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THE PSEUDO-TURPIN

B.N., Fonds Latin, MS. 17656

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

New London, Connecticut
September, 1936

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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 Typin, 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 1140–1150,¹ though one scholar, Max Buchner, has shown some reason for thinking that it may even postdate 1160.² 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*.³ 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.⁴ 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 Vol. III, pp. 41–114.

⁴ 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 'authentications.') 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 Uebersetzung 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 content 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] because 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 hungred, 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 I, 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, 1936,¹ 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.² 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* (foll. 3-4), his Prologue to the Translation (foll. 4^v-6), the Translation (foll. 6-10^v), the Pseudo-Leo's lesser Translation (foll. 10^v-12), a letter of the Pseudo-Calixtus which serves as an epilogue of the Translation (foll. 12-15), the Pseudo-Calixtus's Argumentum for the Miracles (foll. 15-16), the Miracles (foll. 16-38^v), and the *Pseudo-Turpin* (foll. 38^v-72^v) — 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.³ In phrasing, the General Prologue and Parts III and II as found in *Madrid* differ somewhat from the *Book* of the Codex Calixtinus;⁴ there has

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), II, 257 f. (General Prologue); Florez, *España Sagrada*, III, 407 f. ('Leo's' letter); the Bollandist *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum bibliothecae Regiae Bruxellensis* (Brussels, 1886), Pt. I, i, 66-69 (Translation); and *AASS. Bol.*, VI Jul., 47-58 (Miracles).

evidently been some conscious redaction,¹ 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*.² 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 illuminated³ 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 clerks⁴ 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 Frederick⁵ 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* (*V*) 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 adhuc egrotanti aliquantulum ut,' but *M*, Thoron, Castets, 'vulnerum aliquantulum egrotanti ut'; Ch. 1, var. to ll. 13/14: *AV*, 'enim que,' but *M*, Thoron, Castets, 'enim divulgata que'; and Ch. 1, var. to ll. 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 *V*) 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.

and more directly, from a document long ago published and discussed by Gaston Paris¹ and Theodor Auracher.² 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 rimés* of Charlemagne are nothing but lies, and then continues as follows:

Li bons Baudoins, li cuens de Chainau, si ama molt Karlemaines. Ni ne vout onque croire chose que l'on en chantast; ainz 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 Borgognie por l'estoire querre eissi cum à Deu plot: si la trova à Sans en Borgognie. . . . Li clers au bon comte Baudoin contrescrit l'estoire e à son segnor l'aporta, qui molt la tint en grant cherté tant que il vesqui. E quant il sot qu'il dut mourir, si envoia 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 gardé le livre jusqu'à ore. Or si me proie que je le mete de latin en romans sans rime; por ço que teus set de letre qui de latin ne le seust eslire, 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

¹ *De Pseudo-Turpino* (Paris, 1865), pp. 44-46.

² *Die sogenannte poitevinische Uebersetzung des Pseudo-Turpin* (Halle, 1877), pp. 3, 6 f.

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 signally '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

¹ Paris, *De Pseudo-Turpino*, pp. 58 f.

² The *Vita* was evidently written in one piece, for an exhaustive table of contents follows the preface 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;¹ present to witness, and perhaps envy, Baldwin's distinction were such superior nobles as the Dukes of Saxony, Austria, and Bohemia.² 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.³

Long ago, in 1865, Gaston Paris, discussing the *Turpin* of *B.N. 17656*, came to a noted conclusion.⁴ 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.⁵ 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

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 *ONA*. 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.

⁴ *De Pseudo-Turpino*, pp. 26-28.

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.¹ (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 *Gests*³ 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.⁴ 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*

¹ Thoron, Ch. xxvi.

² That is, 'the late.'

³ 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 xxii in Thoron).

⁴ June 24.

(3d ed., Paris, 1881), II, 423 f.; and Ulysse Robert, *Bullaire du Pape Calixte II* (Paris, 1891), Vol. II, No. 449; cf. Vol. I, pp. lxxxi f.

II.¹ 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.² 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 (16^v–17) 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 repetitions: '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. xxi.

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 'authentication' for the entire *Book of St James*. See Bédier, *Légendes*, III, 86-88, and Baist, *Zs. f. rom. Phil.*, v, 423.

VIII.¹ 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.¹ The letter of the Pseudo-Calixtus (Ch. xxxvii) breaks off with a paraphrase of II *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.

¹ Thoron, Ch. xxiv, Castets, Appendix A.

SYNOPSIS

[Prologue:¹ *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 Gestis.*² *The beginning of this section, the third, of the present work is taken from that letter³ which Archbishop Turpin of Rheims sent to Leoprand, dean of Aachen, and which we find in the Chronicles of the Franks at St Denis in France.*⁴ *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,⁵ not his military deeds.]*

Chapter I (Turpin's letter to Leoprand, dean of Aachen):⁶ 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 Brotherhood 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 (I, 1)⁷ Galicia. After he has been slain by King Herod and his body has been translated by sea from Jerusalem to Galicia,⁸ his disciples confirm Galicia

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 n.). 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 qualiter 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*, xxxi (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 vision¹ 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.

(II, 2) *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

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 hec 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 III 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.

progress.¹ 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 (III, 3) hundred cities, islands, and territories of Spain which Charles conquers.²

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, 5). See also G. L. Kittredge, 'The Pillars of Hercules and Chaucer's "Trophee,"' *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 Gest of King Alexander of Macedon* (Harvard University Press, 1929), p. 216.

² Dozy did excellent work in making identifications in this list (*Recherches*, 3d ed., II, 383-392). 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 (*Legendes 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; Colimbria: Coimbra; Lucum: Lugo; Aurenias: ancient Auria, modern Orense; Iria: Tuda; Tuy; Mindonia: Mondoñedo; Bracara metropolis: Braga, the metropolitan see; the city of St Mary: probably Santa Maria Arifana; Wimarana: Guimaraes; Crunia: la Coruña; Compostela, 'at that time small.'

Auscala: Alcalá de Henares; Godelfaiar: Guadalajara; Talamanca; Uzda; Uceda; Ulmas: Ulmos; Canalias: Canales; Madritas: Madrid; Maqueda; Sancta Eulalia: in Spanish, Santa Olalla; Talaveria: Talavera; Medinacelum: Medinaceli (Dozy thinks the etymology offered in the text absurd and merely suggested by *coelum*, sky); Berlariga: Berlanga; Osma; Seguntia: Sigüenza; Segobia: Segovia; Aavilla: Avila; Salamanga: Salamanca; Sepumilega: Sepúlveda; Tolctum: Toledo; Klarrava: Calatrava; Badaiot: 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.

Lucerna 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); Caparra: ruins of a Roman city near Plasencia; Austurga: Astorga; Ovetum: 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 Uranzu; there is, besides, a cloister named Iranzu near Estella and a village named Arcos between Calahorra and Estella, to the west; Stella: Estella; Klattuhus: Calatayud; Miraclam (var. Miracula): Milagro (or Miraglo) in Navarre; Tutella: Tudela; Saraguttia: Saragossa; Pamplona: Pamplona; Baiona: Bayonne; Iakca: Jaca; Osca: Huesca (of its many towers only two remain, according to Madoz); Terracona: Tarragona or (more likely — see below) Tarazona; Barbarstra: Barbastro; Boras (var. Rosas): Rosas; Urgellum: Urgel; Elna: Elne; Gerunda: Gerona; Barcinnona: 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. Hispalida may represent 'Hispalis,' 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 Barbastro); Balague: Balaguer; Burriane: Burriana; Quotante: Cutanda; Ubeda; Baecia: Baeza. The words 'vel Troissa' are a corruption of Petroissa (see variants). The 'fit' of 'in qua fit argentum' Dozy takes to

- (IV, 4) *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.¹

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); Setabis, otherwise Schatiba or Játiva; Grannada: Granada; Sibilia: Seville; Corduba: Cordova. Abula is borrowed from the martyrologies — Secundus, one of the 'Seven Apostles of Spain' preached at Abula. Accintina is civitas accitana or Acci, otherwise Guadix (the tale of the miraculous olive is taken from the Martyrology of Ado — see Migne, *P. L.*, cxxiii, 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 Tunis, in the gulf of Gabès); Boaram (in the long versions Goharan): from the Arab name, Wahrân, for the city of Oran in Barbary; Melodia: Minorca (?); Evicia: Iviza or Ibiza; Formenteria: Formentera. Alcorror Dozy cannot identify; we might hazard a guess that it is Alcaraz, in the province of Albacete. Almaria: Almería; Maneka: Almuñecar; Gilmataria (var. Gilbataria): Gibraltar; Kirago (var. Certago): Carteya (very near Gibraltar); Septa, que est in districtis Hispanie ubi maris angustus est 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), I, 127, 159, 269 f., 271-273; II, 41 f.; the *English Historical Review*, xvi (1901), 501-503; and *An Old English Miscellany*, ed. Morris (*E.E.T.S.*, XLIX (1872), 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;¹ 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,² a church of St James at Béziers,³ and another at Toulouse,⁴

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 Olafs 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: 1. L'Aqueduc et la Statue de Cadix,' *La Tradition*, vi [1892], 97-103; and Dozy, *Recherches*, 3d ed., II, 300-314, and xcii-xcvi. For the key as a symbol of closure, see A. Delatte, *Le Musée Belge*, 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] I, 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 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 certainly 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 Jakobs-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 Kántzeler, 'Ueber Karlmeinet,' *Annalen des historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein*, xii [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. Vaissete 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,¹ and still another in Paris between the Seine and Montmartre,² and many other churches and abbeys.

(VI, 6) *Ch. VII*: When Charles has returned to France, he hears that an African³ king, Aigolandus, has conquered Spain and slain many of the Christians who have been left to defend the country.⁴ The King returns with

and a church — with perhaps a hospice — of St James. In 1154 the rights of the cathedral were reaffirmed in a second charter, by Louis VII. In spite of the fact that he came to Toulouse fresh from a visit to Compostela, Louis dropped the 'seu et sancti iacobi' from the title of the cathedral, which has since been known simply as 'Saint-Étienne.' On the other hand, he paid a curious tribute to the present legend of Charlemagne: he referred to the previous charter as having been issued by him (instead of Charles the Bald). (See Jules de Lahondès, *L'Église Saint-Étienne* [Toulouse, 1890], pp. 9-12; the *Cartulaire de St-Sernin de Toulouse*, ed. C. Douais [Paris, 1887], pp. 7 f. [Louis VII's charter], and the same, pp. 5-7, or *Gallia Christiana*, xiii, Instrumenta, cols. 1 f. [Charles the Bald's charter].)

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 Ponte la Reina, where it is joined by the French route from Arles (via Saint-Gilles, Montpellier, Toulouse, and the port d'Aspre). (See Adrien Laverne, *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.

² 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.)

³ 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-ix); (2) Agen (Ch. x); (3) Saintes — this reads somewhat like a variant version of Episode 1 — (Ch. xi); and (4) Pamplona (Chs. xii-xix).

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 *Karlsmagnussaga*, 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. vii-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 Angulariis'¹ 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 be suffering 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. (VII, 7)

Ch. VIII: Charles and Milo encounter Aigolandus in Campis on the (VIII, 8)

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 *Entrée d'Espagne* and the *Prise de Pampelune*) which narrate events prior to the battle of Roncevalles 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 *Légendes*, 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 (Ibrāhīm-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 Wittekind. If the Aigolandus story had any original unity, this part must be looked upon as contamination.

¹ In most Latin versions, 'de Angleris.' In the *chansons de geste*, the name is Milon (or Miles) d'Aiglent, d'Aiglant, or Engler.

Céa, 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.

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 folktale 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) 'pratun, ubi hastae fulgurantes victorum pugnatorum ad Domini laudem, infixae olim, fronduisse referuntur' (Fita and Vinson, p. 6); and (2) 'prata nemorosa, 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.

⁴ 'Sic et nos mori debemus vitiis et vivere virtutibus sanctis in mundo.'

Ch. X: Aigolandus collects a great army of many pagan peoples and (IX, 9) kings — Saracens, Moors, Moabites, King Teremphinus, King Burrahellus¹ — 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 latrines² 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*, 3d ed., II, 375-378; 409-416]):

Sarracenos (a vague name, used very generally in the Middle Ages to designate all heathens; 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, Affricanos — long version only]; Persas (Persians); Teremphinum (in the longer versions Texephinum) regem Arabum (Téchoufîn or Texefîn, viceroy of Spain, 1126-1137 or -1138); Burrahellum (or Burrabellum) regem Alexandrie (unidentified); Mutium regem Burgie (in the longer versions Avitum regem Bugie; Avit is the Spanish transcription of the common Arabian name Abbâd; as for Bugie, see the note to Ch. v, above. 'Avitum regem Bugie' is thus a plausible name; no such character can be found, however); Hospinum regem Acie (or Agabibe) (Pio Rajna derives the Otinel 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 Morocco, 1106-1143); Aphinorgium regem Maiorice (unidentified); Mautionem (or Maimonem) regem Meque (Maimon is an Arabian name; perhaps our Maimon of Mecca is one admiral Alî ibn-Maimon, mentioned in the *Chronicle of Alphonso VII* and in Ordericus Vitalis); Ebrahim regem Sibilie (Ibrâhîm governor of Seville, 1116-after 1123); and Altumaiorem regem Cordube (the great Almanzor [d. 1002]. Almanzor appears in the *chansons de geste* as Aumaçor; 'Altumaiorem' is a folk-etymologizing 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.

(X, 10) *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.¹ Four thousand Christians are slain that day.² 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.

(XI, 11) *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.SS.Vernac.*, I, Pt. 1), ll. 14989-15014: 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: 'Sô 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*, III, 329), 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 *Karlsmagnussaga* and David Aubert — see G. Paris, *Histoire poétique*, p. 265.

The folktale of the lances of Saintes is a hardy perennial. Late in the nineteenth century, G. M. Ollivier 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 (that is '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 Guessard and Michelant [Paris, 1858], ll. 313-320.

² The warriors whose spears have put forth leaves rejoice in the miracle. They dash foremost into the battle and kill many Saracens 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.¹ 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:

I, 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,² 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);³ Gaifer, king of Bordeaux; Galerius; 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);⁴ Lambertus, prince of Bourges; Sanson, duke of Burgundy; the Roman prefect Constantine; Reinaldus de Albaspina; Gualterus de Turmis; Guelinus; Guarinus, duke of Lorraine; Bego; Albericus the Burgundian; Berardus de Nublis; Wirnardus; Esturmitus; Theodoric; Berengarius; Haito; and Ganelon, who was to turn traitor.⁵

¹ 'Natives and aliens' — 'domesticos et barbaros.' Note, too, the provision that no Frenchman need serve an alien in the future: 'precepitque 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.'

⁵ Our text omits Yvorius, whose name follows Theodoric's in the older versions. See page 46, 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 (Engelier 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

Gerin; Baldwin, brother of Roland (Baldewin, whom Roland's step-father, Ganelon, calls 'mon filz'); Naimon; Ogier, king of Dacia (Ogier le Daneis); Sanson, duke of Burgundy (Sanson lo duc); Theodoric (Tierni); [the long version here inserts Yvori]; Berengarius (Berengier); Haito (var. Hato; this agrees with a variant of the *Roland's* 'Oton'); and Ganelon (Guenelon). Stengel's critical edition of the *Chanson de Roland* (*Das altfranzösische Rolandslied*, 1 [Leipzig, 1900]) mentions, besides the names found in the Oxford version as above, an Estoult de Lengres (our Estult, count of Langres) and a Geler, who is the Gerier of the Oxford *Roland* and doubtless also our Galerius (var. Gelerius). All the remaining heroes may likewise have appeared in fiction before the composition of the *Pseudo-Turpin*; but proof of priority is difficult, for not all are definitely identifiable, and those which are identifiable appear only in *chansons* or chronicles which are later than or about contemporary with the *Turpin* (see Ernest Langlois, *Table des Noms propres dans les Chansons de geste* [Paris, 1904]).

Gaifer, king of Bordeaux, is Gaifer de Bordele; Gandeboldus, king of Frisia, is Gondebuef, or Gondreuef, le Frison; and there is a Hoel de Nantes. Arnaldus de Bellanda — the text here gives 'Berlanda,' but the correct form, found in the older versions of the *Turpin*, is 'Bellanda,' and Arnaldus de Bellanda appears in our text in Ch. xxxiii — is Hernaut de Beaulande. Since Bourges is in Berry we may safely identify Lambertus of Bourges with the Lambert de Berri of the *chansons*. Reinaldus de Albaspin corresponds to Renaut d'Aubespain. The *chansons* know a Gautier de Termes (our Gualterus de Turmis) and a Garin le Loherant (our Guarinus, duke of Lorraine); and in them our Albericus the Burgundian is Auberi le Bourgoing.

So far we have definite identification, at least of name — it can be no mere accident, for example, that the *Turpin* speaks of a Guarinus, duke of Lorraine, and that the *chansons* celebrate a Garin le Loherant. As to the remaining names on the list, it is impossible to make any such identification. There are many Salemons in the *chansons*; perhaps our Salomon, comrade of Estult, is to be associated with the celebrated Salomon de Bretagne, vassal of Charlemagne — and perhaps not. There are also numerous heroes named 'Guiclin' (compare our 'Guiclinus'), and there are many Berarts though no Berart (or, for that matter, Bernart) de Nublis. As for Bego, 'Begon' or 'Begues' is a common name in the *chansons*. Our Wirnardus is called 'Guinardus' in the older versions of the *Turpin*, a name which appears in several *Chansons* as 'Guinart.' For our Esturmitus (var. Esturminus) we have in the *chansons* the nearly identical 'Estormi' or 'Estourmi.' Constantine, prefect of Rome, makes a sole appearance, albeit a dignified one, in this passage of the *Turpin*. Finally, Arastagnus, king of the Bretons, appears in only one *chanson*, the fragmentary *Agolant* discussed on page 23, n. cont., above. Let it not be thought, however, that his fame was fleeting. Cayot-Délandre, writing in Levot's *Biographie Bretonne* (Paris, 1852, I, 33 f.) and obviously drawing upon a popular legend in the creation of which the *Turpin* has had the lion's share, gives a short description of 'Arastagne, king of Brittany,' and the same data appear a second time in the *Nouvelle Biographie générale* of 1863 (vii, 338).

Bédier has drawn up a list of historical figures in the *chansons de geste* (*Légendes*, iv, 348 ff.) and several of the heroes named above have a place in it: Turpin (Tylinus, archbishop of Rheims; †788 or 794); Roland (†778); Gaifer (Walfarius, duke of Aquitania; †768); and Ogier (Autcharius; † after 774). Salomon, king of Brittany, died in 874 — as we have seen, he may be our Salomon; and the Count Sturminius who was at Bourges shortly after 778 (Estormi de Beorges) may be our Esturmitus or Esturminus. Attempts have been made to identify Ganelon with Wanilo, archbishop of Sens, who died sometime after 866, a notoriously treacherous character.

In the Latin text of this list, note, in the variants of the Nero group, several 'double characterizations': 'There was another Roland, of whom we cannot here speak' and so forth. Gaston Paris had these 'double characterizations' in mind when he spoke of certain vapid statements ('insulsis sententiis') found in other texts than *B.N. 17656*. He looked upon them as interpolations and considered their absence in *B.N. 17656* an indication that *B.N. 17656* was an older version. See his *De Pseudo-Turpin*, p. 28. It has since been shown that they are not interpolations but were indeed found in the original *Turpin* and omitted in *B.N. 17656* (see 'An Early Redaction,' *Speculum*, xi [1936], 281, n. 1). They probably merely indicate that by the time the *Turpin* was written conflicting legends had already become attached to certain heroes.

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 Rune¹ 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 (XII, 12) 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.)² 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.³ 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.⁴

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 Saracen Braimantus, 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 poétique*, 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. xxi, 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 placuit principibus, ut ipsi singuli invicem dimicaturi consurgerent, et cui sors victoriam contulisset, ipsi totus exercitus sine dubio pareret.' 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 *Vita Mathildis* [sic] *reginae antiquior*, ed. R. Koepke, *M.G.H.SS.*, x, 576; and G. Paris, *Hist. poét.*, 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.

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.¹ Some demur.

(XIII, 13) *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,² 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.³

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 maioribus suis se velle baptismum recipere, et precepit cunctis gentibus suis ut baptizarentur.'

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

³ St Peter Damian (1107?) 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 acu variante depictis'); 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 (XIV, 14) their enemy and slaughter them by the thousands. Aigolandus himself is slain, and only the king of Seville and Altumaïor of Cordova,¹ with a few of their followers, escape.

Ch. XVIII: Charles, because he fought for the true faith, overcame Aigolandus. 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.²

Ch. XIX: The night after the battle, some of the Christians return to (XV, 15) the battlefield and despoil the bodies of the fallen. When they have loaded themselves with booty, Altumaïor 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,³ comes to Mount Garzin⁴ (XVI, 16) 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. polt.*, pp. 291 f.; and A. D'Ancona, 'Le Fonti del Novellino,' *Romania*, III [1874], 171.)

¹ See above, page 25, note 1, end.

² The Way crosses the Arga southwest of Pamplona at Ponte la Reina.

³ Furre (OF Forré or Fouré) was evidently the Saracen protagonist of a *chanson* of the siege of Noples, which survives only in somewhat disparate epitomes and in various allusions, the earliest being ll. 1775-1779 of the Oxford *Chanson de Roland* (ed. Jenkins; cf. l. 198). According to the epitome in the *Karlamagnussaga*, Charlemagne once sent Roland and Oliver to besiege Noples, held by King Fouré; he commanded them, however, to spare Fouré's life. The young knights take the city, but in doing so kill Fouré. Charlemagne comes to Noples, and when he learns that Fouré 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 Fouré,' 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*, III, 127 ff.). (See G. Paris, *Hist. polt.*, pp. 263 f., and Notes additionelles [by Meyer]. Other allusions will be found in *Aymeri de Narbonne*, ed. Louis Demaison [Paris, 1887], II, ll. 280-284; *La Chanson des Saxons* of Jean Bodel, ed. Michel [Paris, 1839], II, 81; and *Gui de Bourgogne*, ed. Guessard 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)¹ have been slain, Charles returns only to find that the men in the chapel are dead!²

(XVII, 17) A certain giant, Ferracutus by name, next sends a challenge.³ 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 Dane⁴ 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 Hoel are sent

¹ 'Furre tantum cum tribus milibus,' etc. This 'tantum,' which is the basis of the parenthetic 'and no Christians,' is not found in the long *Pseudo-Turpin* or in the manuscripts of the Nero group. Its inclusion is one of the very few improvements effected by the redactor of our version.

² 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 'Alkaser' in 1217, see the Miracles of Caesarius of Heisterbach, Lib. VIII, cap. 66 (*AASS. Bol.*, VI July, 35; or translation of Scott and Bland [London, 1929], II, 68 f.).

³ Ferracutus appears as 'Fernagu' or 'Fiernagu' in the vernacular; he is not a prominent figure, but in a *trouère'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 *Otinél* (ed. Guessard and Michelant [Paris, 1858], 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 'Aumaçor' as 'Altumaior,' 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 *Otinél* both belong to the thirteenth century (see Roquefort, p. 91, and Guessard 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 'Otinél' and 'Otuel' are corruptions of 'Hospinus' (see page 25, note 1, above).

Paris remarks that 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], II, 398 ff.) and in that between Oliver and Fierabras (*Fierabras*, ed. Kroeber and Servois [Paris, 1860], II, 186-1506). (See *Hist. poét.*, 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 siezes 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,¹ puts a stone under his head to make him sleep more comfortably.² (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.³

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 free far enough to grasp the giant's dagger.⁴ He manages to pierce Ferracutus through the navel. The giant is mortally wounded;⁵ 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. Herrtage, *E.E.T.S.*, *Extra ser.* xxxix]), 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

(XVIII, 18) *Ch. XXII*: Ebrahim, king of Seville, and Altumaioir,¹ both of whom escaped the slaughter of Pamplona, get command of a force of ten thousand and occupy Cordova.² 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], ll. 1557-1590) and Hallagrím of the *Njála*, Ch. 30 (ed. Gíslason and Jónsson [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], III, 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], I, 255 [palm], III, 322 [spot over heart]; Tawney's *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, ed. N. M. Penzer [London, 1924-1928], I, 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], III, 128 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, *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, as above, IV, 63 [against iron, stone, and wood], VIII, 52 [against cut or thrust]; Felix Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde* [Heilbronn, 1879], p. 346 [against iron and bullets]; Adalbert Kuhn, *Sagen aus Westfalen* [Leipzig, 1859], I, 357 [against bullets]; and Robert Baron, *Mirza* [London, 1647], p. 224 [against shot and blade]. Further examples may be found in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature* [Helsinki, 1933].)

¹ That is, Ibrāhīm of Seville (the real Ibrāhīm was governor of Seville 1116 — after 1123) and Almanzor, the Aumaçor 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 urbibus,' as follows: Seville, Granada, 'Desentina' (the longer versions of the *Turpin* have 'de [from] Sativa,' that is, the city known in atlases as Setabis, Schatiba, 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. Litt.*, LI [1928], 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 ('plastrum') 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 Federico I in Italia* [Rome, 1887]; see pp. 124 f.) In other early sources (Buchner here uses the narrative of W. von Giesebrecht's *Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit* [Braunschweig, 1880], 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*, XLIV [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 Laudensibus*, 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 Güterbock, *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. Carrociū*) 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 plastro erectam et rubro vexillo decoratam usque ad locum certaminis secum deduci fecerunt' (*M.G.H.SS.*, 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. Deslisle (Paris, 1878), xvi, 689 f.]; and Burchard to Nicolaus, abbot of Siegburg, in the *Germanicarum Rerum Scriptores* of Marquard Freher [ed. B. G. Struve, Strasburg, 1717], I, 330-332. See also L. A. Muratori, *Antiquitates Italicae* [Milan, 1739], II, cols. 489-493 [a discussion of the *Carroccio*]; Struve's Freher [as above], I, 697; and E. Ottmar, 'Das Carmen de Friderico,' *Neues Archiv*, XLVI [1926], 430-489.

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, Castille 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.

(XIX, 19) *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.¹

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 Ursperg [† 1226] and only Burchard comes down through the battle of Carcano [see Ottmar, page 484]. The *Annales Mediolanenses* (1 and 2) referred to by Giesebrecht 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.)

¹ 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, Diégo Gelmírez 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 presumption 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. Henríquez Florez, *España Sagrada*, xx [Madrid, 1765], 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. 10, 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 Lord¹ 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 bestow 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.²

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.³

¹ Cf. *Mark* x, 35-40.

² See the note on Iria, above.

³ 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 II, 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 II (see No. 286 in *M.G.H.DD. Karolina*, I, ed. Engelbert Mühlbacher [1906], pp. 428 ff.). Bédier (*Légendes*, IV, 173, 421), following 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 Karlsprivileg für St Denis' (*Historisches Jahrbuch*, XLII [1922], 12-28, 250-265) and in a subsequent article, 'Pseudo-Turpin, Reinold 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

(XXI, 21)¹ Ch. XXV:² 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 II) provides that no king shall be crowned without the advice of the abbot ('sine eius concilio'); 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 and* 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 householder shall pay four nummi and then shall be free from all service' does indeed exist if by 'service' ('servitute') is meant serfdom and not feudal duties, and it is not to be found in No. 286, where we read that every householder 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 II — 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 Roncesvalles. 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, to 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 prodicione Guenonis* (*Romania*, xi [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 prodicione*, 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.¹ 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* 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*, xi, 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 chieftain, 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 Brückner in his *Das Verhältnis des französischen Rolandsliedes 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), Bédier 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 Bédier, *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 Bédier, *Légendes*, iii, 395 and notes, and for a summary of scholarship to 1905, see Brückner, 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 Mouskes's *Chronique Rimée*, ll. 6598-9595 (ed. de Reiffenberg [Brussels, 1836], i, 262-374) and the English *Song of Roland* (ed. Herrtage, *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.¹ 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.² 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 fee. 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 thousand³ to hold the pass at Roncesvalles; with him are many of the greater knights.⁴ 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.⁵ 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

provide him with the death reserved for all unregenerate Saracen chieftains. For the rôle of Baligant often as a brother of Marsile, in other works than the *Turpin* and *Chanson*, see *Romania*, XI, 492-496.

¹ In the *Chanson*, Charlemagne receives a messenger from the Saracens and then sends Ganelon with his reply. The *Carmen* agrees with the *Turpin* here. See Paris, *Romania*, XI, 490 f., and the note but one before this.

² A simple motivation of Ganelon's treachery. In the *Chanson* and in various other versions of the story it is overlaid or replaced by the motive of hatred or jealousy. See Paris, *Romania*, XI, 496-498; Bédier, *Légendes*, III, 413 ff.; Jenkins (*ed. cit.*), pp. 23 n., 29 n. and 262 n., and page 39, note cont., above. ³ The number of the *Chanson de Roland* (Oxford, I, 789).

⁴ 'Cum maioribus pugnatoribus.' In the *Chanson* the douzepers are first named at this place. The Pseudo-Turpin never mentions the peers as such. Carl Rosenberg points out (*La Chanson de Roland* [Copenhagen, 1860], 147 ff. — not seen, see *Romania*, XI, 502) that he could hardly have known of the institution, for if he had, he would certainly have mentioned it when he compared Charlemagne and his warriors to Christ and his twelve disciples (see Castets, p. 19; the sentence is omitted in our text but appears in Nero — see Ch. XIII var. to ll. 39/43).

⁵ Since Turpin and Ganelon are with Charlemagne, the inclusion of their names here is exceedingly inept.

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 resolution 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 Valcarlos, hears it.⁵ He proposes to return to Roland's aid, but the scheming 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.

² For the rôle of Roland's 'Olifant' see Jenkins (*ed. cit.*) p. 86 n., and Paris's careful analysis in *Romania*, XI, 507 n. ³ See page 14, Par. V, above.

⁴ In the *chansons*, Durendal or Durendart. The name has never been explained, since the etymology 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, *Légendes*, III, 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.

(24) (There follow twenty elegiac verses.)²

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 'paulo post cum 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 mediaeval 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 *Notae et Observationes in Librum Sacramentorum Sancti Gregorii papae* in Gregory's *Opera*, Benedictine edn. [Paris, 1705], III, cols. 537-556, and by Edmund Martène in his *De Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus* [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.')'

² These are a cento from Venantius Fortunatus (†605). See Migne, *P. L.*, LXXXVIII, 'Epit. Exotii,' 13-14, 17-18 (col. 158); 'Epit. domni Gregori,' 5-6 (col. 153); 'Epit. Leontii,' 11-12 (col. 161); 'Epit. Calacterici,' 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 Michael¹ 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.²

When the hero's body has been embalmed, the army holds a wake over it the night through with songs³ 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.⁴ 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.⁵

Ch. XXIX: The warriors take care of their dead friends' bodies: they (27)

Felicem,' 16 (col. 129); and 'Epit. domni Galli,' 31-32 (col. 156). Some of the more episcopal attributes of Fortunatus's subjects befit Roland ill. For notes on the relative correctness of our text, and Nero, and the longer *Pseudo-Turpin* here, see *Speculum*, XI (1936), 289. Some of these lines appear in Part I of the *Book of St James* also — see Bédier, *Légendes*, III, 110 f.

¹ Michael is the traditional escort of saved souls on their way to heaven.

² Charlemagne concludes his lament with verses. These are from Fortunatus's 'Epitaphium Calacterici,' ll. 7-8, 19-22. See Migne, *P. L.*, LXXXVIII, cols. 159 f. and page 42, note 2, above.

³ 'Cantilenis.' Bédier says 'Dans le latin du moyen âge comme dans le latin de Cicéron, *cantilena* a le sens très général de *chant*. Tous les textes connus où il est question d'une *cantilena* Rollandi, ou *Wilhelmi*, ou de *Othgerio*, etc., datent au plus tôt du XII^e siècle, c'est-à-dire qu'ils désignent les chansons de geste, telles que nous les avons' (*Légendes*, III, 231 n.). Here the sense is doubtless 'très général,' *chant*, hymns being connoted.

⁴ Gaston Paris observes that Charlemagne's revenge is here so cursorily treated that it scarcely seems to have justified the cosmic disarrangement invoked to bring it to pass! (*Romania*, XI, 513.) The Saracens are 'lying around eating' ('iacentes et comedentes') and presumably are unable to organize any defense.

⁵ In the *Chanson de Roland* Charlemagne overtakes and slaughters the Saracens at the 'Sebre' (probably the Ebro). There follows the long Baligant episode, usually considered an interpolation; and the trial of Ganelon does not take place until Charlemagne has returned to Aachen. Then, however, Pinabel represents Ganelon and is overcome by Tierri, as in the *Turpin*, and the traitor's punishment consists in being torn apart by horses.

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.¹ 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,² are buried in the cemeteries of Arles and Bordeaux.³
- (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.)⁴ Oliver,

¹ This touching passage, which speaks so clearly for the loyalties of the twelfth century, has no counterpart in the *Chanson de Roland*. ² See *Ch. xx*, above.

³ 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, ll. 3682-3694); in the *Karlsmagnussaga*, 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 (ll. 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 'xix' of page 354 n. 2 should be 'xxix'.)

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.¹ Happy that starveling village to have such relics! At St Séverin in Bordeaux are Gaifer, Engeler, Lambertus, Galerius, Gerin, Reinaldus, Gualterus, Guelinus, and Bego, with five thousand others. Hoel is entombed in his native Nantes with many of his Bretons.

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.² 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.³ This shall be done perpetually in commemoration not only of those who died at Roncesvalles but of all

Roland and numerous other *chansons*, which declare that Charlemagne filled the horn with gold coins before presenting it to the church. Philippe Mouskes, on the other hand, seems to have known a legend which placed the Olifant at St Romain (see the *Chronique Rimée*, ll. 8166–8169 and cf. G. Paris, *Romania*, 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, *Légendes*, III, 343 — or perhaps there once was actually such a theft as is complained of here in the *Turpin*. — ‘Roland’s sword Durendal’ was to be seen at St Romain as late at least as 1466. This passage was doubtless the authority for the relic; certainly no authority could have been derived from the 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, *Légendes*, III, 354 and 388 n. 1, and page 41, note 4, above.

¹ 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, III, 341, and IV, 413).

² ‘Totumque oppidum blaviense cum ceteris que sibi pertinent et etiam mare quod sub eo est.’ ‘Oppidum’ may mean *town* rather than *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.

³ ‘xxx. missas totidemque psalteria cum vigiliis ceterisque plenariis defunctorum obsequiis.’ Father William Gunn, of St Paul’s Church, Cambridge, Massachusetts, has been so obliging as to explain this passage to me. The Psalterium, or reading of the whole Psalter, is recommended as a form of suffrage for the dead in many necrologies and monastic customals. ‘Vigiliis’ 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 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 ‘Libera.’ These go to make up the full funeral mass, and it is that full mass that the *Pseudo-Turpin* prescribes for the anniversaries — or rather thirty of them.

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

(XXI [bis]) *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.

(XXII, 30) *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 II (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. Léon 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; Arnaldus de Bellanda; Albericus the Burgundian; 'Girardus' (the 'Wirnardus' of Ch. xiii, above); Esturmitus; Hato; Theodoric; Yvorus (that is, Ivorie, one of the douzepers 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 II 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, (31) Music, Dialectic, Geometric, Arithmetic, and Astronomy are characterized; Rhetoric is not mentioned.) Each art has its daughter, that is, its little book.¹ Nigromancy is not depicted, for it is evil.²

Ch. XXXV: Charles's death is revealed to me in this wise: As I am once (32) intoning the *Deus in Adiutorium*³ 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,⁴ 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.⁵ Thus I learn that Charles is dead and, be-

mural paintings of Biblical stories. See *Die Romanische Monumentalmalerei in den Rheinlanden* (Düsseldorf, 1916), p. 741; cf. pp. 16-19.

¹ 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, 1925]). 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 Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XIII^e siècle* (3d ed., Paris, 1910), pp. 97-112, and W. H. Cornog, *The Anticlaudian of Alain de Lille* (Philadelphia, 1935), pp. 31 f.

² 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 'Nigromancia,' 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.)

³ Psalm 69. In the *Breviarium Viennensis* it appears in the FERIA quinta ad Nonam.

⁴ According to tradition, St James was beheaded by Herod. Thus there is reason for his appearance here as a 'headless revenant.'

⁵ Gaston Paris has pointed out (*Hist. poét.*, pp. 444 f.) 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 ('tetrissimos 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, II, 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:

cause 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 Piteful, concerning Peter the tax-gatherer. — A second similar story will be found in the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great (IV, 31; ed. Umberto Moricca [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 abjures 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 Lévêque, *Les Mythes et les Légendes de l'Inde et la Perse* (Paris, 1880), p. 246 (Rashnu's scales in the *Avesta*); and C. Pitollet, '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. xxxi. 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 vocat.' 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*, xcvi and *Nero*, xlii.)

In the foregoing exemplum¹ 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 angel² 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.³ (XXIII, 33)

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

Ch. XXXVII (Pope Calixtus on the invention of Turpin's remains): (XXIV, Appen. A)

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.⁴

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.'⁵

¹ This phrase makes the whole preceding paragraph seem an interpolation, but both the paragraph and phrase are found in the Codex Calixtinus. ² 'Paranimphus.'

³ The introductory sentence of this chapter sounds somewhat apologetic, but it is probably not his repetitiousness that the author is deprecating (the miracle is the same as that described in Ch. 1v) 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.

⁴ The text reads that Turpin was buried 'iuxta urbem ultra Rodanum scilicet 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 (*De Pseudo-Turpino*, p. 31) by punctuation: 'iuxta urbem, ultra Rodanum scilicet, versus orientem, in' (etc.), a device which H. L. D. Ward considers not wholly satisfactory (*Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum* [London, 1883], 1, 549). 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, Reinold von Dassel u. der Archipoet,' p. 47).

⁵ Cf. 11 *Corinthians* i, 7. See page 16, Par. IX, above.

(XXV, Appen. C)¹ *Ch. XXXVIII*: Galicia remains long in peace after Charles's death. But Altumaior 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. Altumaior 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, exalting the true Creator and his apostle.²

Ch. XXXIX: Later Altumaior 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. Altumaior 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 Altumaior's eyesight, St Romain, having turned a man to stone, lets him remain stone permanently.³

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

(Appen. D)⁴ *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.⁵

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 Altumaior (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 worshipping there. See the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, s.n. Al-Mansur; and R. Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne* (Leyden, 1932), II, 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, II, 27 f.).

³ I am unable to identify St Romain of Ornix (vars. Orniz, Orviz, 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.

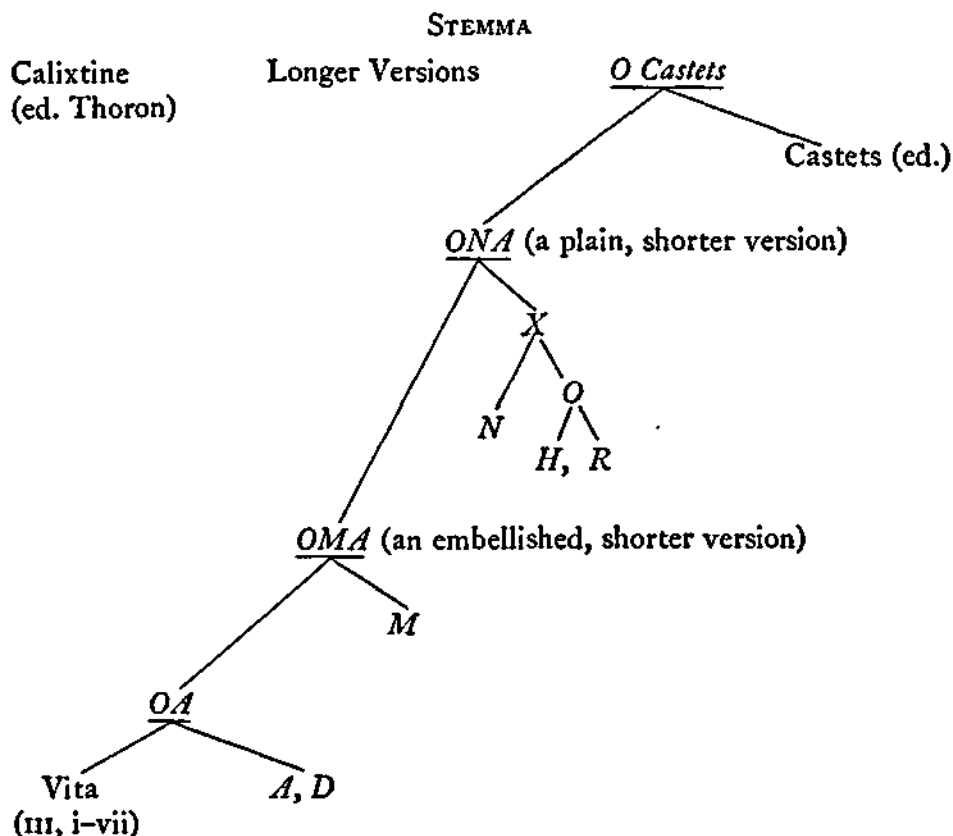
⁵ This chapter appears, word for word, in the *Pilgrims' Guide* (pp. 18 f.). It is the less uncomplimentary half of a lengthy description of the Navarrese (pp. 16-19). — Note that we are offered conflicting etymologies of 'Navarri,' one right after the other.

*Ch. XLI:*¹ 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. poét.*, p. 442; cf. pp. 376, 382, and *AASS. Bol.*, III 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], *Saec. Tert.*, Pars II, 217-221). Philippe Mouskes retells them, evidently following our version (*Chronique Rimée*, 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 1-vii of Part III (foll. 1^v-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. 28^v-47); Einhard's *Vita Karoli* (foll. 47^v-56); *De magistro Alchuino* (fol. 56); *De Karolo Martello* (foll. 56^v-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. 116^v-119^v and 158-160); William of

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

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^v); the *Pseudo-Turpin*, lacking the initial letter of Turpin to Leoprand and our Chapter xl, besides, of course, our Chapter xli; for the form of this *Turpin*, see the Introduction above (foll. 8-64^v); and William of Jumièges's *Gesta Normannorum* (foll. 65-107^v). See H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum* (London, 1883), i, 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^v-5^v, and a 'De Prodicione Ganalonis' — the battle of Roncesvalles, the vision of Turpin, and the execution of Ganalon — foll. 5^v-7^v) 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^v-40); a letter from the Patriarch of Jerusalem to Pope Innocent III, describing the Sultan Saphadin (foll. 40^v-44^v); the Voyage of St Brandan (foll. 45-62); extracts relating to Scripture history from Vincent of Beauvais (foll. 62^v-124^v); and a Chronicle of the Archbishops of York, extending to 1352 (foll. 125-159^v). 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^v); 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. 212^v-221^v); to this are appended: 1) an account of the Translation (Qualiter Iacobus translatus est in Galeciam), 2) De sollempnitate beati Iacobi, and 3) the chapter on the appearance and regimen of Charlemagne from the longer *Turpin* (Thoron, Castets, Chapter XX) (foll. 221^v-222); a Genealogy of Henry III of England, drawn from Yuor (foll. 222^v-225); a miscellany consisting of Testaments of the twelve Patriarchs, two chronological tables, Biblical legends, Mirabilia of Ireland, etc. (foll. 225-248^v); and the ordinary continuation of Higden (foll. 249-254^v). See Ward, as above, pp. 248, 572.

Printed editions included in the *stemma*:

Ferdinand Castets, *Turpini Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi* (Montpellier, 1880).

Ward Thoron, *Turpin's Chronicle* (Boston: the Merrymount Press, 1934).

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 TILPINI ARCHIEPISCOPI. [fol. 28^v]

Propositi nostri negotii lingua licet balbutienti, affectu tamen affluenti parte transcurra 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 contigisse gloriamur. Si quis vero, ut predictum est, nosse desiderat insignia prefati victoriosi Romanorum principis prelia et multiplices celeberrimasque ipsius victorie palmas, quas deifice virtutis gratia frequentissime optinuit, manifeste et notabiliter 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 cronicis 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 pauca declaravimus, que in presenti ad miraculorum gloriam conghessimus: 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

PREFATIO. 1/28 Prefatio — proposito *om.* MNHR | 1 Tulpini D 2 Prepositi D 4 presentium D 23 victoriosissimi D 28 insistamus *om.* D

1 See Synopsis, p. 17, n. 1.

18 In presentiarum] for In presentia harum (sc. rerum).

I. 1/16 Epistola — placeas *om.* NHR | 1/3 Epistola — assertiva] Incipit ystoria Karoli magni imperatoris edita a Tilpino remensi archiepiscopo M 4 Tulpinus] blank space for large initial T D | Tulpinus M | triumphalis *om.* M

- 5 Karoli magni in expeditione Hispanie socius Leobrando aquisgranensi decano salutem in Christo. Quoniam nuper mandastis mihi apud Vienne cicatricebus vulnerum adhuc egrotanti aliquantulum ut vobis scriberem qualiter imperator noster famosissimus Karolus magnus Hispaniam et Galiciam a potestate [fol. 29^r] Sarracenorum liberavit: mirabilem gestorum apices eiusque laudanda super Hispanie Sarracenis trophea, que propriis oculis intuitus sum .xiiii. annis Hispaniam perambulans et Galiciam una cum eo et exercitibus suis, pro certo scribere vestreque fraternitati mittere non ambigo. Magnalia enim que rex gessit in Hispania in nullis plene chronicis sufficienter inveniuntur divulgata et,
10 ut mihi scripsistis, ea plenaria repperire vestra nequivit fraternitas. 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
5 perempto ac corpore illius a Iherosolimis usque in Galiciam 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 infidelitate permanserunt. Hic vero Karolus magnus, postquam multis
10 laboribus diversa orbis regna, Angliam scilicet et Galliam, Germaniam, Baioariam, Lotaringiam, Burgundiam, Italiam ceterasque regiones innumerasque 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
15 fatigatus labore, ut requiem sibi daret nec amplius bellum iniret proposuit; cum per visum nocte intuitus est in celo quandam viam quasi stellatam incipientem a mari Frisie et tendentem inter terram teutonicam et Italiam, inter Galliam et Aquitaniam, rectissime transeuntem per Guasconiam Basculamque et Navarriam atque Hispaniam usque Galiciam,
20 ubi corpus beati Iacobi tunc temporis latebat incognitum.

7 adhuc om. M | aliquantulum egrotanti M 11/12 perambulans Hispaniam M 13/14 enim divulgata que M | 14/15 Hispania — fraternitas | Hispania sancti Dionisii cronica regali ut scripsimus repper- . . . auctorem illius, aut pro tantorum actuum scriptura prolixa, aut quia idem absens ab Hispania ea ignoravit, prudentia vestra intelligatus illum minime ad plenum scripsisse et tamen volumen istud ab eo nusquam discordasse M | 15 plenarie D

II. 1 For the N-version of this chapter, with variants from HR, see Appendix 1 2 Gloriosissimus M | Christi apostolus M 8 beati om. M 9 magnus om. M 14 christianeque M | igitur om. M 15 bellum amplius M 16/17 quasi viam stellarum incipiente M | 17/18 terram . . . -quitaniam M 19/20 usque Galiciam om. M

III. QUALITER SANCTUS IACOBUS BEATO KAROLO MAGNO APPARUIT.

Hec igitur cum beatus Karolus per singulas pene noctes conspiceret, cepit secum meditari sollicite quid hec visio significaret. Cui talia corde meditantī vir quidam pulcherrimam ultra quam dici fas est habens speciem 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 Iohannis 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 subiecisti. Quapropter tibi [fol. 29^r] notifico quia sicut Dominus omnium regum terre potentissimum te constituit, sic ad preparandum ad me viam fidelium et liberandam terram meam de manibus Moabitaram ex omnibus te principibus elegit, ut coronam exinde eterne beatitudinis consequaris. Quod autem instar vie stellate in celo vidisti hoc significat, quod tu cum magno exercitu ad expugnandam gentem perfidam et visitandam basilicam et memoriam meam ab his horis in Galiciam profiscisceris, et post te omnes populi a mari usque ad mare peregrinantes et delictorum suorum veniam implorantes illuc ituri sunt narrabuntque laudes Domini et virtutes que facturus est, sicque ibunt a 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, profectus expugnare gentes Hyspanie perfidas aggressus est.

IV. DE SUBITA RUINA MURORUM PAMPILONIE.

Prima urbs quam obsidione cinxit Pampilona extitit, 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

III. 1 For the N-version of this chapter, with variants from HR, see Appendix 1 | no chapter-break here M 2 Hec — Karolus] Quod cum Karolus M | noctes pene D 4 meditantū] versati M 5 hic om. M 11 dominia adhuc minime M 15 principibus te M 16/17 celo vi-... exercitu M 21 que] quas M 24 labores tuos coronam M 26 apostolus Christi militi om. M | magno om. M 27 excitus] excitatus M

IV. 1 For the N-version of this chapter, with variants from HR, see Appendix 1 | Pampilone D | De civitatibus quas ide (sic) Karolus acquisivit (this heading properly belongs to the next chapter) M 3 potuit M 5 fide et] et om. M

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 confracti funditus corruerunt, sicut legitur divinitus
 10 factum de muris Iherico. Itaque Sarracenos qui baptizari voluerunt ad vitam reservavit, eosque qui rennuerunt gladio feriendos tradidit. His auditis ceteri Sarraceni invictissimo Karolo magno ubique sese in deditionem tradebant obviamque ei tributa mittebant et urbes ultro reddebant et facta est illi tota terra illa sub tributo. Mirabatur gens sarracena
 15 videns gentem gallicam validam scilicet et decenter ornatam atque armatam sed et facie et statura elegantem eosque honorifice et pacifice recipiebant armis etiam abiectis. Deinde beatus Karolus visitato beati Iacobi sepulchro accessit ad Petram limitarem et infinxit in mari lanceam suam agens Deo grates et sancto Iacobo, qui illum huc usque conduxisset,
 20 dicens quia ulterius ire nec progredi pos[*fol. 30^r*]set. Galicianos vero qui post beati Iacobi discipulorumque eius predicationem 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
 25 interemit aut sub Christianorum imperio captivavit; deinde per totam ivit Hispaniam a mari usque ad mare.

V.

Urbes et maiores ville quas tunc adquisivit in Galicia ita a vulgo dicuntur: Visunia, Lamecum, Dumia, Colimbria, Lucum, Aurenias, Yria, Tuda, Mindonia, Bracara metropolis, civitas sancte Marie, Wimarana, Crunia,
 5 Compostella, quamvis tunc temporis parva. In Yspania: Auscala, Godelfaiar, 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,
 10 Godiana, Emerita, Altancora, Palentia, Lucerna ventosa, que dicitur

8/10 Iacobi — Iherico] Iaco-... *M* 11 eos *D* eos vero *M* | gladios *M* 12 invictissimo *om.* *M* | magno *om.* *M* | in deditionem sese *M* 14 sarracena *M* 16 elegantem *M* 17 beatus *om.* *M* 18 infixit *M* 21 predicatione *M* 23 fidem Christi sponte *D* | reverti *M* 25 sub iugo Christianorum captivavit *M*

V. 1/49 V — Adania *om.* *R* | 1 De nominibus civitatum Hyspanie *NH* | *no chapter-break here M* 2 adquisivit Karolus in *N* | a *om.* *NH* | 2/4 dicuntur ... metropolis *M* | 3 Visimiam *D* Visunilia *NH* | Mecum *NH* | 4 Mindrona *H* | Wimarana *M* | Crinia *M* 5 quam *M* | In *om.* *M* | Auscula *D* Auchala *H* 6 Godelfair *N* Godafaiar *H* | Uzda *N* Ureda *H* | Ulmas | Vinias *H* | Madrita *NH* | Maqueta *NH* 7 Medinaceli *M* Medicacelim *NH* 8 Bellariga *NH* | Avilla *M* villa *H* 9 Salamanga] Samanga *M* | Septinilega *H* | Badaiot] Bayoth *M* Baiadot *H* | Turgeir *N* Turgil *H* | Talavera] Galataria *H* 10 Altamchora *M*

Carcensa, que est in Valle Viridi, Caparra, Austurga, Ovetum, Legio, Kirionem, Burgas, Nageras, Blagurria, Urantia, que dicitur Arthus, Stella, Klattuhus, Miraclam, Tutella, Saraguttia, que dicitur Cesar-
 augusta, Pampilona, Baiona, Iakca, Osca, in qua viginti turres numero
 esse solent, Terracona, Barbarstra, Boras, Urgellum, Elna, Gerunda, 15
 Barcinona, Tererida, Tortosa oppidum fortissimum, Aurelium oppidum
 fortissimum, alganensis urbs, Adania, Hispalida, Escalona hora, Barba,
 Galli oppidum fortissimum, Balague hora, Burriane hora, Quotante urbs,
 Ubeda, Baecia, vel Troissa, in qua fit argentum optimum, Valentia,
 Denia, Satura, Grannada, Sibia, Corduba, Abula, Aceintina, in qua 20
 iacet beatus Torquatus, confessor Christi, beati Iacobi cliens, ad sepul-
 chrum cuius arbor olive divinitus florens maturis floribus honestatur per
 unumquemque annum in sollempnitate eius, scilicet Idus Maii, urbs
 Bisertum, in qua milites fortissimi, qui vulgo dicuntur Arabites, habentur,
 Maiores insula, urbs Bugia (ex more habet regem), Agabiba insula, 25
 Boaram, que est urbs in Barbaria, Melodia, Evicia, Formenteria, Alcor-
 ror, Almaria, Maneka, Gilmataria, Kirago, Septa, que est in districtis
 Hyspanie ubi maris angustus est concursus, et Gesir similiter et Taruph.
 Immo cuncta terra Terspanorum, terra scilicet Alandaluf, tellus Portu-
 gallorum, tellus Sarracenorum, tellus Pardorum, tellus Castellanorum, 30
 tellus [fol. 30^v] Maurorum, tellus Alarvarum, tellus Biscaiorum, tellus
 Basclorum, tellus Palargorum, Karolo imperatori inflectitur. Omnes
 prefatas urbes, quasdam scilicet sine pugna, quasdam vero cum magno
 bello et maxima arte, Karolus tunc adquisivit, preter prefatam Lucernam
 urbem munitam, que est in Valle Viridi, quam capere usque ad ultimum 35
 nequivit. Novissime vero venit ad eam et obsedit eam et sedit circa eam

11 Carcesa *N* Karssesa *H* 12 Burgos *M* | Klagurria *N* Klagurio *H* | Uraia *NH* 13 Klata-
 thus *N* Klatacus *H* | Miracula *MNH* | Cesaraugustana *M* 14 Pampilonia *NH* | Iacra *N* | viginti]
 nonaginta *NH* | numero *after* solent *H* 15 Barbastra *NH* | Boras] Rosas *N* Rozas *H* 16/17
 Barcinona — alganensis urbs] Barcinona oppidum fortissimum, Algeram urbs *H* | 16 Terida *M* |
 16/17 Tortosa — alganensis urbs] Tortosa oppidum fortissimum, Algerien urbs *N* | alganensis *pre-*
cedes Aurelium *M* | 17 Adonia *M* Aldania *H* | Hyspalis *M* Ypalida *NH* | Berba *H* | 17/18 Barbagelli
 oppidum *N* | 18 Malague *NH* | quo tante urbes *NH* 19 Baecia, Petroissa, in *N* Beacia, Petroissa,
 in *H* 20 Benia *N* Deina *H* | Statuta *M* Sativa *N* Stanna *H* | Grananda *MH* Garavanda *N* |
 Acentina *N* Acutana *H* 21 beatus *om.* *H* | 21/22 Torquatus, confes- . . . floribus *M* | 21 cliens]
 ditens *H* | 22 floribus] fructibus *H* 23 eius] eiusdem *NH* | Maii] Madii *M* 24 Arabites, habent-
 tur *om.* *H* 25 urbs Bugia que ex *M* | more regis), Agabia *H* | Agabia *N* 26 Boaraan *H* |
 Evicia] Clitia *H* | Formeteria *N* | Alcorrori *M* 27 Almaris *H* | Manera *M* Moneka *N* Monecha *H* |
 Gilmataria *N* Gilmataria *H* | Karrago *N* Certago *H* | Cepta *H* 28 ubi est maris *H* | est angustus
N | Tharuth *N* 29 Immo civitatum terra Tespanorsi *H* | cunctam terram Transpanorum *M* cunc-
 tam terram Trispanorum *N* | terram scilicet *MN* | 29/30 Portumgallorum *M* | 30 tellus Perdorum,
 tellus Basclorum, tellus Castellorum *N* | 30/32 tellus Castellanorum — Palargorum *om.* *M* | 31/32
 Biscaiorum, tellusque Parlargorum *N* | 32 Basclorum, tellusque *H* | 32/33 Omnes vero prefatas *H* |
 33 quasdam vero scilicet *H* scilicet *om.* *N*

28 *Hyspanie*] *MS. Hysanie*; so also *D.*

- quatuor mensium spatio et facta prece Deo et sancto Iacobo ceciderunt
muri eius et est deserta usque in hodiernum diem. Quidam enim gurgis
atri amnis in medio eius surrexit, in quo magni pisces nigri habentur.
40 Quasdam tamen ex prefatis urbibus alii reges Gallorum et imperatores
teutonici ante Karolum magnum adquisierunt, que postea ad ritum
paganorum converse sunt usque ad eius adventum. Et post eius mortem
multi reges et principes in Hispania Sarracenos expugnaverunt. Chlo-
doveus namque primus rex Francorum christianus, Chlotarius, Dago-
45 bertus, Pippinus, Karolus Martellus, partim Hispaniam adquisierunt,
partim dimiserunt. Sed hic Karolus magnus totam Hispaniam suis
temporibus subiugavit. He sunt urbes quas postquam gravi labore
adquisivit, maledixit et ideo sine habitatore permanent usque in hodie-
num diem: Lucerna ventosa, Caparra, Adania.

VI.

- Idola et simulachra que tunc in Hispania invenit penitus destruxit,
preter ydolum quod est in terra Alandalup, que vocatur Salamcadis.
Cadis dicitur locus proprie in quo est Salam, quod lingua arabica Deus
5 dicitur. Tradunt Sarraceni quod Mahumet, quem ipsi colunt, ydolum
istud, dum adhuc viveret, in nomine suo fabricavit et demonum legionem
arte sua magica in eo inclusit et signavit, que etiam tanta fortitudine
ydolum illud optineret quod a nullo unquam frangi potuisset. Quotiens
enim aliquis Christianus ad illud appropinquabat, periclitabatur ilico.
10 Cum vero aliquis Sarracenorum causa orandi vel deprecandi Mahumet
accessisset, incolumis recedebat. Super quod si avis forte resedis-
set, mortem incurreret. Est igitur in maris margine lapis antiquus opere
sarraceno subtiliter exsculptus super terram situs, inferius latus et quad-
ratus, superius vero altissime erectus quantum solet avis in sublime
15 volare, super quam statuta est imago illa de auricalco optimo in simili-
tudinem hominis effigiata, super pedes suos erecta, faciem suam tenens
versus meridiem, et manu dextera tenens clavem ingentem: que scilicet
clavis, ut ipsi Sarraceni asserunt, de manu eius cadet anno quo rex futu-
[fol. 31^r]rus in Gallia natus fuerit qui totam terram Hispanie christianis

37 spatium *M* 39 eius *om. M* 40 ex] etiam *M* | Gallorum reges *D* | Gallorum] galli *NH*
41 adquisierant, qui *M* 43/45 principes in Hy... Pipinus *M* | 45/46 Martellus, Carolus
magnus, Tudovicus (*sic*), Karolus calvus, partim *N* Martellus, Karolus calvus, Lodowycus, et
Karolus magnus, partim *H* | 45 partim in Hispania *H* | 45/46 adquisierunt. Set hic *H* 47 quas ille
postquam *NH* 48 habitore *N* | permanet *M* 49 Caparia *H*

VI. 1 For the *N*-version of this chapter, with variants from *HR*, see Appendix 1 | De subversione
ydolorum Hispanie et de ydolo Maumeth *M* 3 que] quod *M* 6 fabricabant *M* 7 in eo
follows signavit *M* | conclusit *D* 8 nullo nunquam *D* 11 forte avis resedis-
M 16/17 hominis... clavem *M* 18/19 de manu — Hispanie *om. M*

legibus in novissimis temporibus subiugabit. Mox ut viderint clavem 20
lapsam, gazis suis in terra reconditis omnes fugient. Ex auro quod Ka-
rolo reges et principes Hyspanie dederunt beati Iacobi basilicam tunc per
tres annos in illis horis commorans augmentavit, antistitem et canonicos
secundum beati Ysidori episcopi et confessoris regulam in ea instituit,
eamque libris et palliis atque campanis vel ceteris ornatibus decenter 25
ornavit. De residuo vero auro argentoque immenso quod de Hyspania
attulit, regressus inde multas ecclesias fabricavit: ecclesiam scilicet beate
virginis Marie que est Aquigrani, et basilicam sancti Iacobi in eadem villa,
et ecclesiam que est apud Biterrensiurum urbem, aliamque in honore eius-
dem apostoli apud Tolosam, et illam que est in Guasconia inter urbem 30
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 sub-
ditum construxit plurimas.

VII.

Reverso demum in Galliam Karolo quidam rex affricus nomine Aigo-
landus cum suo exercitu terram Hyspanie sibi subiugavit interfectis in-
numeris eiectisque de oppidis et urbibus christianis custodibus, quos ad 5
custodiendam terram Karolus reliquerat. His auditis Karolus cum in-
numero exercitu rursum proficiscitur in Hyspaniam, fuitque cum eo dux
exercituum Milo de Angulariis. Sed nunc nobis silendum non est quam
grande quam manifestum exemplum tunc nobis Dominus ostendere sit
dignatus, super his qui mortuorum elemosinas ad erogandum pauperibus
sibi commissas iniuste retinent. Nam cum apud Baionam civitatem 10
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 quem
habebat venderet pretiumque clericis et egenis erogaret. Quo mortuo
consanguineus ille suus cupiditatis stimulo tactus centum solidos equum 15
vendidit pretiumque illius in cibo et potu aliisque sibi necessariis velociter
expendit. Sed quia iniqua gerentibus divini iudicii vindicta solet ali-
quando esse proxima, transactis triginta diebus apparuit ei nocte per

20/21 cla . . . lapsam M | 21 gazis] zatis M | fugient *blotted* M 22 principes de . . . De largitione
ecclesiarum et aliorum venerabilium locorum. Beati M 23 commorans] commemorans M
27 ecclesiam] ecclesias M 28 Aquisgrani DM 29 ecclesiam sancti Iacobi que M | Biterrensiurum
M 30 quem est in Gausconiam M 32 Secanam M
32 *Est* lacking also in D.

VII. 1 *For the N-version of this chapter, with variants from HR, see Appendix 1* | De ultione cuiusdam
infidelis M 2/4 rex . . . Hyspanie sibi subiugavit interfectis . . . iectisque M 6 in om. M 11
Blascorum D 13 suo om. D 18 nocte om. M

- visum mortuus dicens: Quoniam ea que habebam pro salute anime mee
 20 ad dandum pauperibus tibi commisi, scias omnia peccata mea a Domino
 fuisse dimissa. Sed quia iniuste elemosinam meam retinuisti, noveris
 [fol. 31^r] 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.
 25 Qui cum summo mane narraret omnibus cuncta que audierat et totus
 exercitus de tanta visione inter se loqueretur, affuerunt subito clamores
 in aere super miserum illum, quasi rugitus leonum, luporum, aliarumque
 ferarum, statimque de medio circumstantium a demonibus ipsis ululanti-
 bus vivus rapitur. Quid plura? Queritur quatuor diebus per montes et
 30 valles ab equitibus et peditibus et nusquam invenitur. Denique cum
 post .xii. dies exercitus noster per deserta terre Navarrorum querens
 perditum illum peragrasset, repertum est corpus illius exanimatum et
 dilaceratum in cuiusdam rupis fastigio, cuius ascensus tribus leugis ex-
 tendebatur supra mare, distans a prefata urbe quatuor dierum itinere.
 35 Demones siquidem ibidem miseri corpus abiecerant animamque, ut cre-
 ditur, ad Tartara rapuerant. Quapropter sciant omnes qui mortuorum
 elemosinas sibi ad dispertiendum commissas fraudulenter detinuerint sese
 propter hoc a districto iudice Deo puniendos.

VIII.

- Postea vero Karolus magnificus rex et Milo dux cum suis exercitibus
 ceperunt Aigolandum per Hyspaniam querere inveneruntque tandem il-
 lum in terra que dicitur Campis, super flumen quod vocatur Ceia, in
 5 pratis scilicet in ameno et plano loco ubi postea beatorum martirum
 Facundi et Primitivi basilica grandis et decora iussu et auxilio Karoli
 noscitur fabricata, in qua et eorundem martirum corpora requiescunt,
 et est monachorum congregatio ibi constituta. Appropinquantibus
 autem Karoli exercitibus mandavit Aigolander Karolo opinionem preli-
 10 andi secundum velle suum: vel .xx. scilicet contra .xx., vel .xl. contra
 totidem, vel .c. adversus .c., vel mille adversus mille, vel uno contra
 unum, vel duobus contra duos decertantibus. Interea missi sunt a Ka-
 rolo .c. ex suis contra .c. Aigolandi milites et interfecti sunt Sarraceni.
 Deinde misit Aigolander ducentos contra ducentos Karoli milites et

20 mea mihi a M 22 penis om. D | 22/23 penis me . . . sum, scias crastina die iturum (?) et (?)
 me M 24 iturum] futurum M 25 enarraret M 26 inter se om. M 29/30 Queritur a
 militibus et peditibus 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 magnifi-
 cus D 3 per Hyspaniam Aigolandum M | 3/4 illum in blotted M | 4/5 Campis . . . ameno M
 6 Facundivi D 8/9 Appropinquante autem Karoli exercitu M 11 vel unus M 12 vel
 duo contra duos decertarent erasures and alterations M

statim interfecti sunt Mauri. Item misit Aigolandus duo milia contra 15
 .ii. 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 concessum est. Tunc astiterunt quidam ex
 Christianis qui sero ante diem belli arma sua bellica studiose preparantes 20
 hastas suas in terra [fol. 32^r] infixerunt erectas ante castra, scilicet in
 pratis iuxta prefatum fluvium; quas summo mane corticibus et frondibus
 invenerunt vestitas: hii scilicet qui in acie proxima palmam martirii pro
 fide Christi erant accepturi. Ultra quam dici fas est ammirantes tantum-
 que miraculum divine gratie ascribentes absciderunt hastas prope terram, 25
 quarum radices que in terra remanserunt ex se postea magna generave-
 runt nemora, que adhuc in eodem loco apparent. Erant autem multe ex
 hastis fraxinee. Die igitur sequenti commissa est contra hostes pugna,
 in qua Christianorum occisa sunt .xl. milia, et dux Milo Rolandi genitor
 ibidem palmam martirii adeptus est, cum his quorum haste, ut dictum 30
 est, fronderant; 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 Italie 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 5
 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 feli-
 citatem, vel perseverantiam contra instabilitatem, vel silentium contra

16 tergum *M* 17 Karolo *M* 21 in terra *om. M* 22 prefatum *om. M* 24 fas est] potest
M | 24/25 ammirates (*sic*) . . . hastas *M* 31 pugna] villa *M* 32 milibus] militibus *M*
 33 innumera] universa *M* 34 Sarracenos *M* 36 Altera] Alia *over erasure M* 37 bellatorum]
 pugnatorum *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* |
 7/10 libidinem, et sic de aliis ponit: hasta *R* | 7/8 contra continuam *M* | 9 stabilitatem *M*
 8 Demoniacam] *MS. dominicam*; so also *D*; *M* is scarcely legible but evidently also reads *dominicam*.

- 10 iurgia, 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 vitiis et vivere virtutibus sanctis in mundo, quatinus
15 palmam de triumpho floridam habere mereamur in celesti regno.

X.

- Inde Aigolandus adunavit sibi gentes innumeras: Sarracenos, Mauros, Moabitas, Persas, Teremphinum regem Arabum, Burrahel[fol. 32^v]lum regem Alexandrie, Mutium regem Burgie, Hospinum regem Acie, Faturium regem Barbarie, Alis regem Maroch, Aphinorgium regem Maiorice, Mautionem regem Meque, Ebraum regem Sibilie, Altumaiorem regem Cordube; et venit Agennum usque ad civitatem gasconiam et cepit eam. Deinde mandavit Karolo ut veniret ad se pacifice cum parva militum turma promittens ei aurum et argentum ceterisque gazis .xx. equos one-
10 ratos, si imperiis suis tantum subiaceret. Idcirco hoc dicebat, quia agnoscere eum volebat, ut postea eum in bello occidere potuisset. Sed Karolus hoc animadvertens cum duobus milibus fortium usque ad quatuor milaria prope Agennum urbem venit et ibi dimisit illos occulte et venit cum sexaginta tantum militibus usque ad montem qui est prope
15 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
20 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 et¹ *om. N* | debemus mori *R*

X. 1 De urbe Agennini *N* De urbe Agenii *H* 2 Agalondus *R* 3 Moabites *MN* | Teremphinum *N* Therophinin *R* | Arabie *H* | 3/4 Burrahellum regem Alexandrie *om. H* | 3 Burrahellum *MN* Burrahel *D* Bubarellum *R* | 4 Alexandrie] Arabie *R* | Mutium] Hivium *N* Nintum *H* Murtum *R* | Burgie] Bugie *MNHR* | Hispium *R* | Acie] Agaie *NHR* | Faturium] Fatium *NH* Fatium *R* 5 Ailis *NH* Aylis *R* | Maroch] Maret *R* | Aphinorgium *NH* Amphinorgium *R* | Maiorice] Amorice *R* 6 Mautionem] Maimonem *N* Mammonum *H* Mamonem *R* | Ebraum *HR* | Syllybe *R* | 6/7 Altumaiorem Cordubie *R* | 6 regem *om. NH* | 7 Agenni (after gasconiam) *NHR* | ad civitatem usque gasconiam Agennum *M* 9 ei *om. HR* | 9/11 honoratos si im- . . . eum in bello *M* | 10 subiaceret et idcirco *R* | 11 eum postea *HR* | occideret. Sed *HR* 13 milia preparavit Agennum *D* | urbem Agenni *HR* | milia prope urbem Agenni *N* | dimisit ibi *D* 14 sexaginta] .xl. *MN* | militibus] milibus *N* 15 civitas *om. D* | 15/16 vestibus suis *NH* vestimentis suis *R* | 16 ut] sicut *R* 17 est before tempore *R* 18 quidem *R* 19 inquiunt, sumus *R* 20/21 Qui dixerunt et *om. HR* | 21 Karolus, inquit, misit *H* Karolus, inquiunt, misit *R* | venit ad te, ut *R* ipse ad te, ut imperasti, venit *H* | .xl.] blotted *M. x. R*

13 Prope] 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 illum esse 25 Karolum qui sibi loquebatur; Karolus vero tunc eum cognovit et exploravit urbem qua parte erat ad capiendum facilius, 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 30 fugere ceperunt. Deinde Karolus rediens in Galliam coadunatis sibi exercitibus multis venit ad urbem Agennum et obsedit eam et sedit circa eam sex mensium spatio. Septimo vero mense aptatis iuxta murum petrariis et mangarellis et troiis et arietibus ceterisque artificiiis ad capi- 35 enda castella, 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 [fol. 33^r] occisi sunt, quidam per Garonam cum magno impetu 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 5 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 fluvium qui est Charanta, infixerunt Christiani hastas suas erectas in terra ante castra. Crastina vero die easdem hastas

22 effici] esse R 23 cum om. H | .xl.] sexaginta altered from quinquaginta M | pacifice om. R 25 ei om. R | expectaret MNHR | Nondum] Non enim R 26/27 exploravit . . . reges M 28 redit R cedit H 29 quidem] vero R | insecutus est NHR | illos] eos NR 30 illos et om. NHR 31 fugerunt. Deinde NHR | coadunati M 32 Agenni N Agenn H Agennii R | eam om. M 33 eam] cum M 34 petreariis et manganellis M mangarellis troiis N et troiis et arietibus om. R | 34/35 capiendum MNHR | 35 castellum H | quadam om. H | quadam nocte R 36 latrinas] latebras HR | fraudulentus N | et] per NHR | fluit] fluvium NHR 37 transeuntes H transeuntes iuxta urbem R | sequente R 38 urbem cum magno MNHR 40 tamen] tantum N milia tamen D | Sarracenorum gladio perempti sunt NHR

25 Nondum] MS. Nundum.

34/35 MS. capienda castella altered from capiendos castellos.

XL 1 De urbe sanctonica ubi haste viruerunt N De urbe Agennii H 2 Sanctovinas N | que MNR 3 imperio M imperiis subiacebat NHR | commoratus] moratus NHR | insecutus R 4/5 illi ut red- . . . it ad bellum M | 5 exivit DHR | contra eum ad bellum HR | 5/6 tali — alium om. R | 6 castris et om. R 7 preparatis] paratis N | scilicet que sunt om. R | sunt] est H | quod] que N 8 qui] quod NHR 9 hastas suas Christiani erecta H | suas hastas Christiani erectas R | in terra om. R | castram M | easdem om. NHR

5 Exilivit] 'li' underscored for deletion.

- 10 suas corticibus et frondibus decoratas invenerunt: hi scilicet qui in bello presenti accepturi erant martirii palmam pro Christi nomine. Qui etiam tanto miraculo gavisus abscisis hastis suis de terra insimul coadunati primitus in bello ferierunt et multos Sarracenos occiderunt, sed tandem martirio coronantur. Erat enim illorum exercitus quatuor milium; et equus
 15 etiam Karoli ibi occiditur. Karolus vero oppressus fortitudine equorum paganorum resumptis viribus suis cum exercitibus pedes interfecit multos illorum. At illi bellum non valentes ferre, fatigati ex illis quos occiderant, fugerunt in urbem. Karolus vero insecutus illos obsedit urbem et circumivit muros eius, preter illum qui erat contra fluvium. Demum sequenti
 20 nocte Aigolandus cum suis exercitibus aufugere per fluvium cepit. Karolus vero hoc animadvertens insecutus est illos et occidit regem Arabie et regem Burgie et multos paganos circa quatuor milia.

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
 5 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
 10 barbare genti Franci amplius deservirent: illi scilicet qui cum eo in Hispaniam ad gentem perfidam debellandam pergerent. Omnes etiam quos in ergastulis vinctos repperit absolvit et qui pauperiores erant hos ditavit,

11 palmam martirii *M* | etiam *om. R* 12 tanto Dei miraculo *NHR* | suis *om. NHR* | de terra hastis insimul *R* | 12/13 primitus imbello (*sic*) irruerunt et *M* 15 occiderunt *H* | equorum *om. MNHR* 16 cum suis *N* | viribus suis cum suis exercitibus *HR* 17 fatigatis *M* | illi ferre bellum eius non valentes, fatigati *NR* illi ferre bellum eius non valuerunt, fatigati *H* | quis *H* | ceciderant *H* 18 aufugerunt *H* affugerunt *NR* | in urbem *om. HR* | urbem obsedit *N* 19 contra *om. R* | Demum | Deinde *H* 20 per fluvium affugere *NR* per fluvium aufugere *H* 21 Arabie | Agabie *N* Gabie *H* | 21/22 Arabie et regem *om. R* | 22 Burgie | Bugie *NH* Brigie *R* | multos alios paganos *NHR* | circa] circiter *NHR*

22 Milia] From this point forward, variations in word-order and the lesser peculiarities of individual manuscripts (as opposed to groups) will not be noted in the variant readings.

XII. 1 *Heading, if any, near top margin and destroyed M* De fuga Aigolandi et de milibus exercituum Karoli *N* De fuga Aigolandi et de militibus Karoli *H* no chapter-break here *R* 2 Iterum] Tunc *NHR om. M* | Aigolandus autem transivit cum exercitu suo portus *M* Aigolandus fugiens transmeavit portus *NHR* 3 usque ad Pampiloniam *NHR* | et mandavit Karolo *NHR* 4 Karolus remeavit in Galliam et cum *NHR* 5 celeritate] cura *NHR* | 5/6 exercitus suos longe lateque ad se venire mandavit. Et precepit mandans per totam Galliam ut *NHR* | 6/7 qui sub malis consuetudinibus pravorum *NHR* | 7 religati] captivi *D* | 7/8 solita servitute *NHR* 9 ventura] futura *DNHR* | semper] usque in sempiternum *NHR* | liberi] beati *N* sibi *H* | precepitque] et *NHR* 10 servirent *NH* | 10/11 cum eo ad expugnandam gentem perfidam irent precepit. Quid plura? Omnes *NHR* | 11/12 quos ergastulis repperit *R* | 12 vinctos] captos *NH* | et quos pauperes invenit hos ditavit *NHR*

nudos vestivit, inter se discordes pacificavit, expulsos ab hereditatibus propriis honoribus restituit, omnes armis doctos et scutigeros militari habitu decen[fol. 33^r]ter ornavit et quos ab amore suo merita illorum 15 separaverant Dei dilectione compunctus in gratiam suam revocavit. Amicos et inimicos, domesticos et barbaros, ad proficiscendum in Hispaniam sibi sociavit; et ego Tulpinus Remorum archiepiscopus dominica auctoritate et absolutione atque benedictione, quantum a Domino mihi concessum erat, eosdem a peccatorum vinculis relaxabam. 20

XIII.

Coadunatis igitur .c. triginta quatuor milibus virorum bellatorum profectus est in Hispaniam contra Aigolandum. Hec sunt nomina principum pugnatorum qui fuerunt cum domno rege nostro Karolo: Ego Tulpinus Remensium archiepiscopus, qui dignis monitis fidelem Christi 5 populum ad preliandum animabam ipsosque Sarracenos armis propriis sepius 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 militum; Arastagnus rex Britagnorum, cum .vii. milibus virorum fortissimorum; Engelenus dux Aquitanie, cum tribus milibus pugnatorum. Isti omnes docti erant omnibus armis, necnon arcubus et sagittis. Hic vero Engelerus, natione gasconicus, dux 15

13 vestivit, malivolos 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 omnino convertit. Amicos etiam et *NHR* | 17/18 ad pergendum in Hispaniam 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*

XIII. 1 No chapter-break here *NHR* 2 Coadunatis igitur] Tunc coadunatis *NHR* | 2/4 milibus vi... principum pugnatorum *M* | 3/4 principum — Karolo] virorum maiorum qui fuerunt cum eo *NHR* 5 Tulpinus *M* Turpinus *NHR* | archiepiscopus remensis *NHR* 6 preliandum animabam ipsosque] bellandum fortem et animosum et a peccatis absolutum reddebam et *NHR* 7 sepe *NHR* | Rolandus *D* Rothlandus *M* Rotholandus *NHR* (so hereafter predominantly, with *D* like *M*) | cenomonensis *NHR* 8 princeps] domnus *NHR* | 8/9 filius ducis — Karoli *om. NHR* | 9 virorum fortium] bellatorum virorum. Alius tamen Rothlandus fuit, de quo nobis immo silendum est *NHR* 10 secundus *om. NHR* | 10/11 brachio — potentissimus *om. R* | 11 Rainerii *M* Reineri *N* Raineri *H* Raney *R* 12 milibus virorum bellatorum *HR* | bellatorum] virorum *N* | 12/13 linensis — comitis] burgonensis *R* | 12 linensis] lisonensis *M* lignonensis *NH* | Eudonis *NH* | 13 militum] virorum *NHR* | 13/14 the description of Arastagnus precedes that of Estultus *N* | 14 .vii.] sex *M* | fortissimorum] bellatorum. Alius tamen rex tempore illius in Britannia erat, de quo mentio nunc ad plenum non fit *NHR* (with bellatorum *om. R* and tamen] Taracin *N*) | Engelerius *MN* Elegerius *H* Elegerinus *R* 15 tribus] quatuor *NHR* | pugnatorum] virorum bellatorum *NHR* | omnes *om. NHR* | necnon] maxime *NHR* 16 sagittis. Tempore istius Engelerii erat alius comes in Aquitannia, scilicet in urbe Pictavorum, de quo non est modo loquendum. Hic vero *NHR* | natione gasconicus] genere gasconus *NHR*

urbis Aquitanie fuit, que scilicet urbs sita est inter Limovicas et Bituricas et Pictavis quam etiam Cesar Augustus primum in illis horis fundavit et Aquitaniam nominavit, cui predictas Bituricas et Lemovicas Pictavimque
 20 et Sanctonas atque 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 Runciavalle gladio perierint, nec ab aliis ulterius habitari vel excoli valuit. Gaiferius quoque rex Burdegalsium cum tribus milibus
 25 bellatorum cum Karolo in Hyspaniam profectus est. Galerius; 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 Baioarie, cum .x. milibus; Ogerius rex Dacie, cum .x. milibus pug-
 30 natorum, de quo usque in hodiernum diem vulgo canitur quod innumera fecerit mirabilia. Lambertus princeps bituricensis venit cum duobus milibus virorum. San[fol. 34]son dux burgundionensis, cum .x. milibus bellatorum; Constantinus prefectus romanus, cum .xx. milibus virorum; Reinaldus de Alaspina; Gualterus de Turmis; Guelinus; Guarinus
 35 Lotharingie dux, cum quatuor milibus militum; Bego etiam, et Albericus Burgundio; Berardus de Nublis; Wernardus; Esturmitus; Teodericus; Berengarius; Haito; Guanilo, qui postea proditor extitit. Et erant in proprio Karoli exercitu .xl. militum milia et peditum non erat numerus. Isti qui numerati et nominati sunt excepto Guanilone Christi sunt

17 fuit] erat *NHR* | est inter] erat infra *H* est erat (*sic*) infra *R* | Lamovicas *D* Lemovecas *M* Lemovicas *NR* Leumovicas *H* | et *om. M* | Buturicas *N* Tiburicas *R* 18 Pictavim *NH* Pictavum *R* | fundavit] fecit *NHR* 19 predictas urbes scilicet Bituricas *M* | predictas] etiam urbi *NHR* 20 suis *om. NHR* | et *om. NHR* 21/22 illa vo... eo quod *M* | 21 vocata est] vocatur *NHR* | 21/22 Elengerii obitum inclinata duce *HR* | 22 versata est] vertitur *NHR* | 22/23 eo quod — perierint *om. R* | 23 Runcevallo *N* Runcevalle *H* | perierint] obierunt *NH* | 23/24 nec alios colonos habuit amplius. Gaiferus rex burdegalsensis *NHR* | 24/25 milibus virorum bellatorum *NH* | 25 bellatorum] virorum *R* | Galerius] Gelervus *N* Gelerius *NR* | Gerinus] Gelinus *N* Gelenus *HR* 26 socius Estulti *om. H* | Baldewinus *NR* Baldwinus *H* 27 hominum] heroum *NHR* | 27/28 Hoellus — milibus *om. H* | 27 nammetensis] urbis que vulgo dicitur Nanthas *NR* (*with* Nantas *R*) | 28 milibus heroum, Hernaldus de Bellanda *NR* | Ernaldus de Bellanda *H* | Bellanda *M* | 28/29 Naaman dux Baioarie] heroum, Naamannus Baiairie *N* Heroum (*sic*) domnus Baione *H* virorum, Naaman domnus Baioarie *R* | 29 milibus heroum, Ogerius *N* milibus eroum, Ogerius *R* | Ogerius — milibus *om. H* | pugnatorum] heroum *NHR* 30 quo] hoc *NHR* | vulgo] in cantilena *NHR* | canitur] dicitur *M* 31 fecit *MNHR* | venit *om. NHR* 32 Burgundione *M* Burgundionum *NHR* 33 bellatorum] pugnatorum *D* heroum *NHR* | virorum] heroum *NH* 34 Reginaldus (*P*) *blotted M* | Gualterius *M* | Galterius de Termis, Willelmus *N* Galterus de Tervinus, Guillus *H* | 34/35 Gualterus — dux] Galterus de Teris, Lotaringus dux Lotoringie *R* | 35/37 Bego — Haito *om. R* | 35 militum] heroum *NH* | Rego *H* | 36 Wiriardus *M* Gurinardus *NH* | Esturminis *N* Esturintus *H* | 36/37 Teoricus; Yvoricus; Berengarius *NH* (*with* Yvoricus *H*) | 37 Hato *NH* | Ganalonus *NH* Gancelonus *R* | proditor] traditor *DNHR* | 37/38 Et erat exercitus prope telluris Karoli quadraginta *NHR* (*with* prope] proprie *H*) | 38 militum] milium *N om. R* | milia sed et *NHR* 39/43 Isti — sui] Isti prefati sunt viri famosi, heroes bellatores, potentibus cosmi potentiores, fortioribus fortiores, Christi proceres, Christi fidem in mundo propalantes. Ut enim dominus noster Ihesus Christus una cum duodecim apostolis et discipulis suis mundum acquisivit, sic Karolus rex Gallorum et Romanorum imperator cum his pugnatoribus Hispaniam acquisivit ad decus nominis Dei. *NHR* | 39 excepto Guanilone *om. M*

athlethe et proceres; isti sunt incliti bellatores fidem Christianitatis in 40
 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 congregatę
 sunt in landis, ut dicitur, burdegalensibus totamque terram illam cooperi-
 ebant in longum et latum itinere duorum dierum. Spatio miliarium .xii. 45
 in longitudinem audiebatur fremitus et sonitus illorum. Itaque Arnaldus
 de Bellanda prior transiit portus Cisereos et venit Pampiloniam, quem
 secutus comes Estultus est cum suo exercitu. Deinde venit Arastagnus
 rex et Engelerus dux cum suis exercitibus simul. Postea venit Gande-
 boldus rex Frisie cum suis militibus. Deinde Ogerius rex Danorum cum 50
 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.

Interea mandavit Karolus Aigolando, qui erat in urbe, ut urbem ei
 redderet, quam reedificaverat et rursum munierat, sin autem exiret contra
 eum ad bellum. Videns igitur Aigolandus quia civitatem tenere [non]
 posset elegit potius contra Karolum ad bellandum exire quam in urbe tur- 5
 piter morari. Mandavit itaque Karolo ut daret illi indutias quousque
 omnis exercitus egrederetur ab urbe et ad bellum prepararetur, et cum ore
 ad os loqui liceret. Desiderabat enim Aigolandus videre imperatorem.

XV.

Itaque datis inter se trebis egressus est Aigolandus ab urbe cum suis
 exercitibus et dimissis illis iuxta urbem venit cum .lx. e maioribus suis

[40/42 incliti bel-...-corum et imperator *M* | 43 Tunc *written twice D* | 43/45 copie — dierum]
 exercitus in landis burdegalensibus coadunantur cooperiebant autem totam terram longitudine
 scilicet et latitudine duabus dietis *NHR* (*with* duabus dietis *om. R*) | 43/44 congregatę sunt] congre-
 gantes *M* 46 longitudine *NHR* | audiebantur *NH* | Itaque] Item *NHR* 47 Berlanda *D* | prior
 transiit] primus transmeavit *NHR* | 47/48 quem secutus comes] statim insecutus eum *NHR* | 48 Aren-
 stagnus *N* Arastagnus *H* Aristagnus *R* 49 Engelerius cum suo exercitu *NHR* | 49/52 Gandel-
 bodus rex cum suo exercitu. Deinde Ogerius et Constantinus cum exercitibus suis venerunt. Novissime
 autem venit Karolus cum suis exercitibus et cooperuerunt totam *NHR* (*with* autem omnium [?]
 venit *HR* and suis? alii *HR*) | 51 et] inde *M* | 52 cooperuerunt *M* cooperiebant *D* 54 iacobitana
 et octo *MR* | in transitu montium] ad transmeandum portus *NHR*

XIV. 1 *No 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*) |
 5/6 potius...-rolo ut *M* | 6 Mandavit itaque] Tunc mandavit *NHR* | Karolus *R* | illi] sibi *NH*
om. R 7 exercitus eius egrederetur *NHR* | et cum ore] ut cum eo ore *M* et cum eo etiam ore *NHR*
 8 loqui liceret] loqueretur *NHR* | imperatorem] Karolum *NHR*

4 *Non lacking also in D.*

XV. 1 *No chapter-break here MR* De datis trebis et de disputatione Karoli et Aigolandi *NH* (*with*
 trebis] treugis *H*) 2 trebis] treugis *MHR* 3/4 et dimissis — exercitibus *om. H* | 3/5 et
 dimissis — distabat *om. R*

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
 .vi. miliaria; via iacobitana dividebat utrumque exercitum. Tunc
 [fol. 34^r] dixit Karolus Aygolando: Tu es Aigolandus, qui terram meam
 10 fraudulentè abstulisti? Tellurem hyspanicam et gasconicam brachio
 invincibili potentie Dei adquisivi, christianis legibus insignivi omnesque
 reges eius meo imperio subiugavi. Tu autem Dei Christianos me ad
 Galliam remeante peremisti, meas urbes et mea castella destruxisti,
 totamque terram igne et gladio vastasti. Unde multum conqueror in
 presenti. Mox ut Aigolandus agnovit loquelam 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
 20 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 sarracenicam legi nostre, in quantum potui, con-
 verti. Valde indignum est, inquit Aigolandus, ut gens nostra tue genti
 25 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:
 30 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 proficiscuntur. Unde patet quod lex nostra magis valet quam
 35 vestra. Quapropter aut baptismum accipe tu et gens tua, et vive, aut
 veni in bellum contra me, ut male moriaris. Absit a me, ait Aigolandus,
 ut baptismum accipiam et Mahumeth deum meum omnipotentem ab-
 negem, sed pugnabo ego et gens mea contra te et gentem tuam tali pacto,

[5 distat H | erat cunctus exercitus N erat tunc exercitus HR 6 longitudine et latitudine NHR
 (with et latitudine om. H) 7 .vii. M | via iacobitana om. R | dividebantque HR 8/9 terram
 fraudulentè a me abstulisti HR | 9 tellurem meam Hyspaniam HR 10 insignivi] subiugavi NHR
 11 subiugavi] fulci N fulcivi HR 15 gavisus] gavisus est NHR | 15/17 gavisus . . . -moratus est
 M | 15 Discebat H Didicerat R | 16 sarracenicam DNR | 17 ait om. MNH dixit R 19 contingit
 NR contigit H 22 mundi eam dominari NHR 33/34 vestre — orcum] anime vero vestre ad
 mortem H | 33 autem] anime NR | 34 proficiscuntur] vadunt R | paret N 36 in] ut HR | ut] inias,
 ut H inias et R 37/38 accipiam Ma . . . contra te M | 37 omnipotentem om. HR | abnegem]
 regem R

7 Dividebat] MS. dividebatque; so also DMN.

quod si lex nostra magis Deo placita est quam vestra, vos convincatis, et sit usque in ultimum victis obprobrium, invictis autem laus et exultatio 40 in sempiternum. Insuper et gens mea si vincitur, ego baptismum accipiam, si vivere possum. Quod ex utraque parte conceditur. Statim eliguntur .xx. milites contra .xx. ex Sarracenis in campo belli et tali pacto ceperunt bellare. Quid plura? Ilico interfecti sunt omnes Sarraceni. Inde [fol. 35^r] mittuntur .lx. contra .lx. et vincuntur Sarraceni. 45 Rursum mittuntur .c. contra .c. et occiduntur omnes Sarraceni. Inde mittuntur iterum .c. contra .c. et statim fugientes retro Christiani interficiuntur, ideo quod mori timentes fugerunt. Hi vero tipum gerunt certantium pro Christo fidelium. Quia qui pro Dei fide volunt pugnare nullo modo debent retro abire. Et sicut illi occiduntur quia retro fuge- 50 runt, sic Christi fideles qui debent contra vitia fortiter pugnare, si retro reversi fuerint, in vitiis turpiter moriuntur; sed qui bene contra vitia pugnant, hi inimicos, id est demones, facile occidunt. Non coronabitur, inquit apostolus, nisi qui legitime certaverit. Inde mittuntur ducenti contra ducentos et interficiuntur omnes Sarraceni. Deinde mille contra 55 mille et occiduntur omnes Sarraceni. Tunc data ex utraque parte treba venit Aigolandus ad loquendum Karolo, affirmans legem Christianorum meliorem esse quam Sarracenorum. Et pollicitus est Karolo quod die crastina baptismum ipse et gens sua reciperet. Itaque rediit ad gentem suam et dixit regibus et maioribus suis se velle baptismum recipere, et 60 precepit cunctis gentibus suis ut baptizarentur. Quod alii concesserunt, alii rennuerunt.

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 canonicali habitu albis indutos, quosdam clericali 5 habitu tectos, diversosque diversa veste indutos, interrogavit Karolum de unoquoque ordine cuiusmodi gens erat. Cui Karolus: Illi, inquit, quos vides birris unius coloris indutos episcopi et sacerdotes nostre legis

39 lex vestra Deo magis sit placita quam nostra, nos convincatis *H* 41 et] si *HR* | mea] nostra *R* | si *om.* *HR* 44 bellare] debellari *NHR* 45/47 .xl. contra .xl. et perimuntur Sarraceni. Postea mittuntur *NHR* | 46/47 Inde — .c.] Rursum mittuntur centum *NHR* 49 pro Christo] Christi *N* Christianorum *HR* | Dei] Christi *NR* 50 quia] qui *HR* 53 demones, qui vitia administrant, facile *NHR* 55/56 Deinde — Sarraceni *om.* *HR* | 56 treba] treuga *MHR* 57 loquendum ad Karolum *NH* loquendum cum Karolo *R* | 57/59 affirmans le... est Karolo ... -tismum ipse *M* | 59 reciperet] percipiet *N* perciperet *HR* 60 accipere *NHR* 61 baptizarentur omnes. Quod *NHR* | consenserunt *MN* concessunt *R* 53 Facile] *MS. faciles*; 90 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.* *MNH* | treba] treuga *MHR* 5/6 quosdam — indutos follows quosdam — tectos *M* | 5/6 albis — habitu *om.* *HR* | 6 diversos *HR* 8 birris] bris *N om.* *HR*

- sunt, qui legis precepta exponunt et a peccatis absolvunt et benedictionem
 10 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
 15 Aigolandus .xiii. pauperes in quadam parte misero habitu indutos, ad
 terram residentes, sine mensa et sine linteaminibus comedentes, parco
 potu et cibo utentes, interrogavit cuiusmodi 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
 20 pascimus. Tunc Aigolandus respondit: [fol. 35^r] Hi qui circa te resident
 felices sunt et tui sunt, et feliciter comedunt et bibunt et induuntur. Illi
 vero quos Dei tui omnino esse dicis et nuntios eius asseris, cur fame pere-
 unt, et male vestiuntur, et longe a te proiciuntur, etiam turpiter trac-
 tantur? Male Domino suo servit qui sic turpiter eius nuntios recipit.
 25 Magnam verecundiam Domino suo facit qui eius famulis ita servit.
 Legem tuam, quam dicebas 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
 30 exercitu invenit diligenter procuravit et optime induit, cibum et potum
 honorifice ex more tribuit. Hinc animadvertendum est quam magnam
 culpam Christianus quilibet qui Christi pauperibus studiose acquirit non
 servit. Si Karolus regem baptizandum et gentem suam perdidit, eo
 quod pauperes male tractavit, quid erit de illis in extremi examinis die qui
 35 male hic pauperes tractaverint? Quomodo audient vocem dominicam
 dicentem: Discedite 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
 40 fides sine operibus bonis in semetipsa. Sicut paganus baptismum respuit,
 idcirco quia baptismi in Karolo opera non videt recta, sic timeo ne fidem

10 tetro] atro *NR* alba *H* 13 Deum] similiter *NHR* 14 videns] vidit *HR* 15/16 misero ha-
 ...-sa et sine *M* 16 et sine linteaminibus *om. R* | parvo *DNHR* 19 apostolorum et tertium
 decimum propter Deum per *M* 21 et tui sunt *om. HR* 22 eius esse asseris *NHR* 23 etiam]
 et *NHR* 24 suo *om. NH* eius *R* 26 esse *om. NHR* 27/28 ei die crastina *om. D* 31 tri-
 buit] eis tradidit *M* illis prebuit *N* | est *om. MNH* 32 quilibet *om. NH* | acquirit *before* qui *NHR* |
 quilibet agit qui Christi pauperibus de his que studiose *M* 33/35 perdidit ... hic pauperes *M* |
 35 tractaverit *D* tractavere *NH* tractaverunt *R* 36 maligni] maledicti *NHR* | 36/37 eternum.
 Sitivi et non dedistis michi potum, esurivi et *R* | 37 Considerandum quia *MN* Consideramur quia *H*
 Considerandum tunc est quia *R* 40 bonis mortua est in *NHR* | respuit] reppulit *NHR*

19 *Diem* lacking also in *D*.

34 *De illis*] *MS. illi* | *extremis*] *MS. extremis*.

baptismi in nobis Dominus repudiet in die iudicii si baptismi opera non invenerit.

XVII.

Omnes igitur ex utraque parte armati venerunt in campum belli causa pugnandi, et erat exercitus [Karoli] .c. triginta quatuor milia et exercitus Aigolandi .c. milibus. Christiani quatuor fecerunt turmas et Sarraceni quinque, quarum prima, que ad bellandum primitus accessit, statim victa fuit. Deinde secunda turma Sarracenorum accessit, que nichilominus mox cesa fugit. At ubi Sarraceni suos ita vinci et fugere conspexerunt, omnes simul coadunantur et Aigolandus in medio illorum astitit. Quod Christiani cum vidissent, ilico circumcinxerunt hostes undique. Ex una parte obsedit eos Arnaldus de Bellanda cum suo exercitu, ex alia Estultus cum suis, ex alia Arastagnus cum sua militia. Itemque ex alia Gandeboldus rex Frisie cum suis, et ex alia, que ad erumpendum hostibus aptior erat, imperator Karolus cum innumeris suorum copiis eos obsedit. Tunc Arnaldus de Bellanda cum suo exercitu irruit subito [fol. 36^r] super eos accidit et trucidavit omnes quos ad dexteram vel levam offendit, quousque pervenit ad Aigolandum, qui in medio hostium erat, et sicut vir fortis illum gladio suo peremit. Statimque factus est ingens clamor omnium, et irruerunt ex omni parte Christiani super Sarracenos et occiderunt universos. Itaque tanta facta est ibi paganorum confusio et occisio ut nullus eorum evaderet, nisi tantum rex Sibilie et Altumaior Cordube, qui cum paucis Sarracenis aufugerunt. Ipso die tanta sanguinis facta est effusio quod victores usque ad bases in sanguine natabant. Sarraceni vero omnes qui in urbe inventi sunt in ore gladii trucidati sunt.

42/43 iudicii — invenerit] iudicii baptismi opera *M* iudicii quia baptismi opera non inveniet *NHR*

XVII. 1 De bello pampilonensi et morte Aigolandi regis *NH* 2/3 Omnes — pugnandi] Inde die crastina omnes armati ex utraque parte convenerunt in campo causa pugnandi prefato pacto duarum legum *NHR* | 2 in campum belli] crastina die in campum *M* | 3 milia] milium *M* milibus *NHR* | et³ *om.* *MHR* | 3/4 exercitus vero Aigolandi *M* | 4 Christiani vero quatuor *NHR* | turmas] acies *MNHR* 5/10 statim — obsedit eos] et ilico victa fuit. Mox ut viderunt Sarraceni detrimentum sui insimul coadunantur omnes et Aigolandus in medio eorum extitit. Quod ut Christiani viderunt, accinxerunt eos undique. Ex una parte accinxit illos *NHR* | 10/11 ex alia Estultus cum suis *om.* *NHR* | 11 sua militia. Itemque] suo et *NHR* 12 rex Frisie cum suis] rex cum suo *NHR* | et *om.* *DM* | 12/13 que ad — imperator] Constantinus rex cum suo, et ex alia Ogerius rex cum suo, et ex alia *NHR* | 13 cum — obsedit] rex cum suis exercitibus universis *NHR* | 13/14 innumeris . . . exercitu . . . super eos *M* | 14 subito] primus *NHR* | 14/15 ac cecidit] et precipitavit *NHR* | 15 omnes quos] illos omnes et *NHR* | vel levam offendit] et ad levam *NHR* 16 hostium] eorum *NHR* | 16/17 sicut — suo] potenter propria spata illum *NHR* | 17 ingens] nimius *NHR* | omnium] illorum *NH* eorum *R* 18 omni] utraque *NHR* | 18/20 occiderunt omnes illos. Ibi agitur tanta paganorum occisio quod nullus eorum evasit *NHR* | 20 qui] hii *NHR* 21 Sarracenis aufugerunt] Sarracenorum turmis fugerunt *NHR* | 21/22 Ipso — effusio] Tanta sanguinis effusio die illa agitur *NHR* 23 in ore gladii *om.* *NHR*

3 Karoli lacking also in *D*.

4 MS. Aigolandi in .c. milibus; so also *D*; Aigolandi .iii.c. milibus *M*.

XVIII.

Ecce quia Karolus contra Aigolandum decertavit pro pacto fidei christiane, occidit illum. Quapropter patet quia christiana lex omnibus ritibus et legibus totius mundi excellit. O Christiane, si fidem bene tenueris
 5 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
 10 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.
 5 Ilico Altumaior Cordube rex, qui erat absconditus inter montes cum aliis Sarracenis qui de bello fugerant, peremit omnes illos, nec unus quidem superfuit ex illis. Et erat numerus illorum qui interfecti fuerant circiter mille. Hi vero tipum gerunt certantium pro Christo, quia sicut illi, postquam inimicos suos devicerunt, ad mortuos cupiditatis causa redie-
 10 runt et interfecti 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 perierunt, sic religiosi quique qui seculum dimiserunt et ad
 15 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 [fol. 36^v] autem Karolo ad montem Garzin disposuit venire
 5 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 angelos *om.* *HR* | 6 Christo *om.* *H* Christi *R* 9 Arge] Garege *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 interfecti fuerant] interficiuntur *NHR* 8 pro Christo] Christi *N* Christianorum *HR* | 8/9 illi qui postquam *H* illi qui postea *R* 10 interfecti sunt] interficiuntur *NHR* | fidelis quisque *NHR* | 10/11 decertaverint] devincit *NHR* | 11 ac penitentiam] et primam *R* | acceperint] accipit *NHR* 12 debet *NHR* | est a demonibus, interficiatur *NHR*

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

antequam bellum esset rogavit Dominum ut ostenderet ei qui morituri
 erant de suis in bello. Die autem crastina armatis Karoli exercitibus
 apparuit rubeus sanguis dominice crucis in humeris moritutorum super
 loricas. Quos ut vidit Karolus mox retrusit illos in oratorio suo,
 ne morerentur in bello. Quam incomprehensibilia sunt iudicia Dei et 10
 investigabiles vie eius! Quid plura? Peracto bello et perempto Furre
 tantum cum tribus milibus Navarrorum et Sarracenorum, quos in cus-
 todia retruserat Karolus repperit exanimatos; et erat numerus illorum
 circiter .c.l. O Christi pugnatorum sanctissima caterva! quam sigladius
 persecutionis non abstulit, palmam tamen Christi martirii non amisit. 15
 Tunc Karolus cepit castrum montis Garzini in suum totamque terram
 Navarrorum. Statimque nuntiatum est Karolo quod apud Nageram
 gygas quidam Ferracutus nomine de genere Goliath advenerat de horis
 Syrie, quem cum .c.xx. milibus Turcorum Babylonis ammiraldus ad bel-
 lum contra Karolum regem miserat. Hic vero lanceam aut sagittam non 20
 timebat; vim .xl. fortium hominum possidebat. Quapropter Karolus
 Nageram ilico adiit. Mox ut eius adventum Ferracutus agnovit, egressus
 ab urbe singulare certamen, scilicet unum militem contra unum, petiit.
 Tunc mittitur ei a Karolo Ogerius Danus, quem mox ut solum gygas in
 campo aspexit, suaviter iuxta illum vadit et ilico cum brachio dextro eum 25
 amplexatus est cum omnibus armis suis et deportavit illum cunctis viden-
 tibus in podium suum leviter quasi esset una mitissima ovis. Erat enim
 statura eius quasi cubitis .xii. et facies eius longa quasi cubiti unius et
 nasus unius palmi mensurati et brachia et crura eius quatuor cubitorum
 et digiti trium palmorum. Deinde misit ad eum causa pugnandi Rai- 30
 naldum de Bellaspina, et detulit eum solo brachio ilico in carcerem oppidi
 sui. Deinde mittitur Constantinus rex romanus et Oellus comes, et
 ipsos simul unum ad dexteram, alterum ad levam, in carcerem retrusit.
 Deinde mittuntur .xx. pugnatores duo scilicet insimul separatim, et illos
 similiter carceri mancipavit. His itaque inspectis Karolus cunctis in- 35
 super ammirantibus neminem postea ausus est mittere ad expugnandum
 eum. Rothlandus tamen vix impetrata a rege licentia accessit ad gygan-
 tem bellaturus. At ipse gygas ilico rapuit eum sola manu dextra et misit

6 ei illos qui morturi NHR (with mortui H) 7 de suis om. HR | Karoli om. HR 8 moritutorum]
 mortuorum retro scilicet NHR | 8/9 crucis . . . Karolus M 12 tantum om. NHR | et Sarracenorum
 om. R 14 quam] et- NHR 15 persecutionis vitam non NH percussionis vitam non R | Christi om.
 NHR 16 terram] patriam NHR 17 Statimque begins new chapter MNHR De prelio Rothlandi
 et Ferracuti M De bello Ferracuti et optima disputatione Rotolandi NH | Statimque] Post mortem
 Aigolandi statimque H 19 Syrie om. HR | 19/20 bellum contra] debellandum NHR 21 timebat]
 formidabat NHR | hominum om. NHR 22 rediit NHR 23 unum] alterum N alium HR 24
 Dacus NHR 26/27 omnibus . . . leviter M 28 cubitis] cubitorum NHR 29/30 .iiii. cubitis
 erant et digiti tribus palmis NHR | 30 eum ex causa Raynaldum H | pugnandi] bellandi NR 33
 dexteram et alium ad NHR | levam carcere retrusit NH | trusit R 35 carcere NHR

- eum ante se super equum [fol. 37^r] suum. Cumque illum portaret versus
 40 oppidum, Rothlandus resumptis viribus suis in Domino confisus arripuit
 eum per mentum et statim evertit illum super equum retro et ceciderunt
 ambo simul de equo prostrati solo. Statim elevantur a terra ambo
 pariter et ascenderunt equos. Ilico Rothlandus spata propria evaginata
 gygantem occidere putans equum eius solo ictu per medium trucidavit.
 45 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 eius a manu
 excussit. Tunc Ferracutus gladio amisso percutere putans pugno clauso
 Rothlandum eius equum in fronte percussit, et statim equus obiit.
 50 Deinde sine gladiis pedites usque ad nonam pugnīs et lapidibus debel-
 laverunt. 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 remeavit 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 retortum et longum
 5 secum habuit, cum quo eum tota die percussit et minime lesit; percussit
 et eum pugnīs 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 pregra-
 vatus dormire cepit. Rothlandus vero, ut erat iuvenis alacer, misit
 10 lapidem ad caput eius, ut libentius dormiret. Nullus enim Christia-
 norum illum tunc occidere audebat nec ipse Rothlandus, quia talis erat
 inter eos institutio quod, si Christianus pagano vel paganus Christiano
 daret trebam, nullus ei iniuriam faceret, et si aliquis concessam trebam
 ante diffidentiam infringeret statim interficeretur. Ferracutus namque,
 15 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 ipse lingua hispanica, quam Roth-

45 in om. NHR | manum M 46 inferret] intulisset NHR 48/49 percutere . . . equus M
 51 advesperante HR | trebas] treugas MHR

XXI. 1 No chapter-break here MNHR 3 erat] fuerat NHR 4 non] nichil MNHR 5
 minime eum lesit NR | et minime lesit; percussit om. H 6 et om. Metiam NR | pugnīs et om. NHR |
 et magnis om. M 8 trebis] treugis MHR | 8/9 pregravatus] privatus M 12 Christianus
 Sarraceno vel Sarracenus Christiano NHR (with Sarracenus Christiano) ex contrario R 13 daret
 treugam, nullam MHR | concessam] datam NHR | trebam] treugam MHR 14 infringeret] fran-
 geret NHR 15 obdormivit NHR 16 esset] et durissimus habebatur NHR 17 timeret]
 formidabat NHR | 17/19 possum . . . Rothlandus M

landus satis intelligere poterat. Tunc gygas cepit inspicere Rothlandum
et interrogavit eum dicens: Tu autem, quomodo vocaris? Rothlandus, 20
inquit, vocor. Cuius generis, inquit gygas, es, qui tam fortiter me im-
pugnans? Francorum, inquit, genere oriun[fol. 37^v]dus sum. At Ferra-
cutus ait: Cuius legis sunt Franci? Et Rothlandus: Christiane legis Dei
gratia sumus et Christi imperiis subiaceamus et pro eius fide in quantum
possumus decertamus. Tunc paganus audito Christi nomine ait: Quis 25
est Christus filius Dei in quem tu credis? Et Rothlandus: Ille qui ex
virgine nascitur, crucem patitur, sepulchro sepelitur, et ab inferis regredi-
tur. Tunc Ferracutus: Nos credimus, inquit, quia creator celi et terre
unus est Deus, nec filium habuit nec patrem. Sed sicut a nullo generatus
est, ita neminem genuit. Ergo unus Deus est, nec trinus. Verum, in- 30
quit Rothlandus, dicis, sed cum dicis quia trinus non est a fide claudicas.
Si credis in patrem, crede in filio et spiritu sancto. Ipse enim pater est,
filius est, spiritus est: unus permanens in tribus personis. Si patrem,
inquit Ferracutus, dicis esse Deum, filium Deum, spiritum sanctum
Deum, ergo tres Dii sunt, quod absit, non unus Deus. Nequaquam, in- 35
quit Rothlandus, sed unum Deum trinum tibi predico, et unus est et
trinus est. Tote tres persone coeterne sunt sibi et coequales. Qualis
pater, talis filius, talis spiritus sanctus. Tali igitur pacto, inquit Ferra-
cutus, tecum pugnabo, quod si vera est fides quam asseris, ego victus
sim, et si mendax est, quod tu victus sis, et sit genti victe obprobrium, 40
victori autem laus et decus in evum. Fiat, inquit Rothlandus. Itaque
bellum ab utroque corroboratur, et ilico Rothlandus paganum agreditur.
Tunc Ferracutus eiecit ictum super Rothlandum spata sua, sed ipse
Rothlandus saltavit ad levam et excepit ictum baculo suo. Preterea
absciso baculo Rothlandi irruit super eum ipse gygas et illum arripiens 45
leviter trucidavit subtus se ad terram. Statim cognovit Rothlandus quod
nullomodo evadere posset ab eo, et vocavit in auxilium beate virginis
Marie filium, et erexit se Deo donante aliquantulum, et revolvit eum sub-
tus se, et misit manum suam ad mucronem eius, et punxit parumper
eius umbilicum, et evasit ab eo. Tunc excelsa voce cepit Deum suum 50
vocare gygas dicens: Mahumeth, Mahumeth, Deus meus, succurre mihi,
quia iam morior! Et statim ad hanc vocem occurrentes Sarraceni ra-
puerunt eum portantes manibus suis versus oppidum. Rothlandus vero

[19 satis — poterat] ipse satis intelligebat *NHR* | aspicere *NHR* 20 interrogare *NHR* 22 inquit
Rothlandus, genere *NHR* 26 filius *om. HR* 27 cruce *MNHR* | inferis tertia die regreditur *NHR*
30 est, nec] nature *M* 31 dicis] dicis quia unus est *NHR* 32 patre *NH* | filium et spiritum sanc-
tum *MR* | enim Deus pater *HR* 33 spiritus sanctus est *MNHR* | unus est Deus permanens *NHR*
39 verax *NHR* 40/41 sis . . . et decus *M* | 40 victe iugiter obprobrium *NHR* 44 baculo] in baculo
N in brachio *H* | Preterea] Interea *NHR* 45 eum et ipse *NHR* 46 trucidavit subtus se] inclinavit
subter se *MNH* inclinavit super eum *R* | agnovit *NHR* | 46/47 quod tunc nullomodo *NH* | 47 et
vocavit] invocavit *NHR* 48 evoluit *HR* | subter *MNHR* 51 invocare *MNHR* 53 portantes
in manibus *HR* | suis *om. NR* | adversus *N*

iam ad suos incolumis redierat, et statim Christiani una cum Sarracenis
 55 qui Ferracutum deferebant, 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 Ebrahim rex Sibilie et Altumaior, qui de bello fugerant
 Pampilonie, eum expectabant causa bellandi et venerant eis in auxilium
 5 viri bellatores de .vii. urbibus: Sibilis scilicet, Granada, Desentina, Denia,
 Ubeda, Abula, Baecia. Tunc [fol. 38] disposuit Karolus ire ad bellum
 contra illos. Cum itaque Cordubam cum exercitibus suis appropin-
 quaret, exierunt reges prefati contra eum armati longe ab urbe tribus
 miliaribus, et erant Sarraceni circiter .x. milia, nostri vero circiter .vi.
 10 milia. Tunc disposuit Karolus exercitum suum in tribus turmis, quarum
 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
 15 larvas barbaras cornutas, demonibus consimiles, tenentes etiam timpana,
 que manibus fortiter percusserunt. Quorum voces et sonitus equi nos-
 trorum mox ut audierunt terribilesque illorum similitudines viderunt,
 nimis pavefacti retro quasi amentes fugere ceperunt et nullomodo milites
 eos tenere potuerunt. Cumque ille turme nostrorum exercituum primam
 20 turmam fugere viderunt, in fugam omnes converse sunt. Tunc Sarraceni
 valde gavisii sunt et retro lento gradu insecuti sunt nos, quousque ad
 quendam montem pervenimus, qui ab urbe duobus miliaribus distat. Ibi
 vero omnes coadunati ex nobismet consilium fecimus illos aspectantes ad
 bellum, quod illi videntes aliquantulum retro redierunt. Ilico tentoria
 25 nostra 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-

56 perempto castrum *M* perempto urbes et castrum *NHR*

XXII. 1 De bello larvarum *N* De bello lavarii *H* 2 relatum] revelatum *NH* 3/5 fugerant,
 eum causa bellandi Pampilone expecta- . . . lia scilicet *M* | 4 bellandi] pugnandi *NH* 6 Beacia
M | 6/7 ire — illos] exercitum suum in tribus *HR* | 7 contra] cum exercitibus suis contra *NHR*
 9 circiter] ferme *NHR* 15 barbaras] barbas *HR* | tenentes etiam] tenentesque singuli singula
NHR 16 percutiebant *NHR* 18 retro *om. NHR* 20 viderent *NHR* 21 sunt et *om. NHR*
 22 urbe duobus fere miliaris distabat *NH* urbe fere duobus miliaribus distabat *R* | miliaris *M* | distat
om. D 23 nobismet ipsis asilum fecimus illos expectantes *MNHR* (with ipsis *om. M* and asilum]
 auxilium *R*) 24 redierunt] abierunt *NHR* 26/28 precepit . . . similiter *M* | 28 aures
 eorum similiter *NHR*

fidenter ad pugnam parvipendentes sonitus subdolos impiorum. Tunc 30
 constanter nostri simul omnes exterruerunt illos a mane usque ad meri-
 diem et multos illorum occiderunt, non tamen usque ad omnium interni-
 cionem. Et erant omnes Sarraceni simul coadunati, et in medio eorum
 erat plaustrum, quod .viii. boves trahebant, supra quod vexillum rubeum
 erat elevatum. Mosque illorum erat quod nemo eorum de bello fugeret 35
 quamdiu vexillum esset erectum. Quod cum Karolus agnovisset lorica
 et galea et hasta invincibili septus, divina virtute obumbratus, ingressus
 est inter acies iniquorum precipitando illos ad dexteram et ad levam,
 quousque pervenit ad plaustrum. Tunc propria spata perticam que
 vexillum sustentabat abscidit, et statim omnes Sarraceni huc illucque 40
 dispersi fugere ceperunt. Illico facto utrorumque exercituum magno
 clamore et impetu octo milia Sarracenorum interficiuntur et rex Sybilie
 occiditur, et Altumaior cum duobus milibus Sar[fol. 38*]racenorum
 ingressus urbem munivit.

XXIII.

Crastina vero die tandem victus reddit imperatori nostro urbem tali
 pacto, ut baptismum subiret imperiisque Karoli subiaceret et urbem de
 illo amplius teneret. His itaque gestis terras et provincias Hyspanie 5
 pugnatoribus suis, illis scilicet qui in patria manere volebant, Karolus
 dimisit: terram Navarrorum et Basclorum Britannis, et terram Castel-
 lanorum Francis, et Nageram et Cesaraugustam Grecis et Apuleis qui in
 nostro exercitu erant, et terram Aragonis Pictavis, et terram Alandaluf
 iuxta maritima Teutonicis, et terram Portugallorum Dacis et Flandris.
 Terram Galicie Franci inhabitare noluerunt, quoniam nimis aspera illis 10
 videbatur. Nemo postea fuit qui auderet in Hyspania Karolum impug-
 nare.

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 5
 aut in Galliam in exilium misit. Tunc constituit per civitates antistites,

31 exterruerunt] expugnaverunt *NHR* expugnaverant *R* 34 trahebant *om. M* | super *NHR*
 36 esset erectum] erectum videret *NHR* 43 Altumaior Cordube cum *NHR* 44 munivit]
 eam munivit *M* est *R*

XXIII. 1 *No chapter-break here MNHR* 2 reddidit *MNHR* | 2/3 tali scilicet pacto *NHR*
 5 patria illa manere *NHR* 6/7 dimisit, terram . . . -cis et Apulis *M* | 7 Nagere *NHR* | Ce-
 sarauguste *NHR* 9 Flandris] Flandrensibus dedit *NHR* 10 nimis *om. NHR* | illis *om. M*
 4/5 Hyspanie pugnatoribus] *MS. Hyspanie et pugnatoribus; so also D.*

XXIV. 1 De concilio Karoli et protectione eius ad sanctum Iacobum *NH* (with Iacobum) Iacobum
 apostolum *H*) 2 Hispania *NHR* 4 redierant] reversi fuerant *MNHR* 5 in exilium] exules *NHR*

presbiteros, et adunato in urbe Compostella episcoporum et principum consilio instituit amore beati Iacobi quod cuncti presules et principes christiani, hyspani scilicet et galeciani, scilicet presentes et futuri, episcopo sancti Iacobi obedirent. Apud Yriam presulem minime instituit,
 10 quia illam pro urbe non reputavit, sed villam subiunctam sedi compostellanensi esse precepit. Tunc in eodem 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 hyspanicam et Galiciam deditque ei in dote, precipiens
 15 ut unusquisque possessor unaqueque domus totius Galicie .iiii. nummos annuatim ex debito daret, et ab omni servitute rege precipiente liberi 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
 20 et regales corone per manus eiusdem urbis episcopi ad decus apostoli Domini prebeantur; et si fides in aliis urbibus peccatis populorum exigentibus vel dominica precepta defecerint, ibi consilio eiusdem episcopi ad decus apostoli Domini reconcilientur, et merito in illa ecclesia venerabili fides reconciliari et stabiliri decernitur: quia sicut per beatum
 25 Iohannem evangelistam beati Iacobi fratrem in orientali parte apud Ephesum 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^r] sedes: Ephesus scilicet, que est ad dexteram in terreno regno Christi, et Compostella, que est ad
 30 sinistram, que videlicet sedes his duobus fratribus filiis Zebedei in distributione provinciarum contigerunt, quia ipsi petierunt a Domino ut unus ad dexteram in regno eius sederet et alter ad levam. Tres apostolicas sedes pre omnibus principales sedibus in orbe merito religio christiana 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 evangeliiis 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 instituit] 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* | subiunctam *MNH* 15 uniuscuius-
 que domus *NHR* | Galicie] Hispanie et Galicie *NHR* 16 ex debito *om. R* 17 constituitur *MNHR*
 18/19 apostolus . . . 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]
 fides *NHR* 28 instituitur] sedes instituitur *NHR* | sedes *om. NHR* 30/31 distributione] di-
 visione *MNHR* | 31 contingerunt *N* contingunt *HR* | petierant *NHR* 32 alter] alius *NHR*
 34 venerari precipue 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 40
 sedes iure precedere debent. Iure sedes romana apostolica prima dicitur,
 quia eam princeps apostolorum Petrus predicatione sua et proprio san-
 guine et sepultura dedicavit, compostellanaque sedes iure secunda predi-
 catur, quia beatus Iacobus, qui inter ceteros apostolos precipua dignitate
 et honore maior post beatum Petrum extitit, primatum in celum tenet 45
 prius laureatus martirio, eam sua olim predicatione munivit, sepultura
 sua sacratissima consecravit, et miraculis adhuc perlustrat, et indefi-
 cientibus beneficiis indesinenter ditare non cessat. Tertia sedes rite
 Ephesus dicitur, quia beatus Evangelista in ea evangelium suum, scilicet
 In Principio Erat Verbum, eructavit, coadunato episcoporum concilio 50
 quos ipse per urbes disposuerat, quos etiam in Apocalipsi sua angelos
 vocat, eam doctrina sua et miraculis illustravit, et basilicam in ea edifi-
 cavit, immo propria sepultura consecravit. Si ergo aliqua iudicia aut
 divina aut humana in aliis orbis sedibus sua difficultate terminari neque-
 unt, in his tribus sedibus legitime et iuste diffiniri debent. Itaque Galicia 55
 in primis temporibus a Sarracenis expedita virtute Dei et beati Iacobi
 et auxilio Karoli constat honesta usque in hodiernum diem in fide ortho-
 doxa.

XXV.

Postquam Karolus magnus imperator famosissimus totam Hyspaniam
 diebus illis ad Domini et apostoli Iacobi decus adquisivit, rediens ab
 Hispania Pampilonam cum suis exercitibus hospitatus est; et erant tunc
 ipsis [diebus] apud Cesaraugustam commorantes duo reges Sarraceni, 5
 Marsirius scilicet et Belegandus frater suus, ab admirando Babylonis de
 Perside missi, qui Karoli imperiis subiacebant et libenter in omnibus ei
 serviebant sed in caritate ficta. Quibus Karolus per Ganolonum man-
 davit ut baptismum subirent aut tributum ei mitterent. Tunc mise-
 [fol. 39^r]runt equos .xx. oneratos auro et argento gazisque hispanicis et 10
 quadringentos vino dulcissimo et puro pugnatoribus ad bibendum et

[40 sunt] fuerunt *NHR* 41 dicitur] ponitur *NHR* 43 compostellanaque] Compostellana quoque *M*
 Compostella namque *NH* Compostella *R* | iure secunda predicator] apostolica merito secunda dicitur
NHR (with merito) merito eius *R* | predicator] ponitur *M* 45 extitit et in celis primatum tenet
NHR (with teneret *N*) 46 olim *om. HR* 49 beatus Iohannes 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 prodicione Ganalonis et de bello Runcievallis et passione pugnatorum Karoli impera-
 toris *NH* (with Ganaleonis *H* and imperatoris *om. N*) De prodicione Ganalonis 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* | Ganilonem *M* Ganalonum *NH*
 Ganelonum *R* 9 miserunt] miserunt ei *NHR* 11 quadringentos tunnellos vino *HR* quad-
 ringenta dolia [later hand] *N* | puro miserunt pugnatoribus *NHR* | bibendum] potandum *MNHR*
 5 *Diebus* lacking also in *D*. Compare variants above.

mille Sarracenas formosas. Ganalono vero .xx. equos oneratos auro et argento fraudulenter dederunt, ut pugnatores traderet in manus eorum. Qui concessit et pecuniam illam accepit. Itaque firmato inter se pacto
 15 pravo traditionis rediit Ganalonus ad Karolum et dedit ei gazas quas illi miserant, dicens quod Marsirius vellet effici christianus, et preparabat iter suum ut veniret ad Karolum in Galliam, et ibi baptismum acciperet, et totam terram hyspanicam de manu eius teneret. Maiores vero pug-
 20 natores vinum solummodo ab eo accipiunt, mulieres vero nullatenus, sed minores abstulerunt. Tunc Karolus credens verbis Ganaloni disposuit transire portus Cisereos et redire in Galliam. Inde accepto consilio a Ganalono Karolus precepit karissimis suis Rothlando nepoti suo ceno-
 mannensi et blaviensi comiti ut cum maioribus pugnatoribus et .xx. Christianorum milibus ultimam custodiam in Runciavalle faceret; donec
 25 ipse Karolus portus Cisereos cum exercitibus suis transiret; et ita factum est. Sed quia precedentibus noctibus vino sarraceno ebrii quidam cum mulieribus paganis et christianis etiam feminis quas secum multi dedux-
 erant de Gallia fornicati sunt, mortem incurrerunt. Quid plura? Dum Karolus portus cum .xx. milibus Christianorum et Ganalono et Tulpino
 30 transiret et prefati ultimam custodiam facerent, Marsirius et Belegandus etiam cum centum .x. milibus Sarracenorum summo mane exierunt de nemoribus et collibus ubi consilio Ganaloni duobus diebus totidemque noctibus latuerant, et fecerunt duas turmas bellicas unam viginti et aliam nonaginta. Illa vero que erat nonaginta primum cepit subito post tergum
 35 percutere nostros. Ilico nostri reversi sunt contra illos et expugnantes eos a mane usque ad tertiam omnes occiderunt, nec unus quidem ex tot milibus evasit. Statim nostri tanto bello fatigati alia .xx. milia Sarra-
 cenorum aggrediuntur, et percusserunt nostros a maiori usque ad minorem, nec unus quidem ex .xx. milibus Christianorum evasit. Ibi interficiuntur
 40 omnes pugnatores preter Rothlandum et Balduinum et Tulpinum et Theodericum et Ganalonium; Balduinus et Theodericus dispersi per nemora latuere et postea evasere. Tunc Sarraceni una leuga retro redie-
 runt.

15 illi reges ei *NHR* 18 de manu eius] deinde *M* deinceps de illo *NHR* 19 ab eo] de ipso *R* |
 acceperunt *NHR* | 19/20 vero nullatenus, sed minores abstulerunt *om.* *R* | 20 minores ab eis
 abstulerunt *M* | substulerunt *NH* 24 facerent *DNHR* 25/26 Cisereos . . . ebrii *M* | 25 et
 ita] itaque *NHR* | 26 sarracenicis *NHR* 27/28 deduxerant de Gallia] deduxerant deduxerunt
 (sic) *M* 31 etiam *om.* *NHR* | centum .x. milibus] mille *M* .xl. duobus milibus *NHR* 33/34
 viginti — nonaginta] de .xx., aliam de .xc. *M* viginti milium, aliam .xxii. milium *NHR* | 34
 nonaginta] .xx. milium *NHR* | primum *om.* *H* 36 tot] .xx. *NHR* 37 nostros *NHR* | fatigatos et
 lassos alia .xxii. milia *NHR* 38 nostros] omnes eos *NR* omnes nostros *H* 39 ex] vel saltem pauci
 ex *H* | milibus *om.* *M* 40/42 Rotolandum et Baldewinum et Theodricum qui dispersi per nemora
 tunc latuerunt *H* | 40 Baldewinum *NR* Balde *M* | et Tulpinum] Tilpinum *M* | 41 Tedricum *NR* |
 42 nemora tunc latuere *NR* (with latuerunt *R*) | evaserunt *MHR*

22 The plural *karissimis suis* is justified in the Calixtine text, which reads "blaviensi comiti et Oli-
 vero 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. [fol. 40^r] Illos vero qui fornicati sunt mortem permisit incurrere, quia per gladii passionem voluit illorum peccata delere. Illi qui inebriati et fornicati sunt significant sacerdotes et religiosos viros contra vitia pugnantes, quibus non licet inebriari et cum mulieribus coquinari. Quod si fecerint ab inimicis suis, id est a demonibus, noverint se superandos 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 nexumque fortiter ad arborem quandam dimisit. Tunc ascendit in montem quandam 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 rediit, quem citius a vinculis absolvit, et elevavit spatam super caput suum dicens: Si mecum veneris et Marsirium mihi ostenderis, vivum te dimittam; alioquin te interficiam. Nondum enim cognoscebat Rothlandus Marsirium. Ilico 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 ilico super Saracenos; et vidit quendam inter alios qui erat statura maior aliis, et uno ictu secuit illum 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 ilico 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 peremit. Tunc in eodem bello .c. socii Rothlandi quos secum adduxerat omnes interfecti sunt, et idem Rothlandus .iiii. lanceis et hastis et lapidibus graviter percussus et attritus evasit.

44 Hoc] no new paragraph in MSS. 45 Videlicet om. NHR | noluit sic N, though apparently read voluit by a later scribe, who inserted a non before amplius 46/47 patriam am- . . . et enim voluit illis M | 46 committerent] permetterent R | et ita] etenim NHR | 47 illos om. D | pro laboribus suis om. R | 47/48 rependere MN 51 inquinari DNR 54 Itaque] no new paragraph in MS. and DM De morte Rotolandi et Marsirii et de fuga Belligandi. Itaque NHR (with Mersini H) 60/61 ex Christianis] Christiani N 63 spatam suam super NHR | suum] eius NHR 65/66 Rothlandus Marsirium . . . inter agmina M 70 in qua] quod ita M ita quod NR ita ut H 71 altera] alia NHR 72 dimiserunt et] dimittentes NHR 74 dexteram et alios ad sinistram precipitando consecutus R 75 potenti om. NHR | illos] alios DNHR 76 bello] loco NHR | omnes om. NHR

XXVI.

Mox ut Beligandus Marsirii necem agnovit cum aliis Sarracenis ab illis oris ilico recessit. Theodericus vero et Balduinus, ut prediximus, et alii quidam Christiani per nemora huc illucque dispersi et perterriti latitabant, alii 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^v] 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 quadam iuxta marmoreum lapidem qui erectus ibi erat in prato optimo super Runciavalem 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 eam 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 & Ω 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 fantasiis pavidus, auxilio divino circumdatus. Per te gens perfida destruetur, lex christiana exaltabitur, laus Dei et gloria et celeberrima fama acquiretur. O spatam felicissimam, acutissimarum acutissima, cui similis non fuit nec erit amplius. Qui te fabricavit nec ante nec post consimilem fecit; nullatenus vivere potuit qui ex te vulneratus aliquantulum extitit. 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 suam lapidem marmoreum trino ictu volens eam frangere. Quid plura? In duabus partibus usque deorsum lapis dividitur et gladius biceps illesus educitur. Deinde tuba sua altissonis vocibus tonitruare cepit, si forte aliqui Chris-

XXVI. 1 *No chapter-break here NHR* 6 transibat] transibant *M* transierat *NHR* | ignorabant *M* 8/9 tantorum . . . et percussionibus *M* | 8 hominum] heroum *NHR* | 8/9 percussionibus *N* percussionis *R* | 9 pedem — nemora] pedes montis *R* 11 desiluit *M* dissiluit *NR* 13 nimia — resplendentem *om.* *R* | Durenda *NHR* 14 deficeret *HR* 16 sed] et *MH* 17 decentissime] candidissime *NHR* 18 cruce aurea *om.* *H* | 18/19 pomo berillino decorate *om.* *HR* 21/22 nusquam *NR* 23 destruitur *NHR* destruetur *M* | exaltatur *NHR* 24 acquiritur *NHR* 26/27 consimilem . . . quantulum vulneratus extitit *M* 28 multum] valde *NHR* | ita] itaque *NHR* 29 sua *om.* *NHR* 30/31 partibus a summo usque *NHR* 32 Deinde begins a new chapter *NHR* De sonitu tube Rotolandi et de confessione et transitu eius. *NH* (with eius *om.* *N*) | altissimis *HR* | aliquis *HR* | 32/33 Christianorum] ex Christianis *NHR*

5 Transibant] *MS. transiebant.*

6 Transibat] *MS. transiebat; so also D.*

tianorum qui per nemora timore Sarracenorum latitabant ad se venirent, suoque funeri adessent, spatamque suam et equum acciperent, et Sarracenos persequerentur. Tunc tanta virtute tuba sua eburnea insonuit 35 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. miliariis versus Gasconiam, angelico ductu pervenit. Ilico Karolus voluit ad eum laturus auxilium redire, sed Ganalonus 40 passionis Rothlandi conscius dixit ei: Noli retro, domne mi rex, redire, quia Rothlandus pro minimo [*fol. 41r*] 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, 45 aquam ad refocillandam sitim nimis desiderans supervenienti Balduino ut sibi aquam preberet innuit. Qui cum aquam huc illucque quereretur nec inveniret, videns eum morti proximum benedixit ei, et formidans ne in manus inimicorum caderet equum eius ascendit et Karoli exercitum precedentem relicto eo insecutus est. Quo recedente ilico advenit 50 Teodericus et cepit super eum valde lugere, dicens ei ut animam suam confessione muniret. Acceperat enim ipse Rothlandus eodem die eucharistiam et delictorum suorum confessionem fecerat antequam ad bellum properaret. Erat enim mos ut omnes pugnatores eucaristia et confessione per manus episcoporum et sacerdotum qui ibi aderant animas 55 suas munirent antequam ad pugnam irent. Tunc elevatis oculis ad celum Rothlandus Christi martir ait: Domine Ihesu Christe, pro ciuius fide patriam meam dimisi, in hisque barbaris oris ad exaltandam Christianitatem tuam veni, multa perfidorum bella tuo munitus auxilio devici, famem, sitim, et innumeras anxietates pertuli: tibi in hac hora commendo animam 60 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 refovere. Tu es cui non pereunt corpora nostra sed mutantur in melius, qui dixisti te malle vitam peccatoris quam mortem. Corde credo, confiteor ore, 65 quia idcirco vis animam meam educere ut meliori vita facias vivere;

36 flatus *NH* flatis *R* 39/40 Gasoniam (*sic*) — redire sed in margin *M* 41 rex *om. NHR* 42 tubicinare *H* tubnicinare *R* 45 comparata *NHR* | 45/46 herbam . . . sitim *M* 49 inimicorum caderet] Sarracenorum incurreret *NR* Sarascenorumve incurreret *H* 50 recedente] precedente *NHR* 51/52 suam fidei confessione *NHR* | 52 enim *om. NHR* | ipse] isto *N* 53 fecerat *om. NHR* 54 omnes christiani pugnatores *NR* omnes Christi pugnatores *H* 56 irent] venirent *HR* 57 Domine] Oratio eius. Domine *N* Oratio Rothlandi in fine. Domine *H* 63 peccaverim] peccavi michi *MNHR* | 63/65 animam meam . . . Corde *M* | 64 es enim cui *NH* | 65 te velle vitam peccatorum potius quam *H* | peccatoris] peccatorum *R* 66 facias eam vivere *R*
 50 *Precedentem*] *MS. precedente.*

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 lacrimosis gemitibus: Domine Ihesu Christe, fili Dei vivi et beate Marie virginis, totis visceribus confiteor, et credo quod tu redemptor meus vivis, et in novissimo die de terra surrecturus sum, et in carne mea videbo Deum salvatorem meum. Tribus vicibus carnem suam et pellem circa mammas tenens hoc repetivit, et similiter misit manus suas super oculos suos
 70 dicens: Quem visurus sum ego et oculi isti conspecturi sunt. Et
 75 rursus apertis oculis cepit respicere celum et artus suos et pectus suum signo sancte crucis munire et dicere: Omnia terrena mihi [fol. 41^r] vilescunt. Nunc enim Christo donante intueor quod oculus non vidit nec auris audivit nec in cor hominis ascendit, quod preparavit Deus
 80 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 Sarracenorum perempti iacent. Sed tu, Domine, clementer eorum maculas absterge et ab inferis animas eorum
 85 digneris eripere. Mitte archangelos tuos, qui animas eorum eripiant de regionibus tenebrarum et perducant eas in regna celestia, quatinus una cum sanctis martiribus tuis regnare valeant et tecum sine fine letentur, qui vivis et regnas per omnia secula seculorum. [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
 5 meritorum coniuncta.

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

67 quam *M* | habeat] habebit *MNHR* | quanto *MR* 68 differt umbra a corpore *NHR* | mammas] mammas eius *NR* mamillas eius *H* 69 suum *om. NHR* 71 tu *om. NHR* | vivit *NHR* 73/74 pellem contra cor manibus tenens *R* | 73 mammas] mamillas *H* 75 dicens — ego *om. NHR* 76 aspicere *NHR* 77 sancte *om. NHR* 84 animas eorum *om. NHR* | eorum *om. M* 85/86 Mitte archan- . . . eas in regna *M* | 85 tuos] sanctos tuos super illos *NHR* | 86 eas] eos *H* | in] ad *HR* 87 letentur *om. NHR* 88 per omnia] — [Amen] *om. M* cum Deo patre et spiritu sancto per omnia secula seculorum. Amen *NHR* (with Amen *om. H*)

67 *Quem*] *MS. quem*, evidently altered from *quam* and to be read *quem*.

XXVII. 1 No chapter-break here *MNHR* 2 assistente] recedente *MNHR* 3 martiris beata de *NHR* | corpore et] corpore egreditur et *MNHR* | eterna gloria] perhenni requie *NHR* 4/5 regnat sine termino choris martirum coniuncta *R* 6 Non] Versus de nobilitate et moribus et largitate Rotolandi. Non *NH* (with Versus *om. H*) 9 sedet] manet *NHR*

Egregius, nulli de nobilitate secundus, 10
 Moribus excellens, culmine primus erat.
 Templorum cultor, recreans modulamine cautes,
 Vulneribus patrie fida medela fuit.
 Spes populi, tutor viduarum, panis egentis,
 Largus pauperibus, prodigus hospitibus, 15
 Sic venerabilibus templis, sic fudit egenis,
 Mitteret ut celis quas sequeretur opes.
 Dogmata corde tenens, plenus velut archa libellis:
 Quisquis que voluit fonte fluente bibit.
 Consilio sapiens, animo pius, ore serenus, 20
 Omnibus ut populis esset amore parens.
 Culmen honoratum, decus alnum, lumen opimum,
 Laudibus in cuius militet omne decus.
 Pro tantis meritis hunc ad celestia iunctum
 Non premit urna rogi, sed tenet aula poli. 25

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 audiui choros
 in celestibus cantantes, ignorans quid hoc esset. Cumque illi ad sublimia
 transirent, ecce post tergum tetrarum militum phalans quasi de raptu 30
 rediens predamque ferens ante me transivit. Cui statim dixi: Quid
 facitis? Nos, inquit, Marsirium portamus ad inferna; tubicinem vero vi-
 rum cum multis Michael angelus fert ad superna. Tunc missa celebrata
 dixi concite regi: Veraciter, rex, scias quia Rothlandi animam cum multis
 animabus Christianorum beatus Michael archangelus deducit in celum, 35
 sed qua morte mortuus est prorsus ignoro; sed et demones cuiusdam
 Marsi[fol. 42^r]rii animam cum animabus multorum infidelium ad in-
 cendia gehennalia ferunt. Dum hec dicerem, ecce Balduinus super
 equum Rothlandi omnia que facta fuerant et Rothlandum in agonia
 positum iuxta lapidem in monte se dimisisse nobis enarravit. Moxque 40
 per exercitum omnem omnibus exclamantibus retroque redeuntibus in-

12 Templorum] Temporibus HR | cautes] cives NHR 14 populi] Domini NHR | egentum NR egentium MH 18 libellus HR 19 que] quod NHR 21 amore] honore N 22 Culmen] Numen H Lumen R 23 in cuius] invictus NHR | militat R 24 iunctum] vectum MNHR 25 Non premit] Nunc premit M Comprimit N | poli] Dei NHR | 25/26 poli . . . -ret de corpore M | 26 Quid] De visione Turpini et lamentatione Karoli super mortem Rothlandi. Quid NHR (with super — Rothlandi om. R) | anima] martiris anima NR 28 .vii. decimo MHR 31 statim] subito mox NH mox R 32 facitis] fertis MNHR | inquit NHR | vero om. MNHR 33 angelus] archangelus M om. NHR 34 concito MHR 39 omnia] qui omnia NHR

21 Populis] MS. pluris; so also DM.

25 Non premit] MS. Nunc premit; so also D.

28 .xvi.] MS. .xviii.; so also D. See page 95, below, ll. 27/28.

41 Omnem] MS. omnes; so also D; om. M.

venit Karolus prius Rothlandum exanimatum iacentem eversum et
 brachiis in effigie crucis super pectus positus, et irruens super eum cepit
 lacrimosis vocibus et singultibus incomparabilibus lugere, manibus com-
 45 plodere, faciem suam cum ungulis laniare, barbam et capillos evellere,
 et dixit altissonis vocibus merens: O brachium dextrum corporis mar-
 tiris, decus Gallie, spata iustitie, hasta inflexibilis, lorica inviolabilis, galea
 salvationis, Iude Machabeo comparatus, Sansoni assimilatus, Sauli et
 50 Ionate mortis fortuna consimilis, miles acerrime, bello doctissime, for-
 tiorum fortissime, defensor Christianorum, murus clericorum, baculus
 orphanorum et viduarum, cibus et refectio tam pauperum quam divitum,
 relevatio ecclesiarum, lingua ignara mendacii in iudiciis, omnium comes
 inclite Gallorum, dux exercituum fidelium: cur te in has horas adduxi?
 Cur mortuum te video, cur tecum non morior, cur me mestum et inanem
 55 dimittis? Heu miser! Quid faciam? Vivas cum angelis, exultes cum mar-
 tium choris, leteris cum omnibus sanctis. Sine fine lugendum est mihi
 super te, quemadmodum luxit et doluit David super Saul et Ionathan et
 Absalon.

60 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 paradysiacas epulas te cive reducto,
 Unde gemit mundus, gaudet habere polus.

65 His et aliis verbis Karolus Rothlandum luxit quamdiu 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 luminaribus et ignibus
 per nemora accensis honorifice cuncti illa nocte peregerunt.

XXVIII.

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

42 prius] primus MNHR | et om. NHR 43 super pectus om. R 44 et singultibus incomparabi-
 libus om. R | manibus] manus NHR | 44/45 lugere . . . et capillos M | 45 vellere MHR 46 altissimis
 D | martiris] mei MNHR 55/56 martium choris] martiribus R 57 luxit et om. R 59 Tu]
 Planctus Karoli super Rothlandum nepotem suum. Tu H | tristes MHR | sub] in N om. HR
 61 Sex qui] Sexque H | bonos H 62 Erectus M Abreptus HR 63 cive] duce NHR 64 habere]
 honore NHR | 64/65 polus . . . -diu vixit M | 65 His] De exequiis quas fecit rex Karolus cum suo
 exercitu in loco quo Rothlandus iacebat defunctus. His H 67 aloe] sale R 68 cantilenis] canti-
 bus MNHR

XXVIII. 1 De hoc quod sol stetit spatio dierum trium et de .iiii. milibus Sarracenorum inter-
 fectis N De inventione corporis Oliveri ceterorumque defunctorum per prelium et de morte Ganaloni
 proditoris pugnatorem (?) Karoli H no chapter-break here R

singulos amicos suos, quosdam exanimatos, partim letaliter vulneratos
 invenerunt. Oliverum namque ab hac luce in meliorem translatum 5
 iacentem super solum terre eversum, effigie [*fol. 42^v*] crucis extensum,
 quatuor palis in terra fixis cum quatuor cordis fortiter ligatum, et a collo
 usque ad pedum ungues et manuum excoriatum cultellis acutissimis,
 iaculis et sagittis lanceisque et spatibus perforatum, magnisque ictibus 10
 baculorum attritum, invenerunt. Clamor quoque et luctus et vox plan-
 gentium innumerabilis erat, quia unusquisque super amicum suum
 dolebat. Totum nemus et vallem clamoribus suis implebant. Tunc
 iuravit rex per Deum omnipotentem quod post paganos currere non
 cessaret quousque illos inveniret. Ilico [*illo*] post illos currente cum sua 15
 tantum militia sol stetit immobilis et prolongata est dies illa spatio quasi
 trium dierum; et invenit eos iuxta fluvium Ebra nomine circa Cesaraugus-
 tam iacentes et comedentes. Tunc quatuor milibus ex his interfectis
 reversus est rex noster cum sua militia in Runciavallem. Quid plura?
 Defunctis et infirmis et vulneratis ad locum quo Rothlandus iacebat
 translatis cepit inquirere Karolus si verum esset an non quod Ganalonus 20
 pugnatore, ut multi assignabant, tradidisset. Ilico duos milites armatos
 Pinabellum pro Ganalono et Teodericum pro semetipso ad declarandam
 veritatem congredi iussit: quorum Teodericus ilico peremit Pinabellum.
 Sicque Ganaloni traditione declarata iussit illum Karolus quatuor fero-
 cissimis totius exercitus equis alligari et super eos sessores quatuor 25
 agitantes contra quatuor plagas celi, et sic digna morte discerptus interiit.

XXIX.

Tunc defunctorum corpora amici eorum diversis aromatibus condie-
 runt; alii myrra, alii balsamo, alii sale diligenter perfuderunt. Multi
 corpora per ventrem findebant et stercora eiciebant, et sale illa aromata 5
 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

4 singuli *NHR* | exanimatos, partim] penitus exanimatos, quosdam adhuc vivos sed *NR* peremptos
 exanimatos et quosdam adhuc vivos set *H* | letabiliter *M* 6 eversum in effigie *MNHR* 7 fixus
H | .iiii. retortis fortiter nexum et *NHR* | 7/8 collo eius usque *NH* 9/10 magnisque — attritum
om. R 13 Deum] regem *NHR* 14/15 quousque illos in . . . -tum militia *M* | 14 Ilico *om. N*
 16 eos *om. NR* | circa Cesaraugustam] iuxta Cesaraugustam *NH* illos *R* 18 cum sua virtute et
 militia *H* 21 assignabant] asserebant *NHR* 23 peremit] petiit *M* 24/25 ferocissimis] velocissimis *R*
 6 Solum] *MS. solium*, so also *D*.

14 *Illo* lacking also in *D*.

XXIX. 1 *No chapter-break here MR* De corporibus mortuorum aromatibus et salis conditis *NH*
 (with sale conditorum *H*) 2 diversis *om. HR* | condiderunt *H* 4 illa] alia *NHR* 6 iactabant]
 vectabant *NHR* | alii inter manus ferebant *om. H* | 6/7 alii inter . . . -mos super colla *M* 8/10
 Alius usque — sepeliebat *om. R*

amicum suum ferebat; alius portabat eum usquequo in putredinem dis-
10 solveretur et tunc sepeliebatur.

XXX.

Et erant tunc temporis duo cimiteria sacrosancta, alterum apud
Arelaten in Ayliscampis, alterum apud Burdegalam, que Dominus per
manus .vii. antistitem, scilicet Maximini aquensis, Trophini arelatensis,
5 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. 43^r]miteriis aromatibus peruncti sepeliuntur.

XXXI.

Beatum autem Rothlandum super duas mulas cateto aureo subvectum,
palliis tectum, usque Blavium Karolus deferri fecit et in beati Romani
basilica, quam ipse olim edificaverat canonicosque regulares intromiserat,
5 honorifice sepelivit mucronemque suum ad caput eius et tubam eburneam
ad pedes eius, scilicet ad decus Christi et militie eius, suspendit. Sed
alius postea tubam in beati Severini basilica apud Burdegalam indigne
transtulit. Felix urbs pinguiissima Blavii, que tanto hospite decoratur!
cuius corporali consortio letatur, eius subsidiis munitur. Apud Belinum
10 sepelitur Oliverus et Gandeboldus rex Frisie et Ogerius rex Dacie et
Arastagnus rex Britannie et Garinus dux Lotharingie et alii multi.
Felix villa macilenta Belinum, que tantis hominibus decoratur! Apud
Burdegalam in cymiterio beati Severini: Gaiferus rex burdegalensis,
Engelerus dux Aquitanie, Lambertus rex bituricensis, Gelerius, Gelinus,
15 Rainaldus de Albaspinia, Gauterius, Guillelmus, Beggo cum .v. milibus
aliorum. Hoellus comes apud Nantas urbem suam cum multis Britoni-
bus sepelitur.

| 9 putredine NH | 9/10 dissolverentur et tunc sepeliebant N

XXX. 1 No chapter-break here MR De cimiteriis sacrosanctis unum apud Arelatem et alterum
apud Blavium NH (with unum om. H and apud sanctum Blasium H) 2 duo| bina NHR | cimiteria
precipua sacrosancta NHR 3 Arelatum M Arelatem N Accleten R | Burdegalam NHR | que|
quem D quod NHR 4 .vii.] sanctorum .vii. NH | 4/6 scilicet — sanctonensis om. R | 5 Pau-
lini H | Saturnini tolosanensis om. H Frontini M | petragoracensis MNH | 6 Mercialis H 7 monte
Garzin] acie montis Garzini N acie montis Gracini H 8 his om. NHR

XXXI. 1 No chapter-break here MR De sepultura Rotolandi et ceterorum qui apud Blavium et in
diversis locis sunt sepulti NH (with apud sanctum Blavium in H) 3 Balvium H 6 pedes,
scilicet NHR | Christi et probe militie NHR | 6/7 Sed et alius NHR | 7 basilicam NHR | digne
M om. H 8/9 urbs pin- . . . -coratur cuius M | 9 consortio] solatio NHR | Belinum] Blavium R
10 Oliverius M 12 macilenta om. R | Belini NH Blavii R | hominibus decoratur] heroibus honora-
tur NR honoribus honoratur H 13 Severini] Severini sepelitur NHR | Gaiferius M 14 Enge-
lerius M Engerius NR Engerus H | 14/15 Gelerius — Beggo om. R Gelerius, Gynellus, Rego H
16/17 Hoellus — sepelitur om. R | multis Britonibus] aliis multis Britannis NH

3 Palliis] MS. palleis; so also DNH.

XXXII.

His itaque viris sepulture mandatis ac pro animarum eorum salute
 duodecim milibus unciiis argenteis totidemque aureis talentis vestibisque
 et cibariis, Karolus Iude Machabei memoratus, largitis egenis, totam
 terram que circa basilicam sancti Romani blaviensis sex miliarium spatio 5
 porrigitur totumque oppidum blaviense cum ceteris que sibi pertinent
 et etiam mare quod sub eo est usibus eiusdem ecclesie in allodio amore
 Rothlandi dedit. Et precepit canonicis eiusdem loci ne alicui persone
 humane servitutis officia amplius exhiberent, sed solummodo pro salute
 nepotis sui et ducum exercitus sociorumque eius die passionis eorum 10
 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 pre- 15
 sentes et futuri, celebrarent, quatinus ipsorum corone in celestibus par-
 ticipes effici mererentur. Quod illi sub pacto iurisiurandi faciendum
 promiserunt.

XXXIII.

Postea vero ego Turpinus cum quibusdam exercitibus nostris a Blavio
 discedentibus per Gasconiam et Tolosam tendentes Arelaten perreximus.
 Ibi vero invenimus Burgundionum exercitus, qui a nobis in Honestavalle
 discesserant, et per Morlanum et Tolosam venerant cum mortuis suis 5
 et vulneratis, [fol. 43^r] quos in lectulis et bigis secum illuc adduxerant ad
 sepeliendum eos in cimiterio 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, 10
 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] cunctis 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.*

XXXIII. 1 *De his qui sepulti sunt apud Arelaten et in aliis campis NH no chapter-break here R*
 2 *Turpinus] Tulpinus D Tilpinus M Karolus N et Karolus HR* 3 *discedentes MNHR | Arelaten]*
Arelatum M arelatensem urbem N aurelanensem urbem H aralathensem urbem R | perreximus]
proteximus H 4 *Hostavalle NH Hostewalle R* 6 *quos lectulis MNHR | et bigis om. R* 7
quod est in om. NR et H | aliis campis H 9 *Sampson et dux H | Burgundiorum NR Burgun-*
dorum H | 9/11 *et Albericus — Baioarie om. R |* 11/12 *Berenga . . . prefectus M*
 5/6 *Mortuis suis et] MS. mortuis et suis et.*

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

XXXIV.

Post hec Viennam simul perreximus, et ibi vulnerum cicatricibus ver-
 beribusque et percussionibus quas in Hispania pertuli angustatus re-
 mansi, et rex debilitatus cum suis exercitibus Parisiacam rediit urbem.
 5 Deinde veniens ad ecclesiam beati Dyonisii eundem locum honoravit et
 obsecrationibus et oblationibus. Qui cum aliquantis diebus ibi moram
 fecisset tandem apud Aquisgrani versus Leodium pervenit, et balnea aqua
 calida et frigida temperata in eadem villa sedule perfecit et beate Marie
 virginis basilicam, quam ipse fundaverat, auro et argento cunctisque
 10 ornatibus ecclesiasticis ordinavit, veterisque et novi testamenti hystoriis
 eam depingi iussit, et palatium similiter, quod ipse iuxta eam edificaverat.
 Bella namque que in Hispania devicit et .vii. liberales artes inter cetera
 miromodo in eo depicta sunt. Gramatica scilicet illic depicta est, que
 est omnium artium mater, que docet quot et quales littere et quomodo
 15 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 ignorat, 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
 20 etiam divina ecclesie 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

13 delatus est et cum *H* delatus est cum *R* 14 uncias] missas feri fecit et *H* 15 pauperibus]
 egenis *NHR*

13 *Delatus*] *MS. dilatus*; so also *D*.

XXXIV. 1 *No chapter-break here M* De concilio quod apud sanctum Dionisium Karolus rex fecit
NH (with rex om. *N*) De concilio apud sanctum Dionisium *R* 2/3 verberum (*after percussionibus*)
HR | 3/4 remansi—debilitatus om. *H* | 4 cum suo exercitu *HR* | rediit] adiit *NHR* 8 sedule
 om. *R* | perfecit] paravit *NHR* 9 ipse fundaverat] ibi edificaverat *NHR* 10/11 ornatibus ec-
 ... hystoria eam *M* | 10 ornamentis *R* | ordinavit] decenter adornavit *NHR* | veteris *H* vetusque
R | 10/11 et novum testamentum in ea depingi sunt (?) iussit *R* | 10 hystoriis om. *NH* 12 que]
 que ipse *NH* ipse *R* 13 in eo] ea *D* in ea *HR* | depicta sunt] depicte sunt *R* depingere iussit *M* |
 Gramatica] De septem artibus quas Karolus in palatio suo depingi fecit. De gramatica. Grama-
 tica *NH* De gramatica. Gramatica *R* | que] scilicet que *NHR* 16 dyptongon debet poni] diptongon
 componi, ut duo orthographie codices qui primi inter ceteros habentur ostendunt. Nam orto grece
 dicitur rectus, graphia scriptura *MNHR* (with diptongus debet poni *M* and ostendit *N* and grece
 recte dicitur latine, graphos *M*) 18 sed—intelligit om. *H* 19 sit] latet *NHR* | Musica] De
 musica. Musica *NHR* 23 ab] in *N* om. *HR*

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

16 *Lectores in*] *MS. lectores qui in*; so also *DM*.

admisceri? Ait namque liber sacramentorum sic: Cum quibus, id est 25
 cum angelis, nostras voces ut admitti iubeas deprecamur. In hac arte
 magna sacra[fol. 44^r]menta magnaue 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
 Dialectica in aula regis depicta est, que docet verum a falso discernere
 dispositum de verbo et de scientia. Geometria ibi depicta est, que
 mensuratio dicitur terre. Ge enim grece dicitur glis; metros, mensura.
 Hec ars terrarum, montium et vallium et marium spacia et miliaria et
 leugas mensurare docet. Per hanc enim senatores Romam ceterasque 35
 urbes antiquas componentes et miliaria et vias 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 40
 novit, cum turrim vel murum videt, quot lapides in eo sunt, vel quot
 gutte in cyfo limphe vel quot nummi in uno cumulo vel quot in exercitu
 comprehendit. Per hanc artem lapicide, quamvis ignorantes, turres altas
 et muros adhuc faciunt. Astronomia ibi depicta est, qua 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 regnorum detrimentum et statum noverant.
 Unaqueque artium filiam habebat sibi subiectam, libellum scilicet de se
 tractantem. Nigromantia, ex qua oriuntur piromantia et ydromantia,
 et liber sacratus immo execratus non ibi depictus fuit, quoniam libera 50

28/29 linee quibus . . . -tes prudentiam *M* | 28 continetur *HR* | 29 virtutes, prudentiam scilicet,
 fortitudinem, temperantiam et iustitiam *NHR* | prudentiam, fortitudinem, temperantiam et iusti-
 tiam *M* 31 Dialectica] De dialectica. Dialectica *NHR* 32 dispositum] docet etiam disputare
M et disputare *NHR* | Geometria] Rethorica quoque convenienter et placide recte docet
 loqui. Rethos grece dicitur facundia. Ars enim ista facundos reddit et eloquentes. Geometria *M*
 De rethorica. Rethorica que convenienter et placide recte docet loqui. Rethos grece dicitur fa-
 cundus. Verbis enim facundum et eloquentem ars reddit. De geometrica. Geometria *NHR* 35
 ceteras *NHR* 37 latitudinem et longitudinem *MN* 38 mensurarunt] mensuraverunt *MR*
 olim mensurarunt *N* 39 et laborant *om.* *R* | Arimetica] Arismetica *M* De arismetica. Aris-
 metica *NHR* (with ars metrica. Arsmetrica *HR*) 40 naturis] numeris *NHR* 41 videt]
 videt excelsum *NHR* 42 gutte *om.* *NHR* | quot in] quot homines in *MNHR* 43/44 lapicide —
 faciunt *om.* *H* | 43 turres] terras et vineas, prata et turres *R* | altas] excelsas *NR* | 44 adhuc faci-
 unt] adhuc operantur *N* operantur *R* | Astronomia — accidentia] De astrologia. Astrologia in
 opere regis depicta est. Dicitur rimatio stellarum, que accidentia *NR* (with Dicitur] et est *R* and
 que] qua *R*) De astronomia. Astronomia in opere regis picta est. Astronomia dicitur rimatio
 stellarum, qua accidentia *H* 45/46 fuerint sciuntur] sunt noscuntur *NHR* | 46 artem] autem
HR 47 regumque] facta regumque *NH* facta regisque *R* 48/49 Unaqueque — tractantem
om. *M* | 48 artium] harum septem artium *NHR* | habebat sibi] habet *NHR* 50 et liber — depic-
 tus] in aula regis depicta non *R* | execratus in aula regis depicta non fuit *N*

35 Romam] MS. romani; so also *DMNHR*.

ars minime habetur et idcirco ars adulterina dicitur. Quod etiam eius nomine approbatur. Mantia enim grece, divinatio latine; nigros, id est mors; piros, ignis; ydros, lympa; titulus nigramantie incipit mors anime.

XXXV.

Post exiguum tempus regis Karoli mors mihi ita demonstratur: Cum igitur apud Viennam 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 Ethiopi 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. 44^r] 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 scilicet qua nos apud Viennam separavimus impetraveram ut si fieri posset nuntium mortis sue mihi
 20 mitteret, si ante mortem meam mors illi eveniret. Similiter ipse a me impetraverat 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 ilico 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 familiaritate nullatenus valet et MNHR (with sed non operari H and demonum R and nullatenus non M) | 51/52 quod — approbatur om. M | 52/53 latine — anime] dicitur. Nigro quasi nigra, unde nigromantia dicitur quasi nigra divinatio; piros grece rogos latine, ydros limpha, unde piromantia ignea divinatio et ydromantia limphatica dicitur. Titulus enim nigramantie hic est Incipit mors anime NHR (with unde — nigra om. R and hic] cleris R) | 53 nigramantie 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 innumerabilium DHR | preire] preterire MNHR 6 pertransissent NHR | sum om. NHR 7 Cui] Ei NHR 12 cui primum locutus fueram NH cui prius locutus fueram R 13 innumera MNH 18 scilicet om. NR | qua nos] quo nos ab invicem NHR 20 illa HR 21 ipse om. NHR 23 militi alumpno suo NHR 26 fidelium] defunctorum NHR 7 Alios] MS. oculos; so also D.

prefatorum eadem die qua ipsi martirium susceperunt, scilicet .xvi.
 Kalendas Iulii, .xii. milia argenteas uncias totidemque talenta auri (et
 psalteria missasque et vigilias cantari fecisse) vestesque et cibaria an-
 nuatim in omni vita sua pauperibus solitum erogasse, atque eadem die 30
 et hora qua ego visionem videram, scilicet quinto Kalendas Februarii,
 anno dominice Incarnationis octingentesimo quarto decimo illum ab hac
 luce migrasse, et apud Aquisgranum in horis Leodii in beate Marie
 virginis basilica rotunda, quam ipse edificaverat, honorifice illum sepul-
 tum fuisse. Et hec signa ante mortem eius accidissee audivi per tres 35
 annos: Nam solem et lunam per .vii. dierum spatia atro colore ante eius
 mortem contigit immutari. Nomen vero eius, id est Karolus princeps,
 quod erat scriptum in pariete ecclesie prefate, ante eius mortem per
 semetipsum deletum est. Porticus qui inter basilicam et regiam erat die
 Ascensionis dominice funditus per semetipsum cecidit. Pons ligneus 40
 quem apud Maguntiam .vii. annorum spatio ingenti studio super fluvium
 Reni edificaverat incendio funditus per semetipsum consumptus fuisse
 dicitur. Cumque ipse de loco ad locum pergeret subito dies atra efficitur
 et flamma magna rogi a parte dextera usque ad levam ante eius oculos
 velociter pertransiit. Unde ipse valde perterritus in alteram partem de 45
 equo cecidit et aucona quam manu ferebat in aliam. Ilico socii eius
 occurrerunt et manibus eum a terra levaverunt. Nunc igitur illum
 [fol. 45^r] participem in corona martirum credimus prefatorum, quorum
 labores illum cum eis pertulisse scimus. In hoc ergo exemplo datur in-
 telligi quia qui ecclesiam edificat regnum sibi preparat, a demonibus ut 50
 Karolus eripitur, et in celesti regno subsidiis sanctorum quorum edificat
 basilicas collocatur.

XXXVI.

Sed valde dignum est ut inter cetera ad Domini nostri Ihesu Christi
 decus revocetur ad memoriam miraculum quod pro beato Rothlando,
 dum adhuc viveret, antequam ingrederetur Hyspaniam, ut fertur,

27 ipsi] Christi *N* | martirium pro divino amore susceperunt *N* martirium pro divino amore sump-
 serunt *HR* | 27/28 scilicet — Iulii *om. R* | 28 totidem *N* | talenta auri et *om. NH* | 28/30
 auri — in omni] aurea in omni *R* | 29 cantare *H* | fecisse] fecisse, totidem talenta aurea *N* fecisse,
 totidemque talenta aurea *H* | vestes etiam et cibaria *MNH* 31 ego] eius *HR* | quinto] sexto *M*
 .xv. *N* 33 Aquisgranum horis *NHR* 34 illum *om. MHR* 35 accidissee] contigisse *NHR*
 39 que *MNH* 40 semetipsam *DNH* 41 Magontiam *DN* Mangontiam *H* | ingenti *om. R* |
 studio *om. NHR* 42 incendio] in medio *HR* | 42/43 consumptus fuit. Cumque *NR* consump-
 tum fuit. Cumque *H* 45 perterritus] stupefactus *N* pavefactus *HR* 47/48 illum esse participem
NHR | 48 martirum credimus *om. R* 50 regnum Dei sibi *NHR*
 47 Nunc] *MS. Num*; so also *D*.

XXXVI. 1 De miraculo Rotolandi comitis quod apud urbem Granopolim Deus per eum facere
 dignatus est *N* De hoc ad preces Rotolandi muri Granapolis ceciderunt *H* 3 beato] bono *M* 4/5
 antequam — Dominus *om. R*

5 Dominus ostendit. Cum igitur vir venerandus Rothlandus comes Gran-
 nopolim urbem cum universis Christianorum exercitibus .vii. annorum
 spatio per circuitum obsedisset, velox advenit paranimphus nuntians ei
 quod Karolus eius avunculus in arce quadam in horis Wormatie urbis
 obsessus a tribus regibus, Wandalorum scilicet, Saxonum et Frisonum
 10 et eorum exercitibus [tenebatur] mandans et efflagitans ut sibi cum suo
 exercitu succurreret et eum a paganis liberaret. Tunc nepos avunculi 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
 15 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 invocatur dicens: Domine Ihesu
 Christe, fili patris altissimi, qui divisisti mare Rubrum in divisiones et
 20 eduxisti Israel per medium eius et precipitasti Pharaonem in eo, qui
 Iherico muros, quibus adversantium cingebatur exercitus, sine humana
 pugna et absque 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-
 25 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 r[egnans] in u[nitate] s[piritus] s[ancti] D[eus]
 per o[mnia] s[ecula] s[eculorum]. A[men]. Quid plura? Facta hac prece
 tertia die sine humano tactu lapsis undique muris urbis expugnatisque
 30 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 subveniatur ei.

XXXVII.

Beatus Turpinus remensis archiepiscopus, Christi martir, post Karoli
 regis mortem modico tempore vivens apud Viennam vulnere et laborum

[5 Dominus *om.* H | Cum — comes] Cum ergo venerandus comes H Cum igitur Rothlandus R | 5/6
 Granopolim NH Granopolim R 8 in^o *om.* NHR 9 Frisonum NHR 10 sibi cito cum NHR
 16 audiamus] est audiendum NH est audiendus R 17 aut] nec N neque HR 19 patris] Dei vivi,
 fili patris H Dei vivi patris R 24 armaturam] armatum M eius armaturam NHR 27 regnas
 cum patre in unitate M | in unitate — Deus *om.* NHR | 27/28 sancti — Amen *om.* M 29 tertia
 die *om.* R 31 Dei *om.* R 32 inimicorum] iniquorum NHR 35 ei] ei. Explicit liber Turpini
 de gestis Karoli HR

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 vulnere] doloribus vulnere NH

suorum angustiatu dolore migravit ad Dominum, et iuxta urbem, ultra Rodanum scilicet, versus orien[fol. 45^r]tem in quadam ecclesia olim sepultus extitit. Cuius sanctissimum corpus nostris temporibus quidam ex nostris clericis quodam sarcofago 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 percussionum dolores quos cum ceteris in agone acceperunt. 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 quiesceret, demonis instinctu surrexit quidam paganus Altumaior Cordube dicens quod terram galicianam et hispanicam, quam Karolus ab antecessoribus suis adquisierat, ipse sibi acquireret legibusque sarracenis subiugaret. Tunc coadunatis sibi exercitibus suis terras huc illucque devastando usque ad beati Iacobi urbem pervenit et quicquid in ea invenit 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 ultione fluxu sanguinis intestinorum interibant, alii vero oculorum lumina per basilicam et urbem ut ceci errantes amittebant. Quid plura? Hac egritudine idem Altumaior tactus, omnino etiam excecatus, consilio cuiusdam capti sui eiusdem basilice sacerdotis cepit invocare Deum Christianorum in auxilium in his verbis dicens: O Deus Christianorum, Deus Iacobi, Deus Petri,

4 dolore] morte NH | et ibi iuxta NH 7 clericis in quodam NH 8 pelle etiam propria NH 9 eum om. NH 11 adquisivit in terris. Credendum NH | igitur om. MNH 16 percussionum] persecutionem H

18 Erimus] MNH continue with passage reproduced below, Appendix III.

XXXVIII. 1 No chapter-break here M De Altumaiore Cordube NH De miraculis beati Iacobi R 2 accidit a nobis H | nobis om. R 4 paganus] Sarracenus NHR 5 et hispanicam om. D | 5/6 hispanicam . . . ab M | 5 quam] quas H | 6 suis om. H | adquisierat] olim abstulerat NHR 7 subiceret N subiceret HR 9 totum om. R | diripuit H diripit R 10 et tintinnabula om. R 14 vero om. HR | oculorum] clericorum N 18 in om. NH | in his verbis om. R 18/19 O Deus — omnium] O decus Christianorum Petri, Deus Iacobi, Deus omnium H O Deus Christianorum, Deus Petri, Deus Iacobi, Deus omnium R

Deus omnium rerum, si me ad pristinam sanitatem revocaveris, Mahu-
 20 meth 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. Tunc post .xv.
 dies omnibus ecclesie sancti Iacobi restitutis, ad pristinam salutem Altu-
 maior revocatus, a terra sancti Iacobi recessit [*fol. 46^v*] promittens se non
 25 amplius venturum in horas eius causa rapine et predicans Deum Chris-
 tianorum esse magnum et Iacobum magnum esse virum.

XXXIX.

Postea vero hispanicas oras devastando pervenit ad villam que dicitur
 Ornix, in qua beati Romani basilica optima et pulcherrima erat palliis et
 codicibus optimis et crucibus argenteis et textis aureis decorata; ad quam
 5 Altumaior veniens rapuit quicquid in ea invenit et villam devastavit.
 Cumque in eadem villa cum suis exercitibus hospitatus esset, quidam dux
 exercituum eius ingressus in eandem basilicam vidit columpnas pulcher-
 rimas lapideas, que eiusdem ecclesie tecta sustinebant, que etiam in
 summitate deargentate et deaurate erant, et avaritie stimulis actus quen-
 10 dam cuneum ferreum inter bases et eandem columpnam 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 lapis usque in hodiernum diem in effigie
 hominis in eadem ecclesia persistit, habens talem colorem qualem eiusdem
 15 Sarraceni tunica tunc habebat. Solent etiam peregrini narrare, qui illuc
 causa precum tendunt, quod lapis ille fetorem emittit. Quod ut Altu-
 maior vidit, ait domesticis suis: Magnus est revera Deus Christianorum,
 qui tales habet alumpnos qui, cum a vita migraverint, tamen in vivos
 sibi rebelles ita se vindicant. Iacobus lumen oculorum a me abstulit,
 20 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 Iacobi] duppliciter *NHR* 24/25 revocatus est . . . amplius *M* |
 24 recedit *NHR*

XXXIX. 1 *No chapter-break here MNHR* 2 que vulgo dicitur *NHR* 3 Ornis *M* Orvix *H*
 Orviz *R* | 3/4 basilica — decorata] basilica erat *R* | 4 et crucibus argenteis *om. H* | 4/5 quam ipse
 Altumaior *NH* 8 sustentabant *NHR* 9 actus] tactus *M* 10 bases et eandem columpnam]
 bases cuiusdam columpne et eandem columpnam *N* bases cuiusdam columpne et columpnam *HR*
 11/12 fortiter — operante] feriret divino *R* | 12 operante *om. M* 13 usque — diem] adhuc *R* usque
 hodie *NH* 14 ecclesia] basilica *NHR* 15/16 Solent — quod] et *R* 17 Deus] et glorificandus
 Deus *NH* Dominus *R* 18 ab hac vita *HR* | 18/19 tamen . . . lumen *M* 21/22 hominem meum
 non *NHR*

3 *Palliis*] MS. *palleis*; so also *D*.

4 *Textis*] MS. *testibus*; 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 25 vero a potestate Sarracenorum illam custodierint celesti munere remunerabuntur.

XL.

Iulius Cesar, ut traditur, tres gentes, Nubilianos scilicet et Scottos et Cornubiandos caudatos, ad expugnandos Hyspanorum populos, eo quod tributum ei reddere nolebant, ad Hyspaniam misit precipiens eis ut omnem masculinum sexum interficerent, femineum tamen ad vitam 5 reservarent. Qui cum per mare illam terram ingressi essent, confractis navibus suis ab urbe Barcinona usque ad Cesaraugustam et ab urbe Baiona usque ad montem Oque igne et gladio devastaverunt. Hos fines transire nequiverunt, quoniam Castellani coadunati illos expugnantes a finibus suis eiecerunt. Illi autem fugientes venerunt [*fol. 46^v*] ad 10 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 vi sibi rapuerunt; e quibus natos genuerunt qui postea a sequentibus Navarri vocantur. Unde Navarrus interpretatur non verus, id est, non vera 15 progenie aut legitima 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 predicatione ad Deum convertit. 20

XLI.

Karolus rex cur appellatus sit magnus, dubia multorum opinio est. Sed ne fame licentia vulneretur fides, causam paucis reddam. Causa orationis post venationem cenobium quoddam sanctimonialium intra- 5 verat; cum interim pernoctaturus inter vespertinas epulas quas regali luxu extruxerant, subito e vicino saltu fetosa eoque seior ursa adesse

23 paganus — suis *om.* R | paganus *om.* H | 23/24 postea — tempus] aliquis postea R | 23 post] per N | 24/27 Sciant — remunerabuntur *om.* R | 26/27 remunerabuntur] N breaks off here

25 *Inquietaverint*] MS. *metaverint*; so also DMNH. In some source manuscript a scribe probably inadvertently 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 Navarii de vera prosapia non sunt geniti H 3 Cornubilandos ad expugnandum H | expugnandos universos Hyspanorum 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. Diffugiunt omnes agmen inprimis femineum, et cellularum clause angustiis sola oratione cum immani pugnant bestia. Sola Landrada, que rectrix ec-
 10 clesie 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 ille
 15 more militari pedetemptim contragraditur, et librata diligenter dextra uno eodemque non difficili ictu rupeam illam molem facit victimam. Fit concursus et clamor militum et seipsos castigantes inertie id muneris offerunt victori: ut non iam Karolus ut ab avo sed Karolus magnus vocetur velut ab ingenti facto. Sic princeps per magni periculi triumphum
 20 in magni nominis hereditavit additamentum. Victor hic bestiarum et omnium certaminum molli vulneratur libidine. Erat illic virgo sacra nomine Amalberga, genere nobilis, forma spectabilis. Hec in scola illa sanctarum feminarum sub beata Landrada nutriebatur et contemptis omnibus in unius eterni regis amore accendebatur. De vite eius per-
 25 fectione nichil dubium. Nam in gestis habetur: hanc in officio ecclesie laborantem et virginea manu cementa attractantem iuvenis rex dum frequenter intuetur, lascivis oculis molle bibit venenum. Pugnat tamen secum aliquandiu sperans quod in re erat, et Amalbergam non posse humano amo[fol. 47]re corrumpi et turpe esse si rex infamaretur nota
 30 repudii. Sed cum in dies amplius molli hoc estu decoqueretur depasto sensu mente mutata una dierum in virginem facit impetum. Illa reluctans et vicine ecclesie valvas arripiens fracto tamen brachii osse evadit et ante altare Dei genitricis prostrata velut post naufragium amatoris sui deprecatur solatium. Fusa brevi et pura oratione misericordissime
 35 statim consolatur et velut post fornacem temptationis longe purior integre sanitati restauratur. Timensque post huius naufragii emersionem ne rursus in aliam relaberetur fluctuum illisionem nocte reddita cum germano suo Rodingo fugam iniit, et Tempsecam fundum suum super fluvium Scaldum repetit. Sic uterque gloriati: Karolus de impedita in-
 40 cestuosa voluptate, Amalberga de conservata virginea castitate.

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

10 quo] qua D 20 additamentum] augmentum D 23 Landrada D 29 amore om. D

41 Prologus] Eginhardi prologus (later hand) D

10 Quo] o written above deleted a.

11 Solebat] altered from soleret.

APPENDIX I

B.M., MS. NERO A xi, CHAPTERS I-II, IV-VIII

INCIPIT HISTORIA FAMOSISSIMI KAROLI MAGNI QUOMODO TERRAM HISPANICAM ET GALICIANAM A POTESTATE SARRACENORUM ACQUISIVIT.

Capitulum primum.

[Ch. 2]

Gloriosissimus namque Christi apostolus Iacobus aliis apostolis et dominicis discipulis diversa cosmi climata adeuntibus, ut fertur, primus Galleciam predicavit. Deinde assecle apostolico corpore ab Herode rege perempto, scilicet a Ierosolimis usque ad Galleciam per mare translato, eandem Galleciam predicaverunt. Et ipsi Galleciani postea peccatis suis exigentibus fidem postponentes [fol. 8^o] usque ad Karoli magni imperatoris Normannorum, Gallorum et Theutonicorum ceterarumque gentium tempus perfidi retro abierunt. Hic vero, postquam multis laboribus per multa orbis climata diversa regna, scilicet Galliam, Theutonicam, Barbariam, Lothoringiam, Burgundiam, Italiam, Britanniam ceterasque regiones innumerasque urbes a mari usque ad mare divinis subsidiis 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 sibi daret proposuit. Statimque intuitus est in celo quandam viam stellarum incipientem a mari Frisie et tendentem inter Theutonicam et Italiam, inter Galliam et Aquitanniam, rectissime transeuntem per Gasconiam Basclamque et Navvarram et Hispaniam usque Galleciam, qua beati Iacobi corpus tunc temporis latebat incognitum.

20

Quam viam dum Karolus per singulas noctes sepe perspiceret, cepit sepiissime premeditari quid significaret. Cui hec summo studio cogitanti heros quidam apparuit dicens: Quid agis, fili mi? At ille ait: Quis es, Domine? Ego sum, inquit, Iacobus apostolus, Christi alumnus, filius Zebedei, frater Iohannis ewangeliste, quem Dominus supra mare Galilee ad predicandum populis sua ineffabili gratia eligere dignatus est, quem Herodes rex gladio peremit, cuius corpus in Gallecia, que a Sarracenis adhuc turpe opprimitur, incognitum requiescit. Unde ultra modum miror cur terram meam a Saracenis minime liberasti, qui tot urbes tantasque terras acquisisti. Quapropter tibi notifico quia sicut

[Ch. 3]

25

30

1/3 INCIPIT — primum] Incipit liber Turpini archiepiscopi remensis quomodo Karolus rex Francorum adquisivit Hispaniam. Hunc librum dicit Kalixtus papa esse autenticum *Hom. R* 4 namque *om. HR* 5 primus in Galecia *HR* 6 apostolico] eius apostolico *HR* | 6/7 Herode perempto et ab Ierosolimis *HR* | 7 translato, eidem Galecie *HR* 8 Et ipsi Galleciani] Set Christiani galleciani *H* Sed illi de Galecia *R* 9 Normannorum] Romanorum *H* 10 Hic] Quomodo sanctus Iacobus apostolus apparuit Karolo magno. Capitulum primum. Hic *H* | vero] vero Karolus *HR* 11 regna, Angliam scilicet *R* regna, Andegamam scilicet *H* 12 Barbariam] Bardarcam *H om. R* | Italiam *om. R* | Britanniam *om. HR* 16 ut et] ut *H* et ut *R* 19 usque ad Galleciam *HR* (so repeatedly where *N* has no ad) 21 Quam] no new paragraph in *MSS.* 23 speciem] faciem *R*

6 Assecle] *MS. a sede*; so also *H.*

17 Incipientem] *MS. incipiente.*

- potentior omnium regum terre[*fol. 9^r*]norum Dominus fecit te, sic ad preparandum iter meum et liberandam tellurem meam a manibus Moabitarum te inter omnes, ut tibi coronam eterne retributionis exinde prepararet, elegit. Via stellarum quam in celo vidisti hoc significat, quod tu cum magno exercitu ad
- 35 expugnandam gentem paganorum perfidam et liberandum iter meum et tellurem et ad visitandam basilicam meam et sarcophagum meum ab his horis usque Galleciam iturus es, et post te omnes populi a mari usque ad mare peregrinantes veniam delictorum suorum a Domino impetrantes illuc ituri sunt, narrantes laudes Domini et virtutes eius usque ad finem seculi presentis ibunt. Nunc
- 40 autem perge quamcitus poteris, quia ego ero auxiliator tuus in omnibus et propter labores tuos impetrabo tibi coronam a Domino in celestibus, et usque ad novissimum diem erit nomen tuum in laude. Taliter beatus apostolus tribus vicibus Karolo apparuit. His itaque auditis, Karolus apostolica promissione fretus, coadunatis sibi exercitibus multis ad expugnandas gentes multas perfidas
- 45 Hispaniam ingressus est.

[Ch. 4] DE MURIS PAMPILONIE PER SEMETIPSOS LAPSIS.

- Prima urbs quam obsidione circumvit 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
- 5 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. Sarracenos vero qui baptizari voluerunt [*fol. 9^r*] ad vitam reservavit, et qui renuerunt gladio peremit. His auditis mirabilibus Saraceni
- 10 Karolo ubique pergenti se inclinabant et mittebant ei obviam tributum et reddebant ei urbes et facta est ei terra tota sub tributo. Mirabatur gens sarracenicum cum videbat gentem gallicam optimam scilicet ac bene indutam et facie elegantem et honorifice pacificeque recipiebant eos armis etiam reiectis. Inde visitato sarcophago beati Iacobi venit ad Petronum et infixit in mari lanceam agens
- 15 Deo et sancto Iacobo grates, qui eum usque illuc perduxit, dicens quia in antea ire non poterat. Galicianos vero qui post beati Iacobi predicationem discipulorumque eius 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
- 20 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 meam et *HR*

32 *Et* *MS. ad*; so also *HR*.

33 *Coronam* *MS. corona* | *Via* *MS. viam*; so also *H*.

1 De muris — lapsis] De muris Pampilonie cadentibus *H om. R* 3 tribus — eam *om. H* | munita *R* 5 in⁴] ad *HR* 7 lapsi] collapsi *HR* 11 sub tributo] in tributum *HR*

20 *Ivit* supplied from *HR*.

DE YDOLO MAHUMET.

[Ch. 6]

Idola et simulacra que tunc 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 demoniacam legionem quandam sua arte magica sigillavit, [fol. 11^r] que etiam tanta fortitudine illud idolum obtinuit quod a nullo unquam frangi potuit. Cum enim aliquis Christianus ad illud appropinquat, statim periclitatur. Sed cum aliquis Sarracenus causa adorandi vel deprecandi Mahumet accedit, ille incolumis recedit. Sed si forte super illud avis quelibet se deposuerit, statim 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 subiugabit. 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 augmentavit, antistitem et canonicos secundum beati Isidori episcopi et confessoris regulam in ea constituit, eamque tintinnabulis pallisque, libris ceterisque ornamentis decenter ornavit. De residuo vero auro et argento inmenso quod de Hispania attulit, regressus ab ea multas ecclesias fecit: ecclesiam scilicet beate Marie virginis que est apud Aquisgranum, et basilicam sancti Iacobi que est apud Tolosam, et illam que est in Gasconia inter 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 abantias innumeras quas per mundum fecit.

DE REDITU KAROLI AD GALLIAM ET DE AIGOLANDO.

[Ch. 7]

Demum Karolo reverso ad Galliam quidam paganus rex affricanus nomine Aigolandus cum suis exercitibus terram Hispanorum sibi acquisivit eiectis etiam et interfectis de oppidis et urbibus custodibus christianis, quos ad custodiendam terram Karolus reliquerat. His auditis Karolus cum multis exercitibus rursus 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 subiugabit om. H

5 Colunt supplied from HR.

1 De ecclesiis — fecit om. R | rex] imperator H 4/5 eamque — ornavit om. R 11 fluvium om. HR

3 Locis supplied from HR.

1 De reditu — Aigolando] De exemplo ecclesiarum R 2 Demum] Agarum (?) H | affricanus om. R 6 Anglicis H

DE EXEMPLO ELEMOSINE MORTUI.

- Sed quale exemplum Dominus tunc nobis omnibus ostendere dignatus est de his qui mortuorum elemosinas iniuste retinent nobis est dicendum. Cum igitur apud Baionam urbem Blascorum Karoli exercitus hospitatus esset, miles quidam
- 5 nomine Romaticus valde egrotus, morti proximus, accepta penitentia et eukaristia a sacerdote, ut equum quem habebat venderet pretiumque clericis et egenis erogaret cuidam consanguineo suo precepit. Quo mortuo consanguineus ille invidie stimulo tactus equum centum solidos venutidavit pretiumque cibis potibusque et vestibus velociter expendit. Sed quia malis factis divini iudicis vin-
- 10 dicta proxima esse solet, transactis triginta diebus apparuit ei nocte in extasi mortuus dicens: Quoniam res meas pro anime mee redemptione in elemosinam tibi commendavi ad dan[fol. 12^r]dum, scias omnia crimina mea Deum mihi dimisisse. Sed quia iniuste elemosinam meam retinuisti, per .xxx. dies in tartareis penis moras me intelligas fecisse. Te autem in eodem loco infernali, unde egressus sum,
- 15 die crastina scias ponendum et me in paradiso futurum. His itaque dictis mortuus recessit vivusque tremefactus evigilavit. Qui cum summo mane narraret cuncta que audierat omnibus inter se de tanta re loquentibus, ecce subito clamores super eum in aere, quasi rugitus leonum, luporum, et vitulorum, et statim de medio circumstantium a demonibus in ipsis ululatus vivus ac sanus rapitur.
- 20 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 exanimatum et confractum in cuiusdam silicis fastigio, cuius ascensus tribus leugis habebatur supra mare, distans a prefata urbe quatuor dietis. De-
- 25 mones vero eius corpus ibi eiecerant animamque ad Tartara impeierant. Quapropter sciant qui mortuorum elemosinas sibi ad dandum commendatas iniuste 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, invenerunt eum in terra que dicitur De Campis, super flumen quod dicitur Ceia, in pratis scilicet in optimo et
- 5 plano loco quo postea beatorum martirum Facundi et Primitivi basilica ingens [fol. 12^r] et optima iussu Karoli fabricatur, in qua et eorundem martirum corpora requiescunt, et monachorum abbatia constituitur et magna villa pinguissima in eodem loco. Appropinquantibus vero Karoli exercitibus mandavit Aigolandus bellum secundum velle suum: vel .xx. contra .xx., vel .xl. contra .xl., vel
- 10 .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 interfecti sunt

1 No chapter-break here R De exemplo — mortui] De exemplo elemosinarum H 2 omibus om. H
 5 Romaticus] Thomaricus HR 14 moram R 15 itaque om. R 18 clamor HR 20 Queritur per quatuor dies per HR 21 duodecim] quatuor HR 22 per deserta — reperit] declinaret per terram Narvorum, reperit R 26 sciant qui mortuorum om. H

1 De bello — viruerunt] De sancti Facundi ubi haste floruerunt Hom. R 5 beatorum] bonorum R
 7 pinguissima om. R 9 vel .xx. contra .xx., vel .xl. contra .xl. om. R 11/12 sunt centum Sarraseni HR

Sarraceni. Deinde mittuntur ab Aigolando alii .c. contra .c. et interfecti sunt Sarraceni. Inde misit Aigolandus .cc. contra .cc. et statim interfecti sunt omnes Mauri. Demum [misit] Aigolandus duo milia contra duo milia, quorum pars quedam occiditur, parsque alia terga vertit. Tertia vero die iecit sortes Aigolandus secrete et agnovit Karoli detrimentum. Et mandavit ei ut pugnam plenariam sequenti die cum eo faceret si vellet, quod ab utroque concessum est. Tunc astiterunt quidam ex Christianis qui sero ante diem arma bellica sua studiosissime preparantes hastas suas erectas in terra fixerunt ante castra, in pratis videlicet iuxta predictum fluvium; quas summo mane corticibus et frondibus decoratas invenerunt: hii scilicet qui in acie proxuma martirii palmam Dei fide erant accepturi. Et ultra quam dici fas est admirantes tantumque Dei miraculum gratie divine asscribentes absciderunt eas prope terram, et radices qui remanserunt in tellure in modum perticarum postea magna generarunt arbusta, que adhuc in illo loco apparent. Erant enim illorum ipse haste de lignis fraxineis. Mira res magnumque [fol. 13^r] gaudium, magnum animabus profectum, ingens et corporibus detrimentum! Quid plura? Die vero illa agitur utrorumque pugna, in qua occisi sunt .xl. Christianorum milia. Dux Milo Rotolandi genitor, cum his quorum haste fronderant, ibi palmam martirii adeptus est, Karoli equus peremptus. Tunc Karolus stans pedes cum duobus milibus Christianorum peditum in medio belli Sarracenorum evaginavit spatam suam nomine Gaudiosam et trucidavit multos Sarracenos per medium. Die vero advesperascente Sarraceni et Christiani ire vertuntur in castris. Altera die venerunt ad succurrendum Carolo quatuor marquisii de Italie horis cum quatuor milibus pugnatorum. Mox ut vidit Aigolandus illos, terga vertens in legionibus horis secessit, et Karolus cum suis exercitibus tunc ad Galliam remeavit. In prefata acie fas est intelligi salutem pro Christo certantium [etc.].

13 Inde] Deinde *R* | contra .cc. *om.* *HR* 14 Mauri *om.* *R* | Demum] Deinde *H* | contra duo milia *om.* *HR* 15/16 iecit Aigolandus sortem et agnovit *HR* 19 terram *HR* 20 predictum] prefatum *HR* 21 palmam pro Dei *R* | fidei *H* 23 que *HR* 24 genuerunt *H* gerunt *R* 30 peremptus] peremptus est *HR* 32 advesperante *HR* 33 ire *om.* *HR* 34 pugnatorum] bellatorum *HR* 35 terga tenentes in longioribus (*sic*) horis *H* terga vertentes in longioribus horis *R*

14 *Misit* supplied from *HR*.

15/16 *Aigolandus*] *MS.* *Aigolandos*.

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 aliquantibus 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]
- 5 omnes Francie reges et episcopi presentes et futuri pastori eiusdem ecclesie essent obediens in Christo. Nec reges sine eius consilio essent coronati, nec episcopi ordinati, nec apud Romam recepti essent, aut dampnati. Rursum [fol. 32^r] post plurima dona precepit ut eidem ecclesie unusquisque possessor uniuscuiusque domus totius Gallie quatuor nummos annuatim ad edificandam ecclesiam darent.
- 10 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 martirii coronam acceperant. Nocte proxima regi dormienti beatus Dionisius apparuit inquit: Illis qui tua ammonitione et exemplo tue
- 15 probitatis animati in bellis Sarracenorum in Hispania mortui et morituri sunt delictorum suorum veniam et illis qui ad edificandam ecclesiam meam nummos dant vel daturi sunt gravioris sui vulneris medicinam a Deo impetravi. His a rege relatis populi nummos saluberrime promissionis devotissime offerebant. Et qui libentius reddebat Francus Dionisii ubique vocabatur, quoniam ab omni
- 20 servitute liber rege precipiente erat. Hinc mos surrexit, ut terra que antea vocabatur Gallia tunc Francia vocaretur, id est ab omni servitute aliarum gentium libera. Quapropter Francus liber dicitur, quia super omnes gentes alias et decus et dominatio illi debetur. Tunc Karolus rex Aquisgranum versus Leodium perrexit, et balnea . . . [etc.].

2 Deo et om. M | paganam] ad paganam HR | subiugandi M subiugandam HR 4 beato] eidem primo M 9 annuatim om. M 10 beati Dionisii iuxta eiusdem corpus M 11 libenter . . . et pro M 18 promissionis] ammonitionis M 19 reddebat Francus] persolvebat Francus sancti M 21 tunc om. HR 22 omnes om. H 23/24 Aquisgranum — perrexit] iturus Aquisgrani versus Leodorum pervenit M

4 Ut supplied from MHR.

9 Domus] MS. donus.

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 extitit: clemens sermonibus, clemens operibus. Karolus: lux carnis, quia omnes reges carnales post Christum luce omnium virtutum et scientie et probitatis precessit. Turpinus interpretatur pulcherrimus 5 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 obsequiis et horis debet celebrari non solum pro defunctis Karoli pugnatoribus verum etiam pro omnibus qui a tempore eiusdem Karoli usque in hodi[fol. 36]ernum diem in 10 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.

2 imbuebat] imbuerat *M* preminebat *H* 6 Sextodecimo] Octo *M* 8 propriis officiis et obsequiis
M 9 defunctis Karoli] Karolo propriis *H* | pro *om.* *H* 12 salute *om.* *H* 13 usus] visuus(?)
M visus *H* | impertire] impetrare *H* | inveniri] intueri *M*

APPENDIX IV

A SPECIMEN CHAPTER FROM THE LONGER PSEUDO-TURPIN

(THORON, Ch. VIII,¹ with variants from CASTETS²)

Postea vero ceperunt querere Aigolandum per Yspaniam Karolus et Milo cum suis exercitibus. Quem cum caute investigarent, invenerunt eum in terra que dicitur De Campis, super flumen quod dicitur Ceia, in pratis scilicet in optimo et plano loco quo postea beatorum martirum Facundi et Primitivi basilica ingens et
5 optima iussu et auxilio Karoli fabricatur, in qua et eorundem martirum corpora requiescunt, et monachorum abbatia constituitur et magna villa pinguissima in eodem loco operatur. Appropinquantibus vero Karoli exercitibus mandavit Aigolandus Karolo bellum secundum velle suum: vel viginti contra viginti, vel
10 quadraginta contra quadraginta, vel centum contra centum, vel mille contra mille, vel duos contra duos, vel unum contra unum. Interea missi sunt a Karolo centum milites contra centum Aigolandi et interfecti sunt Sarraceni. Deinde mituntur ab Aigolando alii centum contra centum et interfecti sunt Sarraceni. Inde misit Aigolandus ducentos contra ducentos et statim occisi sunt omnes Mauri. Demum Aigolandus misit duo milia contra duo milia, quorum pars
15 quedam occiditur, parsque alia terga vertit. Tertia vero die eiecit sortes Aigolandus secrete et agnovit Karoli detrimentum. Et mandavit ei ut pugnam plenariam cum eo sequenti die faceret si vellet, que ab utroque concessa est.

Tunc astiterunt quidam ex Christianis qui sero ante diem belli arma bellica sua studiosissime preparantes hastas suas erectas infixerunt in terra ante castra,
20 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 admirantes tantumque Dei miraculum gratie divine adscribentes absciderunt eas prope terram, et radices que remanserunt in tellure in modum perticarum ex se magna postea generarunt
25 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 fronderunt, ibi palmam martirii adeptus
30 est, et Karoli equus peremptus est. Tunc Karolus stans peditus cum duobus

CASTETS: 4 ingens basilica 7 operatur om. 10 duo contra duo 20 corticibus 22 Dei]
pro Dei 24/25 generaverunt arbusta, quae 26 proficuum (also Codex Calix.) 29 Rotho-
landi 30 peditus] pedes

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 'proficuum' (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 .iiiiij. marquisii de Ytalie horis cum quatuor milibus virorum bellatorum. Mox ut illos Aigolandus agnovit, terga vertens in Legionensibus horis secessit, et Karolus cum suis exercitibus tunc ad Galliam remeavit. 35

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. 40 Quisquis enim vel fidem contra hereticam pravitatem, vel caritatem contra odium, vel largitatem contra avaritiam, vel humilitatem contra superbiam, 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 45 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 50 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 imperatori et semper augusto, B. hayonensis comes, sic
 5 mundane dignitatis imperio conformari, ut postmodum cum gloriosis principibus
 terre eterne felicitatis diademate valeat coronari, peryocam de passione et mira-
 culis beatissimi Iacobi apostoli a venerabili domno papa Calixto secundo vera-
 citer ac devote conscriptam intime dilectionis ac devotionis affectu maiestati
 10 vestre transmissi; ut auditis et agnitis quibus idem apostolus apud Deum et
 homines claruerit virtutibus et miraculis, eundem devotiori obsequio propensius
 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, luculenter conscriptam, ut habeat maiestatis imperatorie
 15 veneranda sublimitas, quibus laudum preconiiis erudiatur et ad magnificum pro-
 bitatis apicem per maiorum vestigia dirigatur. Salutis igitur vestre tam interi-
 oris quam exterioris sedulus provisor, utrique [fol. 2^v] . . . corporeo videlicet
 atque (?) spirituali (?) congruam destinavi peryocam, quarum prior, que beatis-
 simi Iacobi recolit memoriam, spiritualement corrigat inertiam, posterior vero, de
 20 magnificis domni Karoli gestis conscripta, sue recordationis affectu vires corporis
 ad magnificentie 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 devehatur memoria quod inter aulicos imperii vestri
 primates me sepius magnificastis. Noverit imperialis vestra maiestas codicis
 25 huius exemplar undecumque per clericos et notarios meos summi laboris im-
 pendio a me quesitum, partim Cluniaci partim Turonis partim in bibliotheca
 beati Dionisii fuisse compositum; nec huius operis me quempiam fecisse parti-
 cipem preter domnum meum magnificum imperatorem, cuius amoris, cuius servitio
 quicquid sum, quicquid possum, prorsus devoveo, — domnum, inquam, nostri
 30 temporis excellentissimum atque gloriosissimum principem. Humilitatem meam,
 qua vobis meum presento et codicem et servitium, mea designant yconia in
 capite libri vestre humiliter maiestati affusa. Munus igitur quod magnificentie
 vestre mea communicat dilec[fol. 3^r]tio pariter atque devotio sic a maiestate
 vestra [su]scipiatur ut non tantum muneris quantitas sed in munere munerantis
 35 affectus pensetur. Valeat honor vester.

(INCIPIT PROLOGUS VENERABILIS CALIXTI PAPA SECUNDI DE PASSIONE ET
 TRANSLATIONE AB IEROSOLIMIS AD HISPANIAM ET MIRACULIS BEATI IACOBI
 APOSTOLI.)

20 *Conscripta*] MS. *conscriptam*.

32/33 *Magnificentie vestre*] MS. *magnificentiam vestram*.

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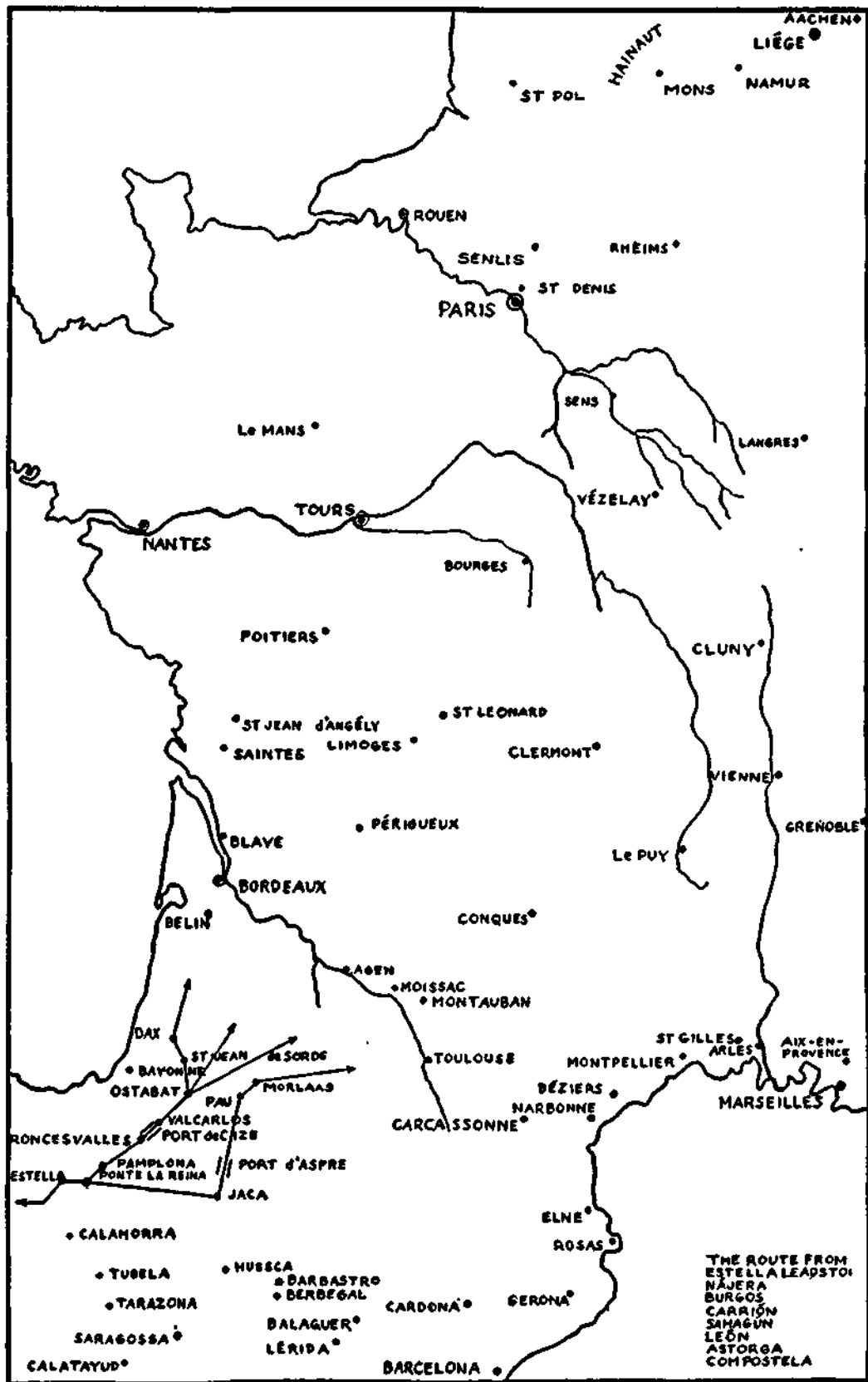
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- Ubeda. *City of Spain.* 19, 59; warriors of Ebrahum come from, 34, 78.
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- Ulmas. *Ulmaz, city of Spain.* 19, 58.
- Urantia, called Arthus. *City of Spain, Iranzu(?)*, *Irun(?)*, *Uranzu(?)*, *Arcos(?)*. 19, 59.
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- Urgellum. *Urgel, city of Spain.* 19, 59.
- 'Usque in hodiernum diem.' *A tell-tale phrase* (see note 4 on page 27). 60, 68, 81, 107; cf. 'adhuc,' 63, line 27, and 105, line 25. Cf. 98 (not supposedly written by Turpin).
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- Vézelay. *City of France, on route to Compostela.* 22.
- 'Via iacobitana,' 'iter Iacobi,' 'via fidelium.' *Way of St James.* 22, 29, 31, 57, 61, 69, 70, 74, 102, 103.
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- Waifarius. *Historical character.* 28. See also *Gaiferius.*
- Wandali. *Wends.* King of, besieges Charles, 96.
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- Wayland. *Maker of Durendal.* 41.
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- Wimarana. *City of Spain.* 19, 58.
- Wirnardus, Wiriardus, Gurinardus, Girardus. *Guinari, Wirnardus, chieftain in Charles's army.* 27 f., 68; buried in Aliscamps, 46, 91.
- Wittekind. *King of the Saxons.* Wars against Charles, 23, 29, 30 f. See also *Saxones.*
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- Yvor. His genealogy of Henry III in MS. R, 54.
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- Zebedeus. *Father of James and John.* 57, 80, 101.
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