milibus Christianorum peditum in medio belli Sarracenorum evaginavit spatam suam nomine Gaudiosam et trucidavit multos Sarracenos per medium. Die vero advesperascente vertuntur Sarraceni et Christiani in castris. Altera die venerunt ad succurrendum Karolo iiiij. marquisii de Ytalie horis cum quatuor milibus virorum bellatorum. Mox ut illos Aigolandus agnovit, terga vertens in Legionensibus horis secessit, et Karolus cum suis exercitus tunc ad Galliam remeavit.

In prefata acie fas est intelligi salus certantium Christi. Sicut enim Karoli milites pugnaturi ante bellum arma sua ad debellandum preparaverunt, sic et nos arma nostra, id est bonas virtutes, contra vitia pugnaturi preparare debemus. Quisquis enim vel fidem contra hereticam pravitatem, vel caritatem contra odium, vel largitatem contra avaritiam, vel humilitatem contra superbia, vel castitatem contra libidinem, vel orationem assiduam contra demoniacam temptationem, vel paupertatem contra felicitatem, vel perseverantiam contra instabilitatem, vel silentium contra iurgia, vel obedientiam contra carnalem animum ponit: hasta eius florida et victrix in die iudicii Dei erit. O quam felix et florida erit in celesti regno victoris anima qui legitime contra vitia decertavit in terra! Non coronabitur quis nisi qui legitime certaverit. Et sicut Karoli pugnatores pro Christi fide obierunt in bello, sic et nos mori debemus vitiis et vivere virtutibus sanctis in mundo, quantinus palmam de triumpho floridam habere mereamur in celesti regno.

36/37 et Karolus — remeavit om. 38 salus — Christi salutem pro Christo certantium 39 bellandum 44 vel paupertatem contra felicitatem om. 47 quae 48 quis om.
APPENDIX V

PREFATORY LETTER FROM BIBLIOTECA
NACIONAL, MADRID, MS. 1617

Incipit prephatio B. comitis ad Fredericum imperatorem Romanorum de
passione et miraculis beati Iacobi apostoli.

Viro illustri atque famosissimo triumphatori vere magnifico Frederico Dei
gratia Romanorum imperator et semper augusto, B. hayonensis comes, sic
mundane dignitatis imperio conformari, ut postmodum cum gloriosis principibus
terre eternae felicitatis diademate valeat coronari, peryocam de passione et mira-
culis beatissimi Iacobi apostoli a venerabilis domno papa Calixto secundo vera-
citer ac devote conscriptam intime dilectionis ac devotionis affectu maiestate
vestre transmisi; ut auditis et agnitis quibus idem apostolus apud Deum et
homines claruerit virtutibus et miraculis, eundem devotioni obsequio propensi-
honoretis, ut in vestris actibus et negotiis protectorem promptissimum habere
laboretis. Aliam quoque vobis Domno utique meam transcribo peryocam, a
domno remensi archipresule Tilpino, de his que magnificus imperator Karolus
in Hispania gessit, luculentam conscriptam, ut habeat maiestatis imperatorie
veneranda sublimitas, quibus laudum preconis erudiatur et ad magnificum pro-
bitatis apicem per maiorum vestigia dirigatur. Salutis igitur veste tam interi-
oris quam exterioris sedulus provisor, utrique

[fol. 2\v]

...corporeo videlicet
atque (?) spirituali (?) congruam destinavi peryocam, quarum prior, que beatis-
simii Iacobi recolit memoriam, spiritualem corrigit inertiam, posterior vero, de
magnificis domni Karoli gestis conscripta, sue recordationis affectu vires corporis
ad magnificentia et laudis preconium inflammat et erigit. In[h]eret animo meo
specialis illa mansuetudo qua me plurimum semper honorastis et Deo favente
honorabitis; nec a mea develletur memoria quod inter aulicos imperii vestri
primates me sepius magnificastis. Noverit imperialis vestra maiestas codicis
huius exemplar undecumque per clericos et notarios meos summis laboris im-
pendio a me quesitum, partim Cluniaci partim Turonis partim in bibliotecha
beati Dionisii fuisse compositum; nec huius operis me quempiam fecisse partic-
cipem preter dominum meum magnificum imperatorem, cuuis amori, cuuis servitio
quicquid sum, quicquid possum, prorsus devoeo, — domnum, inquam, nostri
temporis excellencissimum atque gloriosissimum principem. Humilitatem meam,
qua vobis meum presento et codicem et servitium, mea designant yconia in
capite libri veste humiliter maiestate affusa. Munus igitur quod magnificentie
vestre mea communicat dilect[fol. 3\v]tio pariter atque devotio sic a maiestate
vestra [su]scipiatur ut non tantum muneris quantitas sed in munere munerantis
affectus pensetur. Valeat honor vester.

(Incipit prologus venerabilis Calixti papa secundi de passione et
translatione ab Ierosolimitis ad Hispaniam et miraculis beati Iacobi
apostoli.)

20 Conscripta[MS. conscriptam.
32/33 Magnificentie veste[MS. magnificentiam vestrarn.
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