

THE MEDIEVAL CHARLEMAGNE LEGEND

An Annotated Bibliography

Edited by
Susan E. Farrier

ROUTLEDGE LIBRARY EDITIONS:
THE MEDIEVAL WORLD



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CHARLEMAGNE LEGEND



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CHARLEMAGNE LEGEND
An Annotated Bibliography

Susan E. Farrier

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INTRODUCTION

Scope and content of the present bibliography

The literature surrounding Charlemagne is almost as daunting in its geographic and chronological scope as that associated with King Arthur, and the undeniably historical emperor Charlemagne looms much larger in the annalistic tradition than the shadowy Celtic leader. Therefore I have included material on Carolingian history and medieval chronicle. The parts of this bibliography dealing with the historical Charlemagne are designed with the interests of literary scholars in mind. Thus the history section stresses foreign over domestic policy and includes works on the Charlemagne cult that developed in the twelfth century. The section devoted to medieval historiography groups together all biographies regardless of their accuracy and organizes chronicles by language. The influential and utterly fictitious *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* (referred to hereafter as the *Turpin*) receives a section of its own.

The literature section of the bibliography treats the legend of Charlemagne in its broadest sense. Romanists have found it convenient to accept the medieval grouping of *chansons de geste* into three categories: works related to the king, those involving the family of Garin de Monglane, and those featuring rebellious vassals. This system poses problems even for French literature since texts such as the *Chevalerie Ogier* and *Girart de Vienne* can reasonably be assigned to more than one *geste*. The threefold division fares even worse in the Carolingian traditions of other countries. Spanish, Italian, Icelandic, and Danish writers mix characters and events from all the *gestes*. Therefore a true bibliography of the legend of Charlemagne cannot focus solely on the *geste du roi*. I have also included texts set in the reigns of Charles Martel and Pepin. Some medieval poets, such as the author of *Orson de Beauvais*, clearly conflate Charles Martel and Charlemagne (the narrator calls the king by both names), while others merely transfer stories from one Charles to another (e.g. the analogues *Girart de Rousillon* and *Girart de Vienne*). Authors of texts set in the time of

Pepin sometimes include Charlemagne as a character (e.g. the Norse analogue of *Doon de la Roche*). All of the Carolingian texts share a common frame of reference that distinguishes them from, say, crusade epics.

In defining the limits of the research, I found it necessary to make a distinction that has more to do with critics than with literature. Scholars most interested in the *chansons de geste* generally do not explore the Renaissance Charlemagne legends, and scholars who devote themselves to Ariosto or Boiardo often do not examine the traditions on which those authors build. For purely pragmatic reasons (such as the size and cost of the volume), the present bibliography is limited to the Charlemagne tradition of the Middle Ages. The demarcation between the Medieval and Renaissance traditions is more stylistic than chronological, however. The authors who put *chansons de geste* into prose clearly continued the medieval Charlemagne tradition, even if they wrote in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. However, the writers of Spanish romances, working in roughly the same period, often show a greater indebtedness to Boiardo and Ariosto, and thus represent a break with the past. For this reason, the *mises-en-prose* are better represented in this bibliography than the Spanish romances.

Principles of selection

Compiling a truly inclusive bibliography of Charlemagne literature and criticism would require a lifetime of research, and the resultant work would occupy many volumes. On the other hand, a bibliography focusing on a limited time span, such as criticism from 1970-90, would not do justice to works that received the greatest critical attention early in the century. To strike a balance between the inclusive and selective approaches, I have included a great deal of older scholarship in sections on lesser-known texts, whereas in those dealing with well-studied texts I have focused largely (though not exclusively) on scholarship of the last two decades. The works chosen represent a diversity of critical approaches. I have tried not to impose my own critical preferences on either the choice of scholarship or the wording of the annotations, and I have not intentionally slighted any scholar's work. I have made a special effort to include articles published in *Festschriften* since they can be difficult to find. I have only included unpublished dissertations if they treat neglected subjects.

Principles of organization

The bibliography is generally organized around major characters, an approach that brings together the works of many writers who filled in the biographies of heroes such as Roland, William, and Renaud. To a certain extent, the organization also retains the traditional three-fold division of *chansons*. Each text appears with its analogues. Generally, the oldest text is treated first, and its introductory material includes a brief plot summary; annotations for analogues note differences of detail.

Technical notes

1) On editions used: For the most part I have cited the most recent editions and noted older editions that were the standard for many years (e.g. Scheler's editions of Adenet le Roi's works) or those that appeared in journals (which might be available for quick reference).

2) On alphabetizing of names: Current national practice has determined the alphabetizing of names.

Dutch: De Poercke under P, Van Waard under W

English: van Emden under V

Flemish: De Caluwé under D, Van Nuffel under V

French: de Mandach under M

German: Schöller as if it were "Scholler," not "Schoeller";
von Richthofen under R

Icelandic: Alfrún Gunnlaugsdóttir under A (under the given name rather than the patronymic)

Italian: Bartolucci Chiecchi under B; Di Ninni under D

Spanish: García Turza under G

In the case of any scholar who has published under more than one name, citations use the name as it appeared in the article

or book whereas the index lists all of the scholar's works together, under the current name listed in academic directories. Medieval names are listed under the first name rather than the epithet or surname (e.g. Ulrich Füetzer under Ulrich). Cross-referencing should eliminate any potential confusions.

3) On subheadings: "general studies" sometimes functions as a "catch-all" category and may include some criticism of a fairly specific nature; "style" includes works on narrative technique, not just works on style at the level of language.

4) On abbreviations used: I have abbreviated many series and journal names to save space, but I have tried to avoid overly cryptic abbreviations, except when they are fairly widely known (such as *MGH*, *MLN*, and *SATF*); Dutch journal names are abbreviated according to the practice current among Dutch scholars. A list of abbreviations appears on p. xix.

5) On the annotations: I do not presume to have captured the nuances of arguments. The annotations are designed to help scholars decide whether or not to seek out the material. The observations in the paragraphs introducing texts have been gleaned from a variety of sources; I do not present them as my own insights. I give fairly broad ranges for the dates of texts since dating is often an issue of debate. Roughly 3% of the entries are followed by bracketed annotations. I was not able to see these items but felt that they should be included (generally because they deal with works that have not been well-studied.) The bracketed annotations have been reconstructed from various sources (such as other scholars' published synopses of or comments about them).

A final remark

Because of the limiting factors described above, I could not include such fascinating material as Zacharias P. Thundyil's report on the Charlemagne tradition in Kerala, India [see item 2740, pp. 389-98], Poul Lindegård Hjorth's study of the 17th-century *Fera-kuts saga* (an Icelandic *Fierabras*) [*Opuscula*, 1 (1960), 247-66], or Emiliano Navarrete's edition and translation of the Tagalog Charlemagne poem, *Salita at buhay nang doce pares sa Francia na campon nang Emperador Carlo Magno hanganang ipagcanula ni Galalong ha mapatay sa Ronsesvalles* (Manila: [Reyes?], 1887), works showing the range and endurance of the Charlemagne legend.

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I undoubtedly owe my greatest debt to my collaborator, Prof. Geert H.M. Claassens. Although he joined the project less than a year before its completion, he rapidly provided me with a vast amount of information on the Dutch Charlemagne material. Medieval Dutch writers played a particularly important role in the spread of Carolingian legend, yet their works have been generally neglected outside of Belgium and the Netherlands. The need for better coverage of the Dutch tradition is well-illustrated by the fact that several knowledgeable and well-read scholars have recently asserted that the lost French *Lohier et Malart* is preserved only by fragments, a printed version, and the German *Loher und Maller*. In fact, a Dutch analogue has been known for over a century. I believe that Prof. Claassens' contributions significantly enrich this bibliography and I hope that they will bring greater recognition to the Dutch literary corpus.

I next wish to express my gratitude to Prof. Jeanne A. Nightingale for sending me annotations covering much of the German scholarship on *Karl der Große* and the *Rolandslied*, as well as German and Italian criticism on the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* and some French studies of *Garin le Loherain*. Although she was prevented by other professional commitments from participating more fully in the project, I greatly value the work she was able to contribute. I also want to thank Prof. William Calin for taking on the formidable task of examining an earlier draft of the complete bibliography. His clear-sighted evaluation of both the strengths and the weaknesses of the bibliography as a whole was enormously helpful. I am similarly grateful for the help I received from Prof. Leslie Zarker Morgan, who generously proofread the Italian citations and advised me on Italian and Franco-Italian literature, and from Prof. Catherine Jones, who guided some of my inquiries into the Loherain cycle.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Akad. Wissen., Hist.-phil. Kl. = Akademie der Wissenschaften.
Historisch-philologische Klasse
- Aus. Abh. Geb. rom. Phil. = Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem
Gebiete der romanischen Philologie [monograph series]
- Amst. Bei. ält. Germ. = Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren German-
istik
- APF = Anciens Poètes de la France [series]
- Arch. Rom. = Archivum Romanicum
- Arch. Stud. neu. Spr. (Lit.) = Archiv für das Studien der neueren
Sprachen (und Literatur)
- Bib. Arnomag. = Bibliotheca Arnomagæana
- Bib. des Litt. Vereins in Stuttgart = Bibliothek des Litterarischen
Vereins in Stuttgart
- Boletín Acad. Barcelona = Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas
Letras de Barcelona
- Cah. Civ. Méd. = Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale
- CÉSCM = Centre d'Études Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale
- CFMA = Classiques Français du Moyen Age [series]
- COIR = Collezione di opere inedite o rare [series]
- Cult. Neolat. = Cultura neolatina
- DTM = Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters [series]
- Forum Mod. Lang. Stud. = Forum for Modern Language Studies
- Göpp. Arb. Germ. = Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik [series]
- Hist. Zeit. = Historische Zeitschrift
- Histoire littéraire = *Histoire littéraire de la France, ouvrage com-
mencé par des religieux Bénédictins de la Congrégation de
Saint-Maur, et continué par les membres de l'Institut (Acadé-
mie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres)*. 41 vols. [Citations
refer to vol. number and date. Most vols. were pub. in Paris
by Firmin Didot; completed vols. were rpt. in 1895 in Paris
by Welter and 1965-71 in Nendeln, Lichtenstein by Kraus.]
- Jour. Eng. Gmc. Phil. = Journal of English and Germanic Philo-
logy
- Kent. Rom. Quart. = Kentucky Romance Quarterly [continued by
Rom. Quart.]
- K-saga = *Karlamagnús saga*

- MGH = *Monumenta Germaniae Historiae* [Several series were published (Scriptorum, Poetae Carolini, etc.), most in Hanover by Hahn]
- MLN = MLN (formerly Modern Language Notes)
- Mod. Lang. Rev. = Modern Language Review
- Mod. Phil. = Modern Philology
- Neuphil. Mitteil. = Neuphilologische Mitteilungen
- N.F. = Neue Folge
- n.r. = nieuwe reeks
- n.s. = new series/nouvelle série/nuova serie
- NTg = De nieuwe taalguides
- PL = *Patrologia Latina (Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina)* [Citations refer to vol. number and date. Most vols. were published in Paris by Migne]
- PMLA = PMLA, Publications of the Modern Language Association (of America)
- PRF = Publications Romanes et Françaises [series]
- P.U.F. = Presses Universitaires de France [publisher]
- Rev. Belge Phil. Hi. = Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire
- Rev. La. Rom. = Revue des langues romanes
- Rijksuniv. te Gent, Werken uit. Fac. Lett. Wijsbegeerte = Rijksuniversiteit te Gent, Werken uitgegeven door de Faculteit van de Letteren en Wijsbegeerte [series]
- R-lied = *Rolandslied*
- Rom. Forsch. = Romanische Forschungen
- Rom. Gand. = Romanica Gandensia [monograph series]
- Rom. Jahrb. = Romanistisches Jahrbuch
- Rom. Notes = Romance Notes
- Rom. Phil. = Romance Philology
- Rom. Quart. = Romance Quarterly [continuation of Kent. Rom. Quart.]
- Rom. Rev. = Romaic Review
- Romance Stud. = Romance Studies
- Romanische Stud. = Romanische Studien
- RZLG-CHLR = Romanistische Zeitschrift für Literaturgeschichte/
Cahiers d'Histoire des Littératures Romanes
- SATF = Société des Anciens Textes de France [series]
- SÉDES = Société d'Édition et d'Enseignement Supérieur
- SpL = Spiegel der Letteren
- Stud. Notes Phil. Lit. = Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature
- Stud. Phil. = Studies in Philology
- Studi Med. = Studi Medievali (n.s. = 2nd series; 3^a ser. = 3rd series)

TLF = Textes Littéraires Française [series]

TNTL = Tijdschrift voor Nederlands(ch)e Taal- en Letterkunde

Tra. Li. Li. = Travaux de linguistique et de littérature

VMA = Verslagen en Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie
voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde (before 1972: Versla-
gen en Mededelingen der Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie
voor Taal- en Letterkunde)

Wissen. Buchgesell. = Wissenschaftlichen Buchgesellschaft [pub-
lisher]

Zeit. deut. Alt. = Zeitschrift für deutsches Altert(h)um und deut-
sche Literatur

Zeit. deut. Phil. = Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie

Zeit. fran. Spr. Lit. = Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Lit-
eratur

Zeit. rom. Phil. = Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie

Zeit. schweitz. Gesch. = Zeitschrift für schweizerische Geschichte



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PART ONE:

THE HISTORICAL CHARLEMAGNE



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I. REFERENCE

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1. Boyce, Gray Cowan, ed. *Literature of Medieval History, 1930-1975. A Supplement to Louis John Paetow's "A Guide to the Study of Medieval History"*. 5 vols. Millwood, NY: Kraus, 1981.
History: Vol. I, pp. 312-331. Culture: Vol. IV, pp. 1552-1560.
2. Ganshof, François-Louis, and Raoul C. van Caenegem. "Monarchie franque (VI^e-IX^e siècles)." In *Introduction bibliographique à l'histoire du droit et ethnologie juridique*. Ed. J. Gilissen. Brussels: Univ. Libre de Bruxelles, 1964; vol. A, sec. B/6.
3. Paetow, Louis John. *A Guide to the Study of Medieval History*. Berkeley, CA: Univ. California Pr., 1917; rev. ed. New York: Crofts, 1931; rpt. with corr. by Gray C. Boyce and addendum by Lynn Thorndyke. Millwood, NY: Kraus, 1959; xvii, 643 pp.

B. SOURCE MATERIAL

4. Lot, F., and P. Lauer, eds. *Diplomata karolinorum: Recueil des reproductions en facsimilé des actes originaux des souverains carolingiens, conservés dans les archives et bibliothèques de France*. 9 vols. Toulouse: Privat; Paris: Didier, 1936-49.
5. Loyn, H.R., and John Percival, trans. *The Reign of Charlemagne: Documents on Carolingian Government and Administration*. Documents of Medieval History, 2. London: Arnold, 1975; New York: St. Martin's Pr., 1976; 164 pp.
Offers English translations of short selections. I. Biographies and Annals; II. *Capitularia*; III. Letters; IV. Charters and related Material.

6. Scholz, Bernhard Walter, trans., with Barbara Rogers. *Carolingian Chronicles: "Royal Frankish Annals" and Nithard's "Histories"*. Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Pr., 1970; 235 pp.
Intro. (33 pp.) puts works in context. Annals on pp. 37-125; Nithard on pp. 129-74. Notes on pp. 179-211.

7. Steinen, Wolfram von den, trans. *Karl der Grosse. Leben und Briefe*. Heiligen und Helden des Mittelalters. Breslau: Hirt, 1928; 118 pp.
Offers a short biography of Charles (with special attention to the war with Witukind) followed by a German trans. of 24 of Charles' letters.

8. Strecker, Karl, and O. Schumann, eds. *MGH. Diplomatum Karolinorum*, 1 [= *Pippini, Carlomanni, Caroli Magni Diplomata*], (1906).

9. Tessier, Georges, trans. *Textes de Charlemagne*. Intro. by Gérard Walter. *Le Mémorial des siècles*, 10 [VIII^e siècle]. Paris: Michel, 1967; 443 pp.
Gives an overview and French trans. of excerpts from the *Annales Royales*, Einhard's *Vita*, Thegan's account of Louis' coronation, Hincmar's description of Charlemagne's palace, Notker's remarks on Charles' relations with the clergy, and various state documents.

See also items 90 (Dannenbauer) and 96 (Reindel), and materials in Part Two.

II. FOREIGN POLICY

A. GENERAL STUDIES

10. Ganshof, François-Louis. "La fin du règne de Charlemagne, une décomposition." *Zeit. Schweiz. Gesch.*, 28 (1948), 533-52. Also appeared as "The Last Period of Charlemagne's Reign: A Study in Decomposition." In *The Carolingians and the Frankish Monarchy*. Trans. Janet Sondheimer. Studies in Carolingian History. Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Pr., 1971; pp. 240-55.

Examines battles with Saxons, conflicts with Byzantines and Danes, and wars in the Danube valley; stresses poor administration and the division of the empire.

11. -----, "Les relations extérieurs de la monarchie franque sous les premiers souverains carolingiens." *Annali di storia del diritto, rassegna internazionale*, 5-6 (1961/62 [pub. 1964]), 1-53. Trans. by Janet Sondheimer as "The Frankish Monarchy and its External Relations, from Pippin III to Louis the Pious." In *The Carolingians* [see item 10], pp. 162-204.

Discusses the procedures of diplomacy followed by the early Carolingian rulers.

12. Halphen, Louis. *Charlemagne et l'empire carolingien*. Rev. ed. with intro. by Henri Bers. L'Évolution de l'humanité, synthèse collective, 2^e sec., 33. Paris: Michel, 1949; 533 pp. Trans. by Giselle de Nie as *Charlemagne and the Carolingian Empire*. Europe in the Middle Ages, 3. Amsterdam, NY: North-Holland Pub., 1977; xx, 366 pp.

Treats the founding, building, and dissolution of the empire. [N.B. No notes or bib. in translation.]

B. RELATIONS WITH SAXONS

13. Hauck, Karl. "Die Ausbreitung des Glaubens in Sachsen und die Verteidigung der römischen Kirche als konkurrierende Herrscheraufgaben Karls des Grossen." *Frühmittelalterlichen Studien*, 4 (1970), 138-72.

Deals with the conversion of Widukind and the ceremonial manifestations of Franco-Saxon relations.

14. Lintzel, Martin. *Karl der Große und Widukind*. Hamburg: Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt, 1935; 46 pp.

Separates legend from fact; then studies the conflict and the eventual Saxon capitulation.

15. Rundnagel, Erwin. "Der Mythos von Herzog Widukind, Teil I." *Hist. Zeit.*, 155 (1936), 235-77.

Discusses the historical Widukind, French and German literary manifestations, German folklore surrounding him, etc. (Part II treats post-medieval material.)

See also items 7 (von den Steinen), 102 (Cabaniss), 103 (Calmette), 104 (Davis), and 194 (Halphen).

For literary treatments see items 1151-67.

C. RELATIONS WITH MOSLEMS

16. Aebischer, Paul. "L'expédition de Charlemagne en Espagne jusqu'à la bataille de Ronceval." In *Rolandiana et Oliveriana* [item 2689], pp. 83-98.

Describes the accounts given by various chroniclers and discusses the state of Franco-Arab relations.

17. Audisio, Gabriel. *Harun al-Raschid, Caliph of Baghdad*. New York: McBride, 1931; viii, 242 pp.

Offers a detailed account of the Caliph's reign intended for a general audience. (See pp. 121-36.)

18. Belyaev, E.A. *Araby, islam i arabskii Khalifat v rannee srednevekov'e*. Moscow: Akademiya Nauk SSR, 1966. Trans. by

Adolphe Gourevitch as *Arabs, Islam and the Arab Caliphate in the Early Middle Ages*. London and New York: Praeger, 1969; 264 pp.

Offers passing remarks on the Carolingians in the context of the foreign policy of the Arab caliphate in the 8th-10th centuries (pp. 191-249).

19. Bolin, Sture. "Mohammed, Charlemagne and Ruric." *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, 1 (1953), 5-39.

Uses numismatic evidence to show that, during the Carolingian period, the Nordic peoples were an important trading force that should be considered when making sweeping economic assertions such as those of Henri Pirenne [item 32].

20. Boyce, Gray Cowan. "The Legacy of Henri Pirenne." *Byzantion*, 15 (1940/41), 449-64.

Puts Pirenne's *Mahomet et Charlemagne* [item 32] in the context of Pirenne's work as a whole and maintains that revisions of his work have not altered its fundamental assertions. (Also bemoans Miall's translation.)

21. Brown, Peter. "Mohammed and Charlemagne by Henri Pirenne." *Daedalus*, 103 (1974), 25-33.

Asserts that Pirenne [item 32] magnified the significance of the Arabs in the decline of the Roman Empire because World War I made him want to downplay the destructive power of Germanic invasions.

22. Buckler, Francis William. *Harunu'l Rashid and Charles the Great*. Med. Acad. of Amer. Monograph 2. Academy Pub. 7. Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1931; 64 pp.

Discusses Pepin's alliance with Sulaiman against the Yamanites in Spain; explains how Sulaiman's later alliance with Charles angered other Moslems, forcing a French retreat through Roncevaux. Also studies Harun al-Rashid's later mediation between Charles and the Moslem world.

23. Dennett, Daniel C., Jr., "Pirenne and Muhammad." *Speculum*, 23 (1948), 165-90. Excerpted in *The Pirenne Thesis* [item 27].

Summarizes Pirenne's thesis [item 32]; clarifies Islamic policy towards foreigners and concludes that Pirenne draws the wrong conclusions because he relies too much on economic evidence.

24. Genicot, L. "Aux origines de la civilisation occidentale. Nord et Sud de la Gaule." In *Miscellanea historica in honorem Leonis van der Essen. Universitatis Catholicae in oppido Lovaniensium annos XXV professoris*. Brussels: Éditions Universitaires, 1947; lxxiii, 1065 pp. bound in 2 vols. Vol. I, pp. 81-93.
Refines Pirenne's thesis [item 32] by reexamining the idea that the center of culture shifted northward; concludes that the process was gradual.
25. -----, "Mahomet et Charlemagne après cinquante ans." *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 82 (1987), 277-81.
Gives a brief overview of key theses and refutations.
26. Griffe, Elie. "La razzia sarasine de 793 en Septimanie. Bataille de l'Orbieu ou bataille de l'Orbiel?" *Annales du Midi*, 53 (1941), 225-36.
Discusses a battle near Narbonne in which Guillaume d'Orange took part (ca. 793), and considers how the Moslem forces might have reached the Orbiel river.
27. Havighurst, Alfred F., ed. *The Pirenne Thesis: Analysis, Criticism and Revision*. Problems in European Civilization. Boston: Heath, 1958; 109 pp.
Offers excerpts from the works of C. Delisle Burns, M. Rostovtseff, Henri Pirenne, J. Lestocquoy, H. St. L.B. Moss, Norman H. Baynes, Robert S. Lopez, Lynn White, Jr., Daniel C. Dennett, Jr., and Anne Riising.
28. Hodges, Richard, and David Whitehouse. *Mohammed, Charlemagne and the Origins of Europe: Archaeology and the Pirenne Thesis*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Pr., 1983; ix, 181 pp.
Modifies Pirenne's theses about Islamic influence in Europe [see item 32] by considering artifacts that yield information about trade routes.
29. Horrent, Jules. "L'équipée espagnole de Charlemagne en 778 avant et après la bataille des Pyrénées." In *Mélanges P. Le Gentil* [item 2717], pp. 377-97.
Discusses Franco-Gascon tensions and Charles' involvement with Moslem leaders in Spain.
30. Lopez, R.S. "Mohammed and Charlemagne: A Revision." *Speculum*, 18 (1943), 14-38. Excerpted in *The Pirenne Thesis* [item 27].

Asserts that the 4 things Pirenne found to have disappeared from Europe (papyrus, Oriental luxury cloths, spices, and gold) actually became scarce at different periods--not concurrent with Arab invasions--for a variety of reasons.

31. Mantran, Robert. *L'Expansion Musulmane (VII^e-XI^e siècles)*. Nouvelle Clio, l'histoire et ses problèmes, 20. Paris: P.U.F., 1969; 334 pp.

Examines the various phases of Islamic expansion, establishment of caliphates, Umayyad and Abbasid power structures, and socio-economic aspects of Arab life in the Middle Ages.

32. Pirenne, Henri. *Mahomet et Charlemagne*. 10th ed. Ed. Jacques Pirenne, assisted by F. Vercauteren. Brussels: Nouv. Soc. d'Éd., 1937; 264 pp. Trans. by Bernard Miall as *Mohammed and Charlemagne*. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1939; 293 pp.

Argues that Islamic, not Germanic, invasions caused the so-called "Dark Ages" since they damaged political and cultural institutions left intact by Teutonic incursions; goes on to propose that the chaos caused by separating the Western Europeans from the Byzantines allowed the Germanic peoples, previously only a destructive force, to take a role in the rebuilding of civilization in Europe.

33. Rüsing, Anne. "The Fate of Henri Pirenne's Theses on the Consequences of the Islamic Expansion." *Classica et Mediaevalia*, 13 (1952), 87-130. Excerpted in *The Pirenne Thesis* [item 27].

Considers various aspects of European commerce in the Middle Ages, concluding that Pirenne [item 32] was brilliantly eloquent but wrong.

34. Rouche, Michel. *L'Aquitaine, des Wisigoths aux Arabes (418-781)*. Paris: École Pratique des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1979; 780 pp.

Presents an extensive study of the Arab acquisition of Aquitaine, with a few references to Carolingians.

35. Runciman, Steven. "Charlemagne and Palestine." *English Historical Review*, 50 (1935), 607-19.

Asserts that there is no historical evidence to show that Harun al-Rashid ever gave Charlemagne protection rights over Jerusalem.

See also item 542 (Reinaud).

For fiction, see items 528-44, 668-714, 818-34, 937-75, 981-1039, 1119-50, 1190-262, and 1312-2194.

III. CHARLES AND THE CHURCH

A. CHURCH AND STATE UNDER CHARLES

36. Bischoff, Bernhard, ed. *Das Geistige Leben*. Vol. II of *Karl der Grosse*. Ed. Wolfgang Braunfels. Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1965; 306 pp.

Contains articles on educational and liturgical reforms, codicology, dissemination of texts, monastic groups, and Charles' relations with the Church.

37. Ganshof, François-Louis. "L'Église et le pouvoir royale dans la monarchie franque sous Pépin III et Charlemagne." *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull' alto medioevo* [Spoleto], 7 (1960), 95-141. Trans. by Janet Sondheimer as "The Church and the Royal Power in the Frankish Monarchy under Pippin III and Charlemagne." In *The Carolingians* [see item 10], pp. 205-39.

Discusses the channels through which the kings exercised control over clergy, the role of the palace clergy, the role of canon law. Concludes that Church and State generally worked well together in this period.

38. -----, "Le programme de gouvernement impérial de Charlemagne." In *Renovatio Imperii. Atti della giornata internazionale di studio per il Millenario, Ravenna 4-5 November 1961*. Faenza: Lega, 1963; 69-96. Trans. by Janet Sondheimer as "Charlemagne's Program of Imperial Government." In *The Carolingians* [see item 10], pp. 55-85.

Examines Charlemagne's conception of the Christian empire after his coronation; contends that Charles did not really reorganize his administration but showed interest in linking religion and government.

39. Grabois, Aryeh. "Charlemagne, Rome and Jerusalem." *Rev. Belge Phi. Hi.*, 59 (1981), 792-809.

Examines the relations between the Frankish court and the See of Jerusalem, maintaining that these relations were independent of Frankish-Moslem agreements.

B. CHARLES AND POPE LEO III

40. Adelson, Howard, and Robert Baker. "The Oath of Purgation of Pope Leo III in 800." *Traditio*, 8 (1952), 35-80.

Examines the specific wording of Leo's oath--both versions recorded--and hypothesizes about its connection with his request for Charles' aid and its implications for canon law.

41. Wallach, Luitpold. "The Genuine and the Forged Oath of Pope Leo III." *Traditio*, 11 (1955), 37-63.

Contents that the true oath is preserved in the *Liber Pontificalis* while the forgery is the so-called "oath of purgation."

42. -----, "The Roman Synod of December 800 and the Alleged Trial of Leo III. A Theory and the Historical Facts." *Harvard Theological Review*, 49 (1956), 123-42.

Discusses conflicting contemporary accounts of the events leading to Charles' coronation.

For a medieval view see item 143 (Angilbertus).

See also items 90-100 (on coronation).

C. THE CULTS OF CHARLEMAGNE AND OTHERS

Liturgy, canonization, and cults

43. Becker, Philipp August. *Die Heiligsprechung Karls des Großen und die damit zusammenhängen des Fälschungen*. Berichte Verhand. Sächsische Akad. Wissen. Leipzig, Phil.-hist. Kl., 96, # 3 (1944/48). Leipzig: Hirzel, 1947; 26 pp.

Discusses the *Descriptio*, the *Turpin*, and the "Epistola de meritis et miraculis Karoli magni."

44. Brayer, Édith. "La prière de Charlemagne." In *Mélanges R. Lejeune* [item 2724], pp. 1279-84.

Examines a poem of 101 verses that evokes Christ's life. Interprets it as an incantatory prayer against sickness, attributed to Charlemagne because of the tradition of the "epic credo."

45. Cornagliotti, Anna. "La preghiera di Carlomagno." In *Essor et fortune* [item 2743], pp. 27-41.

Identifies the poem ed. by Brayer [item 44] as the prayer of Charlemagne in *Fierabras*, circulated separately; shows that there were many such prayers connected with Charles' name.

46. Folz, Robert. *Études sur le Culte liturgique de Charlemagne dans les églises de l'Empire*. Pub. Fac. Lett. Univ. de Strasbourg, Série bleu, 115. Strassburg: Impr. des Dernières Nouvelles de Strasbourg, 1951; rpt. Geneva: Droz, 1973; xi, 157 pp.

Offers evidence of a cult of Charlemagne in France, Germany, and the Low Countries; presents texts of offices, prayers, and masses linked with the cult.

47. Jammers, Ewald, ed. *Das Karlsoffizium "Regali Natus"*. Strassburg: Heitz, 1934.

After an intro., offers the text and a transcription into modern musical notation of an office compiled in 1165.

48. Rauschen, Gerhard, ed. *Die Legende Karls des Großen im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert*. Pub. Gesellschaft für rheinische Geschichtskunde, 7. Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot, 1890; 223 pp.

Contains texts relevant to Charles' canonization in 1166 (the 12th-cent. *Vita Karoli Magni*, the *Descriptio*, and a forgery concerning the rights of Aachen) and a discussion of their historical context.

49. Shaw, Frank, ed. *Karl der Große und die schottischen Heiligen. Nach der Handschrift Harley 3971 der Britischen Bibliothek zum ersten Mal kritisch ediert*. DTM, 71. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1981; xcvi, 335 pp.

This German poem (9912 vv.) describes the founding of 3 churches; vv. 6197-516 recount Charles' death. Intro. treats ms. tradition, sources, and ed. policy.

50. Viscardi, Antonio. *La leggenda liturgica di San Carlo Magno e l'epopea francese*. Biblioteca di filologia romanza, 19. Bari: Adriatica, 1971; 250 pp.

Studies liturgical traditions associated with the Charlemagne cult, related texts (*Turpin*, *Vita Karoli*, *Vita Sancti Egidii*, *Hagiologium Brabantinorum*, etc.), and theories about the origin of French epic.

See also items 86 (Meuthen), 87 (Müllejans), and 407 (Becker).

Cult of Garin (le Loherain)

Like Renaud, Garin is treacherously murdered, and some revere him as a martyr. One knight keeps his arm as a relic.

51. Germain, Léon. "Le Culte de Garin le Loherain." *Journal de la Société Archéologique du Musée Lorrain*, 42-43 (1893/94), 275-78.

[Discusses vestiges of the cult of Garin.]

Cult of William

52. Colby-Hall, Alice. "Saint Guillaume de Gellone et Saint Bénézet: le témoignage de Gervais de Tilbury." *Mémoires de l'Académie de Vaucluse*, 7^e série, 7 (1986/87), 61-70.

Examines references to St. Guillaume and St. Bénézet in Gervais de Tilbury's *Otia imperialia*; includes an ed. and trans. of the relevant passages with commentary on their significance.

53. -----, "Le Voyage d'un orangeois, Jacques de la Pise, à l'abbaye de Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert, en 1573." *Études sur l'Hérault*, n.s. 5-6 (1989/90), 93-98.

Describes research on the life of St. Guillaume undertaken by Jacques de la Pise and his descendants; notes esp. his reference to a sculpture of a "cornet" in the abbey church and remark that he saw both a Latin *Vita sancti Willelmi* and a French "translation"--here taken to be a lost version of the *Moniage Guillaume*.

54. Mölk, Ulrich. "Ein Buch für den lebenden und ein Gedicht auf den verstorbenen Wilhelm, Mönch in Gellone." In *E. Köhler Gedanken* [item 2727], pp. 218-28.

Deals with a book of patristic excerpts collected for William, a monk at Gellone, and an elegy composed in honor of William after his death.

55. -----, "La liturgie de saint Guillaume aux 11^e et 12^e siècles." In *VIII Congreso* [item 2742], pp. 353-57.

Quotes from the *Vita Sancti Willelmi* and a sermon on William to show that clerics were only interested in William's renunciation of the world. Cites 9th and 10th-cent. texts to show the growth of the clerical (decidedly unheroic) legend.

56. Saint-Jean, Robert. "Un monument pré-roman: la crypte de Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert." In *Hommage à André Dupont (1897-1972): études médiévales languedociennes offertes en hommage par ses anciens collègues, élèves et amis*. Montpellier: Fédération historique du Languedoc méditerranéen et du Roussillon, 1974; pp. 283-84(?).

[Describes the white marble sarcophagus of William.]

57. Saxer, Victor. "Le culte et la légende hagiographique de Saint Guillaume de Gellone." In *Mélanges R. Louis* [item 2699], pp. 565-89.

Deals with Church documents and liturgical books connected with the cult of William (10th cent. in Gellone, 12th cent. in hagiographies, 14th cent. in breviaries). Then treats in detail biographical materials on William: 9th-cent. work by Ardon Smaragdus, 12th-cent. hagiography, "Histoire des Miracles de Guillaume," and insertions into the *Vita S. Benedicti Anianensis* and the *Historia ecclesiastica* of Ordericus Vitalis.

See also items 188-92 (hagiographies), 1807 (Becker), 1809 (Bennett), 1819 (Hoggan), 1821 (Jeanroy), and 1997 (Gärtner).

Charlemagne and his court in religious art

58. Busetto, Giorgio. "Tracce iconografiche della prima diffusione dell'epopea carolingia in Italia." In *Sulle orme di Orlando* [item 2734], pp. 41-51.

Deals with Veronese statuary and a mosaic from Brindisi.

59. Catalano, Michele. "Le statue di Guglielmo e Renoardo al duomo di Verona." *Arch. Rom.*, 23 (1939), 359-76.

Identifies the figures in the Duomo not as Roland and Oliver (the common attribution), but as William and Rainouart. Focuses especially on the left-hand figure's nose.

60. Cozzi, Enrica. "Otinél, Belissant, Carlomagno negli affreschi di Sesto al Reghena." *Medioevo Romano*, 2 (1975), 247-53.
 Argues that frescos depicting the Roland legend are not as rare as Lejeune and Stiennon contend [item 66]; describes one such fresco.
61. Dubourg-Noves, Pierre. "Le relief de Roland à la cathédrale d'Angoulême et sa signification." In *Mélanges R. Louis* [item 2699], pp. 517-27.
 Comments on the relationship between a Roland-frieze identified by Lejeune [item 64] and its iconographic surroundings [photos included].
62. Gasca Queirazza, Giuliano. "La figuration rolandienne dans l'architrave de Domodossola." In *VI^e Congrès S.R.* [item 2740], pp. 205-19.
 Identifies scenes depicted in relief as representations of Charles' dreams in the *Chanson de Roland*.
63. Lejeune, Rita. "La fresque de Trévisé et la légende d'Otinél." *Cult. Neolat.*, 22 (1962), 114-21.
 Disputes the idea that the giant in the fresco is Ferragut from the *Entrée*; argues that it is Otinél.
64. -----, "Le linteau d'Angoulême et la *Chanson de Roland*." *Romania*, 82 (1961), 1-26.
 Recognizes the depiction of 3 scenes: Turpin's battle with Abisme, Roland's combat with Marsile, and Marsile's return to Saragossa.
65. -----, "Roland et Olivier au portail du Dôme de Vérone." *Cult. Neolat.*, 21 (1961), 229-45.
 Examines the way the characters have been identified and treats the significance of the iconography.
66. -----, and Jacques Stiennon. *La Légende de Roland dans l'art du moyen âge*. 2 vols. Bibl. Fac. Phil. Lett. Liège, Pubs. Exceptionnelle, 1. Brussels: Arcade, 1967; 411 and 403 pp. with 573 illus.; index by J. Wathelet-Willem.
 Provides an important catalogue of the iconography of the Roland legend in Europe in the Middle Ages; sumptuously illustrated.
67. Maines, Clark. "The Charlemagne Window at Chartres Cathedral: New Considerations on Text and Images." *Speculum*, 52 (1977), 801-23.

Asserts that panels 2-7 are based on the *Descriptio* while 8-21 are based on the *Turpin*. Argues that the art historian who exchanged panels 16 and 22 was unfamiliar with the literary antecedents. Describes panels in detail.

68. Meneghetti, Maria Luisa. "Une trace de la *Chanson de Roland* en Arménie." In *Actes S.R. Barcelone* [item 2745], vol. II, pp. 67-80.

Treats sculpture in an Armenian monastery that seems to draw on the Roland legend [9 photos, 3 sketches].

69. Müntz, Eugène. "La légende de Charlemagne dans l'art du moyen âge." *Romania*, 14 (1885), 321-42.

Notes that art related to the Charlemagne legend in several European cities became increasingly negative (as in epic).

70. Nichols, Stephen G., Jr. *Romanesque Signs: Early Medieval Narrative and Iconography*. New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Pr., 1983; xiii, 248 pp.

Establishes a theoretical framework (the relationship between historiography and teleology; history as "directed vision" and as "theosis") and studies presentations of Charles as a type of Christ (Otto III's entry of Charles' tomb), Turpinian elements in the Charlemagne window at Chartres, and depictions of Roland.

71. Owen, D.D.R. *The Legend of Roland. A Pageant of the Middle Ages*. London: Phaidon, 1973; 205 pp. Trans. as *Ridder Roeland, Paladijn van Karel de Grote*. Bussum: Fibula-Van Dishoeck, 1973.

Offers 140 illustrations (24 in color) accompanied by a text for the general reader introducing the Roncevaux story. Includes material on the *Chanson de Roland* and on later legends.

72. Robertson, Duncan. "Visual Poetics: The Charlemagne Windows at Chartres." *Olifant*, 6 (1978/79), 107-11.

Points out that the structure of the window is more suited to glossing than to narration. Maintains that vertical correspondences show parallels among the 3 main clusters of images.

73. Rolland, Isabelle. "Le mythe carolingien et l'art du vitrail. Sur le choix et l'ordre des épisodes dans le vitrail de Charlemagne à la cathédrale de Chartres." In *Mélanges R. Louis* [item 2699], pp. 255-77.

Identifies sources (lost and extant) of panels in the Charlemagne window and proposes "reading" the window in 4 clusters.

74. Ross, D.J.A. "The Iconography of Roland." *Medium Ævum*, 37 (1968), 46-65.

Offers a thorough and generally positive assessment of item 66 (Lejeune and Stiennon) but challenges the identification of some early works.

75. Rousseau, Pierre. "Le Duel de Roland et de Feragut sur quelques chapiteaux d'Espagne et de France." In *Mélanges R. Louis* [item 2699], pp. 529-48.

Provides photographs and drawings of capitals from Navarre, Salamanca, Yonne, and Vézelay; comments on nuances that distinguish them from each other and methods of portraying combat.

76. Short, Ian. "Le pape Calixte II, Charlemagne et les fresques de Sainte Marie in Cosmedin." *Cah. Civ. Méd.*, 13 (1970), 229-38.

Challenges the view of Lejeune and Stiennon [item 66] that the Cosmedin frescos helped to spread the Charlemagne legend; maintains that the frescos depict the Book of Ezekiel and that Pope Calixtus may not even have been involved in their production.

77. Stiennon, Jacques. "L'iconographie de Charlemagne." In *Char. et l'épopée romane* [item 2741], pp. 159-76.

Discusses Einhard's description as well as visual depictions such as mosaics, coins, statues, reliquaries, and ms. illuminations. [Includes 17 plates.]

78. -----, "Le pseudo-Roland de Vercelli. Essai d'interprétation d'une mosaïque médiévale." *Cult. Neolat.*, 21 (1961), 246-58.

Points out the fragmentary condition of the mosaic and disputes the assertion (of Kingsley Porter) that the mosaic represents Roland's combat with a moor.

79. Stones, M. Alison. "Sacred and Profane Art: Secular and Liturgical Book-Illumination in the Thirteenth Century." In *The Epic in Medieval Society* [item 2701], pp. 100-12.

Notes the gradual blurring of distinctions between illumination of sacred and secular texts; discusses 4 illuminations from the *Rolandslied*.

80. Suttina, Luigi. "Ancora delle effigi Orlando e Oliverio sul Duomo di Verona." *Studi Med.*, n.s., 4 (1931), 358-59.

Offers 7 photos (incl. well-chosen details) and considers the letters on the sword of the Roland figure.

81. -----, "Durindara." In *Mélanges M. Roques* [item 2719], vol. II, pp. 297-303.

Calls attention to the writing on the sword of the left-hand figure at the Duomo of Verona to disprove Catalano's identification of the figures [item 59]. Argues that the sculptor wrote "Durindara" on the sword to identify that figure as Roland, and gave the other figure a shield to distinguish it (since he did not know the name of Oliver's sword).

See also items 391 (Moisan), 921 (Demaux), and 1179 (Cardini).

IV. SYMBOLS OF IMPERIAL POWER

A. THE CHAPEL AT AACHEN

82. Aachen: *Charlemagne, oeuvre, rayonnement et survivances*. Exposition, 26 juin au 19 septembre 1965. Aachen: [n.p.], 1965; 544 pp.
Contains information on museums, relics; includes facsimiles, genealogical tables, maps, plans, plates.
83. Cramer-Vos, Marianne. "Aix-la-Chapelle, foyer de l'histoire épique et spirituelle du royaume franco-allemand." In *Au carrefour* [item 2744], pp. 399-429.
Describes the city's major features and symbolic resonances as a second Jerusalem, especially as presented in the *Chanson de Roland*.
84. Falkenstein, Ludwig. *Der "Lateran" der karolingische Pfalz zu Aachen*. Kölner Historische Abhandlungen, 13. Cologne and Graz: Böhlau, 1966; 200 pp.
Discusses similarities between hierarchical structures at Aachen and Rome; considers the relations between Pope Leo and Charles.
85. Fleckenstein, Josef. *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige*. Vol. I: *Grundlegung: Die karolingische Hofkapelle*. Schriften der MGH, Deut. Institut. für Erforsch. des Mittelalt., Jahrgang 16, # 1. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1959; xxiv, 251 pp.
Analyzes the conception of the court chapel and its importance in Carolingian courts.
86. Meuthen, Erich, ed. *Aachener Urkunden 1101-1250*. Pubs. der Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde, 58. Bonn: Hanstein, 1972; 692 pp.
On pp. 79-119, treats texts proclaiming the sanctification of Charles and notes the importance of Aachen.

87. Müllejans, Hans ed. *Karl der Große und sein Schrein in Aachen. Eine Festschrift*. Aachen: Einhard; Mönchengladbach: Kühlen, 1988; 199 pp.
Discusses Charles' life, wars with Spain, chapel at Aachen, and canonization. [About 40 excellent plates.]
88. Schiffrers, Heinrich. *Karls des Großen Reliquenschatz und die Anfänge der Aachenfahrt. Mit einem Beitrag von Hans Christ: Ein pippinisches Reliquiengrab unter Marienalter der Aachener Pfalzkapelle*. Veröffent. Bischöflichen Diözesonarchivs Aachen, 10. Aachen: Volk, 1951. Expanded version of the section by Christ pub. as *Die Kapelle des pippinischen Königshofes in Aachen*. Aachen: Volk, 1965; 13 pp.
Describes relics, the layout of their repository, and the devotions associated with them. Includes diagrams.
89. Sullivan, Richard. *Aix-la-Chapelle in the Age of Charlemagne*. Centers of Civ. Series, 10. Norman, OK: Univ. of Oklahoma Pr., 1963; xiii, 226 pp.
Deals with the entire city of Aachen: status in Europe, presentation as "A Second Rome, A New Jerusalem," importance of the chapel, seat of gov't., etc.

B. CORONATION

90. Dannenbauer, Heinz, ed. *Die Quellen zur Geschichte der Kaiserkrönung Karls des Großen*. Lietzmanns Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen, 161. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1931; 66 pp.
Provides source material such as contemporary historical accounts of the coronation.
91. Folz, Robert. *Le Couronnement impérial de Charlemagne, 25 décembre, 800*. Paris: Gallimard, 1964; 333 pp. Trans. by J.E. Anderson as *The Coronation of Charlemagne, 25 December, 800*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974; xii, 266 pp.
Examines the imperial idea in Charlemagne's court; also treats other Carolingians.
92. Ganshof, François-Louis. *The Imperial Coronation of Charlemagne, Theories and Facts; Being the Sixteenth Lecture on the David Murray Foundation in the University of Glasgow, Delivered on 23rd Nov., 1948*. Glasgow Univ. Publications, 79. Glasgow:

Jackson, 1949; 28 pp.; rpt. in *The Carolingians* [see item 10], pp. 41-54.

Summarizes important theories of the 1930's and '40's. Agrees with Kleinclausz [item 106] that Alcuin's conception of the Christian empire strongly influenced Charlemagne, as did the wish to end the scandals surrounding Leo III. Points out that complete power came 12 years later when the Byzantine emperor acknowledged Charles' imperial dignity.

93. Grierson, Philipp. "The Coronation of Charlemagne and the Coinage of Pope Leo III." *Rev. Belge Phi. Hi.*, 30 (1952), 825-33.

Corrects Schramm [item 97] by demonstrating that numismatists have misidentified all coins bearing the name of Leo without that of Charles.

94. Heldmann, Karl Christian Wilhelm. *Das Kaisertum Karls des Großen; Theorien und Wirklichkeit*. Quellen und Studien zur Verfassungsgeschichte des deutschen Reiches im Mittelalter und Neuzeit, 6, # 2. Weimar: Böhlau, 1928; rpt. Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der DDR, 1971.

Adduces evidence of several types to suggest that Leo III engineered the coronation to give Charles the power to punish those plotting against the Pope.

95. Munz, Peter. "The Imperial Coronation of Charlemagne." *History Today*, 9 (1959), 445-54.

Studies Charles' rivalry with the Byzantines as well as events preceding the coronation, concluding that Charles felt the coronation was fitting recognition of his achievements.

96. Reindell, Kurt, ed. *Die Kaiserkrönung Karls des Großen*. Hist. Texte Mittelalter, 4. Hamburg: Stahlmann, 1966; 80 pp.

Contains 24 Latin excerpts referring to the coronation (annals, biographies, letters, *capitularia*, etc.).

97. Schramm, Percy Ernst. "Die Anerkennung Karls des Grossen als Kaiser. Ein Kapitel aus der Geschichte der Mittelalterlichen 'Staatssymbolik'." *Hist. Zeit.*, 172 (1951), 449-515.

Examines the relationship between the Holy Roman Emperor and Rome before 800, the balance between Papal and secular power before 800, the coronation of Charles as Holy Roman Emperor (a careful description of all rituals and their significance), and the effects of that coronation on the powers of Church and State.

98. Sullivan, Richard Eugene, ed. *The Coronation of Charlemagne, What Did It Signify?* Probs. in Eur. Civ., 2. Boston: Heath, 1959; xvi, 99 pp.

Offers contemporary accounts as well as articles by Robert Folz, C. Delisle Burns, Louis Halphen, François-Louis Ganshof, James Bryce, Christopher Dawson, Ferdinand Lot/Geoffrey Barraclough, Karl Heldmann, Walter Ullmann, Werner Ohnsorge, and Henri Pirenne. Intended as a textbook.

99. Tenfelde, Klaus. "Adventus: Zur historischen Ikonologie des Festzugs." *Hist. Zeit.*, 235 (1982), 45-84.

Contends that Charlemagne's processions into Rome in 774 and 800 are symbolically related to Roman imperial processions and to Christ's entry into Jerusalem.

100. Tsurpanlis, Constantine N. "Byzantine Reactions to the Coronation of Charlemagne (780-813)." *Byzantia*, 6 (1974), 345-360.

[Provides a view of Charles' coronation often not considered--that of the group threatened by it.]

See also items 84 (Falkenstein) and 194 (Halphen).

For literary treatment (hypothetical), see items 917-19 (**Chanson de Basin*).

V. MODERN BIOGRAPHIES

A. BIOGRAPHIES OF CHARLEMAGNE

101. Bullough, Donald A. *The Age of Charlemagne*. London: Elek; Toronto: Reyerson, 1965; 212 pp.; rpt. New York: Putnam, 1966; 2nd ed. London: Elek, 1973.
Offers a culturally oriented, handsomely illustrated biography intended for a general audience.
102. Cabaniss, James Allen. *Charlemagne*. Twayne's rulers and statesmen of the world series, 15. New York: Twayne, 1972; 176 pp.
Analyzes major political events from the perspective of interacting personalities. Includes discussions of Spanish and Saxon wars, and relation with Pope Leo III and Harun al-Rashid. Almost 700 notes.
103. Calmette, Joseph. *Charlemagne, sa vie et son oeuvre*. Paris: Michel, 1945; 318 pp.
Considers many aspects of Charles' life also treated in legend, incl. mother Berthe, his wars with Lombards and Saxons, his relations with Moslem leaders, his relations with the Church.
104. Davis, H.W. Carless. *Charlemagne (Charles the Great): The Hero of Two Nations*. Heroes of the Nations, 27. New York: Putnam, 1899.
Provides a handy reference for literary scholars wishing to compare history and legend--includes chaps. on Charles' wars in Italy, Spain, and Saxony, as well as one on his court and one on epic.
105. Ganshof, François-L. "Charlemagne." *Speculum*, 24 (1949), 520-28; rpt. in *The Carolingians* [see item 10], pp. 17-47.
Gives a brief historical overview [by one of the leading scholars of Carolingian history].
106. Kleinclausz, Arthur Jean. *Charlemagne*. Paris: Hachette, 1934; xxxiv, 407 pp.

Discusses early years of Charles' reign, family interests, administration, armies, wars, Aachen, government, the Church, and final years. Concludes with 40 pp. on legends.

107. Lamb, Harold. *Charlemagne: the Legend and the Man*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1954.

Presents material in a "narrative" way (giving remarks made by the historical figures); juxtaposes historical fact and literary treatment of the same events by writers of chronicle and epic.

108. Winston, Richard. *Charlemagne: From the Hammer to the Cross*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1954; 346 pp.

Offers readable and extensive treatment of foreign and domestic policy (such as chaps. on conflicts with Saxons and Lombards), but provides no notes.

For medieval biographies, see items 112-55.

B. BIOGRAPHIES OF LOUIS

109. Ganshof, François-Louis. "Louis the Pious Reconsidered." *History*, 42 (1957), 171-80; rpt. in *The Carolingians* [see item 10], pp. 261-72.

Studies Louis' organizational reforms to correct the very negative traditional view of Louis' reign.

110. Godman, Peter, and Roger Collins, ed. *Charlemagne's Heir. New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1990; xxii, 738 pp.

Offers 31 articles treating: Louis' court politics, relations with the Church, and management of the empire; legal and cultural matters; and the depiction of Louis by historians.

111. Noble, Thomas F.X. "Louis the Pious and his Piety Re-Reconsidered." *Rev. Belge Phi. Hi.*, 58 (1980), 297-316.

Argues that Louis must be judged by how he dealt with problems he inherited from Charlemagne, that Louis may have relied heavily on advisors because their counsel was sound, and that accounts of Louis' "debilitating piety" may be overstated.

For medieval biographies, see items 156-72.

For legends, see items 1804-2060, 2098-187, and 2508-76.

PART TWO:

**BETWEEN HISTORY AND LEGEND
(MEDIEVAL BIOGRAPHY AND CHRONICLE)**



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I. MEDIEVAL BIOGRAPHIES

A. EINHARD

Einhard was Charlemagne's contemporary and knew the emperor personally. He presents Charlemagne favorably, but avoids the exaggerations found in "biographies" such as Notker's.

Editions and translations

112. Einhard. *Eginardo. Vita di Carlo Magno*. Ed. and trans. Giovanni Bianchi. Omicron, 11. Rome: Salerno, 1980; 109 pp.
113. -----, *Einhard, Vita Caroli Magni. The Life of Charlemagne. The Latin Text with a New English Translation, Introduction and Notes*. Ed. Evelyn Scherabon Firchow and Edwin H. Zeydel. Coral Gables, FL: Univ. of Miami Pr., 1972; 144 pp.
114. -----, *Vie de Charlemagne*. Ed. and trans. Louis Halphen. Paris: Champion, 1923; xxiii, 127 pp.
115. -----, "Einhardi Vita Karoli Magni Imperatoris." Ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz. *MGH, Scriptorum*, 2 (1829), pp. 426-63; rpt. in *PL*, 97 [= *Carolini Scriptores*, 1] (1862), cols. 9-62.
116. -----, *Kaiser Karls Leben*. Trans. Otto Abel. 4th rev., ed. Michael Tangl. *Geschichtsschreiber der deutscher Vorzeit. Zweite Gesamtausgabe*, 16. Leipzig: Dyk, 1920; xxii, 94 pp.
German translation. Intro. contains a biography of Einhard. Appendices: "Pippins Sieg über die Hunnen" (trans. Paul von Winterfeld); "Totenflage um Karl den Großen" (trans. von Winterfeld); "Kaiser Karls Traum" (by a 9th-cent. monk at Mainz); "Einhard und Imma" (Charles' daughter Emma); Einhard's Letters.

117. -----, *Kejser Karl den stores liv og levnedj*. Trans. P. Kierkegaard. Skrifter udg. af Selskabet til historiske kildeskrifters oversættelse. Skrifter, 10. Copenhagen: Schønberg, 1878.
Danish translation.
118. -----, *Zycie Karola Wielkiego*. Trans. Jan Parandowski. Wstepem i obj as'nieniami opatrzył Aleksander Gieysztor. Biblioteka narodowa. Seria II, # 59. Wrocław, Wydawn. Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolins'kich, 1950; xxxvii, 73 pp.
Polish translation.
119. -----, *Einhard and Notker the Stammerer. Two Lives of Charlemagne*. Trans. Lewis Thorpe. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1969; 227 pp.
Presents biographies by Einhard and a monk of St. Gall. Intro. debates the identity of the monk of St. Gall (Notker Balbulus).

See also items 5 (Loyn and Percival), 9 (Tessier), and 138 (Grant).

Criticism

120. Buchner, Maximilian. *Einhard's Künstler- und Gelehrtenleben. Ein Kulturbild aus der Zeit Karls des Großen und Ludwigs des Frommen*. Bücherei der Kultur und Geschichte, 22. Leipzig: Schroeder, 1922; xvi, 452 pp.
Describes Einhard's cultural and educational environment, his position at court, his trip to Italy, his work as a writer, etc.
121. Dalsin, Brian. "Charlemagne as a Focus for the Medieval Survey." In *Teaching the Middle Ages III*. Warrensburg, MO: Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Teaching, 1989; pp. 55-77.
Proposes a historiography course using L. Thorpe's trans. of Einhard's *Vita Karoli* [item 119] to study Carolingian history, Einhard's methodology, and Thorpe's ideas about historical writing.
122. Estey, F.N. "Charlemagne's Silver Celestial Table." *Speculum*, 18 (1943), 112-17.
Concerns the 3rd of the 3 silver tables mentioned by Einhard; offers a reconstruction of its appearance, based in part on Ptolemaic miniatures.
123. Ganshof, François-Louis. "Eginhard, biographe de Charlemagne." *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 13 (1951) 217-30.

Trans. by Janet Sondheimer as "Einhard, biographer of Charlemagne." In *The Carolingians* [see item 10], pp. 1-16.

Gives a positive assessment of Einhard's use of a Suetonian model. (Halphen [item 114] criticizes Einhard for slavish adherence.)

124. Mandach, André de. "Le problème de la présence de Roland à la défaite pyrénéenne de 778. Pour une nouvelle édition critique de la *Vita Karoli*." In *Mélanges R. Louis* [item 2699], pp. 363-78.

Identifies the mss. that name Roland as a casualty at Roncevaux and those that do not. Dates and classifies the mss. and suggests that 12th-cent. mss. naming Roland have been influenced by epic.

125. Thompson, James Westfall. "The Manuscripts of Einhard's *Vita Karoli* and the Matter of Roland." In *Mélanges offerts à Henri Pirenne*. Brussels: Vromant, 1926. pp. 519-32.

Disputes the assertion (by O. Holder-Egger) that mss. containing the name "Hruodlandus" are older; proposes that they show Einhard's own revisions.

See also items 50 (Viscardi), 158 (Tenberken), 194 (Halphen), 272 (van Dijk), 789 (Dithmar), 927 (Sholod), 1431 (Louis), and 1436 (Rajna).

126. Medieval French translation of Einhard in ms. Vatican Regina 624. [See item 292 (Buridant).]

B. THE SAXON POET

A versification of the "Annales Einhardi" [item 204].

127. Jaffé, Philipp. "Poetae Saxonis Vita Caroli Magni." In *Monumenta Carolina*. Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum, 4. Berlin: Weidmann, 1867; viii, 720 pp.; rpt. Aalen: Scientia, 1964.

The text is also sometimes called "Annales de Gestis Caroli Magni Imperatoris."

128. Pertz, Georg Heinrich, ed. "Poetae Saxonis Annalium de Gestis Caroli Magni Imperatoris." *MGH, Scriptorum*, 1 (1826), pp. 225-79; rpt. *PL*, 99 (1851), cols. 683-736.

129. Winterfeld, Paul von, ed. "Poetae Saxonis Annalium de Gestis Caroli Magni Imperatoris." *MGH, Poetarum Latini*, 4, part 1 (1899), pp. 1-71.
130. McKinney, Mary E., trans. *The Saxon Poet's Life of Charles the Great*. New York: Pageant, 1956.
131. Brieden, Hubert. "Historische Werth des Poeta Saxo für die Geschichte Karls des Großen." In *Jahresbericht über das Königliche Laurentianum zu Arnberg in dem Schuljahre 1877-78*. Arnberg: Becker, 1878; pp. iii-xvi.
Explains the content of the Saxon poet's work and its relationship to the *Annales Einhardi*.
132. Lejeune, Rita. "Le Poète saxon et les chants épiques français." *Moyen Age*, 67 (1961), 137-47.
Agrees with Vantuch [item 134] that certain wording in the Poet's work suggest that there were 9th-cent. songs about the Carolingians in French and German.
133. McKinney, Mary Emma. *The Lexicography of Poetas Saxonis Annales De gestis Caroli Magni imperatoris and Monachus sangallensis De Carolo Magno*. Chicago: [Private; dist. Univ. Chicago Library], 1933. [Part of Diss., Univ. of Chicago, 1931; pp. 117-204.]
Lists new words (categorized by root language), unusual words (with other occurrences cited), and words given new meanings.
134. Vantuch, A. "Réflexions sur la légende de Charlemagne au IX^e-X^e siècles." In *Mélanges R. Lejeune* [item 2724], pp. 919-28.
Notes differences between clerical and epic Charlemagne legends. Theorizes about the Saxon Poet's sources and contends that, since the Poet complains that Charles' forebears are more famous in song than he is, extant texts do not accurately represent the 9th-cent. corpus of *chansons de geste*.

C. NOTKER BALBULUS/MONK OF ST. GALL

The text sometimes called Notker's biography of Charlemagne is a highly anecdotal work that relates both true and fictional stories in a fairly unchronological way. *De Carlo Magno* tells, among other things, how Charles helped a

monk who could not sing, how a bishop got a stuffed mouse, how the Frankish court mocked the Greek ambassador, how Charlemagne decapitated Norse children, and how (in Pepin's reign) the devil came to bathe at Aachen. The author is often called Notker Balbulus ("the Stammerer"), but some scholars call him merely "The Monk of St. Gall".

Editions and modern translations

135. Notker Balbulus. "Notker, 'De Gestis Caroli Magni'." Ed. Gaetano Cenni. Rpt. in *PL*, 98 [= *Carolini Scriptores*, 2], (1862), cols. 1371-410.
 136. -----, "Monachus Sangallensis De Carlo Magno." Ed. Philipp Jaffé. In *Monumenta Carolina*. Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum, 4. Berlin: Weidmann, 1867; viii, 720 pp.; rpt. Aalen: Scientia, 1964.
 137. -----, *Die Geschichten von Karl dem Großen, aufgezeichnet durch Notker den Stammler*. Trans. Karl Brüggmann. Insel-Bücherei, 114. Leipzig: Insel, 1922; 104 pp.
 138. -----, *Early Lives of Charlemagne by Eginhard and the Monk of St. Gall*. Trans. A.J. Grant. NY: Cooper Square, 1955; xxv, 174 pp.
Pages 1-56 for Einhard; pp. 59-158 for Notker.
 139. -----, "Des faits et gestes de Charles-le-grand, roi des francs et empereur, par un moine de Saint Gall." Trans. François Pierre Guillaume Guizot. In *Collection des mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France*. Vol. III. Ed. F.P.G. Guizot. Paris: Brière, 1824; p. 168 ff.
- ***. Thorpe, Lewis, trans. See item 119.

Critical works

140. Haefele, Hans F. "Studien zu Notkers Gesta Karoli." *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 15 (1959), 358-92.
Describes mss. and their relationship, clarifies several stylistic aspects of the text, and examines Notker's portrayal of Charles.

141. Siegrist, Theodor. *Herrscherbild und Weltsicht bei Notker Balbulus. Untersuchungen zu den Gesta Karoli*. Geist und Werk der Zeiten, 8. Zurich: Fretz und Wasmuth, 1963.
Discusses Notker's historiography, his world view, and his depiction of kingship.
142. Steinen, Wolfram von den. *Notker der Dichter und seine geistige Welt*. Vol. I. Bern: Francke, 1948; 640 pp.
Contains helpful biographical info. on Notker, remarks on his work, and makes passing references to Charlemagne, despite the emphasis on Notker's poetry (pp. 13-80).
- See also items 133 (McKinney), 160 (Viscardi), 194 (Halphen), 583 (Lecouteux), 787 (Bender), 789 (Dithmar), and 2380 (Paris).

D. OTHER LATIN BIOGRAPHIES OF CHARLEMAGNE

Karolus Magnus et Leo Papa

This Latin poem, often attributed to Angilbertus, abbot of St. Riquier, praises Charlemagne and then recounts parallel tales of Charles' boar hunt and a mob's attack on Pope Leo. Leo sends for help and Charles sends his son Pepin with an army. The rest of the poem recounts Charles and Leo's meeting at Paderborn.

143. Angilbertus. *Karolus Magnus et Leo Papa. Ein Paderborner Epos vom Jahre 799*. With critical studies by Helmut Beumann, Franz Brunhölzl and Wilhelm Winkelmann. Stud. Quellen westfälischen Geschichte, 8. Paderborn: Brockmann, 1966; 107 pp.
Intro. (Beumann's) discusses the text's relationship to historical fact, literary borrowings, etc. Latin text and facing German trans. (Brunhölzl's)--pp. 60-97. Floorplans of chapels at Aachen and Paderborn, with explanations (Winkelmann's)--pp. 98-108.
144. -----, "Karolus Magnus et Leo Papa." Ed. E. Dümmler. *MGH, Poetae Latini*, 1 (1881), pp. 366-79.
145. -----, "Angilberti Carmen de Karlo Magno." Ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz. *MGH, Scriptorum*, 2 (1829), pp. 391-403; also appears in *PL*, 98 [= *Carolini Scriptores*, 1], (1862), cols. 1433-44.

146. Cummings, Robert. "Denham's Cooper's Hill and *Carolus Rex et Leo Papa*." *Philological Quarterly*, 64 (1985), 337-46.
 Contends that the 17th-cent. author Denham could have seen Angilbertus' poem, then incorrectly attributed to Alcuin, and thought the story analogous to his own work about protecting the Church from an angry mob.
147. Zwierlein, Otto. "Karolus Magnus--Alter Aeneas." In *Literatur und Sprache im europäischen Mittelalter: Festschrift für Karl Langosch zum 70. Geburtstag*. Ed. Alf Önnersfors, Johannes Rathofer, and Fritz Wagner. Darmstadt: Wissen. Buchgesell., 1973; vii, 525 pp.; pp. 44-52.
 Studies the poet's attempts to portray Charles according to classical models.

Gesta Caroli Magni ad Carcassonam et Nerbonam

- This mid 13th-cent. text (in both Latin and Occitan versions) describes the founding of a monastery and contains an account of the siege of Narbonne. The author names himself (v. 3134) as Guillermus Paduanus; the ostensible source of information is "Philomena," Charlemagne's historiographer.
148. Ciampi, Sebastiano, ed. *Gesta Caroli Magni ad Carcassonam et Nerbonam et de Aedificatione Monasterii Crassensis*. Florence: Magheri, 1823.
 Follows the Laurentian Codex; contains notes.
149. Schneegans, F. Eduard, ed. *Gesta Karoli Magni ad Carcassonam et Narbonam*. Romanische Bibliothek, 15. Halle/S: Karras, 1898; rpt. Geneva: Slatkine; Paris: Champion, 1977; 75 and 270 pp. [separate pagination].
 Intro. discusses sources, mss., language, and relation to epics. Facing Latin and Occitan texts.
150. Guillermus Paduanus. *Philomena*. Ed. with intro. by Friedrich Eduard Schneegans. Romanische Bibliothek, 15. Halle/S: Niemeyer, 1898; 270 pp.
 Ed. gives facing Latin and Occitan.
151. Fauriel, Claude. "Guillaume, auteur des *Gesta Caroli Magni ad Carcassonam*." In *Histoire littéraire*, 21 (1847), 373-82.

Describes plot, differences between the Latin and Occitan versions, and notable linguistic features.

152. Schneegans, Friedrich Eduard. *Die Quellen des sogenannten "Pseudo-Philomena" und des Officiums von Gerona zu Ehren Karls des Großen als Beitrag zur Geschichte des altfranzösischen Epos*. Strassburg: Heitz und Mündel, 1891; 85 pp. [Inaug. Diss., Strassburg]

Examines secular elements of the text (epic names, expressions, and events) and clerical elements (parallels with an *officium*).

153. Stiennon, Jacques. "Robert, architecte de Charlemagne et maître d'oeuvre de La Grasse d'après les *Gesta Karoli Magni ad Carcassonam et Narbonam*." In *Mélanges R. Louis* [item 2699]; pp. 293-302.

Summarizes plot and remarks that both versions emphasize the importance of edifice construction.

See also items 278 (Moisan) and 286 (de Riquer).

Other notable biographies

154. Jacobus Aquensis. *Gesta Karoli Magni imperatoris; Storia e leggenda carolingia nella Cronica imaginis mundi di frate Jacopo d'Acqui*. Ed. Giuliano Gasca Queirazza. Turin: [Dist. Lib. dell' Univ.], 1969; 117 pp.

Based on 5 mss.; text and variants on facing pages.

See also item 1180 (Castelli).

- ***. Rauschen, Gerhard, ed. Anonymous biography of Charlemagne, written for his canonization. See item 48, pp. 1-94.

155. Brial, Michel Jean Joseph. "Anonyme, auteur d'une vie de l'empereur Charlemagne." In *Histoire littéraire*, 13 (1814), pp. 385-87. Briefly describes the *Micrologus de vitâ Caroli-Magni*, written for Charles' canonization in 1166.

See also item 787 (Bender).

E. BIOGRAPHIES OF LOUIS

Astronomer of Limousin

(Mid 9th cent.-Latin prose) Part I of the bio. draws on a lost chronicle by Adhemar; Part III is from the author's own memories; both parts have erratic chronology; Part II, based on royal annals, is more accurate. The text contains some info. not found elsewhere (such as on Louis' childhood).

156. Astronomer of Limousin. "Vita Hludovici Pii." Ed. André Du Chesne. In *PL*, 104 (1851), cols. 927-78.
157. -----, "Vita Hludovici Pii." Ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz. In *MGH, Scriptorum*, 2 (1829), pp. 604-48.
158. Tenberken, Wolfgang, ed. *Die Vita Hludowici Pii auctore Astronomo. Einleitung und Edition*. Rottweil: [n.p.], 1982; 76 pp and 242 pp. [paginated separately.] [Inaug. Diss. Freiburg, 1971]
Intro. discusses the author, sources (Einhard, Adhemar, annals, Nithard, etc.), value of the text as history and as literature, and ms. tradition.
159. Cabaniss, Allen, trans. *Son of Charlemagne; a contemporary Life of Louis the Pious*. Syracuse: Syracuse Univ. Pr., 1961.
Intro. (30 pp.) treats the author, subject, and historical value of the text.
160. Viscardi, Antonio. "La tradizione storiografica dei secoli VII-X relativa alla campagna iberica del 778 da testimonianza dell'*Histoire Chantée*?" In *Studi di filologia romanza offerti a Silvio Pellegrini*. Ed. Marco Boni, Alessandro Martinengo, Giovan Battista Pellegrini, Valeria Bertolucci Pizzorusso, and Giuseppe E. Sansone. Padua: Liviana, 1971; pp. 667-74.
Reexamines works by chroniclers, Notker, and the Astronomer; concludes that there was no popular history of Charlemagne.
161. Wolff, Philippe. "Les événements de Catalogne de 798-812 et la chronologie de l'Astronome." *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 2 (1965), 451-58.
[Studies the unclear chronology of the Astronomer.]

***. Old French trans. of the Astronomer's work, in Vatican Regina 624. See item 292 (Buridant).

See also item 172 (Trempp) and 2178 (Densusianu, intro.).

Ermoldus Nigellus

162. Ermoldus Nigellus. *In honorem Hludovici*. Ed. and trans. E. Faral. Pub. as *Ermold le noir, Poème sur Louis le Pieux*. Class. de l'hist. de France au Moyen Age, 14. Paris: Champion, 1932.

163. -----, "In honorem Hludowici Christianissimi Caesaris Augusti Ermoldi Nigelli Exulis elegiaci carminis." Ed. Ernst Dümmler. In *MGH, Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, 2 (1884), pp. 5-79.

164. -----, "Carmen Elegiacum de Rebus Gestis Ludovici Pii." Ed. J.P. Migne. *PL*, 105 (1851), cols. 551-640.

165. -----, "In honorem Hludowici Caesaris Augusti." Ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz. In *MGH, Scriptorum*, 2 (1829), pp. 464-523.

166. Batany, Jean. "Propagande carolingienne et mythe carolingien: le programme de Louis le Pieux chez Ermold le Noir et dans le *Couronnement de Louis*." In *Mélanges R. Louis* [item 2699], pp. 313-40.

Examines the relationship between Charles and his son in Ermoldus' history and in the *chanson*; notes that Ermoldus presents theatrically Louis' failure to seek the crown. Also remarks briefly on Thegan.

167. Godman, Peter. "Louis 'the Pious' and his Poets." *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 19 (1985), 239-89.

"Rehabilitates" Latin poets who wrote between 814 and 840, notably Ermoldus Nigellus.

168. Ranieri, Isabella. "La tecnica versificatoria nel *Carmen in honorem Hludowici Carsaris* di Ermoldo Nigello e la tradizione datilica latina." *Studi Med.*, 3^a ser., 25 (1984), 93-114.

Compares caesuras and elision in Ermoldus and Ovid.

See also items 1827 (Press) and 2178 (Densusianu, intro.).

Nithard

169. Nithard. *De dissensionibus filiorum Ludovici pii*. Ed. and trans. Philippe Lauer. Pub. as *Histoire des fils de Louis le Pieux*. Class. de l'hist. de France au Moyen Age, 7. Paris: Champion, 1926; xx, 172 pp.
Dual language ed. Intro. (20 pp.) treats the author and work. Book I (pp. 2-37) gives much info. on Louis' life, but is not strictly a biography.
170. -----, "De dissensionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii." Bk. I. Ed. J.P. Migne. In *PL*, 116 (1879), cols. 45-52.

See also item 6 (Scholz and Rogers).

Thegan

171. Thegan. *Vita Ludovici Imperatoris*. Ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz. *MGH, Scriptorum*, 2 (1829), pp. 585-603; rpt. in *PL*, 106 (1864), cols. 405-30.
172. Tremp, Ernst. "Thegan und Astronomus, die beiden Geschichtsschreiber Ludwigs des Frommen." In *Charlemagne's Heir* [item 110], pp. 691-700.
Examines the degree to which Thegan and the Astronomer present their material in a biased way.

See also items 9 (Tessier) and 166 (Batany).

F. BIOGRAPHIES OF OTHER RELEVANT PEOPLE

Girart de Roussillon

(Latin prose, 11th cent.) The *Vita noblissimi comitis Gerardi de Rossellon* tells of the war between Girart and Charles the Bald [in lit., Charles Martel], who married sisters. Girart rebels; as penance, he becomes a charcoal-seller. An angel forces the king to reconcile with Girart, and Girart begins to build monasteries. When he dies, his people try to keep his

body, but their land suffers a plague until they take the corpse to Pothières as Girart had requested.

***. Ham, E.B., ed. In item 2360, pp. 373-96.

173. Meyer, Paul, ed. "La légende de Girart de Roussillon." *Romania*, 7 (1878), 161-235.

Gives the Latin text and an Old French trans. of the *Vita* (pp. 178-225), with vocabulary, commentary, and comparison with *Girart de Roussillon*.

174. Gaiffier d'Hestroy, Baudoin de. "À propos de Girart charbonnier dans la forêt d'Ardenne. Notes sur les saints charbonniers." In *Mélanges R. Louis* [item 2699], pp. 837-43.

Considers this episode in the *Vita* and the *chanson*, and mentions other saints said to have sold charcoal (St. Thibaut, St. Aibert, Éurard de Bretueil).

See also items 2327 (Meyer), 2335 (Lot), and 2418 (Louis).

Ogier (le Danois)

(Latin prose, 7th-8th cent.) The "Conversio Othgerii" episode of the *Vita Sancti Faronis* recounts how a knight named Ogier, after deciding to enter a contemplative cloister, chose the one at Meaux because no one but a child stopped praying when he threw down a staff to which he had tied bells.

175. Krusch, Bruno, ed. "Conversio Othgerii, qualiter abrenuntians saeculo, deo in monastico habitu militavit." In *MGH, Scr. rerum Merov.*, 5 [= *Passiones vitaeque sanctorum aevi Merovingici*], (1910), pp. 204-06.

Introduces and edits the excerpt from the *Vita Sancti Faronis*.

176. Cerf, Barry. "Ogier le Danois and the Abbey of St. Faro of Meaux." *Rom. Rev.*, 1 (1910), 1-12.

Notes confusions between "Rogier" and "Ogier" in Hildegare's *Vita Sancti Faronis*; proposes a connection between Ogier and a certain "Rogier Dacus" mentioned by Albricus Trium-Fontium [item 199].

177. Lot, F. "La légende d'Ogier le Danois, à quelle époque remonte la connaissance d'Ogier le Danois?" *Romania*, 66 (1940), 238-53; rpt. in *Études sur les légendes* [item 2694], pp. 280-92.

Agrees with Bédier [item 476] that the Ogier legend was used to drum up business for a pilgrimage route but draws the opposite conclusion--namely that the *Conversio Othgerii* would only make sense as an advertisement if Ogier were already well-known.

See also items 1264 (Lejeune) and 2037 (Delbouille).

Renaud (de Montauban)

Some scholars think Renaud de Montauban was confused with a St. Reinold who lived in the 7th cent.; Renaud's martyrdom while building a church and the condition of his body after death are indeed standard hagiographic *topoi*.

178. Knörich, Gerhard, ed. "Der heilige Reinold." *Beiträge zur Geschichte Dortmunds und der Grafschaft Mark*, 31 (1924), 77-128.

[Gives an analysis and ed. of the *Legenda de sancto Reinoldo*.]

179. De Baecker, Louis, ed. *Chants historiques de la Flandre (400-1650)*. Lille: Vanackere, 1855; xxv, 371 pp.; pp. 131-49.

[Chap. VII gives an ed. of the 527-verse rhymed *Vita sancti Reynoldi rhythme*.]

180. Flosz, H.J., ed. "Legende von St. Reinold." *Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein, insbesondere die alte Erzdiöcese Köln*, 30 (1876), 174-203.

[Presents an ed. of the *Vita sancti Reynoldi rhythme*.]

181. Van Hasselt, A., ed. "Narratio de sancto Reynoldo et genealogia eius et suorum." *Annuaire de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, 12 (1851), 239-81.

[Offers an ed. of the *Vita sancti Reynoldi rhythme*.]

182. Reifferscheid, A., ed. "Històrie van sent Reinolt." *Zeit. deut. Phil.*, 5 (1874), 271-93.

Provides an ed. of a brief prose analogue of *Renaud de Montauban* dating from the 15th cent.

See also items 336 (Verelst), 759 (Buschinger), 2255 (Spijker), and 2268 (Pfaff).

Scholarship about St. Renaud

183. Appuhn, Horst. "Reinold, der Roland von Dortmund. Ein kunstgeschichtlicher Versuch über die Entstehung der Rolande." In *Beiträge zur Kunst des Mittelalters. Festschrift für Hans Wentzel*. Ed. Rüdiger Becksmann, Ulf-Dietrich Korn, and Johannes Zahlten. Berlin: Mann, 1975; pp. 1-10.

Maintains that iconography connects the Reinold figure at the church in Dortmund with Roland.

184. Fiebig, Paul. *St. Reinoldus in Kult, Liturgie und Kunst*. Beiträge zur Geschichte Dortmunds und der Grafschaft Mark, 53. Dortmund: Ruhfus, 1956; 200 pp.

[Argues, among other things, that the end of *Renaud de Montauban* is from legends surrounding a Reinhold who died in 697.]

185. Ostendorf, Franz. *Überlieferung und Quelle der Reinoldlegende*. Forschungen und Funde, 3. Münster: Aschendorff, 1912; 70 pp. [Surveys the Renaud/Reinolt tradition.]

186. Rinke, Wolfgang. *Dortmunder Kirchen des Mittelalters. St. Reinoldi, St. Marien, St. Johannes Bapt. (Propstei), St. Petri*. Photography by Gerhard P. Müller and Josef N. Neumann. Dortmund: Ruhfus, 1987; 168 pp.

On pp. 13-61, offers 29 photos of the St. Reinoldi-Kirche.

187. Steffens, Arnold. "Die heilige Reinold." *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 34 (1910), 729-31.

[Discusses the hagiographical Renaud legend.]

See items 336 (Verelst) and 759 (Buschinger).

William

Stories about St. Guillelme-le-Desert ("de Gellone") were interpolated into many other works.

188. Ardon Smaragdus. *Vita S. Benedicti Anianensis*. Ed. J.P. Migne. *PL*, 103 (1864), cols. 351-94 [see col. 373] and *MGH, Scriptorum*, 15.1 (1887), pp. 198-220. Ed. W. Wattenbach; relevant part

rpt. by W. Cloëtta, "Le récit d'Ardon Smaragde." In *Moniage Guillaume* [item 2032], Vol. II, pp. 9-14.

189. Cloëtta, W. "Les falsifications des moines d'Aniane et Gellone. La *Vita Sancti Willelmi*." In *Moniage Guillaume* [item 2032], Vol. II, pp. 14-53.

Provides texts with commentaries.

190. Révillout, Charles. *Étude historique et littéraire sur l'ouvrage latin intitulé "Vie de saint Guillaume"*. Extrait des Publications de la Société archéologique de Montpellier, 35-36. Paris: Société archéologique, 1876.

[Offers a detailed study of the *Vita* and its context.]

191. Cloëtta, W. "Le récit d'Orderic Vital--le Livre IV du *Codex* de Saint-Jacques de Compostelle--l'*Historia miraculorum beati Willelmi*." In *Moniage Guillaume* [item 2032], Vol. II, pp. 54-58.

Provides relevant excerpts from each of the texts.

192. Mandach, André de. "La genèse du *Guide du pèlerin de saint Jacques*, Orderic Vital et la date de la Geste de Guillaume." In *Mélanges R. Lejeune* [item 2724], pp. 811-27.

Dates the liturgical William legend before 1129.

See also items 52-57 (Cult of William), 1807 (Becker), 1809 (Bennett), 1819 (Hoggan), and 1821 (Jeanroy).

For a hypothetical hagiographical poem on Roland, see item 1417 (Burger).

II. CHRONICLES (EXCLUDING THE *TURPIN*)

A. GENERAL STUDIES

193. Aebischer, Paul. "Éléments traditionnels et interventions personnelles dans les textes annalistiques et historiographiques relatifs à l'expédition franque de 778 en Espagne." *Zeit. schweitz. Gesch.*, 24 (1974), 373-400; rpt. in *Des Annales* [item 2688], pp. 3-23. Examines the descriptions of the Spanish campaign found in the *Annales Mettenses (priors and posteriores)*, the *Annales Laurissenses* (major and minor), the *Nota Emilianense*, and other chronicles, making comparisons among them.
194. Halphen, Louis. *Études critiques sur l'histoire de Charlemagne; les sources de l'histoire de Charlemagne, la conquête de la Saxe, le couronnement impérial, l'agriculture et la propriété rurale, l'industrie et le commerce*. Paris: Alcan, 1921; 314 pp. Discusses Einhard, Notker, the *Annales Laurissenses majores*, and numerous minor annals. Then studies the Saxon wars and the coronation of Charlemagne.
195. Hoffmann, Hartmut. *Untersuchungen zur karolingischen Annalistik*. Bonner Hist. Forschungen, 10. Bonn: Röhrscheid, 1958; 117 pp. Examines the *Annales Mettenses priores* (style, provenance, relation to the work of the Saxon Poet, *Annales Lobienses*, etc.), the *Annales Laurisshamenses* (relation to other 8th-cent. annals), and the *Annales Fuldenses* and *Annales Sithienses*.
196. Ott, Norbert H. "Epische Stoffe in mittelalterlichen Bildzeugnissen I. Heidenkampf und Adelsheiligkeit: die Bildzeugnisse des Karl-Roland-Stoffes." In *Epische Stoffe des Mittelalters*. Ed. Volker Mertens and Ulrich Müller. Kröners Taschenausgabe, 483. Stuttgart: Kröner, 1984; x, 529 pp.; pp. 450-55. Discusses the relationship of the *Weltchronik* of Heinrich von München (and, briefly, those of Rudolf von Ems and Jans Enikel) to

Latin and vernacular histories (the *Grandes Chroniques* and the *Turpin*).

197. Rajna, Pio. "Contributi alla storia dell'epopea e del romanzo medievale. IX. Altre orme antiche dell'epopea carolingia in Italia." *Romania*, 26 (1897), 34-73.

Discusses Latin chronicles written in Italy that refer to characters and events of French epic.

198. Uitti, Karl D. "A Note on Historiographical Vernacularization in Thirteenth-Century France and Spain." In *Homenaje A. Galmés de Fuentes* [item 2706], vol. I, pp. 573-92.

Studies the mythologizing of the "nation" in the *Grandes Chroniques* and the *Crónica General*. Argues that the 2 authors use many of the same stylistic techniques (parallelisms, ambiguities masking details that do not fit the overall design, etc.).

See also item 216 (Van Dijk).

B. SELECTED LATIN CHRONICLES

Albricus Trium-Fontium

199. Albricus Trium Fontium. "Cronica Albrici Monachi Trium Fontium, a monacho Novi Monasterii Hoiensis interpolata." Ed. Paul Scheffer-Boichorst. In *MGH, Scriptorum*, 23 (1874), pp. 631-950.

200. Moisan, André. "Aubri de Trois-Fontaines à l'écoute des chanteurs de geste." In *Essor et fortune* [item 2743], pp. 949-76.

Describes Albricus' use of some 30 French epics.

201. Petit-Radel, Louis Charles François. "Albéric, moine de Trois-Fontaines, Ordre de Citeaux, auteur d'une chronique qui finit en 1241." In *Histoire littéraire*, 18 (1832), pp. 279-92.

Provides a general introduction to Albricus' work.

See also items 176 (Cerf), 203 (Moisan), and 2063 (Weeks).

Vincent de Beauvais

202. Vincent de Beauvais. *Speculum Historiale*. Ca. 1254. No edition.