OXFORD

AN EMPIRE OF
Memory

The Legend of Charlemagne, the Franks, and Jerusalem before the First Crusade

MATTHEW GABRIELE

AN EMPIRE OF MEMORY

This page intentionally left blank

An Empire of Memory

The Legend of Charlemagne, the Franks, and Jerusalem before the First Crusade

MATTHEW GABRIELE

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Great Clarendon Street, Oxford OX2 6DP

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.
It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship,
and education by publishing worldwide in

Oxford New York

Auckland Cape Town Dar es Salaam Hong Kong Karachi
Kuala Lumpur Madrid Melbourne Mexico City Nairobi
New Delhi Shanghai Taipei Toronto

With offices in

Argentina Austria Brazil Chile Czech Republic France Greece
Guatemala Hungary Italy Japan Poland Portugal Singapore
South Korea Switzerland Thailand Turkey Ukraine Vietnam

Oxford is a registered trade mark of Oxford University Press
in the UK and in certain other countries

Published in the United States
by Oxford University Press Inc., New York

© Matthew Gabriele 2011

The moral rights of the author have been asserted
Database right Oxford University Press (maker)

First published 2011

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced,
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means,
without the prior permission in writing of Oxford University Press,
or as expressly permitted by law, or under terms agreed with the appropriate
reprographics rights organization. Enquiries concerning reproduction
outside the scope of the above should be sent to the Rights Department,
Oxford University Press, at the address above

You must not circulate this book in any other binding or cover
and you must impose the same condition on any acquirer

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
Data available

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data
Data available

Typeset by SPI Publisher Services, Pondicherry, India
Printed in Great Britain
on acid-free paper by
MPG Books Group, Bodmin and King's Lynn

ISBN 978–0–19–959144–2

1 3 5 7 9 10 8 6 4 2

What is history but a fable agreed upon?
(attributed to Napoleon Bonaparte)

Language has always been the partner of empire.
(Antonio de Nebrija, *Gramática de la lengua castellana*, 1492)

The tomb they were about to enter had not been opened since January 29, 814, the day on which the Most Serene Augustus Crowned by God the Great Peaceful Emperor, Governing the Roman Empire, King of the Franks and Lombards Through the Mercy of God, died. By then he was already wise beyond mortals, an inspirer of miracles, the protector of Jerusalem, a clairvoyant, a man of iron, a bishop of bishops. One poet proclaimed that no one would be nearer to the apostolic band than he. In life he'd been called *Carolus*. *Magnus* first became attached to his name in reference to his great height, but now indicated greatness. His French label, though, was the one used most commonly, a merger of *Carolus* and *Magnus* into a name presently uttered with heads bowed and voices low, as if speaking of God. Charlemagne.

(Steve Berry, *The Charlemagne Pursuit*, 2008)

For Rachel and Uly

Contents

Acknowledgments viii
List of Images x
Abbreviations xi

Introduction: Looking for Charlemagne 1

I. THE FRANKS REMEMBER EMPIRE

1. The Birth of a Frankish Golden Age 13
  The Franks after Charlemagne 15
  Religious Houses and their Charlemagnes 23
  The Expanding Empire 30

2. The Narratives of Charlemagne's Journey to the East before 1100 41
  A Donation to St. Andrew on Monte Soratte: *c.*970 41
  The Foundation of Charroux: *c.*1095 44
  A Capetian *Translatio*: *c.*1080 51
  The Relationship among the Sources 60

II. JERUSALEM

3. New Jerusalems and Pilgrimage to the East before 1100 73
  Jerusalem and the West before the Eleventh Century 73
  Jerusalem and Pilgrimage from the West during the Eleventh Century 79

III. THE FRANKS RECREATE EMPIRE

4. The Franks' Imagined Empire 97
  A Christian Realm 98
  The Empire to Come 107
  The Franks at the End of History 115

5. The Franks Return to the Holy Land 129
  Frankish Identity in the Eleventh Century 130
  Calling the Franks to Holy War: Ideas Become Action 139

Appendix 1: Legend for Figure 1.1 160

Bibliography 164
Index 193

Acknowledgments

It is impossible to properly recognize in just a few words all those who have aided me over the previous years. My thanks should first extend to Chuck, who provided the inspiration for this book. For their generous financial support, I would like to thank Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University (Virginia Tech), especially the College of Liberal Arts and Human Sciences and the Department of Religion and Culture, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Medieval Academy of America, the Mellon Foundation, the Department of History at the University of California, Berkeley, and the Honors Program at the University of Delaware. My thanks extend to *Nottingham Medieval Studies* and the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies at UCLA for permission to reprint portions of my previously published articles and to Elizabeth Pastan, the Warburg Institute, the Aachen Cathedral Treasury, the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cambridge University Press, and Anton Hiersemann Verlag for permission to reprint their respective images. Also, my research would have been immensely more difficult if it were not for the librarians and staff members at the University of California, Berkeley, including the Robbins Collection at Boalt School of Law, Virginia Tech, the University of Virginia, the Bibliothèque Mazarine in Paris, the British Library, the Bodleian Library, the Warburg Institute, and the Institute of Historical Research.

I would be nothing without my teachers. Daniel F. Callahan deserves my special thanks for mentoring me as an undergraduate and pointing me towards the Charlemagne legend when I was at the University of Delaware. He has continued to be a friend. At Cal, my graduate advisor, Geoffrey Koziol, has always been supportive both of my work and of my professional development. Thomas A. Brady, Jr., David Hult, Luminita Florea, Maureen Miller, the late Gerard Caspary, and the late Robert Brentano all provided helpful advice and support. I learned a great deal during my summer at a NEH-sponsored seminar in Yarnton, England, especially in conversation with Irv Resnick, Karen Kletter, Rachel Stocking, Adam Serfass, and John Ott. In turn, my own students at Cal and Virginia Tech remind me of why I do what I do. I am especially grateful to my undergraduate assistant, Rachel Harris, for her patience and her knowledge of VT's libraries.

One of the great pleasures in academia is meeting other people and sharing ideas. I have been particularly fortunate in this regard. The anonymous readers at Oxford University Press offered many constructive thoughts on drafts of this manuscript. The Earlier Medieval Europe Seminars at the IHR, led (when I was there) by Alan Thacker, Michael Clanchy, John Gillingham, and Jinty Nelson, were invaluable in exposing me to scholarship that challenged my own. The Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies Seminars sponsored by UCLA and the Huntington Library did much the same. In London and thereafter, Theo Riches lent a critical eye to my work and quickly became a friend. My compatriots at Cal, Kathleen Stewart Fung, Rosalind Jaeger Reynolds, and Sam Collins have been friends for many years now. R. I. Moore, Jason Glenn, Amy Remensnyder, Paul Kershaw, Tom Madden, David Warner, Peggy Brown, Scott Bruce, Deborah Gerish, Niall Christie, Michael Frassetto, Nick Paul, Paul Hyams, Julie Hofmann, Jonathan Jarrett, Kate McGrath, David Perry, Wendy Hoofnagle, Jace Stuckey, and Anne Latowsky have all provided much encouragement and many useful suggestions along the way. Jay Rubenstein and Brett Whalen deserve special thanks for reading this manuscript in various draft stages and being extremely generous in sharing their own work.

At Virginia Tech, there are too many people to name individually. All of them have helped me make Blacksburg home. Everyone in my department of Religion and Culture (and formerly in the Department of Interdisciplinary Studies) has been almost unbelievably supportive of my work in all of its iterations, in the library, in the classroom, and in the meeting room. The same can be said to a great number of people in other departments throughout the university, especially those affiliated with VT's Medieval and Early Modern Studies.

Finally, the most important people to thank are friends and family. Thanks to all of our friends we met in Delaware, Berkeley, London, and Blacksburg. Thanks to all my family and especially to my parents, Tobie and Maureen Gabriele, my sister Nicole, her husband Jeff, their daughter Paige, my brother Timh, his wife Amanda, and their daughter Alice. Just thanks for everything. My son Ulysses is my joy in life. I am always proud of you. Fishsticks and Pfeffernüssen. Finally, Rachel, my wife, deserves more thanks and praise than I can ever offer her. She is my true and abiding love. All I can say is, wonderful, wonderful, wonderful, wonderful, wonderful, and most wonderful, and yet again, wonderful. Thank you.

List of Images

1.1 Map of sites important to the Charlemagne legend, ninth–early twelfth centuries. 14

2.1 Reconstructed plan of the abbey church of Saint-Sauveur, Charroux. 49

2.2 Scenes from the Jerusalem Crusade, Charlemagne Window, Chartres Cathedral. 55

2.3 Reconstruction of lower registers of Crusading Window, Saint-Denis. 57

4.1 Eleventh-Century Ottonian Ivory Water Vessel, Aachen Cathedral Treasury. 104

4.2 Drawing of Charlemagne by Ademar of Chabannes, Paris, BN lat. 5943A, fo. 5^{r}. 122

5.1 Map of recruitment to the First Crusade. 146

5.2 Map of Pope Urban II's preaching itinerary in Francia 1095–96. 149

Abbreviations

AASS	*Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur*
Apocalyptic Year	Richard Landes, Andrew Gow, and David C. van Meter (eds.), *The Apocalyptic Year 1000: Religious Expectation and Social Change, 950–1050* (Oxford, 2003).
CCM	*Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum* (Siegburg, 1963–99).
CCSL	*Corpus Christianorum: Series Latina*
CCCM	*Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Medievalis*
De ortu	Daniel Verhelst (ed.), *De ortu et tempore Antichristi*, CCCM 45 (Turnhout, 1976).
DHGE	*Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie écclesiastiques*
Die Legende	Gerhard Rauschen (ed.), *Die Legende Karls des Grossen im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1890).
FISI	*Fonti per la storia d'Italia pubblicate dall'Istituto storico italiano*
Folz, *Souvenir*	Robert Folz, *Le Souvenir et la légende de Charlemagne dans l'empire germanique médiéval* (Paris, 1950).
KdG	Wolfgang Braunfels and Percy Ernst Schramm (eds.), *Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben,* 5 vols. (Düsseldorf, 1965–8).
Legend of Charlemagne	Matthew Gabriele and Jace Stuckey (eds.), *The Legend of Charlemagne in the Middle Ages: Power, Faith, and Crusade* (New York, 2008).
Liber de Const.	*Liber de Constitutione: Institutione, Consecratione, reliquiis ornamentis et Privilegiis*, in D.P. de Monsabert (ed.), *Chartes et documents pour servir a l'historire de l'Abbaye de Charroux,* Archives Historiques du Poitou, vol. 39 (Poitiers, 1910).
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
Capit.	Capitularia regum Francorum
Concilia	Concilia
Dipl. Karol.	Diplomata Karolinorum
Dipl. Ger.	Diplomatum regum et imperatorum Germaniae
Epist.	Epistolae
Epist. sel.	Epistolae selectae
LdL	Libelli de Lite
SS	Scriptores
SRG	Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum
SRG NS	SRG, nova series
SRM	Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum

PL	J.-P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series latina*
RHC Occ	*Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens occidentaux*
RHG	*Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*
Uses of the Past	Yitzhak Hen and Matthew Innes (eds.), *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2000).
Year 1000	Michael Frassetto (ed.), *The Year 1000: Religious and Social Response to the Turning of the First Millennium* (New York, 2002).

Introduction

Looking for Charlemagne

The 1967 children's book called *The Emperor's Arrow* tells the story of a young peasant named Pepin. While working in the fields one day, he heard the gallop of approaching horses, jumped into the brush, and watched the emperor Charlemagne ride past. Pepin knew that Charles was a kind ruler, who set up schools and even treated the peasants well; 'a hero without equal in the world Pepin lived'. Pepin had even heard that a sultan had sent Charlemagne an elephant. The boy followed Charlemagne into his castle only to discover that his army has been beset by the Black Death. During a mass sung for the emperor, an angel appeared to Charles, telling him to go outside and shoot an arrow into the sky. What that arrow hit would cure his army. Pepin, hiding again in the brush, recovered the plant in which the arrow had landed. Excitedly, the boy rushed home, told his mother what he found, and coaxed her into making a broth from the plant. The boy was finally brought before Charlemagne, who (by his mere appearance) consoled the boy, making him feel as if 'somehow . . . everything would be safe in his world'. The herbal broth did indeed save Charlemagne's army and he rewarded Pepin with a place at the palace school, where Pepin rose to high honors.[1]

The book you're now reading is not really about Charlemagne. That is, this book is not about the Frankish king and emperor of the eighth and ninth centuries, but rather about idealized images of the Frankish ruler and the meaning behind them. Sources of the Charlemagne legend are diffuse, scattered across the pages of annals, chronicles, poems, and hagiographies, as well as on the walls of churches and cathedrals. They are also legion. In the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, telling stories about Charlemagne meant telling stories about a (lost) Golden Age whose contours shifted across time and space. Each scribe who recorded the great one's deeds or narrated the events of that Golden Age added a layer, pressing his particular memories and preoccupations into the fabric of the Charlemagne legend.[2]

---

[1] Burke Boyce, *The Emperor's Arrow* (Philadelphia, 1967).

[2] Beginning in the 12th century, an intellectual battle has been fought over his very name—was he Charlemagne or *Karl der Grosse*? See Karl Ferdinand Werner, *Karl der Grosse oder Charlemagne? Von der Aktualität einer überholten Fragestellung* (Münich, 1995); Joachim Ehlers, *Charlemagne: L'Européen entre la France et Allemagne* (Stuttgart, 2001); Robert Morrissey, *Charlemagne and France: A Thousand Years of Mythology*, tr. Catherine Tihanyi (Notre Dame, Ind., 2003); and the short summary in Joanna Story, 'Charlemagne's Reputation', in Story (ed.), *Charlemagne: Empire and Society* (Manchester, 2005), 1–4.

Modern scholarship has had a hard time getting a handle on this phenomenon, though not for lack of trying. In 1993, Susan E. Farrier published an annotated bibliography on the Charlemagne legend, having over 2,700 entries subdivided into three parts, twenty-eight sections, and many, many more subsections. The main dividing line in Farrier's work, however, is between 'historical' and 'poetic' sources. In Farrier's organizational schematic, historical sources are generally those written in Latin (although she includes some late medieval vernacular chronicles as well), while poetic sources are exclusively in the vernacular.[3]

This fits well within the scholarly tradition. Gaston Paris's pioneering late nineteenth-century *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne* largely defined the limits of all subsequent research on the topic.[4] For Paris, 'poetic' meant fictional and vernacular, with sources that spoke of universal characteristics, oftentimes devoid of cultural context. Thus, studying Charlemagne in epic and romance meant saying something about Charlemagne as a recurring, fictional character, easily recognizable across texts.[5] On the other hand, Paris believed that the image of Charlemagne in Latin (hence 'historical') sources evolved from king to saint, with each text another step in a more-or-less conscious process towards Charlemagne's canonization at the behest of Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa (1152–90)[6] in 1165 CE.

Recently, literary critics who have discussed the Charlemagne legend have worked to more precisely contextualize (chronologically and geographically) their sources. Nonetheless, many critics debate details, as they remain tethered to texts already within their scholarly tradition and are primarily concerned with indicating how each manifests a rather standardized portrait of Charlemagne.[7] Paradoxically, even as they treat the multiple discursive layers in their own sources, 'literary critics have been accustomed to get their history secondhand and prepackaged and have tended . . . to treat it as unproblematic, something to be invoked rather than investigated'.[8] This intense focus has had another, perhaps unintended consequence. Often, because some literary critics have traditionally viewed their texts either as discrete units (removed from dependent traditions) or as one part of an epic/romantic cycle revolving around a certain hero (removed from the epic/romantic tradition as a whole), the study of Charlemagne himself has been marginalized. He has faded into the background and the fact that the age of Charlemagne's reign provides the meta-thread among almost all of these vernacular texts remains largely unremarked.[9]

---

[3] Susan E. Farrier, *The Medieval Charlemagne Legend: An Annotated Bibliography* (New York, 1993).

[4] Gaston Paris, *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne*, 2nd edn. (Paris, 1905).

[5] There are dangers in not properly contextualizing your sources. See my review of the woeful John F. Moffitt, *The Enthroned Corpse of Charlemagne: The Lord-in-Majesty Theme in Early Medieval Art and Life* (Jefferson, NC, 2007): Matthew Gabriele, 'Review of *The Enthroned Corpse of Charlemagne*, by John F. Moffitt', *Studies in Iconography,* 30 (2009), 239–41.

[6] I will give regnal years for kings, emperors, and popes. For others, I will give dates of death.

[7] e.g. Karl-Heinz Bender, 'La Genèse de l'image littéraire de Charlemagne, élu de Dieu, au XI^e^ siècle', *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona,* 31 (1967), 35–49; idem, *König und Vasall: Untersuchungen zur Chanson de Geste des XII. Jahrhunderts* (Heidelberg, 1967); Karl-Ernst Geith, *Carolus Magnus: Studien zur Darstellung Karls des Grossen in der deutschen Literatur des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts* (Münich, 1977); and Dominique Boutet, *Charlemagne et Arthur ou le roi imaginaire* (Paris, 1992). Peter Haidu, *The Sense of Violence: The Song of Roland and the Birth of the State* (Bloomington, Ind., 1993) has some fascinating things to say about how the Oxford *Chanson de Roland* functions as a textual artifact, but his discussion of Frankish kingship is dated and makes an anachronistic distinction between kingship's secular and sacral characters.

[8] Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *The Past as Text: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography* (Baltimore, 1997), 20. Also, Robert M. Stein, 'Literary Criticism and the Evidence for History', in Nancy Partner (ed.), *Writing Medieval History* (London, 2005), 67–87.

On the other side of this imagined disciplinary divide, the touchstone for historians of the Charlemagne legend remains the magisterial work of Robert Folz. Like Gaston Paris had, Folz revolved his analysis around the formal sanctification of Charlemagne by Barbarossa, even as he paid far greater attention to what happened after 1165 than what came before.[10] This late medieval focus remains a prominent thread in the historiography of the Charlemagne legend.[11] Another more recent thread, however, looks at earlier evidence of the Charlemagne legend—some assessing how the memory of Charlemagne's idealized reign served as a model for later Carolingian, Capetian, and Ottonian rulers,[12] while others look to determine the motivations behind monastic appropriations of Charlemagne in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[13] Still, historians are often guilty of a kind of myopia. In direct contrast to how literary critics treat their sources, historians have the tendency to read sources of the Charlemagne legend as if they contained nothing but context, generally using them to say something about the time and place in which an individual text was created, while failing to look more broadly across geographical and temporal boundaries.

---

[9] e.g. not one of the nine papers on the Oxford *Roland* in *Charlemagne et l'épopée romane*—a book supposedly dedicated to Charlemagne in epic—are about the Frankish ruler. Madeleine Tyssens and Claude Thiry (eds.), *Charlemagne et l'épopée romane: Actes du VII^e Congrès International de la Société Rencesvals*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1978); the same in Emmanuèle Baumgartner, Jean-Charles Payen, and Paule Le Rider (eds.), *La Chanson de Geste et le mythe carolingien: Mélanges René Louis publiés par ses collègues, ses amis et ses élèves à l'occasion de son 75^e anniversaire*, 2 vols. (Vézelay, 1982); and Karen Pratt (ed.), *Roland and Charlemagne in Europe: Essays on the Reception and Transformation of a Legend* (London, 1996).

[10] Folz's discussion of events before the canonization is 157 pages long. His discussion of events after 1165 is 403 pages. Folz's second book is entirely on the cult of Charlemagne. See Folz, *Souvenir*; and idem, *Études sur le culte liturgique de Charlemagne dans les églises de l'empire* (Paris, 1951).

[11] The essays collected in a recent special volume of the *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins* deal almost exclusively (twenty-three of twenty-seven) with the legacy of 1165. *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins,* 104/5 (2002/3), 11–764; also see the earlier Hans Müllejans (ed.), *Karl der Grosse und sein Schrein in Aachen* (Mönchengladbach, 1988); and Giuseppe Martini, 'La memoria di Carlomagno e l'impero medioevale', *Rivista storica Italiana,* 68 (1956), 255–81. Similarly, art historians have primarily concerned themselves with Aachen or the 13th-cent. stained-glass windows depicting Charlemagne. For instance, Heinrich Schiffers, *Karls des Grossen Reliquienschatz und die Anfange der Aachenfahrt* (Aachen, 1951); Rita Lejeune and Jacques Stiennon, *La Légende de Roland dans l'art du Moyen Âge* (Brussels, 1966); Alison Stones, 'The *Codex Calixtinus* and the Iconography of Charlemagne', in Karen Pratt (ed.), *Roland and Charlemagne in Europe* (London, 1996), 169–203; the collected essays in Mario Kramp (ed.), *Könige in Aachen: Geschichte und Mythos*, 2 vols. (Mainz, 2000); and Elizabeth Pastan, 'Charlemagne as Saint? Relics and the Choice of Window Subjects at Chartres Cathedral', in *Legend of Charlemagne*, 97–135.

[12] e.g. Paul Dutton, *The Politics of Dreaming in the Carolingian Empire* (Lincoln, Neb., 1994); Roger Collins, 'Charlemagne and his Critics, 814–29', in Régine LeJan (ed.), *La Royauté et les élites dans l'Europe carolingienne (début IX^e siècle aux environs de 920)* (Villeneuve, 1998), 193–211; Egon Boshof, 'Karl der Kahle: Novus Karolus magnus?', in Franz-Reiner Erkens (ed.), *Karl der Grosse und das Erbe der Kulturen* (Berlin, 2001), 135–52; Joachim Ehlers, 'Karolingische Tradition und frühes Nationalbewusstsein in Frankreich', *Francia,* 4 (1976), 213–35; Karl Hauck, 'Die Ottonen und Aachen, 876–936', in *KdG* 39–53; Ludwig Falkenstein, *Otto III. und Aachen* (Hanover, 1998); Hagen Keller, 'Die Ottonen und Karl der Grosse', *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins,* 104/5 (2002/3), 69–94; and Matthew Gabriele, 'Otto III, Charlemagne, and Pentecost A.D. 1000: A Reconsideration Using Diplomatic Evidence', in *Year 1000*, 111–32.

[13] For instance, Robert Barroux, 'L'Abbé Suger et la vassalité du Vexin en 1124', *Le Moyen Âge,* 64 (1958), 1–26; C. Van de Kieft, 'Deux diplômes faux de Charlemagne pour Saint-Denis, du XII^e siècle', *Le Moyen Âge,* 64 (1958), 401–36; Marc du Pouget, 'Le Légende carolingienne à Saint-Denis: La Donation

This divide endures.[14] In 2003, Federica Monteleone framed her discussion of Charlemagne's legendary journey to the Holy Land as a dual evolutionary process, essentially following Gaston Paris's nearly 150-year-old theoretical structure. One path of Monteleone's investigation led to Charlemagne's sanctification as he became an archetypal crusader in the service of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, while the other led towards the creation of an idealized knightly figure in the Old French *Voyage de Charlemagne*.[15] Certainly, Monteleone's work is filled with valuable insights into various aspects of the Charlemagne legend before 1165 but because she compartmentalizes her sources, she fails to address how or why the legend was so intriguing, to so many people, at so many times, in so many places. She sees little connection between contemporary images of Charlemagne in Latin and vernacular sources. She leaps from one text to the other, offering an implicit evolutionary model that moves towards the Old French *Voyage*, but does not fully explain how one step led to the next or even why the legend was going there. She doesn't explain how ideas could travel.

Medieval topics, and especially ones like the study of the Charlemagne legend, scream out for *interdisciplinary* approaches.[16] Monteleone took a *multidisciplinary*

---

de Charlemagne au retour de Roncevaux', *Société des Sciences, Lettres, et Arts de Bayonne,* 135 (1979), 53–60; Elizabeth A. R. Brown and Michael W. Cothren, 'The Twelfth-Century Crusading Window of the Abbey of Saint-Denis: *Praeteritorum enim recordatio futurorum est exhibitio*', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtald Institutes,* 49 (1986), 1–40; Amy G. Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France* (Ithaca, NY, 1995); Rolf Grosse, 'Reliques du Christ et foires de Saint-Denis au XI^{e} siècle', *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France,* 87 (2001), 357–75; and Daniel F. Callahan, 'Al-Hakim, Charlemagne, and the Destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem in the Writings of Ademar of Chabannes', in *Legend of Charlemagne*, 41–57.

[14] Seen perhaps most famously in Wolfgang Braunfels and Percy Ernst Schramm (eds.), *Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, 5 vols. (Düsseldorf, 1965–8). Here, historians of the Charlemagne legend write on Latin sources, while literary critics write on the vernacular. Neither reference the other's work. See also Bernd Bastert (ed.), *Karl der Grosse in den europäischen Literaturen des Mittelalters: Konstruktion eines Mythos* (Tübingen, 2004); and Max Kerner, *Karl der Grosse: Entschleierung eines Mythos* (Cologne, 2001).

[15] Federica Monteleone, *Il viaggio di Carlo Magno in Terra Santa: Un'esperienza di pellegrinaggio nella tradizione europea occidentale* (Fasano, 2003), 11–12. The Old French *Voyage* likely dates to the second half of the 12th cent. See *Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, tr. Glyn S. Burgess (Edinburgh, 1998). Two recent dissertations, soon to become books, do much to remedy this lack of interdisciplinary approaches. See Anne Austin Latowsky, 'Imaginative Possession: Charlemagne and the East from Einhard to the *Voyage of Charlemagne*' (Ph.D. diss., Romance Languages and Literature, University of Washington, 2004); and Jace Stuckey, 'Charlemagne: The Making of an Image, 1100–1300' (Ph.D. diss., History, University of Florida, 2006).

[16] The chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin, a 12th-cent. Latin prose account of Charlemagne and Roland's expedition into Spain, is one text that has served as a point of common interdisciplinary ground. For more on Pseudo-Turpin, see André de Mandach, *Naissance et développement de la Chanson de Geste en Europe: La Geste de Charlemagne et de Roland*, 6 vols. (Geneva, 1961); Matthias Tischler, 'Tatmensch oder Heidenapostel: Die Bilder Karls des Grossen bei Einhart und im Pseudo-Turpin', in Klaus Herbers (ed.), *Jakobus und Karl der Grosse: Von Einhards Karlsvita zum Pseudo-Turpin* (Tübingen,

approach, standing different types of texts next to one another without substantially examining their interdependence. Interdisciplinarity, however, means pushing sources up against and into one another, crossing traditional scholarly boundaries, and using the resources of various disciplines to attack a specific problem. In the case of the Charlemagne legend, interdisciplinarity means being sensitive to the fact that each instance of the Charlemagne legend—be it charter, chronicle, or stained-glass—was tethered to both the local conditions generating the source and to more general themes discernible in disparate texts. Understanding general themes across texts helps the reader see when a cigar is more than a cigar. Deep contextualization will warn us when it might, in fact, just be a cigar.

Take, for example, the tension between memory and history, and fact and fiction. From 1920 until 2004, the New York Yankees had won twenty-six World Series to the Boston Red Sox's zero. Given these numbers, the two teams did not seem worthy of comparison, but Red Sox fans spoke incessantly about their rivalry with the Yankees. Yankee fans almost never spoke in such terms. Why? Red Sox fans thought of the teams' shared past as a *history*. They wanted to problematize the teams' relationship, keeping an active dynamic alive between them by suggesting that their team could overturn the current paradigm. In effect, they always believed that 'this could be the Red Sox's year' (as it indeed was in 2004). On the other hand, the Yankees–Red Sox competition belonged to Yankees fans' *memory*. They knew, approved of, and felt an immediate connection to their team's chain of victories stretching back over eighty years. Their denigration of the teams' status as 'rivals' attempted to suppress any alternative to that narrative.[17]

Although this brief analogy grossly stereotypes the two types of fans, it does I think help demonstrate that the terms 'history' and 'memory' are not oppositional, but are rather two modes of discourse constantly locked in a struggle over the meaning of the past. Memory implies continuity and stability, while history recognizes discontinuity and difference.[18] Despite the enormous contributions of Hayden White, Mary Carruthers was one of the first to throw open this field of research for the Middle Ages by translating general historiographical observations into a concrete analysis of medieval memorial practice.[19] Although she focuses on the late Middle Ages, Carruthers did deal with late antiquity and the early Middle Ages by tracing the mnemonic system to the point when it became much more formalized in the universities. More importantly, Carruthers showed how the pre-modern process of memorization revealed a prevailing understanding of how people

---

2003), 1–37; and now William J. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c. 1095–c. 1187* (Woodbridge, 2008), 150–65.

[17] See the (somewhat) similar case-studies in Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993); and Ruth Morse, *Truth and Convention in the Middle Ages: Rhetoric, Representation, and Reality* (Cambridge, 1991), 233–6.

[18] Hayden White, 'The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality', in *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore, 1987), 20; and Keith Michael Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution* (Cambridge, 1990), 56.

[19] Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1990). See also Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago, 1966). Yates, however, virtually skips the Middle Ages, jumping from antiquity to the Friars.

dealt with the past. The Middle Ages placed little emphasis on the objective reconstruction of past events. Instead, recollection was an interpretive act, a selective process that chose what was thought to be valuable and worthy of remembrance. Hence, remembering allowed one to impart new meaning to events or texts.[20]

Scholars have begun to use these insights into the memorial process to say something not just about how individuals remembered, but how communities did as well. How individuals remembered shaped the texts they produced and the stories they told, which both in turn shaped how a community perceived the past. But this was a two-way street. Communities shaped how they remembered the past just as much as the past gave order and meaning to a group's collective experience.[21] Some medieval communities seem to have been well aware of this dynamic and sought to manipulate the meaning of the past by presenting either artificial continuity or radical discontinuity in the timeline.[22] For example, if medieval monasteries found a version of the past to be unsuited to their current political, social, or religious needs, they might simply recast it by rewriting or forging some sources, or destroying others. As Gabrielle Spiegel so eloquently summarized, the 'past [became] a repository of . . . dreams and desires, both because it [could] offer up a consoling image of what once was and is no longer, and because it [contained] the elements by which to reopen the contest, to offer an alternative vision to a now unpalatable present'.[23]

The implications of this conception are staggering. If, as seems to be the case, almost every medieval source participated to a greater or lesser degree in this dialectical struggle between memory and history, we should profoundly rethink how we understand our sources; especially those that take subjects in the past but which modern scholars often consider to be 'fiction'.[24] For instance, modern scholars sometimes puzzle about how to deal with hagiography, especially since these texts demonstrate a problematic relationship to (the modern understanding of) truth similar to that found in vernacular epic or romance. But a better understanding of the tensions between memory and history, and fact and fiction, during the Middle Ages shows that this problem is a straw man—a problem of our own creation that dates to the nineteenth-century philological, social scientific tendency towards classification. The Middle Ages did not define its terms as we do now, nor did it classify by genre in the same way we do.[25] When we categorize these texts, we separate when we should be lumping. Cutting early medieval texts up by genre seems to imply that the subjects of these texts, to some degree, did not inhabit the same intellectual 'space' for their audiences. In other words, the deeds of Charlemagne as recorded in a chronicle were thought to have been conceptualized as somehow necessarily different from the deeds found in the *Vita* of his contemporary, St William of Gellone, or those found in the Oxford *Chanson de Roland*. We should be uncomfortable arguing this point.

---

[20] Events too were read as texts, always pregnant with meaning and needful of interpretation. Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 25, 89, 168–9; Janet Coleman, *Ancient and Medieval Memories: Studies in the Reconstruction of the Past* (Cambridge, 1992), 285–93; Dominic Janes, 'The World and its Past as Christian Allegory in the Early Middle Ages', in *Uses of the Past*, 110–13; and Hans-Werner Goetz, 'The Concept of Time in the Historiography of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', in Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried, and Patrick J. Geary (eds.), *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography* (Cambridge, 2002), 160–4.

[21] Although not often explicitly mentioned much in these studies of communities and memorial culture, Brian Stock's 'textual community' seems to lurk just behind them. Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton, 1983), esp. 88–240. See also James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory* (Oxford, 1992), esp. pp. x–xii, 200–2.

[22] This modern approach to the sources owes much to the work of Michel Foucault on the primacy of power as a motivational factor; e.g. see Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, tr. Alan Sheridan (New York, 1977).

[23] Spiegel, *Past as Text*, 211–12. On monasteries, see esp. Patrick J. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton, 1994), 6, 119–65; also Amy G. Remensnyder, 'Topographies of Memory: Center and Periphery in High Medieval France', in Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried, and Patrick J. Geary (eds.), *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography* (Cambridge, 2002), 193–214. On this dynamic regarding the Holocaust, see Hayden White, 'Commentary', *History of the Human Sciences,* 9 (1996), 123–38; and idem, 'Historical Emplotment and the Problem of Truth in Historical Representation', in *Figural Realism: Studies in the Mimesis Effect* (Baltimore, 1999), 27–42.

Evidence abounds that medieval readers and writers made no such distinction between types of texts. Early Anglo-Saxon hagiographies, annals, and chronicles dealt with the tension between memory and history in quite similar ways. Hugh of Fleury (d. *c.*1118), his contemporary Albert of Aachen, and Hariulf of Saint-Riquier (d. 1143) all saw no problem in using epic poems as sources for their chronicles. Monasteries often invoked characters from epic in an effort to legitimize falsified charters. Conversely, jongleurs and their audiences considered their works to be accurate representations of the past.[26]

The apparent disconnect between medieval and modern historians' perceptions of truth is likely due to our tendency to project our own definition of what separates fact from fiction back onto the Middle Ages. In the Middle Ages, what mattered was the text's truth *claim*, rather than its truth *value*—'not whether it corresponds to fact . . . but how it asks to be taken by the reader'. Historical truth in the Middle Ages should simply be defined as that which was willingly believed. Anything belonging to a widely accepted tradition could fall into this category, regardless of where that tradition might fall according to modern definitions of fiction.[27] If they all make the same truth claims, a monastery's chronicle, a hagiography, and a vernacular epic all said something meaningful to their contemporary audiences about what happened in the past.[28] So to determine that truth claim—to determine whether or not a text was thought to make a meaningful claim about the past—we must seek out the middle ground, what Spiegel has called the 'social logic of the text'. The moment of a text's—any text's—inscription fixes its historical reality, revealing implicit and explicit desires, interests, and beliefs that are all socially constructed. A monastery's Latin annals should be read as a literary creation, just as much as a vernacular epic should be read as a historical artifact. Images work in much the same way.[29] An interdisciplinary approach shows us that general and specific are both important, together.

---

[24] Bernard Guenée has argued that the Middle Ages held on to a fundamental opposition between truth and fiction, which he defined as history and poetry. Bernard Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris, 1980), 19. But see also Nancy Partner's rather dismissive comments on medieval historians who believed fiction 'quite artlessly': *Serious Entertainments: The Writing of History in Twelfth-Century England* (Chicago, 1977), 190–1.

[25] See Felice Lifshitz, 'Beyond Positivism and Genre: "Hagiographical" Texts as Historical Narrative', *Viator,* 25 (1994), 102–8; Coleman, *Ancient and Medieval,* 300; Monika Otter, 'Functions of Fiction in Historical Writing', in Nancy Partner (ed.), *Writing Medieval History* (London, 2005), 111; and now the intriguing Robert M. Stein, *Reality Fictions: Romance, History, and Governmental Authority, 1025–1180* (Notre Dame, Ind., 2006). On the tyranny of previous scholarship on the questions we ask of our sources, see the thoughtful comments in Anthony Grafton, April Shelford, and Nancy Siraisi, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992); and Patrick J. Geary, *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe* (Princeton, 2002), 16–38.

[26] Catherine Cubitt, 'Memory and Narrative in the Cult of the Early Anglo-Saxon Saints', in *Uses of the Past*, 29–66. On Hugh and Hariulf, see Albert Pauphilet, 'Sur *La Chanson de Roland*', *Romania,* 59 (1933), 172–8. On Albert, see Susan B. Edgington, 'Albert of Aachen and the *Chansons de Geste*', in John France and William G. Zajac (eds.), *The Crusades and Their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton* (Brookfield, Vt., 1998), 23–37. On epic, jongleurs, and monasteries, see Joseph J. Duggan, 'Medieval Epic as Popular Historiography: Appropriation of the Historical Knowledge in the Vernacular Epic', *Grundriss der romanischen Litteraturen des Mittelalters,* 11/1 (1986), 304–5. Robert Stein has coined the term 'reality fictions' to engage with the medieval programs of truth. See Stein, *Reality Fictions*, 31–3.

Sources of the Charlemagne legend predating the twelfth century are especially representative of this double, interpenetrating dialectic between memory and history, and fact and fiction. Although the events described in sources of the Charlemagne legend may be demonstrably 'false' by modern standards (Charlemagne never actually went to Jerusalem, nor did he conquer all Iberia), many contemporaries believed them to be true and believed that the sources recording such events said something meaningful about the past.[30] So, both general themes and specific context matter. Not every text made the same claims about Charlemagne's Golden Age. But many did, from diverse places and times, spread across much of Europe and throughout the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries. What did it mean to make such claims locally and what did it mean that such claims were so similarly expressed in sources so disparate?

---

[27] Quotation from Otter, 'Functions of Fiction', 112. See also Suzanne Fleischman, 'On the Representation of History and Fiction in the Middle Ages', *History and Theory,* 22 (1983), 305–6; Laurie A. Finke and Martin B. Schichtman, *King Arthur and the Myth of History* (Gainesville, Fla., 2004), 9, 14–16; and Leah Shopkow, *History and Community: Norman Historical Writing in the 11th and 12th Centuries* (Washington, DC, 1997), 1–2.

[28] e.g. the Carolingians may have used Virgil's *Aeneid* as a representation of the Trojan/Roman past. The *Chanson de Roland* was sung to the Norman contingent at Hastings to inspire them by example. The lay aristocracy of late medieval France contested encroaching royal control by using vernacular prose translations of the Pseudo-Turpin. Hagiography was certainly thought to be a true account of what had happened. See McKitterick, *History and Memory*, 209; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, ed. R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom (Oxford, 1998), 455; Jean Frappier, 'Réflexions sur les rapport des chansons de geste et de l'histoire', *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie,* 73 (1957), 4–6; and Spiegel, *Romancing the Past.* Again, Brian Stock's idea of textual communities seems to lurk just behind this analysis. See n. 21 above.

[29] Spiegel, *Past as Text*, 24–8, 53–6; Hayden White, 'The Historical Text as Literary Artifact', in *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore, 1978), 81–100; and Matthew Gabriele, 'Asleep at the Wheel? Apocalypticism, Messianism and Charlemagne's Passivity in the Oxford *Chanson de Roland*', *Nottingham Medieval Studies,* 43 (2003), 46–72.

[30] Morrissey, *Charlemagne and France*, 14. This seems analogous to Monika Otter's conclusion that there are 'plenty of indications that many readers [of Geoffrey of Monmouth] took the story of Brutus, the mythical founder of Britain, and the story of Arthur, the ideal king and conqueror of the known world, as "historical"'. Otter, 'Functions of Fiction', 110.

Charlemagne came to represent something politically, religiously, and socially special to those who wrote about him. To say something about Charlemagne in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries was to say something about how you understood yourself and your own place in sacred history. But the Charlemagne legend also spoke to ideas of community, sanctity, and violence. Especially in the eleventh century, speaking of him was a way of saying something about a universal community of Christians, that community's special place in God's eyes, and your relationship to that community in the arc of sacred history.[31]

Charles—later Charlemagne—came to the throne in 768 CE after the death of his father, Pippin the Short (741–68). Initially, Charles shared control of his father's kingdom with his brother Carloman (768–71) but after his death, Charles succeeded to his brother's possessions. Charles attempted to reform the practice of Christianity in his realm and attracted the leading minds of the time to his court. He conquered the Lombards, Saxons, and Avars, and expanded into Iberia. He shared friendly relations and exchanged emissaries with the Islamic Caliph and patriarch of Jerusalem, and earned the grudging respect of the Byzantines. At the height of his power, Charles controlled a territory extending from Rome to the English Channel, and from Saxony past Barcelona. On Christmas Day 800 CE, Charles was crowned as Augustus by Pope Leo III (795–816) at Rome.

Charles died in 814, having been king for forty-six years and Augustus for fourteen. He was interred in the chapel of St Mary's which he had constructed at Aachen. His youngest and only surviving son Louis (the Pious, 814–40) traveled north from Aquitaine to take possession of the empire. The legend of Charlemagne began then.

---

[31] On Charlemagne as symbol, see Eugene Vance, 'Semiotics and Power: Relics, Icons, and the "Voyage de Charlemagne à Jérusalem et à Constantinople"', *Romanic Review,* 79 (1988), 170; also Morrissey, *Charlemagne and France*, 10. For a forceful argument on the necessity of listening for people's beliefs, see Geoffrey Koziol, 'Is Robert I in Hell? The Diploma for Saint-Denis and the Mind of a Rebel King (Jan. 25, 923)', *Early Medieval Europe,* 14 (2006), 233–67.

This page intentionally left blank

PART I

THE FRANKS REMEMBER EMPIRE

This page intentionally left blank

1

The Birth of a Frankish Golden Age

Nithard, Frankish historian and grandson of Charlemagne, began his ninth-century *Histories* by reminding his readers of a lost Golden Age. After his dedication, Nithard remembered:

> When Charles of blessed memory, rightfully called the great emperor by all nations, died at a ripe old age . . . , he left the whole of Europe flourishing. For in his time he was a man who so much excelled all others in wisdom and virtue that to everyone on earth he appeared both terrible and worthy of love and admiration.[1]

Nithard later concluded the history, thoroughly disillusioned, by evoking that Golden Age once more.

> In the time of Charles the Great of good memory, who died almost thirty years ago, peace and concord ruled everywhere because our people were treading the one proper way, the way of the common welfare, and thus the way of God. But now since each goes his separate way, dissension and struggle abound. Once there was abundance and happiness everywhere, now everywhere there is want and sadness. Once even the elements smiled on everything and now they threaten. . . . About this time . . . , there occurred an eclipse of the moon. Besides, a great deal of snow fell in the same night and the just judgment of God . . . filled every heart with sorrow. I mention this because rapine and wrongs of every sort were rampant . . . and now the unseasonable weather killed the last hope of any good to come.[2]

---

[1] 'Karolus bone memoriae et merito Magnus imperator ab universis nationibus vocatus . . . in senectute bona decedens omnem Europem omni bonitate repletam reliquit, vir quippe omni sapientia et omni virtute humanum genus suo in tempore adeo praecellens, ut omnibus orbem inhabitantibus terribilis, amabilis pariterque et amirabilis videretur.' Nithard, *Historiarum libri III*, ed. E. Müller, MGH SRG (Hanover, 1907), 44: 1. I have slightly modified the English tr. from Nithard, *Histories*, in *Carolingian Chronicles*, tr. Bernhard Walter Scholz (Ann Arbor, 1970), 129–30, in order to put the appellation *magnus* with *imperator* (where it seems to belong). David Ganz points out that Einhard was the first to call Charles *magnus* and that this appellation was by no means self-evident in the early 9th cent., even if it quickly stuck. David Ganz, 'Einhard's Charlemagne: The Characterisation of Greatness,' in Joanna Story (ed.), *Charlemagne: Empire and Society* (Manchester, 2005), 49.

[2] 'Nam temporibus bone recordationis Magni Karoli, qui evoluto iam pene anno XXX. decessit, quoniam hic populus unam eandemque rectam ac per hoc viam Domini publicam incedebat, pax illis atque concordia ubique erat, at nunc econtra, quoniam quique semitam quam cupit incedit, ubique dissensiones et rixae sunt manifestae. Tunc ubique habundantia atque leticia, nunc ubique poenuria atque mesticia. Ipsa elementa tunc cuique rei congrua, nunc autem omnibus uibue contraria. . . . Per idem tempus eclypsis lunae XIII. Kal. Aprilis contigit. Nix insuper multa eadem nocte cecidit meroremque omnibus, uti praefatum est, iusto Dei iuditio incussit. Id propterea inquam, quia hinc inde ubique rapinae et omnigena mala sese inserebant, illinc aeris intemperies spem omnium bonorum eripiebat.' Nithard, *Historiarum*, ed. Müller, 49–50. English tr. from Nithard, *Histories*, tr. Scholz, 174.

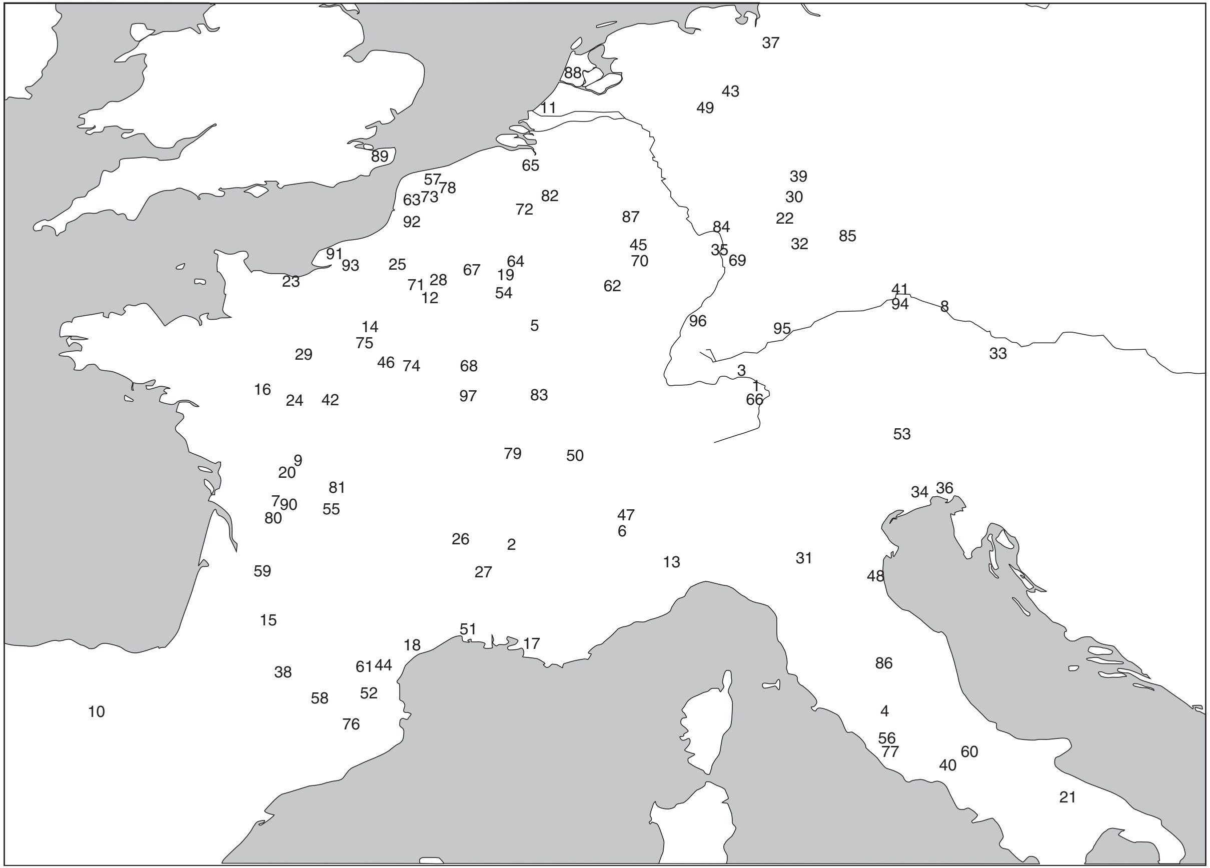
37
88
43
11
49
89
65
39
57
78
63
73
82
30
72
87
22
92
84
85
45
32
35
91
64
70
69
93
25
67
19
23
28
71
62
41
54
12
94
8
96
5
14
95
75
33
29
46
74
68
3
1
16
24
42
97
83
66
53
79
50
9
20
81
34
36
7
90
55
47
80
6
26
2
13
31
59
27
48
15
51
18
17
61
44
86
38
52
58
10
4
76
56
60
77
40
21

Figure 1.1. Map of sites important to the Charlemagne legend, ninth–early twelfth centuries. Map created by author using ArcGIS 9.3.1. (See Appendix 1 for legend.)

I am always struck by the tone and imagery of the latter quotation. One can almost hear Nithard weeping (or perhaps cursing) as he despaired of the dissolution he saw around him, wistfully thinking back two generations to the reign of his grandfather, Charlemagne, and the splendor of his empire. And Nithard was not alone, even among his contemporaries, in remembering Charlemagne as wise, just, righteous, and a conqueror. Indeed, the period Nithard witnessed was nothing less than a struggle among Louis the Pious's sons over Charlemagne's legacy. This battle would continue through the high Middle Ages to, at least, the end of the *ancien régime*.[3]

This chapter will begin with a brief overview of the early Charlemagne legend, then consider how that legend took shape as it progressively moved into the tenth and eleventh centuries. The chapter will conclude by looking at how, in the religious houses of the period, the remembered borders of Charlemagne's empire seemed to grow with each passing year, fluctuating in detail but generally remaining coterminous with the extent of contemporary Christendom. This chapter is not intended to be comprehensive but will rather highlight some critical themes in the legend that would shape how tenth- and eleventh-century authors understood Charlemagne's reign.

THE FRANKS AFTER CHARLEMAGNE

Charles's immediate successors struggled over his legacy almost from the day after his death in January 814.[4] An observer to the early years of the reign of Louis the Pious (814–40) might even be excused for thinking that Charles had not been all that well liked, as criticism of the recently deceased ruler, led by the new court circle Louis brought with him from Aquitaine, surfaced quickly. Men mourned his passing but Louis's court poets, such as Walahfrid Strabo, thought Charlemagne's death and Louis's ascent had initiated a true Golden Age. Also, a succession of dream visions, almost all originating at Reichenau in the early ninth century, focused on the perceived moral laxity pervading Aachen late in Charlemagne's reign. Charles was imagined suffering for his lustful sins, animals gnawing at his genitals, even if these visionaries acknowledged that he would soon take his place among the elect.[5]

---

[3] On the audience and agenda of Nithard's work, see Janet L. Nelson, 'Public *Histories* and Private History in the Work of Nithard', *Speculum,* 60 (1985), 251–93; some conclusions revised in idem, 'History-Writing at the Courts of Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald', in Anton Scharer and Georg Scheibelreiter (eds.), *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter* (Vienna, 1994), 438–40. And now see Stuart Airlie, 'The World, the Text and the Carolingian: Royal, Aristocratic and Masculine Identities in Nithard's *Histories*', in Patrick Wormald and Janet L. Nelson (eds.), *Lay Intellectuals in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2007), 61–3. On later manifestations of the legend, see Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Prose Historiography in 13th-Century France* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993); and Keith Michael Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution: Essays on French Political Culture in the 18th Century* (Cambridge, 1990), 31–106.

[4] The essential works on this subject are now Paul Edward Dutton, 'KAROLVS MAGNVS or KAROLVS FELIX? The Making of Charlemagne's Reputation and Legend', and Thomas F. X. Noble, 'Greatness Contested and Confirmed: Remembering Charlemagne in the Ninth Century', both in *Legend of Charlemagne*, 23–37 and 3–21, respectively. Also, still useful is Heinrich Hoffmann, *Karl der Grosse im Bilde der Geschichtschreibung des frühen Mittelalters (800–1250)* (Berlin, 1919).

Although such texts were never the primary vehicle of political discussion, only appearing at critical junctures where other avenues of expression were blocked, here a 'king, in fact the greatest of all the Frankish kings . . . , [was] criticized candidly, but stains will spread. What Louis had unloosed soon overtook him personally.' Criticism of Charlemagne reaped political benefits for Louis and his advisors in the short-term because it ushered in the prospect of reform but the criticism ended up costing Louis dearly in the long term (especially during the revolts of 830 and 833).[6] Even the visionaries began to turn on Louis towards the end of the 820s. The *Vision of the Poor Woman of Laon* reported a scene of Charlemagne suffering for his sins, waiting for masses to be sung in his memory, just as previous visions had. But this woman of Laon also saw the torment of Louis's wife Ermengard and the erasure of Louis's name from the list of the saved (for the murder of Bernard of Italy).[7] The object of criticism had shifted from past to present, from Charlemagne to Louis. Soon, criticism of Charlemagne dropped entirely and he became a model for emulation, 'a legacy, not simply to be explored with the exuberant superlatives of the *Royal Frankish Annals* . . . but also as a stick to beat others with'.[8]

The groundwork for this second, more positive vision of Charlemagne was laid within his lifetime. Paul Dutton has thoughtfully considered how Charlemagne surrounded himself with those who would sing his praises, while Rosamond McKitterick has elaborated how Carolingian texts such as the continuations of Fredegar, the *Gesta episcoporum Mettensium*, the *Annales Mettenses priores*, and the *Annales regni Francorum* (*ARF*), among others were skillfully constructed versions of the Frankish past.[9] The program of these late eighth- and ninth-century Frankish historians—derogate the Merovingians, legitimize the Carolingians, embellish their accomplishments, stress the cohesion of the Franks as a people—was remarkably successful, fending off the challenge to Charles's legacy by Louis and his circle and effectively eliminating nearly all criticism of Charles until the middle of the twelfth century.[10]

---

[5] e.g. 'Lament on the Death of Charlemagne', in *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance*, ed. and trans. Peter Godman (Norman, Okla., 1985), 206–11. Visions summarized in Paul Edward Dutton, *The Politics of Dreaming in the Carolingian Empire* (Lincoln, Neb., 1994), 61–7.

[6] Dutton, *Politics*, 77–112, quotation at 79; and Roger Collins, 'Charlemagne and his Critics, 814–29', in Régine LeJan (ed.), *La Royauté et les élites dans l'Europe carolingienne (début IX^e^ siècle aux environs de 920)* (Villeneuve, 1998), 202–11. But now see Mayke de Jong, *The Penitential State: Authority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious* (Cambridge, 2009), esp. chs. 4–6.

[7] Dutton, *Politics*, 67–76.

[8] Ganz, 'Einhard's Charlemagne', 43.

[9] Rosamond McKitterick, 'Constructing the Past in the Early Middle Ages: The Case of the Royal Frankish Annals', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser. 7 (1997), 116–19; idem, 'Political Ideology in Carolingian Historiography', in *Uses of the Past*, 168–9; and Dutton, 'KAROLVUS MAGNVS or KAROLVS FELIX', 23–37. See also the comments of Peter Godman, *Poets and Emperors: Frankish Politics and Carolingian Poetry* (Oxford, 1987), 82–91; and the foundational Gaston Paris, *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne*, 2nd edn. (Paris, 1905), 37–8.

[10] On the success of the 9th-cent. historians, see Roger Collins, *Charlemagne* (Toronto, 1998), 23. On the 12th-cent. re-emergence of criticism directed at Charlemagne, see Baudoin de Gaiffier, 'La Légende de Charlemagne: Le Péché de l'empereur et son pardon', in *Recueil de travaux offerts à*

Einhard's *Vita Karoli*, likely composed sometime in the 820s in order to defend Charlemagne's reign and legacy (either specifically against the dream critics centered at Reichenau or more generally from the 'moral housecleaning' being conducted by Louis and his followers), tapped into the lionizing tradition of these annals and soon became the tradition's primary exemplar.[11] So much has been written on the *Vita Karoli*, it would be foolish to try to recapitulate it all here. Suffice it to say that Einhard's Charlemagne was a Roman emperor, a sovereign Frank, and a protector of the Church; an ideal ruler who ruled over an ideal age. He was a new Constantine, who had reunited the Roman empire from the farthest reaches of West and East. Hidden within this characterization of Charlemagne, however, was a shot across his successor's bow. This was *admonitio* for Louis the Pious from a loyal courtier but also, I think, a bit of a lament: a mirror for a prince who could never hope to fill the shadow cast by his father, especially following the very real difficulties the Franks encountered during the 820s and 830s.[12]

Within decades of his death, Charlemagne already existed in a time that was 'other'—a Golden Age from which the Franks had fallen. It is perhaps telling that, while the poets of Charlemagne's reign looked to Virgil for inspiration, the next generation of poets instead looked to Ovid and evinced themes of exile and disillusionment. The historians of the late Carolingians moved from a discourse of unmitigated praise to one of contest and critique.[13] No contemporary subject was safe from their scrutiny. In his *Life of Louis the Pious*, composed shortly after Louis's death, the Astronomer held Charles up as a most Christian king who held power by strengthening the Church: maintaining the internal cohesion of its institutions and expanding its borders through conversion. The Astronomer was paying Charlemagne quite a compliment, implicitly contrasting his reign with the fragmentation and dissension that took place under Louis. As noted above, Nithard's *Histories* admired Charlemagne greatly, longing for the return of the peace and concord that had vanished since his death. Although Florus of Lyon does

---

M. Clovis Brunel, 2 vols. (Paris, 1955), i. 490–503; Rita Lejeune, 'Le Péché de Charlemagne et la *Chanson de Roland*', in *Homenaje ofrecido a Dámaso Alonso: por sus amigos y discupulos con ocasion de su 60. aniversario,* 3 vols. (Madrid, 1961), ii. 339–71; and Amy Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France* (Ithaca, NY, 1995), 183–7.

[11] Einhard, *Vita Karoli*, ed. G.H. Pertz, MGH SRG (Hanover, 1911), 25: 1–60. English tr. Einhard, *Vita Karoli*, in *Charlemagne's Courtier: The Complete Einhard*, tr. Paul Edward Dutton (Peterborough, Ontario, 1998), 15–39. On the dating of Einhard's biography, see the thorough review in Matthias M. Tischler, *Einharts* Vita Karoli: *Studien zur Entstehung, Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 2 vols. (Hanover, 2001), i. 78–239. Rosamond McKitterick still argues for an earlier date in her *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2004), 29–30; and Mayke de Jong intriguingly ties the appearance of the text to the birth of Charles the Bald in 823 in her *Penitential State*, 68–9.

[12] Problems ticked off with precision in Dutton, 'KAROLVS MAGNVS or KAROLVS FELIX', 32–3. On Charlemagne as Constantine in Einhard, see Anne Latowsky, 'Foreign Embassies and Roman Universality in Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne*', *Florilegium,* 22 (2005), 30–42.

[13] Robert Morrissey, *Charlemagne and France: A Thousand Years of Mythology*, tr. Catherine Tihanyi (Notre Dame, Ind., 2003), 21–3; and Nelson, 'History-Writing', 435–7. On Ovid at the Carolingian court, see Godman, *Poets and Emperors*, 148.

not mention the great Charles in his *Lament on the Division of the Empire*, he hovers over every stanza—a remembered model of concord in a time of discord.[14]

An unknown contemporary of Nithard and Florus, two generations removed from the great Charles, also perceived great trouble around him and produced the *Visio Karoli Magni* sometime around 870 for Louis the German (840–76). In this vision, an angel presented Charles with a sword inscribed with four words—*RAHT RADOLEIBA NASG ENTI.* Charles interpreted the inscription himself to say that the four words respectively meant: (1) the abundance of things he himself had, (2) the decline of the monarchy under his sons, (3) the greed of his grandsons, and (4) the end (either of the world or the Carolingian line). Abundance was followed by the beginnings of dissension, followed by the nadir of greed, followed by the end. Patrick Geary has argued that the vision should be seen as a piece of propagandistic literature for Louis the German, against his relatives. But Dutton's exegesis of the text has thoughtfully modified Geary's conclusions, brilliantly explaining that the *Visio* does not exclude Louis the German from the text's more general criticism of his generation (representing the nadir of greed).[15]

But not everyone in the generation of Nithard, Florus, and Louis the German had lost hope. Bishop Fréculf of Lisieux, writing to Queen Judith in 829, claimed that he saw Charlemagne figuratively reborn in her son, the new Charles, and hoped that he could live up to his grandfather's name. In 844, the participants of the Council of Ver, including the archchaplain of Charles the Bald and a young Hincmar of Reims (as monk of Saint-Denis), exhorted the new king Charles to follow the examples of David and Hezekiah, but also of Charlemagne, that domestic light, whose deeds adorned his family.[16] During his reign, Charles the Bald followed this advice, modeling some of his behavior on aspects of Charlemagne's rule, including his diplomas, seals, and coins. Charles's complex at Compiègne was also almost certainly built as a structural imitation of Charlemagne's palace complex, begun after 870 when Charles the Bald was expelled from Aachen.[17] The courts of Lothar and Louis the German also worked hard to link their patrons to their grandfather. These rulers, however, did not simply want to recreate what had been lost. Implicitly rebutting his contemporaries who saw themselves in the midst of a long, slow descent from Charlemagne's Golden Age, Charles the Bald sought to create a new one.[18] And he was not alone.

---

[14] Astronomer, *Life of Louis the Pious*, tr. Allen Cabaniss (Syracuse, NY, 1961), 32. On Florus, Godman, *Poets and Emperors*, 150–1.

[15] Patrick J. Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY, 1994), 51–6; and Eric Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire: Kingship and Conflict under Louis the German, 817–76* (Ithaca, NY, 2006), 291; but cf. Dutton, *Politics*, 206–8. On the dating of the vision, see Dutton, *Politics*, 202.

[16] Freculf, *Ad Iudith*, MGH Epist. 5: 319. See also the discussion on the importance of names to the Carolingians in William J. Diebold, '*Nos quoque morem illius imitari cupientes*: Charles the Bald's Evocation and Imitation of Charlemagne', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte,* 75 (1993), 289–92. Also, *Concilium Vernense*, ed. Wilfried Hartmann, MGH: Concilia (Hanover, 1984), iii. 39. Parallels between Charles the Bald and Charlemagne were also drawn by Heiric of Auxerre in his *Life of St Germanus* and the author of the 'Vivian Bible', created *c.*845. See Godman, *Poets and Emperors*, 173–7.

[17] Diebold, '*Nos quoque morem*', 280–4.

[18] Elina Screen, 'The Importance of the Emperor: Lothar I and the Frankish Civil War, 840–3', *Early Medieval Europe,* 12 (2003), 34–47; Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, 259–99; Diebold, '*Nos*

Notker the Stammerer, monk of St Gall, dedicated his *Gesta Karoli Magni* to Charlemagne's great-grandson and Louis the German's son, Charles the Fat (emperor 881–7) and stopped writing *c.*885, likely after the emperor's visit to St Gall. Notker's dependence on Einhard is now uncontested and Notker, the schoolmaster, seems to have intended the work as an exposition of the *Vita Karoli* for his new Charles.[19] Evoking the book of Daniel, Notker's first lines explained that God had brought low the statue of the Romans, anchored by feet of clay, but had newly raised up the golden head of another statue among the Franks—Charlemagne.[20] Dutton highlights Notker's implicit assumptions. This new image, topped by a golden-headed Charlemagne, 'lay completely within the confines of the ninth century, contained within four generations of kings. The feet of iron and clay were the kings of [Notker's] own diminished and fragmenting age, the grandsons and great-grandsons of Charlemagne.'[21] Just as the *Visio Karoli Magni* used the four Old High German words to narrate the descent of Charlemagne's line—abundance to dissension to greed to the end—so Notker uses four components—gold to silver to iron to clay—of a reimagined statue from Daniel to tell of the weakness of this (his) fourth generation.

But Notker was not lamenting. Charlemagne had begun something new—something great—that continued with the Franks. Instead of focusing on the shadow cast by the great Charles, Notker looked up at what cast that shadow. The focus of the text falls exclusively on Charlemagne. Einhard had had to convince a skeptical audience but Notker had no one left to convince of Charles's greatness and none would doubt how his contemporaries paled in comparison.[22] Charlemagne is larger than life in the *Gesta Karoli*, ruling his realm almost by force of personality. He is consistently described in superlatives, presides over a united Frankish people, and is wise, just, powerful, and holy. Notker's Charles explicitly equaled the Byzantine ruler and Islamic Caliph; implicitly he was their better. Charlemagne was, in fact, an image of God Himself, the sight of whom would have made David sing in praise of the Lord.[23]

---

quoque morem', 297–300; and Egon Boshof, 'Karl der Kahle: Novus Karolus Magnus?' in Franz-Reiner Erkens (ed.), *Karl der Grosse und das Erbe der Kulturen* (Berlin, 2001), 135–52.

[19] See the dating discussion in Simon Maclean, *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century: Charles the Fat and the End of the Carolingian Empire* (Cambridge, 2003), 201–4. On Notker's sources, see Hans-Joachim Reischmann, *Die Trivialisierung des Karlsbildes der Einhard-Vita in Notkers 'Gesta Karoli Magni'* (Konstanz, 1984); David Ganz, 'Humour as History in Notker's *Gesta Karoli Magni*', in Edward B. King, Jacqueline T. Schaefer, and William B. Wadley (eds.), *Monks, Nuns, and Friars in Mediaeval Society* (Sewanee, Tenn., 1989), 171–3; and Matthew Innes, 'Memory, Orality and Literacy in an Early Medieval Society', *Past and Present,* 158 (1998), 15–18.

[20] Notker the Stammerer, *Gesta Karoli Magni imperatoris*, ed. H. F. Haefele, MGH SRG ns (Berlin, 1959), 12: 1; cf. Daniel 2: 1–49. See also Hans-Werner Goetz, *Strukturen der spätkarolinischen Epoche im Spiegel der Vorstellungen eines Zeitgenössischen Mönchs: Eine Interpretation der 'Gesta Karoli' Notkers von Sankt Gallen* (Bonn, 1981), 70–1.

[21] Dutton, *Politics*, 200.

[22] Theodor Siegrist, *Herrscherbild und Weltsicht bei Notker Balbulus: Untersuchungen zu den Gesta Karoli* (Zürich, 1963), 112–14; Goetz, *Strukturen der spätkarolinischen Epoche*, 71; MacLean, *Kingship and Politics*, 199; and Ganz, 'Humour as History', 182.

[23] Citing Psalms 148: 11–12, see Notker, *Gesta*, ed. Haefele, 57. On Charlemagne's power, see Folz, *Souvenir*, 13; and Siegrist, *Herrscherbild*, 118–19.

After the end of the Carolingian line in East Francia, the Ottonians, in need of something to justify their hold on power, used a more-or-less exclusively positive image of Charlemagne that they inherited (as well as their possession of Aachen) to legitimize their new dynasty. Generally, this Ottonian interest attempted to preserve the continuity of the empire. The late Carolingians, meaning everyone not called 'Charles the Great', were glossed over. Legitimacy derived from the direct, intellectual link that the Ottonians created back to Charlemagne, suggesting that the empire progressed from Rome through Charlemagne to the Ottonians.[24] In 936, Otto I (936–73) was crowned king in Charlemagne's chapel of St Mary's at Aachen, in the presence of (the body of) Charlemagne himself, allowing the past emperor to witness the transfer of power to this new dynasty. Charlemagne's chapel then hosted the coronation of every subsequent Ottonian and those rulers consistently invoked Charles when donating to the town's canons.[25] Authors friendly to the imperial cause parroted the Ottonians' claim. In his *Chronicon* written at the beginning of the eleventh century, Bishop Thietmar of Merseburg claimed in several places that Otto I was directly in the line of Charlemagne. Thietmar did not mention any other rulers of East Francia in the succession—no Louis the Pious, no Louis the German, no Charles the Fat. Similarly, Bruno of Segni wrote that Otto III (983–1002) had two true predecessors: Constantine and Charlemagne.[26]

Janet Nelson has argued that the Ottonians thought of themselves as the head of a *gens*, much as Charlemagne had.[27] But if so, the Ottonians led a new *gens* and theirs was a new dynasty. They were in a sense trapped, needing legitimacy from the past but simultaneously needing to carve a niche out for themselves that was independent of that past. This paradox was especially evident during the reign of Otto III. Otto visited the palatine-chapel of St Mary at Aachen numerous times, showered it with gifts, secured the creation of seven cardinal-priests and seven cardinal-deacons for Aachen by Pope Gregory V, and was eventually buried there.

---

[24] Karl Hauck, 'Die Ottonen und Aachen, 876–936', in *KdG* iv. 41–3, 53; and Timothy Reuter, '*Regemque, quem in Francia pene perdidit, in patria magnifice recepit*: Ottonian Ruler Representation in Synchronic and Diachronic Comparison', in Janet L. Nelson (ed.), *Medieval Polities and Modern Mentalities* (Cambridge, 2006), 136–7. Karl Hauck suggested that the progression was Caesar to Charlemagne to Otto. Hagen Keller has more convincingly suggested that it should rather be Constantine to Charlemagne to Otto. See Hagen Keller, 'Die Ottonen und Karl der Grosse', *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschchtsvereins,* 104–5 (2002–3), 79. But for a re-evaluation of the importance of Aachen in the 10th cent., see Theo Riches, 'The Carolingian Capture of Aachen in 978 and its Historiographical Footprint', in Paul Fouracre and David Ganz (eds.), *Frankland: The Franks and the World of the Early Middle Ages* (Manchester, 2008), 191–208.

[25] Hauck, 'Ottonen', 51. For example, Henry II's (1002–24) diplomas generally treated Charlemagne as simply one name in a litany of predecessors. A diploma for Aachen in 1005, however, only evoked Charlemagne and Otto III (983–1002). See *Heinrici II. et Arduini Diplomata*, MGH Dipl. Ger. (Berlin, 1957), iii, nos. 115, 98, respectively.

[26] Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, in *Ottonian Germany: The Chronicon of Thietmar of Merseburg*, tr. David A. Warner (Manchester, 2001), 89, 124. Bruno of Segni, *Vita sancti Adalberti*, MGH SS 4: 599. But others pushed back. The late 10th-cent. chronicler Benedict of St Andrew on Monte Soratte pointedly compared the glory of Charlemagne with the barbarism of the Ottonians. Benedict of St Andrew, *Chronicon*, MGH SS 3: 719.

[27] Janet L. Nelson, 'Kingship and Empire in the Carolingian World', in Rosamond McKitterick (ed.), *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1994), 77.

Moreover, on Pentecost of the year 1000, the 20-year-old emperor entered the chapel of St Mary's at Aachen and descended into Charlemagne's tomb to re-emerge as his successor. Yet Otto also fostered new, different connections with Rome, Byzantium, and newly Christianized Poland.[28]

The Salians did not immediately pursue the same relationship with Charlemagne and Aachen as the Ottonians had, perhaps because Salian legitimacy derived from continuity with the Ottonians, rather than the Carolingians. Conrad II (1024–39) often listed Charlemagne among his predecessors but much more often invoked the precedents of all three Ottos and Henry II.[29] Henry III (1039–56) almost exclusively followed his father's example but Henry IV (1056–1105) began to reassert the association between Charlemagne and the holder of the imperial title. For instance, a diploma for Aachen given in 1072 invoked only Charlemagne, defender and founder of churches.[30] However, the use of Charlemagne by Henry IV and his imperial supporters became problematized later in his reign, as Charlemagne's legend became a battleground, marshaled for and against the right of investiture. Lambert of Hersfeld, writing of Henry IV in the 1070s, said that Henry had had the promise to become like Charlemagne but instead (presumably because of the Investiture Contest) had become Roboam (Solomon's son who had allowed the kingdom of Israel to splinter).[31]

In West Francia, the Capetians did not initially claim to be successors of Charlemagne, perhaps because the Carolingians and Capetians continued to vie for the throne throughout the tenth century. (It would indeed have been quite an act of chutzpah to claim that your legitimacy sprang from the greatest progenitor of your rival's line.) The early eleventh-century *Historia Francorum Senonensis*, for instance, recorded that the ascension of Hugh Capet (987–96) marked the 'end of

---

[28] On this event, see Matthew Gabriele, 'Otto III, Charlemagne, and Pentecost A.D. 1000: A Reconsideration Using Diplomatic Evidence', in *Year 1000*, 111–32; and, without reference to the Last Emperor legend, Gerd Althoff, *Otto III.* (Darmstadt, 1998); Ludwig Falkenstein, *Otto III. und Aachen* (Hanover, 1998); and Knut Görich, 'Otto III. öffnet das Karlsgrab in Aachen: Überlegungen zu Heiligenverehung, Heiligsprechung und Traditionsbildung', in Gerd Althoff and Ernst Schubert (eds.), *Herrschaftsrepräsentation im Ottonischen Sachsen* (Sigmaringen, 1998), 381–430. Part of Otto's thinking seems to have been that, as the son of a Saxon father and Byzantine mother, Otto's idea of empire was focused on Rome and he aped Byzantium in attempting to cohere his polyethnic empire. See John W. Bernhardt, 'Concepts and Practice of Empire in Ottonian Germany (950–1024)', in Björn Weiler and Simon MacLean (eds.), *Representations of Power in Medieval Germany, 800–1500* (Turnhout, 2006), 155–8. Timothy Reuter suggested that Otto III was more committed to appropriating a Carolingian legacy for the simple fact that not many Carolingians were still alive. Timothy Reuter, 'The Ottonians and Carolingian Tradition', in Janet L. Nelson (ed.), *Medieval Polities and Modern Mentalities* (Cambridge, 2006), 279.

[29] e.g. *Conradi II. Diplomata*, ed. H. Bresslau, MGH Dipl. Ger. (Berlin, 1957), iv, nos. 2, 41, 46. Conrad did not offer a single diploma for Aachen.

[30] Henry III offered only one diploma for the Marian chapel at Aachen and it did not mention Charlemagne. See *Heinrici III. Diplomata*, ed. H. Bresslau and P. Kehr, MGH Dipl. Ger. (Berlin, 1957), v, no. 94. But see *Heinrici IV. Diplomata*, ed. Dietrich von Gladiss and Alfred Gawlik, MGH Dipl. Ger. (Hanover, 1941), vi/1, no. 254; also no. 283.

[31] Lambert of Hersfeld, *Libelli de institutione Herveldensis ecclesiae quae supersunt*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH SRG (Hanover, 1894), 38: 353. See also Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber ad amicum*, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH LdL (Hanover, 1891), 1: 586–7; and the comments by Bernd Schütte, 'Karl der Grosse in der Historiographie der Ottonen- und Salierzeit', in Franz-Reiner Erkens (ed.), *Karl der Grosse und das Erbe der Kulturen* (Berlin, 2001), 248.

Charlemagne's kingdom'.[32] Only when the succession to the throne had been stabilized and the Capetians firmly established could those sympathetic to the Capetians begin to reach out to the Carolingian past. Abbo of Fleury (d. 1004) was among the first to do so, claiming that Hugh Capet stood in the line of Constantine, Charlemagne, and Louis the Pious.[33] In a poem dedicated to Robert II the Pious (996–1031), Adalbero of Laon (d. 1030) stressed that Robert's legitimacy derived from his descent from the Carolingians and Ottonians.[34] It was not until the 1070s and 1080s though, under Philip I (1060–1108), that the Capetians themselves took the first steps towards embracing the Carolingians. Even then, this move back towards the Carolingians fizzled in the 1090s and was not taken up again until the time of Philip's successors (Louis VI and Louis VII), who worked this program in conjunction with the abbots of Saint-Denis, Suger and Odo of Deuil.[35]

In these moments of uncertain attitudes toward the Carolingians, particularly in West Francia after the ascension of Hugh Capet in 987, it became common for texts to promote the idea of *imperium Francorum*, imperial authority stemming from the essential Frankishness of the Capetians' domain.[36] This conception of Frankish identity was not new though and seems to have derived from the late ninth century. The Franks survived, even if the Carolingians did not. Emperor Louis II of Italy's (855–75) letter to the Byzantine ruler Basil I (867–86) argued forcefully for the continued unity of the Franks in 'flesh, blood, and spirit', despite the recent political division of the empire.[37] But even earlier, as Mary Garrison has pointed out, the Carolingians were not known as 'the Carolingians' until the eleventh century. These rulers were, simply, *Franks*—an essential part of a larger, united community. This was, at the very least, a change from the Merovingians, who were indeed referred to by their dynastic name.[38]

---

[32] 'Eodem anno unctus est in regem Remis civitate Hugo dux, et ipso anno Robertus, filius eius, in regnum piissimus rex ordinatus est. Hic deficit regnum Karoli Magni.' *Historia Francorum Senonensis*, MGH SS 9: 368. Even into the reign of Robert the Pious though, some still pined for the Carolingians. See Jason Glenn, *Politics and History in the Tenth Century: The Work and World of Richer of Reims* (Cambridge, 2004), 212–14.

[33] Joachim Ehlers, 'Karolingische Tradition und frühes Nationalbewusstsein in Frankreich', *Francia,* 4 (1976), 223. We must be careful about overgeneralizing though. A 990 diploma from Hugh Capet for Sainte-Croix in Orléans confirms the privileges granted by Hugh's *Carolingian* predecessors. *Cartulaire de Sainte-Croix d'Orléans (814–1300)*, ed. Joseph Thillier (Paris, 1906), no. 39.

[34] Ehlers, 'Karolingische Tradition', 224–5. Robert claimed descent from the Carolingians because he sat on the Frankish throne. He claimed descent from the Ottonians because his grandmother was a daughter of King Henry I (919–36).

[35] Matthew Gabriele, 'The Provenance of the *Descriptio qualiter Karolus Magnus*: Remembering the Carolingians at the Court of King Philip I (1060–1108) before the First Crusade', *Viator,* 39 (2008), 93–117; and Gabrielle M. Spiegel, 'The Cult of Saint-Denis and Capetian Kingship', *Journal of Medieval History,* 1 (1975), 43–69.

[36] Ehlers, 'Karolingische Tradition', 213; and Nelson, 'Kingship', 76. Ehlers takes *imperium* here to mean 'empire' but a better translation would be 'authority'. I will deal with this idea in much greater depth in Chs. 4 and 5, below.

[37] Steven Fanning, 'Imperial Diplomacy between Francia and Byzantium: The Letter of Louis II to Basil I', *Cithara,* 34 (1994), 4–9.

[38] Mary Garrison, 'Divine Election for Nations: A Difficult Rhetoric for Medieval Scholars?' in Lars Boje Mortensen (ed.), *The Making of Christian Myths in the Periphery of Latin Christendom (c.1000–1300)* (Copenhagen, 2006), 301–6.

Perhaps the most striking thing about this appeal to a transcendent 'Frankishness' is how it survived across centuries. For instance, Notker the Stammerer counted himself as a Frank, despite his proud descent from Alamannian nobility. The key point is that these identities were not seen as mutually exclusive. Being an Alamann meant having local ties. Being a Frank meant belonging to something larger. Notker writes, 'When I say Francia, I mean all the provinces north of the Alps; for . . . , at that time, because of the excellence of the most glorious Charlemagne, the Gauls, the Aquitanians, the Aedui, the Spaniards, the Alamanns, and the Bavarians all prided themselves on being paid a great compliment if they earned the right to be called Franks.'[39] These peoples, it seems, did not summarily abandon their other identity when being called 'Franks'. They held both together. The contemporary *Bella Parisiacae urbis* of Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés also shows a great flexibility in how it uses 'Franks.' For Abbo, a Frank could be an inhabitant of a specific geographical area east of the Seine or it could mean anyone who was ruled by a Carolingian. Notker and Abbo's contemporaries, the Lombard Andreas of Bergamo, the anonymous Saxon Poet, and Archbishop Ado of Vienne display similar sentiments.[40] At the end of the ninth century, being a Frank seems to have meant consciously associating oneself with a larger, European identity and with an idealized memory of Charlemagne's reign. Being a Frank seems to have been a statement that *his* Golden Age was a part of *your* heritage.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES AND THEIR CHARLEMAGNES

Of the datable forgeries included at the back of the MGH's collection of Charlemagne's diplomas, over 70 percent (68 out of 97) date to the period between the ninth and the early twelfth centuries and, almost without exception, these forged diplomas originated in the religious houses of Charlemagne's old empire.[41] Many of these forgeries have to do with Charlemagne's *alleged* role in the foundation of these religious houses. In the tenth century, the monastery of Gerri (in the Pyrenees) forged two diplomas, each calling Charlemagne a just and pious emperor who had restored the monastery after it had been destroyed by the pagans.[42] At about that same time, the archbishop of Ravenna 'found' a diploma from Charlemagne giving him power over twenty-five other bishops.[43] In the eleventh century, the monks of Psalmodi in Aquitaine believed that the 'most serene' Charlemagne refounded the abbey and placed another monastery under its jurisdiction after Aquitaine had been ravaged by pagans.[44] Ademar of Chabannes claimed that the monastery of Saint-Philibert of Noirmoutier had been founded by Charlemagne (although it had not).[45] Shortly after Ademar wrote in the eleventh century, the abbey of Saint-Savin (near the Pyrenees) pushed its foundation back to the time of Charlemagne, making their real founder, Count Raymond of Bigorre (d. 958), the abbey's *refounder*.[46] The monastery of Sant'Antimo in Tuscany got Emperor Henry III in 1051 to confirm their legendary foundation by Charlemagne.[47] In the middle of the eleventh century, a false diploma for La Réole said that Charles had built that priory and also generously endowed its mother house (Fleury) at the same time.[48] Although the Astronomer said that Louis the Pious had reformed the monastery of Conques, both the eleventh-century *Chronicon sancti Maxentii Pictavensisi* and Hugh of Fleury in the early twelfth century said that this was actually Charlemagne.[49] The bishopric of Bremen claimed in the eleventh century that Charles had established its see.[50] The bishops of Verden in Saxony claimed the same in the early twelfth century.[51] At about the same time, a forged diploma asserted that the great Frankish emperor had given the church of St Peregrin, which Charles had founded after seeing a vision of the saint, to the monastery of San Vincenzo al Volturno.[52]

---

[39] 'Franciam vero interdum cum nominavero, cum omnes cisalpinas provincias significo, quia . . . in illo tempore propter excellentiam gloriosissimi Karoli et Galli et Aquitani, Edui et Hispani, Alamanni et Baioarii non parum se insignitos gloriabantur, si vel nomine Francorum servorum censri mererentur.' Notker, *Gesta*, ed. Haefele, 13. English tr. adapted from Notker the Stammerer, *Gesta Karoli Magni*, in *Two Lives of Charlemagne*, tr. Lewis Thorpe (London, 1969), 103. See also the comments of Goetz, *Strukturen der spätkarolinischen Epoche*, 72–3. On Notker's personal identity, see Innes, 'Memory, Orality', 11–12, 31.

[40] MacLean, *Kingship and Politics,* 60–3; Godman, *Poets and Emperors*, 183; and Rosamond McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, Ind., 2006), 29. See also the extended discussion of 11th-cent. Frankish identity in Ch. 5, below.

[41] On these false diplomas, see Dieter Hägermann, 'Die Urkundenfälschungen auf Karl den Grossen: Eine Übersicht', in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter*, 6 vols. (Hanover, 1988), iv. 433–43.

[42] *Pippini, Carlomanni, Caroli Magni Diplomata*, ed. Engelbert Mühlbacher, MGH Dipl. Karol. (Hanover, 1906), i, nos. 308, 309.

In claiming that Charlemagne had a hand in their foundation (or refoundation), monastic authors accomplished two things. First, by linking themselves to Charlemagne's reign, they reinforced the character of his Golden Age. In his recent study of the Charlemagne legend in modern France, Robert Morrissey suggested that legends generally develop in one of two ways: either with a logic of narration (horizontally, where contradictions are not allowed) or with a logic of accumulation (vertically, where contradictions are alright).[53] The existence of different versions of the same event would indicate a legend developed by accumulation. This latter type of development certainly was at work in the Charlemagne legend. David Ganz gives the example of a ninth-century manuscript that has Einhard's *Vita Karoli* inserted into the middle of the *ARF*, just before the reign of Louis the

---

[43] Carlo Dolcini, 'Il falso diploma di Carlo Magno per la Chiesa di Ravenna (787)', in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter*, 6 vols. (Hanover, 1988), iv. 159–66.

[44] *Caroli Magni Diplomata*, ed. Mühlbacher, i, no. 303.

[45] Ademar of Chabannes, *Chronicon*, ed. R. Landes and G. Pon, CCCM (Turnhout, 1999), 129: 132. On the veracity of this claim, see Ademar, *Chronicon*, ed. Landes and Pon, 256.

[46] *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Savin en Lavedan (v. 975–v. 1180)*, ed. Alphonse Meillon (Cauterets, 1920), 249–50. This portion of the prefatory chronicle was written *c.*1059–69.

[47] *Heinrici III. Diplomata*, ed. Bresslau and Kehr, v, no. 271.

[48] *Cartulaire du prieuré de Saint-Pierre de la Réole*, ed. Ch. Grellet-Balguerie, *Archives historiques de la Gironde,* 5 (1863), no. 102.

[49] Sources discussed and summarized in Walter Cahn, 'Observations on the *A of Charlemagne* in the Treasure of the Abbey of Conques', *Gesta,* 45 (2006), 97–100.

[50] *Caroli Magni Diplomata*, ed. Mühlbacher, i, no. 245.

[51] Ibid., no. 240.

[52] Ibid., no. 315.

[53] Morrissey, *Charlemagne*, 13.

Pious.[54] But the foundation legends originating at religious houses seem to have primarily developed through narration. As each monastery added its own layer to the Charlemagne legend, the list of his deeds grew longer. The Golden Age reinforced itself. The development of the legend in this way is similar to a story passed around a campfire, in which each participant adds a sentence to the overall narrative. Each addition makes the overall story richer and perhaps more plausible by reinforcing the themes of the story as a whole. Religious houses did not have to compete for Charlemagne's attention. There was, it seems, more than enough Charlemagne to go around.

The second thing these religious houses accomplished by claiming Charlemagne followed from the first. Similar to the process at work when kings and emperors invoked Charlemagne as their predecessor, religious houses wanted to narrow the perceived historical distance separating them from Charlemagne's Golden Age. Sharon Farmer has noted that tenth- and eleventh-century monks who wrote new histories and forged diplomas sought primarily to construct 'bridges that could span the temporal chasm separating the past from the present'.[55] Because each evocation of Charlemagne's Golden Age reinforced the positive connotations of that period, each time a monastery claimed Charlemagne as part of its past, it enhanced its own legitimacy, giving that foundation an air of authority over, and respect from, the temporal and spiritual powers of the time.[56] By invoking Charlemagne, a monastery rhetorically eliminated the time between Charlemagne's reign and the present by attempting to flatten the house's vertical (unequal) connections into horizontal (comparable) ones. In this case, it meant connecting the monastery to an ideal emperor and to a Golden Age. With Charlemagne as the house's special patron, it placed one foot squarely in the Golden Age itself, suggesting that their present was a natural successor to that idealized past.

Even religious houses with different traditions about their foundations could write themselves into the Charlemagne legend by making him their special patron—the legitimizing force behind some specific claim to authority. Charlemagne approved the construction of a new church at the monastery of Aniane, according to the late eleventh- or early twelfth-century prologue of its cartulary. He also supposedly gave Aniane the freedom to elect its own abbots and placed the monastery directly under his protection.[57] At about the same time, the abbey of Saint-Polycarpe in Aquitaine claimed that Charlemagne gave some surrounding churches to the monastery and took Saint-Polycarpe itself under his protection.[58] A late eleventh-century chronicle from Venice said that when Charlemagne visited that city and the church of San Marco, he was moved to give the city its liberty.[59] The abbey of St Maximian of Trier produced a diploma in the eleventh century that had Charlemagne guaranteeing the house's right to elect its own abbots, as well as giving it freedom from other lay or ecclesiastical tolls and courts.[60] The contemporary necrology for Flavigny records Charlemagne as granting the monastery the takings from toll-booths in *omni regno* (I'm pretty sure this is fake).[61] A forged eleventh-century privilege ascribed to Pope Leo III for Saint-Saturninus of Tabernoles has Charlemagne consenting and guaranteeing its provisions.[62] This list could go on but Dieter Hägermann has already made one, putting together the false diplomas ascribed to Charlemagne that date from the ninth through eleventh centuries. Their geographical range is stunning (Figure 1.1). They include Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa in Catalonia, Monte Cassino in the Lazio and Novalesa in Lombardy, Saint-Claude in Burgundy and Saint-Bertin in Flanders, Worms along the Rhine and Kremsmünster in Bavaria, among others.[63]

---

[54] See Ganz, 'Einhard's Charlemagne', 41–2.

[55] Sharon Farmer, *Communities of Saint Martin: Legend and Ritual in Medieval Tours* (Ithaca, NY, 1991), 151–2. This process of collapsing time is much older in Christian thinking though, dating at least to the 4th cent. R. A. Markus has shown how, after the conversion of Constantine, 4th-cent. Christians attempted to compress the distance between themselves and the glorious time of the martyrs and this resulted, eventually, in the creation of a holy land in Palestine. See R. A. Markus, 'How on Earth Could Places Become Holy? Origins of the Chrisitian Idea of Holy Places', *Journal of Early Christian Studies,* 2 (1994), 257–71.

[56] Remensnyder, *Remembering*, 78, 150.

[57] *Cartulaire d'Aniane*, in *Cartulaires des abbayes d'Aniane et de Gellone*, ed. Abbé Cassan and E. Meynial, 3 vols. (Montpellier, 1900), iii. 12, 14–15.

Whether Charlemagne functioned as the founder (or refounder) of a religious house or simply as its patron, he almost always gave rich gifts to the house in question. These gifts could take the form of land or dependent religious houses, but most often the gifts took the form of powerful relics. By the second half of the ninth century, Archbishop Ado of Vienne had created an episode in which Charles sent legates to the Islamic Caliph in Africa, specifically to procure the relics of St Cyprian (which eventually found their way to Lyon).[64] The late tenth-century *Chronicon* of Benedict of St Andrew on Monte Soratte claimed that Charlemagne, on his way back from Jerusalem, had donated a small piece of the apostle Andrew to Benedict's monastery. The early eleventh-century *Chronicon* of the monastery of Novalesa in Lombardy, rich in material relating to the Charlemagne legend, said that when Charlemagne's son Hugh became a monk, Charlemagne offered Novalesa bits of Sts Cosmas, Damian, and Valerian, which Charles had obtained from Rome. Ademar of Chabannes claimed that Charlemagne gave Saint-Martial of Limoges relics of the True Cross and the Holy Shroud, which Charles had gotten from Jerusalem.[65]

---

[58] *Caroli Magni Diplomata*, ed. Mühlbacher, i, no. 305. The monks at Saint-Polycarpe had their chronology a bit wrong. The diploma was supposedly enacted in 743 (twenty-five years before Charlemagne took the throne), in the forty-third year of his imperial rule (that actually lasted fourteen).

[59] *Origo civitatum Italiae seu Venetiarum*, ed. Roberto Cessi, FISI (Rome, 1933), 73. 91–100. Also discussed in Gina Fasoli, 'Carlo Magno nelle tradizioni storica-leggendaria Italiane', in KdG iv. 359.

[60] *Caroli Magni Diplomata*, ed. Mühlbacher, i, no. 276.

[61] In Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicon*, MGH SS 8: 285.

[62] *Papsturkunden in Spanien: Katalanien*, ed. Paul Fridolin Kehr. 2 vols. (Berlin, 1926), ii, no. 1. The diploma predates 1099 because a privilege of Urban II refers to this other, false diploma.

[63] Full list in Hägermann, 'Die Urkundenfälschungen auf Karls des Grossen', 436–7.

[64] Ado of Vienne, *Martyrologium*, PL 123: 355–6. Cf. Einhard, *Vita*, ed. Pertz, 19.

[65] Benedict, *Chronicon*, 711; *Chronicon Novaliciense*, MGH SS 7: 102; and Daniel F. Callahan, 'Ademar of Chabannes, Charlemagne, and the Pilgrimage to Jerusalem of 1033', in Michael Frassetto (ed.), *Medieval Monks and their World: Ideas and Realities: Studies in Honor of Richard E. Sullivan* (Leiden, 2006), 75.

Indeed, Jerusalem proved to be a particularly rich source for Charlemagne's legendary relic horde. The association began very early and likely stems from the verifiable increase in relics arriving in Francia from the East during the late eighth and early ninth centuries.[66] In the ninth century, the monastery of Flavigny in Burgundy declared that Charlemagne gave its abbot pieces of St James and the Holy Sepulcher contained in a silver reliquary.[67] At about the same time, Angilbert of Saint-Riquier wrote that Charlemagne had donated two large pieces of the True Cross to the abbey. Not much later, the *Chronicon Moissiacense* asserted that Charlemagne had given pieces of the True Cross to Benedict of Aniane so that he could found his religious house.[68] And Charlemagne continued to donate powerful relics even after his death.

In the first half of the eleventh century, the monastery of Saint-Sauveur in Charroux developed its own tradition about how it came to posses a fragment of the True Cross. Ademar of Chabannes recorded that Charlemagne first received this relic from the patriarch of Jerusalem before passing it on to the abbey. Charroux's own earliest version of its foundation was called the *Privilegium* and was likely composed *c.*1045.[69] Ruling the kingdom of the Franks and possessing Roman imperial authority, Charlemagne was praised so highly throughout the world that he was called 'the great'. While traveling to Spain to battle the Saracens with Count Roger of Limoges, Charles met a lone British pilgrim, who had brought back a piece of the True Cross from his recent trip to Jerusalem. The pilgrim gave Charlemagne the relic on the condition that he would build a church suitable to house it. Charles awoke the next morning to find that God apparently favored Charles's plan because the woods around his camp had been miraculously cleared during the night. Roger (with his wife Eufrasia) then built the new monastery of Saint-Sauveur on the miraculous site and Charlemagne confirmed its liberty. Later that year, the patriarch of Jerusalem and king of the Persians both sent envoys to Charles with numerous (primarily christological) relics, which were, again, passed to Roger of Limoges who, in turn, passed them to Charroux. The *Privilegium* closes with Pope Leo III dedicating Charroux's church and high altar.[70]

In some ways, this elaborate account of Charroux's foundation functions similarly to the claims of either Aniane or Saint-Riquier; as a justification of Charroux's relics as well as its privileged place in God's affections. Yet, even though the *Privilegium* is a foundation narrative for Charroux, it also fundamentally commemorates the 'moment when the [True Cross] became paired with the king'. Charlemagne and the relic reinforce one another's power.[71] An early twelfth-century *vita* of St William of Gellone made this slippage between relic and ruler quite clear. In the *Vita*, the patriarch of Jerusalem sent legates bearing gold and relics to honor Charlemagne's new imperial dignity. Charles then passed the relics on to William for his new monastery, with the emperor saying:

---

[66] Michael McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce, A.D. 300–900* (Cambridge, 2001), 290–318.

[67] *Caroli Magni Diplomata*, ed. Mühlbacher, i, no. 228. Although Mühlbacher believed this diploma to have been forged, see now the comments in *The Cartulary of Flavigny, 717–1113*. ed. Constance Brittain Bouchard (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), no. 13.

[68] Angilbert, *De ecclesia Centulensis libellus*, MGH SS 15: 174–6; *Chronicon Moissiacense*, MGH SS 1: 309; and Ardo, *Vita sancti Benedicti Anianensis*, MGH SS 15: 206 n. 1. On the importance of the cross generally to the Carolingians, see Celia Chazelle, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era: Theology and Art of Christ's Passion* (Cambridge, 2001).

[69] Ademar, *Chronicon*, ed. Landes and Pon, 161. The 11th-cent. *Miracula sancti Genulphi episcopi*, MGH SS 15: 1206 tells a similar story but omits the patriarch. The title of the Charroux text comes from the editor of the abbey's cartulary, D. P. de Monsabert. On the dating of the *Privilegium*, see L.-A. Vigneras, 'L'Abbaye de Charroux et la légende du pèlerinage de Charlemagne', *Romanic Review,* 32 (1941), 126; and Remensnyder, *Remembering*, 312. For more on Charroux, see Ch. 2 below.

[70] *Liber de Const.* 1–6.

> 'these [relics] will always be true and most certain symbols, an eternal memorial, a means of frequently recalling [my] affection [for you]. For without doubt, as often as you gaze upon . . . or touch . . . these holy objects, you will not be able to forget your lord Charles.'[72]

The relic has become a memorial not only of Christ and his Passion, but of Charlemagne as well—a commemoration of Christ through (in the form of) Charlemagne. Note, however, that this relationship between Charlemagne and Christ functioned as an analogy, not an equivalence. In a way that echoes the relationship between exegetical figures and fulfillments, Charlemagne was not another Christ but a Christ-type, sanctified and elevated 'to at least the rank of holy'.[73]

Before the middle of the twelfth century, the real movement in Charlemagne's sanctification occurred locally, independent of royal or imperial prompting—again, in the religious houses scattered throughout Charlemagne's old empire.[74] In East Francia, there is evidence of local liturgical veneration of Charlemagne from the tenth to early twelfth centuries at Cologne, Halberstadt, Hildesheim, Münster, Neustadt-am-Main, Sitten, and Verden, while commemoration of Charles at Gellone may have begun as early as the eleventh century.[75] But contrary to Robert Folz's assertion that the empire was effectively 'where the idea of the sanctity of

---

[71] Remensnyder, *Remembering*, 165–7, quotation at 167.

[72] 'Patriarcha Hierosolymitanus desiderans eum honorare, multumque placere ei, miserat illi ab Hierosolymis per Zachariam . . . illud Dominicae Crucis venerabile cunctisque mortalibus adorandum phylacterium, gemmarum splendoribus et auro purissimo [etc.]. . . . Haec tibi semper erunt nostrae dilectionis vera et certissima signa, frequens recordatio, memoria sempiterna, Haud enim dubium, quia quoties cumque haec sancta vel oculis aspexeris, vel manibus tenueris, Domini tui Caroli oblivisci non poteris.' *Vita s. Willelmo monachi Gellonensis*, AASS, 6 May: 805. English tr. from Remensnyder, *Remembering*, 169.

[73] Remensnyder, *Remembering*, 171. Stephen Nichols has also noted how Charlemagne in effect mediated the christological representations of medieval rulers. For example, Charles the Bald first had to 'emulate the models of Solomon and Charlemagne, and then Christ'. Stephen G. Nichols, Jr., *Romanesque Signs: Early Medieval Narrative and Iconography* (New Haven, Conn., 1983), 85–8, quotation at 85. See the discussion of figure-fulfillment relationships in Erich Auerbach, 'Figura', in *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature* (New York, 1959) 11–76; and Jean Danielou, *From Shadows to Reality*, tr. Wulstan Hibberd (Westminster, Md., 1960). Contemporary society was also exhibiting an increasing devotion to Christ at that time. Rachel Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800–1200* (New York, 2002), 7–192.

[74] On the reticence of the West Franks to pursue canonization, see Robert Folz, 'Aspects du culte liturgique de Saint Charlemagne en France', in KdG iv. 77–80.

[75] Robert Folz, *Études sur le culte liturgique de Charlemagne dans les églises de l'Empire* (Paris, 1951), 15–38; Matthias Zender, 'Die Verehrung des Hl. Karl im Gebiet des mittelalterlichen Reiches', in KdG iv. 108–11; and Amy Remensnyder, 'Topographies of Memory: Center and Periphery in High

Charlemagne was born', Remensnyder has shown how widespread a phenomenon this process of sanctification actually was and how this process took a number of forms other than liturgical commemoration in local religious communities.[76] For example, besides his increasing association with Christ, anecdotes from Charlemagne's life came more and more to mirror those found in hagiography.[77] Just as with St Willibrord, a prophecy heralded Charles's birth in an eleventh-century manuscript from Fulda, in which St Boniface told Charles's father Pepin that Charles will 'possess the whole of the kingdom and expunge all error from the church'.[78] Much like St Romuald of Ravenna, Charlemagne received visions, such as his prophetic *Visio* written during the reign of Louis the German, or the one recounted in the early eleventh-century *Chronicon Novaliciense*, where Charles was told to go and conquer Italy.[79] The extant accounts of Otto III's entrance into Charlemagne's tomb all testified to Charlemagne's sanctity in various ways, especially his potency as relic.[80]

Charlemagne's association with the miraculous also became much more common the closer we get to 1100.[81] God granted Charles a miracle in Charroux's *Privilegium* because He favored Charles's plan for a new abbey dedicated to Him. The late eleventh-century *Descriptio qualiter Karolus Magnus* had Charlemagne and his army miraculously led out of a dense forest by a talking bird, who heard Charlemagne singing Psalms.[82] By the time of the Oxford *Roland*, Charlemagne remained in constant contact with God through visions and regular conversations with the Archangel Gabriel. Charlemagne was even able to *ask for* (and receive) a miracle in the text.[83]

Why these local moves towards sanctification? Why elevate Charlemagne to the ranks of the holy? Part of this process was self-reinforcing and had much to do with

---

Medieval France', in Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried, and Patrick J. Geary (eds.), *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography* (Cambridge, 2002), 209–10.

[76] Folz, *Études*, p. viii; Remensnyder, 'Topographies of Memory', 209–10.

[77] Einhard based the form of his biography of Charlemagne on hagiography. Although his anecdotes primarily followed Roman models, by around 840 CE the new form of the *Vita Karoli* began to influence later hagiography. See Ganz, 'Einhard's Charlemagne', 39–40.

[78] 'Divina revelatione previdit sanctissimus pontifex quod ex prefato rege Pippino ea nocte concipi debuisset pueri qui totius regni monarchium possessurus et omnes erroneus ab ecclesia esset depulsurus.' *Traditiones et antiquitates Fuldenses*, ed. Ernst Friedrich Johann Dronke (Osnabrück, 1966), 64; cf. Alcuin, *The Life of St. Willibrord*, tr. C. H. Talbot, in *Soldiers of Christ: Saints and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Thomas F. X. Noble and Thomas Head (University Park, Pa., 1995), 193–4.

[79] On the *Visio Karoli*, see the discussion above at n. 15; and *Chronicon Novaliciense*, 99. Cf. Peter Damian, *Life of St. Romuald of Ravenna*, tr. Henrietta Leyser, in *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, ed. Thomas Head (New York, 2000), 298, 307.

[80] See the discussion in Gabriele, 'Otto III', 111–32.

[81] Karl-Heinz Bender, 'La Genèse de l'image littéraire de Charlemagne, élu de Dieu, au XI^{e} siècle', *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona,* 31 (1967), 37.

[82] *Descriptio qualiter Karolus Magnus clavum et coronam Domini a Constantinopoli Aquisgrani detulerit qualiterque Karolus Calvus hec ad Sanctum Dyonisium retulerit*, in *Die Legende*, 108–9. For more on Charlemagne's imagined relationship to the natural world, now see Paul Edward Dutton, *Charlemagne's Mustache and Other Cultural Clusters of a Dark Age* (New York, 2004), 43–68.

[83] *La Chanson de Roland*, ed. Gerard J. Brault (University Park, Pa., 1978), ll. 719–36, 2529–69 (dreams); 2525–8, 2845–8, 3610–11, 3993–4001 (Gabriel); 2448–57 (miracle); also the comments in Bender, 'Genèse', 40–6. The miracle is comparable to Joshua 10: 12–15.

Charlemagne's roles as founder and patron. His foundation of a monastery and/or donation of a relic added to his sanctity and hence enhanced his ability to legitimate that monastery or relic. Charroux's *Privilegium*, for instance, promoted Charlemagne as founder and patron, not Charlemagne as king. Count Roger of Limoges may have been the monastery's actual founder but he barely figured in the narrative at all. By *c.*1085, Roger would be fully eclipsed by Charles and disappear completely.[84] Similar to the process at work in other monastic accounts, Charlemagne was the 'real' founder of Charroux. It had its lands because of Charlemagne. It had its immunity because of Charlemagne. It had its treasures because of Charlemagne. Most importantly, it had its relics because of Charlemagne.

But any number of rulers could provide legitimacy. Charlemagne offered something special because his importance was recognized both locally and more widely. He represented a very real link to a Frankish past that was shared (perhaps unknowingly) among all these religious houses. In the *Privilegium*, Charroux looked past its actual founder to the towering image of the Carolingian Golden Age, counting on the fact that the name 'Charlemagne' would resonate in the ears of those hearing the tale both in Aquitaine and throughout Europe.

THE EXPANDING EMPIRE

A century ago Heinrich Hoffmann noted the importance of the Saxon wars to the later development of the Charlemagne legend.[85] For example, in the second half of the tenth century, the *Vita Mathildis reginae antiquior* made much of Charles's Christianization of the Saxons: especially the baptism of Widukind, progenitor of the Ottonian line (as ancestor of Queen Mathilda (896–968), wife of King Henry I (919–36)).[86] Many Saxon writers also paid special attention to Charles's efforts at conversion because the image of an expansive Christian empire led by Charlemagne was yet another way for later writers, generally supportive of royal or imperial pretensions, to link Charles to Constantine, thus signaling the legitimacy of *translatio imperii* from Constantine, to Charles, to the contemporary Saxon emperor.[87] The Franks and Saxons had become brothers—like one people—under Charlemagne, according to Widukind of Corvey, writing at the end of the tenth century. The late ninth-century Saxon Poet said that Charles was an apostle to the Saxons, in the line of the first twelve. The early eleventh-century *Annales Quedlinburgenses* repeated the claim.[88]

---

[84] See the discussion of Charroux in Ch. 2, below.

[85] Hoffmann, *Karl*, 31. Also Bernd Schütte, 'Karl der Grosse in der Geschichtsschreibung des hohen Mittelalters', in Bernd Bastert (ed.), *Karl der Grosse in den europäischen Literaturen des Mittelalaters: Konstruktion eines Mythos* (Tübingen, 2004), 230–3.

[86] *Vita Mathildis reginae antiquior*, ed. Bernd Schütte, MGH SRG (Hanover, 1994), 66: 113.

[87] Hoffmann, *Karl*, 69–70. See also above at nn. 24–6.

[88] Widukind of Corvey, *Rerum gestarum Saxonicarum*, ed. Paulus Hirsch and H.-E. Lohmann, MGH SRG (Hanover, 1989), 60: 25; Poeta Saxo, *Annalium de gestis beati Caroli Magni libri quinque*, ed. Paul de Winterfeld, MGH Poetae Latini aevi Carolini (Berlin, 1899), iv/1: bk. 5, ll. 677–88; *Annales Quedlinburgenses*, MGH SS 3: 41.

More generally, Charlemagne's expansionary wars into Saxony, Lombardy, Brittany, Spain, and Eastern Europe represented an age of constant Christian expansion for later writers. The Franks ruled by force of arms. Take, for example, how texts dreamed on Charlemagne's conquests. Regino of Prüm (d. 915) looked back at Charlemagne as the summit of authority, a man who had united the Franks with diverse peoples.[89] Ademar of Chabannes lamented Charlemagne's death by noting how even the pagans thought of him 'as if he were the father of the world'.[90] The *Chronicon* from Saint-Bénigne of Dijon followed its account of Charles's Saxon wars with a list of Charlemagne's conquests (all of Europe, from Iberia to Greece and Apulia to Saxony) that meshed better with contemporary Latin Christianity than Charlemagne's historical empire.[91] The prologue to the *Miracula sancti Genulphi*, written in the early eleventh century, expanded upon Charlemagne's conversion of the Saxons (and other pagans) by claiming that his empire stretched from 'Monte Gargano to Cordoba', for which he was rightly called *magnus*.[92] So too the eleventh-century *Vita sanctae Gudilae*, which said that Charles earned his surname (*magnus*) 'because of his numerous victories and triumphs he celebrated over [many] peoples . . . [and because he] expanded the lands of the kingdom of the Franks everywhere and enhanced the glory of Christ within his territories'.[93] From Brogne, in modern Belgium, the late eleventh-century *Vita Gerardi abbatis* simply asserted that Charlemagne had almost conquered the whole world.[94] Jocundus of Maastricht, writing in the 1080s, took away the 'almost', saying that 'the pious Charles . . . journeyed around the whole world to combat the enemies of God; and those he could not subdue with the word of Christ, he subdued with the sword'.[95] The early twelfth-century *Annales Nordhumbranis* concurred, ascribing to Charlemagne the title 'emperor of the whole world' and having the Greeks ask him to receive their kingdom and the imperial authority.[96] Abbot Thiofrid of Echternach noted, in the very early twelfth century, how Charlemagne earned the title Caesar Augustus and transferred the power and glory of the Roman empire to Gaul by extending his dominions to the Ocean and his fame to the stars.[97]

---

[89] Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon*, ed. Friedrich Kurze, MGH SRG (Hanover, 1890), 50: 116. For more on Regino, see McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past*, 30, 38–9; and Simon MacLean, *History and Politics in Late Carolingian and Ottonian Europe: The Chronicle of Regino of Prüm and Adalbert of Magdeburg* (Manchester, 2009).

[90] 'Nemo autem referre potest quantus planctus et luctus pro eo fuerit per universam terram, etiam et inter paganos plangebatur quasi pater orbis.' Ademar, *Chronicon*, ed. Landes and Pon, 111. Repeated in a late 11th-cent. chronicle from Poitiers. *Chronicon sancti Maxentii Pictavensisi*, in *Chroniques des églises d'Anjou*, ed. Paul Marchegay and Émile Mabille (Paris, 1869), 352.

[91] *Chronique de l'Abbaye de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, ed. L'Abbé E. Bougaud and Joseph Garnier (Dijon, 1875), 83–4.

[92] *Miracula sancti Genulphi*, 1206.

[93] 'In tempore illo sceptrum monarchiae imperialis tenebat Karolus victoriosissimus piissimusque augustus, qui ex tropheis frequentibus triumphatisque nationibus cognominatus est Magnus, qui regni Francorum spacia longe lateque dilatavit et Christi gloria in suis finibus ampliavit.' Hubert, *Vita sanctae Gudilae*, MGH SS 15: 1202. Lambert of Hersfeld was more coy, simply stating that Charlemagne earned his name because of his virtue and great deeds. Lambert of Hersfeld, *Vita Lulli Archiepiscopi Mogontiacensis*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH SRG (Hanover, 1894), 38: 326–7.

[94] 'Qui totum pene subegerat orbem, Karolus Magnus', *Vita Gerardi abbatis Broniensis*, MGH SS 15: 664.

[95] 'Hoc pius attendens K., mori pro patria, mori pro ecclesia non timuit; ideo terram circuit universam, et quos Deo repugnare invenit impugnabat, et quos Christo subdere non potuit verbo, subdidit ferro.' Jocundus, *Translatio sancti Servatii*, MGH SS 12: 96.

[96] *Annales Nordhumbranis*, MGH SS 13: 156. Although the text as it now stands dates to the very early 12th cent., these annals have roots to the late 8th and early 9th cents. Joanna Story believes that

Then, there is the Charlemagne of the *c.*1100 Oxford *Chanson de Roland*. Near the beginning of the poem, Ganelon recounts how he had seen Roland presenting Charlemagne with a golden apple representing 'the crowns of each and every king' he had subjected.[98] Charlemagne's past conquests are specifically enumerated by Roland, when he offered his final praise to his sword Durendal, just before his death. Roland boasted:

> With . . . [Durendal] I conquered Anjou and Brittany,
> With it I conquered Poitou and Maine,
> With it I conquered Normandy the free,
> With it I conquered Provence and Aquitaine,
> Lombardy and all Romagna;
> With it I conquered Bavaria and all Flanders,
> Burgundy, all Poland,
> And Constantinople, which rendered homage to him,
> And he does as he wishes in Saxony;
> With it I conquered Scotland, Iceland,
> And England, which he held under his jurisdiction;
> With it I conquered so many countries and lands
> Over which white-bearded Charles rules.[99]

---

the entry for this year to have been a 12th-cent. addition but that need not have been the case, given my discussion in the following chapters. Joanna Story, *Carolingian Connections: Anglo-Saxon England and Carolingian Francia, c.750–870* (Burlington, Vt., 2003), 93–133.

[97] Thiofrid, *Vita sancti Willibrordi*, MGH SS 23: 25. 'The Ocean' likely refers to the great body of water which surrounded the entire world. For example, see Plutarch, *The Life of Pompey*, in *The Fall of the Roman Republic*, tr. Rex Warner (Baltimore, 1958), 175. On the significance of the stars for the Carolingians, see Dutton, *Charlemagne's Mustache*, 93–127.

[98] 'Er matin sedeit li empere suz l'umbre. / Vint I ses niés, out vestue sa brunie . . . , / En sa main tint une vermeille pume: / 'Tenez, bel sire,' dist Rollant a sun uncle, / 'De trestuz reis vos present les curunes.' *Roland*, ed. Brault, ll. 383–88. The angel Gabriel also appears to Charles in the last laisse of the poem, commanding him to take his army to aid the city of Imphe, which is being attacked by pagans. The besieged Christians recognize Charlemagne as their protector and cry out to him for help. Although there is no doubt he will respond, Charles laments his weariness and implies that the war against the enemies of God has occupied him for a long time and may never end. This could be understood as an exhortation by St Gabriel to rescue endangered Christians in this one specific instance, but Charlemagne is weary (*penuse*)—not simply because he is 200 years old but because he stands at the forefront of a never-ending battle between good and evil, having implicitly marched off to save beleagured Christians on a number of occasions. *Roland*, ed. Brault, ll. 3998, 4000. See also the comments in Paul Rousset, *Les Origines et les caractères de la Premiére Croisade* (New York, 1978), 131.

[99] 'Jo l'en cunquis e Anjou e Bretaigne,/Si l'en cunquis e Peitou e le Maine; / Jo l'en cunquis Normendie la franche, / Si l'en cunquis Provence e Equitaigne / E Lumbardie e trestute Romaine; / Jo l'en cunquis Baiver e tute Flandres / E Burguigne e trestute Puillanie, / Costentinnoble, dunt il out la fiance, / E en Saisonie fait il ço qu'il demandet; / Jo l'en cunquis e Escoce e Vales Islonde / E Engletere, que il teneit sa cambre; / Cunquis l'en ai païs e teres tantes, / Que Carles tient, ki ad la barbe blanche.' *Roland*, ed. Brault, ll. 2322–34. It should also be noted that Roland's conquests are explicitly for Charlemagne. Robert Francis Cook, *The Sense of the Song of Roland* (Ithaca, NY, 1987), 100.

Karl-Heinz Bender has suggested that Charlemagne's possession of such a vast domain is meant to correspond to the expansion of 'French' territory in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries.[100] Bender's formulation is not quite right though—not 'French', but 'Frankish'. Look again at Charlemagne's conquests: West Francia, East Francia, much of Italy, Saxony, Poland, the British Isles, Iceland, and Constantinople. Roland's conquests most likely represent a contemporary eleventh-century understanding of Charlemagne's legendary empire, encompassing virtually the whole of Christendom in the late eleventh century. The list pushes the boundaries of Charles's empire to include both Christian lands that he never conquered (e.g. the British Isles) and even those made Christian after his death (e.g. Poland and Iceland). Moreover, note how Roland boasts that Charles holds Constantinople, which should probably be taken to mean the whole of the Eastern empire, and note how seemingly insignificant Roland considers that conquest.[101] The Byzantines are fixed in Roland's list after the Poles and before the Saxons, just another people in Charles's heterogeneous empire.

By the eleventh century, Charles's power over the magnates of the East was a commonplace in sources of his legend, due in large part to the work of his Carolingian contemporaries.[102] Charlemagne and his court circle indeed seem to have paid some attention to the Holy Land. During his lifetime, he exchanged numerous emissaries with the Islamic Caliph Harun al-Rashid, Byzantine emperors, and patriarch of Jerusalem.[103] According to the *ARF*, an embassy reached

---

[100] Karl-Heinz Bender, *König und Vasall: Untersuchungen zur Chanson de Geste des XII. Jahrhunderts* (Heidelberg, 1967), 29–30.

[101] Elsewhere, the poet hinted that Charlemagne would again go to the East as its conqueror. 'L'emperere meïsmes ad tut a sun talent. / Cunquerrat li les teres d'ici qu'en Orïent.' *Roland*, ed. Brault, ll. 400–1. The word *cunquerrat* is the future tense of the verb *cunquerre* (to conquer/vanquish), so the second line would read 'He *will* [again?] conquer the lands from here all the way to the East.' The only part of contemporary Christendom that the *Roland* poet does not include in Charlemagne's conquests is Hungary—recently Christianized by St Stephen around 1000 CE. (Incidentally, the poet includes the Hungarians in Baligant's army, which may be evidence of the existence of the legend before that country's christianization. See *Roland*, ed. Brault, l. 3254.) The author's geography, however, is rather sketchy anyway. He is apparently quite familiar with West Francia and displays a limited knowledge of Italy, but seems to have been quite ignorant of lands to the East—save, of course, the fabled Constantinople.

[102] Jean Flori, *La Guerre sainte: La Formation de l'idée de croisade dans l'Occident chrétien* (Paris, 2001), 30–1; and Anne Austin Latowsky, 'Imaginative Possession: Charlemagne and the East from Einhard to the *Voyage of Charlemagne*' (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 2004). See also the discussion of the impact of Carolingian sources on later writers in Ch. 2 and the more ideological (and theological) motives behind the 8th- and 9th-cent. Frankish interest in Jerusalem in Ch. 3, below.

[103] On these historical contacts generally, see Steven Runciman, 'Charlemagne and Palestine', *English Historical Review,* 50 (1935), 606–19; Giosuè Musca, *Carlo Magno ed Harun al Rashid* (Bari, 1963); Karl Schmid, 'Aachen und Jerusalem: Ein Beitrag zur historischen Personenforschung der Karolingerzeit', in Karl Hauck (ed.), *Das Einhardkreuz* (Göttingen, 1974), 122–42; Michael Borgolte, *Der Gesandtenaustausch der Karolinger mit den Abbasiden und mit den Patriarchen von Jerusalem*, Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung, 25 (Münich, 1976); Klaus Bieberstein, 'Der Gesandtenaustausch zwischen Karl dem Großen und Harun ar-Rasid und seine Bedeutung für die Kirchen Jerusalems', *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins,* 109 (1993), 152–73; Franz Tinnefeld, 'Formen und Wege des Kontakes zwischen Byzanz und dem Westen zur Zeit Karls des Grossen', in Franz-Reiner Erkens (ed.), *Karl der Grosse und das Erbe der Kulturen* (Berlin, 2001), 25–35; Colin Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West: From the Beginning to 1600* (Oxford, 2005), 94–6; and Rosamond McKitterick, *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge, 2008), 328–30.

Charlemagne's court in 799, bearing relics and a blessing from the patriarch of Jerusalem. An emissary from the Caliph Harun al-Rashid reached Aachen in 802, with the elephant Abul Abaz. Another delegation consisting of agents sent from both the Caliph Harun and the patriarch of Jerusalem arrived at the Frankish court in 807.[104] The Benedictine monastery on the Mount of Olives first contacted Charlemagne as members of the delegation from the patriarch of Jerusalem that arrived in Rome in 800 and the house enjoyed Charles's patronage during the later years of his reign.[105] At approximately the same time, Charlemagne sent both money and a number of monks to populate a hostel near the monastery of St Mary Latin in Jerusalem so that the Latin rite could be administered to any and all Western pilgrims.[106] Likely just before Charlemagne's trip to Rome in 800, Alcuin wrote to 'David' (Charlemagne) that he now 'ruled and governed' Jerusalem.[107] Shortly thereafter, and probably in conjunction with his coronation in Rome, Charlemagne had a list drawn up of all the religious houses and clerics in the Holy Land. The list names, among other things, seventeen religious Charles had sent to 'serve the Holy Sepulcher'.[108] A capitulary from 810 mentioned alms destined for the restoration of churches in Jerusalem.[109] In the late ninth century, Christian of Stavelot and the pilgrim monk Bernard both mentioned a specific house on the Mount of Olives, just outside of Jerusalem, that had been built under Charlemagne's direction. Despite the fact that Charlemagne's successors no longer patronized it, Charlemagne's foundation remained a popular stopping-point for Western pilgrims until the twelfth century, since the hostel was the only permanent Western presence in the city until the foundation of the Hospital of St John in 1055.[110]

---

[104] *Annales regni Francorum*, ed. Friedrich Krauze, MGH SRG (Hanover, 1895), 6: 108, 117, 123, respectively.

[105] On the initial embassy, see *Annales regni*, ed. Krauze, 112. Several embassies were also sent to the Mount of Olives during the reign of Louis the Pious, suggesting that even though Charles's interest in the monastery did not begin until about the last ten years of his reign, it continued well into the reign of his son. On the contacts between the Mount of Olives and Charlemagne, including the spurious letter addressed from this monastery to the Frankish emperor, see the good summary in Daniel F. Callahan, 'The Problem of "Filioque" and the Letter from the Pilgrim Monks of the Mount of Olives to Pope Leo III and Charlemagne: Is the Letter Another Forgery by Ademar of Chabannes?' *Revue Bénédictine,* 102 (1992), 81–8.

[106] See Runciman 'Charlemagne', 612–15; and Moshe Gil, *A History of Palestine, 634–1099*, tr. Ethel Broido (Cambridge, 1992), 285–7. Klaus Bieberstein notes that Charlemagne's foundations were likely begun during his lifetime but completed during the reign of Louis the Pious. See Bieberstein, 'Der Gesandtenaustausch', 161–9.

[107] 'Dum vestrae potentiae gloriosam sublimitatem non periturae Chaldeis flammis Hierusalem imperare scio, sed perpetuae pacis civitatem pretioso sanguine Christi constructam regere atque gubernare.' Alcuin, *Ad Carolum regem*, MGH Epist. 4: 327.

[108] *Commemoratorium de casis Dei vel monasteriis*, in *Itinera Hierosoloymitana et descriptiones Terrae sanctae: Bellis sacris anteriora*, ed. Titus Tobler and Augustus Molinier, *Publications de la Société de l'Orient Latin*, 2 vols. (Geneva, 1879), i. 301–5.

[109] *Capitulare missorum Aquisgranense primum*, MGH Capit. 18, nos. 64, 154.

[110] Christian of Stavelot, *Expositio in Matthaeum Evangelistum*, PL 106: 1486; Bernard the Monk, *A Journey in the Holy Places and Babylon*, in *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, tr. John Wilkinson (Warminster, 1977), 265–6. Colin Morris argues that the house Christian and Bernard were referring to was a hostel and attached community of nuns located on the Mount of Olives. See Morris, *Sepulchre of Christ*, 96. On the house's survival, see Aryeh Graboïs, *Le Pèlerin occidental en Terre Sainte au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1998), 32, 134.

For later authors, one of the most important contacts between East and West can be found in the *ARF* entry for the year 800, just before Charles's coronation in Rome. The *ARF* recorded that emissaries from the patriarch of Jerusalem arrived in Rome carrying gifts for Charles, including 'mementos of the Lord's Sepulcher and Calvary, as well to the city and mountain [which is unspecified] along with a relic of the true cross'.[111] Most scholars shrug off these gifts as purely honorary. Steven Runciman's seminal article on Charlemagne's historic contacts with the East points out, quite rightly, that Einhard's *Vita Karoli* does not even mention them.[112] The symbolic meaning of the *vexillum* and *claves*, especially for later writers, however, was well understood. Essentially, the patriarch was making Charlemagne the symbolic defender of the Holy Places and transferring his allegiance from the emperor in the East to the great Charles.[113]

Einhard's biography of the great Frankish ruler made this symbolic transfer of power from East to West even clearer. Einhard almost certainly knew the *ARF* but was no slavish imitator—not of the *ARF* nor of Suetonius—and he was writing at a significantly different time, now defending (indeed, creating) Charlemagne's legacy.[114] Einhard's work supplemented his sources, offering a distinct but not necessarily competing version of events, thus counting on his audience to have been familiar with sources such as the *ARF* (as he himself was). Versions of how Charlemagne took possession of the East 'accumulated' to create a much richer picture.[115] So, it may not be surprising that, although Einhard seems to deviate from the *ARF* account in detail, he ended up enhancing it in overall effect. Einhard omitted the patriarch of Jerusalem and portrayed the Byzantines as little more than petty and paranoid, particularly in the wake of Charles's coronation. The source of Charlemagne's power over the East instead derived from his close friendship with the Caliph Harun al-Rashid. These two were 'on such friendly terms that Harun valued [Charlemagne's] goodwill more than the approval of all the other kings . . . in the entire world, and considered that he alone was worthy of being honoured and propitiated with gifts'. Already ruling to the farthest reaches of the West, Charlemagne sends an embassy to the Caliph, asking Harun if they might deliver the Frankish ruler's offerings for Jerusalem and the Holy

---

[111] 'Eadem die Zacharias cum duobus monachis, uno de monte Oliveti, altero de sancto Saba, de Oriente reversus Romam venit; quos patriarcha Hierosolimitanus cum Zacharia ad regem misit, qui benedictionis causa claves sepulchri Dominici ac loci calvariae, claves etiam civitatis et montis cum vexillo detulerunt.' *Annales regni*, ed. Krauze, 112. Compare translation with *Royal Frankish Annals*, in *Carolingian Chronicles*, tr. Bernhard Walter Scholz (Ann Arbor, 1970), 80–1. I have modified Scholz's tr., based on Colin Morris's recent reassessment of the nature of these gifts. Morris suggests *vexillum* should be read to mean a relic from the cross (as in the liturgical phrase *vexillum crucis*) and that the *claves* ought to be understood as *eulogiae* (sacred gifts or contact relics, often stones or other mementoes from the holy places). See Morris, *Sepulchre of Christ*, 94–5.

[112] Runciman, 'Charlemagne', 610–11. Nor do the *Annals of Lorsch*. On the program behind that set of annals, see Roger Collins, 'Charlemagne's Imperial Coronation and the Annals of Lorsch', in Joanna Story (ed.), *Charlemagne: Empire and Society* (Manchester, 2005), 52–70.

[113] Robert Folz, *The Coronation of Charlemagne: 25 December 800*, tr. J. E. Anderson (London, 1974), 142–3; Sidney Griffith, 'What has Constantinople to Do with Jerusalem? Palestine in the Ninth Century: Byzantine Orthodoxy and the World of Islam', in Leslie Brubaker (ed.), *Byzantium in the Ninth Century: Dead or Alive?* (Brookfield, Vt., 1998), 193; Collins, *Charlemagne*, 146; and Morris, *Sepulchre of Christ*, 93–4.

[114] On the dating of the *Vita Karoli*, see n. 11 above.

[115] On Morrissey and the logic of accumulation, see above, n. 53.

Sepulcher. Impressed, Harun acceded to their request and 'not only allowed them to complete their mission, but even handed over that sacred and salvific place, so that it might be considered as under Charles's control'.[116] Although the source of the gifts differed between the *ARF* and *Vita Karoli*, the effect was the same. The Holy Places had again been symbolically given to Charlemagne, this time simply as a token of friendship. Read together, as perhaps they should, the *Vita Karoli* and *ARF* reinforced one another, telling the same story.

Because of Notker the Stammerer's familiarity with Einhard's *Vita Karoli*, it should be no surprise that the transfer of power in the Holy Land as described in the late ninth-century *Gesta Karoli Magni* follows Einhard in originating with Harun's magnanimity. But whereas Einhard said that Charles was only given jurisdiction over the Holy Sepulcher, Notker notes that Harun was so impressed by the hunting prowess of some German dogs and their Frankish masters that he recognized Charlemagne's superiority as a ruler. Thus Harun decided to offer Charles some gift befitting his stature, finally proclaiming that he deserved the entire Holy Land—'the land which was promised to Abraham and shown to Joshua'. As a pragmatic gesture, given the distance that separated the two rulers, Harun would remain the land's caretaker on behalf of Charles.[117] These must have been impressive dogs. Notker emphasized this transfer of power later in his narrative when he reminded his dedicatee (Charles the Fat) that Charles's father (Louis the German) had instituted a tax dedicated to freeing Christians living in the Holy Land, 'in view of the former dominion exercised over them by your great-grandfather Charles and by your grandfather Lewis the Pious'.[118]

Notker may not have been entirely original in his claims but, again like Einhard, Notker was clearly no slavish imitator. This complicated relationship among our texts should make us remember that sources of the Charlemagne legend are indeed in debt to those that preceded them but, at the same time, should be regarded as individual documents, products of a particular time and place, possessed of their own particular concerns.[119] Notker had the tendency to elide past and present to comment on current politics and so his concern for the East might mirror Charles the Fat's, who would later receive a letter from Patriarch Elias of Jerusalem, in which the patriarch asked for money to help rebuild churches in the East.[120] Nonetheless, the *Gesta Karoli Magni* is its own document and acts out a complicated conversation with texts like the *ARF* and *Vita Karoli*. Those reading Notker would likely know how these earlier sources had made more limited claims about Charlemagne's sovereignty in Jerusalem but those same readers would also realize how the *Gesta Karoli Magni* echoed and enhanced those claims by expanding the scope of Charlemagne's power.[121] From what most likely was regarded as an honorary gift recorded in the *ARF*, to jurisdiction over Jerusalem in Einhard, to possession of the whole Holy Land and servitude of the Islamic Caliph in Notker, the legends associated with Charlemagne's power over the East kept 'accumulating'. Within just a few generations, the East had become just another conquest—its integration into Charlemagne's empire such a point of common knowledge that many sources seemed to accept Charlemagne's power over the Holy Land as incontrovertible fact.

---

[116] 'Cum Aaron rege Persarum . . . talem habuit in amicitia concordiam, ut is gratiam eius omnium, qui in toto orbe terrarum erant, regum . . . amicitiae praeponeret solumque illum honore ac munificentia sibi colendum iudicaret. Ac proinde, cum legati eius, quos cum donariis ad sacratissimum Domini ac salvatoris nostri locumque resurrectionis miserat, ad eum venissent et ei domini sui voluntatem indicassent, non solum quae petebantur fieri permisit, sed etiam sacrum illum et salutarem locum, ut illius potestati adscriberetur, concessit.' Einhard, *Vita*, ed. Pertz, 19. English tr. from Einhard, *Vita*, tr. Dutton, 26. See also the thoughtful comments in Latowsky, 'Foreign Embassies', 25–57; who suggests, among other things, that moving the giver of the gifts from the patriarch of Jerusalem to Harun, the *rex Persarum*, was a classicizing move on Einhard's part.

[117] '[Harun says:] "Quid igitur ei [Charles] possum condignum rependere, qui ita me curavit honorare? Si terram promissam Abrahae et exhibitam Iosuae dedero illi, propter longinquitatem locorum non potest eam defensare a barbaris . . . ; dabo quidem illam in eius potestatem et ego advocatus eius ero super eam."' Notker, *Gesta*, ed. Haefele, 64. On the relationship between Einhard and Notker, see above at n. 19.

[118] 'Ad huius rei testimonium totam ciebo Germaniam, quae temporibus gloriosissimi patris vestri Hludowici de singulis hobis regalium possessionum singulos denarios reddere compulsa est, qui darentur ad redemptionem christianorum terram promissionis incolentium, hoc pro antiqua dominatione atavi vestri Karoli avique vestri Hludowici ab eo miserabiliter implorantium.' Notker, *Gesta*, ed. Haefele, 65. English tr. from Notker, *Gesta*, tr. Thorpe, 149.

More often than not, references to this transfer of power were brief and derived from either the *ARF* or Einhard's *Vita Karoli*. Both of these texts were just about everywhere in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries (Figure 1.1), with the *ARF* the primary basis for historical knowledge of Charlemagne's reign and the *Vita Karoli* offering supplemental information.[122] In the late ninth century, the anonymous Saxon Poet, following Einhard (with some modifications), recorded that Harun granted (*ascribo*, *concedo*) Jerusalem and an elephant to Charlemagne in 802. In the early eleventh century, the *Annales Quedlinburgenses* echoed this account of Harun's gift. Around 1100, Hugh of Fleury also used Einhard to write that Harun granted Charlemagne rights over the Holy Sepulcher but added that Charlemagne also took possession of the monastery of St Mary's Latin in Jerusalem. In 1032, the *Annales Altahenses maiores* embellished the *ARF*'s list of gifts given to Charlemagne by the patriarch of Jerusalem to enhance its claims about a transfer of authority from East to West.[123]

---

[119] McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past*, esp. 67–81.

[120] Jean Flori gives the date of this letter as 888. It is printed in Luc D'Achery, *Spicilegium, sive, Collectio veterum aliquot scriptorum qui in Galliae bibliothecis delituerant*, 3 vols. (Farnborough, 1967–8), i. 363–4; and discussed in Paul Riant, 'Inventaire critique des lettres historiques des croisades', *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, 1 (1881), 26–31; and Jean Flori, *L'Islam et la fin des temps* (Paris, 2007), 226. On Notker and the East but without mention of this letter, see Latowsky, 'Imaginative Possession', 37–58. On Notker's tendency to use his history to comment on the current situation, see MacLean, *Kingship and Politics*, 213–18.

[121] There is a vast literature now on how texts were read in the early Middle Ages. Specifically related to Notker, see Innes, 'Memory, Orality and Literacy', 12–18; Siegrist, *Herrscherbild*, 118–19; and MacLean, *Kingship and Politics*, 154.

[122] Tischler points to the production of 'Charles Compendia' in the centuries after Charlemagne's death, the shorter containing the *ARF*, Einhard, and Thegan, the longer containing the *ARF*, Einhard, and Notker the Stammerer. See Tischler, *Einharts Vita Karoli*, 592–893. On the distribution of the *ARF*, see the brief discussion in McKitterick, *History and Memory*, 111–13. On the distribution of Einhard, see Tischler, *Einharts Vita Karoli*, 20–63.

[123] Poeta Saxo, *Annalium*, ed. de Winterfeld, bk. 4, ll. 82–91; and *Annales Quedlinburgenses*, 40. Interestingly, although the poet knew the *ARF*, he nonetheless omits the emissary from the patriarch of Jerusalem and adds Einhard's version of the transfer of power (from Harun) to the year 802. On the

Other texts show no perceptible connection to previous ones, apparently seeing no need to justify their claims. The mid-eleventh-century *Annales* of Saint-Amand (in Flanders) said—just in passing—that Charlemagne went to Saxony in the year 771. 'This is the Emperor Charles, son of Pippin the Short, who gained sovereignty [over all lands] all the way to Jerusalem.'[124] Similar assertions are made in the aforementioned late eleventh-century *Vita Gerardi abbatis Broniensis* and contemporary *Translatio sancti Servatii*, as well as the early twelfth-century *Annales Nordhumbranis* and its contemporary *Vita sancti Willibrordi*.

Sometimes references to Charles's dominion over the Holy Land were more elaborate. In the first half of the tenth century, the monastery of Reichenau, already familiar as the source of the dream visions critical of Charlemagne from early in Louis the Pious's reign, added yet another layer to the Charlemagne legend. Reichenau had possessed a relic of the Holy Blood since about 925 but an anonymous monk at the abbey composed a *translatio* to accompany the relic later in that same century.[125] In the time of the 'most glorious emperor Charles', Azan, the prefect of Jerusalem and an admirer of Charlemagne, sent legates to Aachen, asking if Azan could meet with Charles. The two sets of legates met on Corsica, where Azan's gave Charlemagne's an ampula of the blood of Christ, a little cross reliquary containing a fragment of the True Cross, the crown of thorns, a nail from the Cross, more pieces of the Cross, a memento of the Holy Sepulcher, and many other riches. Charles's legates brought the relics to the church of St Anastasius in Sicily, to which Charles himself journeyed, personally walking the last fifty miles 'in his bare feet', in order to collect the relics. He then dispersed them to various monasteries throughout the empire, the Holy Blood and cross reliquary finally making their way (through several intermediaries) to Reichenau in the tenth century.[126]

One must concede that this *translatio* is a novel elaboration of how Charlemagne came to acquire Reichenau's christological relics. Never before had Charlemagne's contact in Jerusalem traveled to the West. Never before had Charlemagne been a sea-farer as he became in going to Sicily. Yet, the text is still heavily dependent on earlier Carolingian sources, with the core of the narrative of *Translatio sanguinis* probably deriving from an elision of two separate entries in the *ARF* dealing with a

---

sources for the poem generally, see Jürgen Bohne, *Der Poeta Saxo in der historiographischen Tradition des 8.–10. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt, 1965); and Alfred Ebenbauer, *Carmen Historicum: Untersuchungen zur historischen Dichtung im karolingischen Europa* (Vienna, 1978), 199–211. Hugh of Fleury, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, MGH SS 9: 361. Hugh copies Einhard's account verbatim but simply adds 'sed etiam sacrum sanctae Mariae Latinae locum'. *Annales Altahenses Maiores*, ed. Edmund L. B. A. B. Oefele, MGH SRG (Hanover, 1891), 4: 4. This text is discussed in great depth in Ch. 4, below.

[124] 'Hic est Karolus imperator, filius Pipini parvi, qui acquisivit regnum usque Hierosolimis.' *Annales Elnonenses minores*, MGH SS 5: 18. The text seems to have been written *c.*1064.

[125] On the dating of the relic and text, see Dorothea Walz, 'Karl der Grosse: Ein verhinderter Seefahrer. Die Reichenauer Heiligbluterzählung aus dem zehnten Jahrhundert', in Franz-Reiner Erkens (ed.), *Karl der Grosse und das Erbe der Kulturen* (Berlin, 2001), 234, 236. The text itself is found in a liturgical manuscript from the 10th cent. and in three later copies. It did, however, begin to travel outside of the monastery in the 11th cent. after it was included in the chronicles of Marianus Scotus and Sigebert of Gembloux. See Walz, 'Karl der Grosse', 234 n. 1; and Folz, *Souvenir*, 24.

[126] *Translatio sanguinis Domini*, MGH SS 4: 447–9.

prefect of Huesca named Azan and the discovery of the Holy Blood at Mantua.[127] Moreover, the narrative's elaborate anecdote sits squarely within a conception of Charlemagne's Golden Age common to other contemporary religious houses. Charlemagne's possession of the relics authenticated them and his role in their transfer legitimized a monastery's claim to those relics. By facilitating the relics' transfer from East to West, Charlemagne initiated Reichenau's own Golden Age and facilitated God's special blessing on the monastery.[128] In addition, the *Translatio sanguinis* depicts a close, deferential relationship between the prefect of Jerusalem and Charles. Azan looked beyond the Byzantines as if they were not even there. Charlemagne was the emperor Azan admired, the man he wished to impress, the protector he desired.

The prolific early eleventh-century forger Ademar of Chabannes also based his version of Charlemagne's legendary relationship with the East on the *ARF*. Although Ademar copied the *ARF*'s account of the patriarch's embassy in 800 verbatim in his *Chronicon*, he elsewhere invented documents to supplement the legend. In the entry for the year 808, the *ARF* stated that Byzantine monks at St Sabas in Jerusalem accused Frankish monks on the Mount of Olives of heresy because they followed Western customs. In 809, a letter arrived from one of the Frankish monks about the dispute, in response to which Charles called a council together to discuss the problem (the *Filioque* controversy). Ademar forged both the monk's letter and a letter by Pope Leo III in response to its arrival. Both letters made some assumptions.[129] The letters assumed that their reader already knew Ademar's *Chronicon* (or the *ARF*), hence the patriarch's gifts and Charlemagne's avowed dominion over Jerusalem, for both letters depended for their meaning upon the legitimacy of the monk's appeal to Charlemagne for aid. The monk's letter consistently implied Charles's status as a defender of orthodoxy and appealed to his actions as precedents. Pope Leo's letter to Charlemagne exhorted him to intervene on behalf of the monks because Charles, as the defender of orthodoxy, had it within his power to make peace among all of his subjects.[130] Both the Frankish monks in Jerusalem and Pope Leo recognized Charlemagne as their temporal and spiritual protector. As with the *Translatio sanguinis*, no one mentions the Caliph, the Byzantine emperor, or the patriarch of Jerusalem. Even the pope defers to Charlemagne. The letters implied that all Christians East and West should respect Charlemagne's authority, even in theological matters, presumably because he was their emperor.

---

[127] The *Translatio sanguinis* is often regarded as a step along the way to the legend of Charlemagne's journey to the Holy Land. For example, Musca, *Carlo Magno*, 75; and Walz, 'Karl', 244. This conclusion misses something essential to the legend's development, which should become clear below. For similarities to the *ARF*, see the entry for 799, which records that Azan, the prefect of Huesca, sent legates with keys to his city to Charles. The entry for 804 notes that Charlemagne is associated with Mantua's discovery of a Holy Blood relic. *Annales regni*, ed. Krauze, 108, 119, respectively.

[128] Walz, 'Karl', 239–43.

[129] On the *Filioque* issue and the forged letters, see Callahan, 'Problem of "Filioque"', 75–134.

[130] Ibid. 132–4.

Here, Ademar, much like the *Translatio sanguinis*, has created something new, yet not new. The specific contours of the interaction between Charlemagne, Pope Leo III, and the monks on the Mount of Olives may have been invented by Ademar in the early eleventh century but the background to this exchange was painted with words stolen from earlier Carolingian sources. The *ARF*, Einhard, Notker, the *Translatio sanguinis*, Ademar, *et al.* shared the same general understanding of Charlemagne's Golden Age. Charlemagne and the Franks were the supreme power in West and East. Each source owed a debt to that which chronologically came before but each reimagined the material in significant ways. But as much as any of the sources discussed in this chapter reaffirmed, or even expanded upon, Charlemagne's legendary dominion over the East, none strayed too far from their Carolingian progenitors. The transfer of power from East to West is indirect and does not occur directly between rulers. The next chapter, however, will show that this was not always the case, as it introduces the three major sources of Charlemagne's journey to the East that predate 1100.

2

The Narratives of Charlemagne's Journey to the East before 1100

Benedict, a tenth-century monk of the central Italian monastery of St Andrew on Monte Soratte, was the first to claim that Charlemagne had journeyed beyond Europe's borders. Benedict's tale, however, seems to have fallen on deaf ears. The Capetian *Descriptio qualiter Karolus Magnus* and the *Historia* of the Aquitanian abbey of Charroux, both late eleventh-century creations, conversely enjoyed substantial afterlives. The *Descriptio qualiter* became central to later royal histories, particularly those emanating from Saint-Denis and the court of Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa (1152–90). Charroux's *Historia* traveled north and spread widely after it was incorporated into Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* in the late twelfth century. These three texts are, to my knowledge, the only pre-twelfth-century discussions of Charlemagne's journey to the East that consist of more than a line or two.

This chapter will introduce and contextualize these three narratives. We will discover as much as possible about their respective authors, their provenances, and their subsequent transmission. For example, both Charroux's *Historia* and the *Descriptio qualiter* speak of relic translations from Jerusalem to the West, both texts attempt to link themselves to the Frankish monarchy and the composition of both can be linked in some way to the reign of the Frankish king Philip I (1060–1108). Yet, as we will see, there are no substantial links between any of our three sources. We must then wonder if these pre-twelfth-century narratives of Charlemagne's journey to the East have anything at all to do with each other.

A DONATION TO ST ANDREW ON MONTE SORATTE: *C.*970

In the second half of the tenth century, a monk named Benedict at the Benedictine house of St Andrew on Monte Soratte (about twenty-five miles north of Rome) composed a history of his monastery from the time of its legendary foundation under Constantine (306–37) to the reign of Otto II (967–83). The first known account of Charlemagne's journey to the Holy Land, written more than

150 years after his death, lies here, in a brief section of Benedict's much longer *Chronicon*.[1]

This earliest version of Charlemagne's journey reads more like a prolonged meditation on chapter 16 of Einhard's *Vita Karoli* than a comprehensive new narrative. It begins as would a typical account of an early medieval pilgrimage, encompassing some of the sites most sacred to tenth-century Latin Christendom—Monte Gargano,[2] Jerusalem, Alexandria,[3] Constantinople, and Rome. Charlemagne first gathered his army before proceeding to Monte Gargano, where he received the blessing of Pope Leo. Leaving Leo, Charles then journeyed down the length of Italy to Brindisi and sailed for the Holy Land. Upon hearing of Charles's arrival in the East, the Islamic Caliph escorted Charles to the Holy Sepulcher, so that Charlemagne could endow the holy site with gold, jewels, and a banner. Apparently impressed by his magnanimity, and since they enjoyed such good relations, the Caliph immediately 'begged that the manger and sepulcher of our Lord be conceded into Charles' power'. Before parting, the two rulers visited Alexandria together, where men of the two faiths mingled together happily 'as if they were brothers'.[4]

During his return to the West, Charles first stopped at Constantinople, where the Greek emperors 'Nikephorus, Michael, and Leo, fearing that their imperial authority would be taken by Charles, were very suspicious [of the Frankish king]'.[5] Nevertheless, Charles assuaged their fears by making a pact of friendship with the Byzantines, who rewarded him with gold, jewels, and relics. Charles then returned to Rome, where,

---

[1] The most likely date of composition is 968. Johannes Kunsemüller, 'Die Chronik Benedikts von San Andrea' (Ph.D. diss., Erlangen/Nürenberg, 1961), 90. The only surviving manuscript was made at the monastery of San Paolo Fuori le Mura, outside of Rome. See Matthias M. Tischler, *Einharts Vita Karoli: Studien zur Entstehung, Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 2 vols. (Hanover, 2001), i. 469–70. Benedict's entire text can be found in *Il Chronicon di Benedetto: Monaco di S. Andrea del Soratte e il Libellus de Imperatoria Potestate in urbe Roma*, ed. Giuseppe Zucchetti, FISI (Rome, 1920), lv. Unless otherwise noted, however, all subsequent citations will refer to Benedict of Monte Soratte, *Chronicon*, MGH SS 3. The MGH version is more widely available and only omits parts copied from Einhard's *Vita Karoli*.

[2] Monte Gargano, in Southern Italy, had been a major cult center for St Michael the Archangel since at least the 6th cent. During the 10th cent., its illustrious visitors included Odo of Cluny, John of Gorze, William of Volpiano, and Emperor Otto III. See the short summary in Daniel F. Callahan, 'The Cult of St. Michael the Archangel and the "Terrors of the Year 1000"', in *Apocalyptic Year*, 182–5.

[3] Alexandria was an early Christian patriarchate and center of Christian learning in the East. The city was included in the well-known early medieval pilgrim accounts of Adomnan, Bede, and Bernard the Monk. Bede's account from *c.*702 (which is a reworking of Adomnan) begins at Jerusalem, moves to Alexandria, and then to Constantinople. Bernard's account of 870 has him traveling to Rome to receive the blessing of the Pope, then to Monte Gargano, then Alexandria, then Jerusalem, and back to Rome. He also comments on the 'excellent relations' between the Christians and pagans. It seems likely that Benedict was aware of both Bede's and Bernard's accounts. All three (Adomnan, Bede, and Bernard) are in *Jerusalem Pilgrims Before the Crusades*, tr. John Wilkinson (Warminster, 2002).

[4] 'Sed etiam presepe Domini et sepulchrum que petierant Aáron rex, potestatis eius ascribere concessit. . . . Vertente igitur, prudentissimus rex cum Aáron rex usque in Alexandria pervenit. Sicque letificantes Francis et Aggarenis, quasi consanguineis esset.' Benedict, *Chronicon*, 710.

[5] 'Naciforus, Michahel, it Leo, formidantes quasi imperium ei eripere vellet, valde sub sceptu.' Ibid. 711.

> setting the city in order, Charles gave everything, all Pentapolis and Ravenna up to the borders of Tuscany, into the apostle's power. He gave thanks to God and the prince of the apostles, and accepted the apostolic blessing, and was pronounced 'Augustus' by all the Roman people.

Before returning to Francia and bringing this section of Benedict's *Chronicon* to a close, Leo and the Emperor Charles visited Monte Soratte, where the monks happily accepted a relic of St Andrew, which, Benedict admitted, the monks currently cannot find.[6]

This section of the *Chronicon* concentrates on the actions of the ruler and the proper exercise of political power—the rule of Italy (mostly Rome) and the Franks' place in that rule. The pilgrimage portion of the *Chronicon* has Charlemagne displaying his piety by visiting two of the holiest sites in Christendom, Monte Gargano and Jerusalem. The return portion of the narrative (after the completion of his pilgrimage) allows Charlemagne to exhibit his temporal power.[7] At Alexandria, the Caliph showers Charles with gifts and they part as equals. At Constantinople, Charlemagne suffers Byzantine paranoia but displays his superiority and concludes a pact of friendship with the distrustful Greeks. Finally, Charlemagne's acclamation as Augustus in Rome makes his temporal dominance explicit. He is a true Augustus, an image painted using Einhard's template, displaying concern for Christians in East and West, unlike the petty pretenders in Constantinople.

Not much is known either about the author of this text or the cluster of monasteries on Monte Soratte. We only know the author's name because he inserted it into a poem, originally written by Louis the Pious's librarian Gerward, that Benedict appended to the end of his discussion of Charlemagne. Given his use of language and his concern for the political machinations around Rome though, Benedict probably came from a Frankish-influenced region of northern Italy.[8]

One of the few things we can be certain about is that Benedict arrived at Monte Soratte long after the monasteries' foundations. A monastery dedicated to St Sylvester had supposedly existed on the mountain since the time of Constantine but was destroyed under Julian the Apostate (361–3) and rebuilt by Pope Damasus I (366–84). This is almost certainly not true.[9] Regardless, four interdependent Benedictine monasteries lay on Monte Soratte by the end of the eighth century. The original late antique monastery was dedicated to St Sylvester, while houses dedicated to St Victor, St Stephen, and St Andrew were all built around 746, when Carloman (Charlemagne's uncle) retired to the mountain.[10] Not long afterwards, the papacy transferred Monte Soratte to Pepin the

---

[6] 'Ordinatâque Urbe, et omnia Pentápoli, et Ravenne finibus seu Tuscie, omnia in apostolici postestaibe concessit. Gratias agens Deo et apostolorum principi, et benedictione apostolica accepta, et a cuncto populo Romano augusto est appellatus.' Ibid. 711.

[7] David Blanks reminds us that pilgrimage in the Middle Ages was a one-way journey. The homecoming and reception of the pilgrim are post-medieval conceits. David R. Blanks, 'Islam and the West in the Age of the Pilgrim', in *Year 1000*, 257.

[8] Kunsemüller, 'Chronik', 63–4, 67.

[9] *Il Chronicon di Benedetto*, ed. Zucchetti, p. x.

[10] Giuseppe Tomassetti, *La Campagna Romana: Antica, Medioevale e Moderna*, 4 vols. (Rome, 1976), iii. 409; *Il Chronicon di Benedetto*, ed. Zucchetti, pp. xi–xii. On Carloman, see *Annales regni*

Short (Charlemagne's father) as a way-station for pilgrims to Rome and a base for Frankish monks. Charlemagne himself visited the monasteries in 781 and also offered gifts to them on two later occasions. The monasteries suffered Saracen raids in the time of Alberic ('prince of the Romans', d. 954) but he restored and reformed them by *c.*946. This quickly led to a monastic resurgence on Monte Soratte, especially under Benedict's abbot Leo. Benedict himself seems to have benefited from this monastic renewal, as the monasteries of Monte Soratte appear to have had a good library and archive, as well as an active scriptorium.[11]

Benedict of St Andrew's *Chronicon* does not appear to have been widely read and only exists in one MS, roughly contemporary to the text's composition. Although the monasteries on Monte Soratte were intended (and likely continued) to be way-stations for northern pilgrims going to Rome, their influence quickly waned after the millennium. The Ottonians visited the imperial castle at Paterno just at the base of Monte Soratte on several occasions but no evidence exists to show they actually visited the monasteries themselves. Landuin, one of St Bruno of Querfurt's companions, was buried on Monte Soratte but the monasteries otherwise disappeared from the record for a full century thereafter, next appearing when Emperor Henry V (1106–25) captured them in 1111.[12]

THE FOUNDATION OF CHARROUX: *C.*1095

The Aquitanian abbey of Charroux had a vibrant independent tradition about Charlemagne's legendary journey to the East, which had little in common with earlier Carolingian texts. The abbey's cartulary actually contains two accounts of its foundation, sitting literally next to each other.[13] Charroux's earliest foundation narrative, called the *Privilegium*, likely dates to the middle of the eleventh century. The later account, the *Historia*, dates to the end of the eleventh century and tells of Charlemagne's pilgrimage to Jerusalem.[14]

Francorum, ed. Friedrich Krauze, MGH SRG (Hanover, 1895), 6: 7; Einhard, *Vita Karoli*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH SRG (Hanover, 1911), 25: 4.

[11] Josef Semmler, 'Karl der Grosse und das fränkische Mönchtum', in KdG ii. 276; *Il Chronicon di Benedetto*, ed. Zucchetti, pp. xiii–xv; Tomassetti, *Campagna Romana*, 410; and Kunsemüller, 'Chronik', 72, 76–8. The codex containing his *Chronicon*—along with references in the text itself—suggests that Benedict knew Scripture (including portions of the apocrypha), Sulpicius Severus' *Vita Martini*, Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, some works of Gregory the Great, the *Liber Pontificalis*, Paul the Deacon's *History of the Lombards*, Einhard's *Vita Karoli*, as well as the *Annales regni Francorum* (*ARF*). See *Il Chronicon di Benedetto*, ed. Zucchetti, pp. xxii–xxiii.

[12] Otto III issued a number of charters from Paterno in 1001 and 1002, and eventually died there on 23 Jan. 1002. See Matthew Gabriele, 'Otto III, Charlemagne, and Pentecost A.D. 1000: A Reconsideration Using Diplomatic Evidence', in *Year 1000*, 129 n. 75. On Landuin and Henry V, see Tomassetti, *Campagna Romana*, 410.

[13] The cartulary is *Liber de Const.* 1–85. See *Chartes et documents pour servir a l'historire de l'Abbaye de Charroux*, ed. D. P. de Monsabert, Archives Historiques du Poitou, 58 vols. (Poitiers, 1910), xxxix, pp. iv–vii.

[14] The title is mine. In the *Liber de Constitutione*, it exists in two versions. The first, on pp. 7–9, is essentially a later summary of the second, found at *Liber de Const.* 29–41. See the discussion of the *Privilegium* in Ch. 1, above.

The *Historia* claims that Charlemagne decided to found a monastery dedicated to Christ while visiting Aquitaine, so he gave many rich gifts to the new foundation, including a piece of the True Cross. Despite Charles's generous gifts, Pope Leo advised the Frankish ruler to go to Jerusalem so that he might procure more fitting relics for the abbey. Thus, Charlemagne gathered his army and departed for the Holy Land. The trip was uneventful and, in fact, unnarrated. Upon reaching the Holy City, the patriarch along with his flock allowed Charles an *adventus*, meeting him outside the city's walls to present him with keys to its gates and show their submission to him. Then Charles entered the city as a penitent, 'took off his royal garments and, his feet bare, made sure to hasten to the Holy Sepulcher'.[15] After fasting for three days, Charlemagne entered the Holy Sepulcher where, during the consecration of the host during mass, the right hand of God appeared, placing the Holy Virtue (Christ's Foreskin) in a chalice upon the altar. The Christ-child then addressed Charles directly, saying, 'Most noble prince, take up this small present with veneration, as it is of My true body and blood.'[16] His goal achieved, Charles returned immediately to Charroux, where he handed the relic over to his new foundation and then disappeared from the narrative. The *Historia*, however, continues at some length, concerning itself with an extended summary of the miracles performed by the relic at Charroux and concluding with a specific miracle the author himself witnessed at a regional Aquitanian council held at the abbey in 1082.[17]

---

[15] The Roman imperial *adventus* later copied by the Carolingians (e.g. Charlemagne's entry into Rome in 800) ultimately derived from Christ's entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday. On the ritual generally, see Ernst H. Kantorowicz, 'The "King's Advent" and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina', in *Selected Studies* (Locust Valley, NY, 1965), 37–75; Peter Willmes, *Der Herrscher-'Adventus' im Kloster des Frühmittelalters* (Münich, 1976); Michael McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge, 1986); Geoffrey Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor: Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca, NY, 1992), 133–4; Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton, 2001), 37–44; and David A. Warner, 'Ritual and Memory in the Ottonian *Recht*: The Ceremony of *Adventus*', *Speculum,* 76 (2001), 258–60. cf. John 12: 12–19 and Matt. 21: 1–9. On Charlemagne's entry into Rome, see *Annales regni*, ed. Krauze, 110. Charlemagne's entry into Jerusalem can be found at *Liber de Const.* 31.

[16] 'Princeps . . . , nobilissime, munusculum hoc cum veneratione suscipe, quod ex mea vera carne et vero constat sanguine.' *Liber de Const.* 31. The identity of this Holy Virtue (*sanctissimam virtutem*) has been debated. Gisela Schwering-Illert has suggested that the relic was originally thought to be some unknown christological relic and only later came to be interpreted as the Holy Foreskin after 1082. Jean Cabanot echoed Schwering-Illert in suggesting that the Holy Virtue most likely had something to do with the eucharistic controversy of the 11th cent. and was not associated with the Foreskin until the 12th cent. Amy Remensnyder, however, reasons that the relic always possessed its phallic resonance and the design of Charroux's abbey church (which she dates to after 1047) reflected this fact. It seems reasonable to follow Remensnyder here in believing the Holy Virtue to have always been identified as the Holy Foreskin (though I differ from her dating of the design of the church), even if veneration of the Holy Foreskin did not become widespread until the late 11th cent. As Rachel Fulton has recently demonstrated, though devotion to Christ's humanity had never been absent during the Middle Ages, it began to gain a more universal currency around the turn of the first millennium and only accelerated thereafter. Gisela Schwering-Illert, *Die ehemalige französische Abteikirche Saint-Sauveur in Charroux (Vienne) in 11. und 12. Jh.: Ein Vorschlag zur Rekonstruktion und Deutung der romanischen Bauteile* (Ph.D. Diss., Bonn, 1963), 31–4; Jean Cabanot, 'Le Trésor des reliques de Saint-Sauveur de Charroux, centre et reflet de la vie spirituelle de l'abbaye', *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest et des Musées de Poitiers*, 4th ser. 16 (1981), 115–22; Amy G. Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France* (Ithaca, NY, 1995), 178 and n. 114; Rachel Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800–1200* (Columbia, 2002), especially 60–141.

Charroux was a Carolingian religious house. Founded by Count Roger of Limoges and his wife, Eufrasia, sometime between 769 and 789, Charroux had its rights and privileges confirmed by Charlemagne soon thereafter. Within just a few decades, the abbey had become one of the largest in the Carolingian world, with over eighty monks in residence.[18] One of those eighty was an illegitimate son of Charlemagne named Hugh, who became a deacon at Charroux before later becoming Louis the Pious's archchancellor. Benedict of Aniane may have reformed the abbey sometime in the early ninth century, but his personal involvement is contested. The abbey also enjoyed Louis's special patronage, apparently beginning when he was king in Aquitaine. Once he succeeded his father, Louis confirmed Charles's grant of immunity, gave Charroux the right to elect its own abbots in 815, then rewarded the foundation with land when it continued to support Louis and his wife Judith during the revolt of 830.[19] Later in the ninth century, the emperors Lothar (840–55) and Charles the Bald (840–77) confirmed Charroux's immunity. They were, however, the last kings to do so for two centuries.

Perhaps because of the abbey's alienation from royal power, the monastery turned to the papacy at this time, with Pope John VIII (872–82) being the first to place the monastery under Rome's protection.[20] Surprisingly, none of this 'protection' by royal and papal parchment helped the monks against the Vikings, who forced the monks to flee with their relics to Angoulême in 897.[21] In 989, the monastery reentered the record, when, in perhaps its greatest claim to fame, it hosted one of the first councils of the Peace of God.[22] About twenty-five years later, the duke of Aquitaine asked Saint-Savin-sur-Gartempe to reform Charroux, with

---

[17] *Liber de Const.* 38–41.

[18] Otto Gerhard Oexle, 'Le Monastère de Charroux au IX^e siècle', *Le Moyen Âge,* 76 (1970), 193–4, 197; Schwering-Illert, *Abteikirche*, 13; and Dom Jean Becquet, 'Deux prieurés de Charroux en Limousin: Rochechouart et Magnac-Laval', *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique du Limousin,* 123 (1995), 46.

[19] This Hugh was the brother of Drogo, archbishop of Metz. Oexle, 'Monastère', 194–9; Schwering-Illert, *Abteikirche*, 13, 17; DHGE 12: 540; Remensnyder, *Remembering*, 168. The diplomas can be found in *Liber de Const.* 11–20.

[20] Remensnyder, *Remembering*, 168.

[21] François Eygun, 'L'Abbaye de Charroux: Les Grandes Lignes de son histoire et de ses constructions', *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest et des Musées de Poitiers*, 4th ser. 10 (1969), 12.

[22] This 1 June council brought together the archbishop of Bordeaux, along with the bishops of Poitiers, Périgueux, Saintes, Angoulême, and Limoges, as well as numerous abbots and other ecclesiastics and a large number of laymen from throughout Poitou and the Limousin. Robert Favreau, 'Le Concile de Charroux de 989', *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest et des Musées de Poitiers*, 5th ser. 3 (1989), 213–17; Thomas Head, 'The Development of the Peace of God in Aquitaine (970–1005)', *Speculum,* 74 (1999), 666. We should note that Charroux in 989 was still an unimportant backwater—the site possibly being chosen as a convenient space situated between two feuding regional lords. See Christian Lauranson-Rosaz, 'Peace from the Mountains: The Auvergnat Origins of the Peace of God', in Thomas Head and Richard Landes (eds.), *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000* (Ithaca, NY, 1992), 129 n. 65.

Cluny providing an abbot at about the same time (in 1020).[23] Duke William V of Aquitaine (d. 1030) called another Peace council at Charroux in 1027/8, intended to stamp out a local heresy.[24] Later in the eleventh century, Popes Leo IX (1049–54) and Alexander II (1061–73) reaffirmed the papacy's protection of the monastery.[25] In 1077, King Philip I tried to re-establish a royal association with Charroux by invoking Charlemagne and Roger of Limoges in confirming the monastery in its rights and privileges.[26] The monks of Charroux used the occasion of another regional anti-heresy council held at the abbey in 1082 to celebrate the consecration of the narthex of the new church.[27] In 1085, Philip I issued another diploma for the abbey from Compiègne, confirming the donations of Robert of Péronne.[28] Finally, Pope Urban II visited Charroux in 1096 and confirmed its rights, privileges, and all its possessions.[29]

Despite the monastery having over eighty monks within twenty years of its foundation, the apex of Charroux's fame and power probably did not come until the late eleventh century. George Beech, looking at the abbacy of Abbot Fulcrad (abbot, 1077–95), has shed light on the vast scope of Charroux's growth at that time, which resulted in a number of late eleventh-century Flemish abbeys dependent upon Charroux, Charroux's hand in the refoundation of Bardney abbey in Lincolnshire, England, and even a grant of land to Charroux by King Henry I

---

[23] Schwering-Illert dates the reform by Saint-Savin to 1032 and Duke William VI. Robert-Henri Bautier says 1014, during the reign of William V. The earlier date seems more probable, as the new Romanesque abbey church was begun in 1017/18, shortly after Charroux's reform. Furthermore, it would appear probable that Charroux's council in 1027/8 would have been held there partially for Duke William to highlight his newly reformed abbey and check on its progress. See Schwering-Illert, *Abteikirche*, 19; R.-H. Bautier, 'Charroux', in *Lexicon des Mittelalters* (Münich, 1991); and Landes, *Relics*, 122. The arrival of the Cluniac abbot would lend credence to the earlier date for the monastery's reformation—with Cluny providing an appropriate abbot for the newly reformed abbey. On the dating of the abbey church, see below.

[24] The council is discussed (briefly) in Landes, *Relics*, 198–9.

[25] Schwering-Illert, *Abteikirche*, 20.

[26] *Recueil des actes de Philipe I^er^, roi de France (1059–1108)*, ed. M. Prou (Paris, 1908), no. 85. The diploma in question was enacted (*acta*) at Charroux. This, however, could mean that the diploma was written there—not necessarily that King Philip I was present. Georges Tessier notes that diplomas originally distinguished between the place where something was done (*acta*) and the moment when something was given (*data*) but in French royal diplomas the distinction began to disappear in the 11th cent. The chancellors for Philip I, in fact, uses *acta* almost exclusively, rendering certainty on this point impossible. Philip was in Poitiers in 1076 though, seeking help from the duke of Aquitaine against William the Conqueror, so it is conceivable (though not at all certain) that Philip would take a trip to one of the duke's most favored houses. On the significance of *acta*, see Harry Bresslau, *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre für Deutschland und Italien*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1958), ii. 446–50; Georges Tessier, *Diplomatique royale française* (Paris, 1962), 113, 223.

[27] *Chronicon sancti Maxenti Pictavensis*, in *Chroniques des églises d'Anjou*, ed. Paul Marchegay and Émile Mabille (Paris, 1869), 407. The council is also discussed in Eygun, 'Abbaye', 15; Cabanot, 'Le Trésor des reliques', 114–18. On the Holy Virtue and its arrival at Charroux, see n. 16 above.

[28] The diploma appears as 'false' in *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, ed. Prou, no. 175. Prou, however, explains that Philip I did confirm the donation of Robert to Charroux at Compiègne in 1085, but the diploma as it exists was substantially rewritten sometime in the 13th cent. See *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, ed. Prou, ccxiii–ccxix.

[29] Eygun, 'Abbaye', 15; Becquet, 'Prieurés', 47.

(1100–35) of England *c.*1102–5.[30] Yet Charroux's ascent can perhaps be best understood through the history of its magnificent (though now-ruined) Romanesque abbey church, which went through no less than six iterations in the tenth and eleventh centuries.[31]

The Vikings sacked the original monastery *c.*897 but the monks quickly rebuilt the church after they returned from Angoulême. This second church, however, burnt down in 988 and the third church suffered the same fate sometime before 1017/18. The fourth abbey church, modeled, with some modifications, on the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, became one of the largest in Western Christendom.[32] By 1100, this church's final, distinctive plan (Figure 2.1) combined a standard Latin cruciform-pattern with a large rotunda located at the crossing. The rotunda contained an octagon of pillars, a triple ambulatory, and a circular crypt beneath an elevated circular platform (within the octagon of pillars) holding the high altar.[33] The first iteration of this unique design (the fourth church) was completed in 1028, with its consecration most likely occurring in conjunction with the Peace council held at Charroux in that year. Although this church caught fire yet again, the monks were not ones to be discouraged. They finished rebuilding the now-expanded fifth church by 1047 so it could be consecrated by Pope Clement II (1046–7).[34] Just after its completion, the church was damaged once more by fire. The monks completed the narthex of the sixth church before 1082 and

---

[30] George Beech, 'Aquitanians and Flemings in the Refoundation of Bardney Abbey (Lincolnshire) in the Later Eleventh Century', *Haskins Society Journal,* 1 (1989), 75–86. A full list of Charroux's dependencies and when they came to the abbey, can be found in Schwering-Illert, *Abteikirche*, 35–40.

[31] The discussion that follows relies heavily on Schwering-Illert, *Abteikirche*, 47–51, 79–81.

[32] Beech, 'Aquitainians', 79. On the 11th-cent. trend of modeling churches on the Holy Sepulcher, see Robert Ousterhout, 'Loca Sancta and the Architectural Response to Pilgrimage', in Robert Ousterhout (ed.), *The Blessings of Pilgrimage* (Chicago, 1990), 108–24; Colin Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West: From the Beginning to 1600* (Oxford, 2005), esp. 149–64; and the brief discussion in Ch. 3, below.

[33] See Schwering-Illert, *Abteikirche*, 79–81, 97–101. Remensnyder hypothesizes that the church's rather odd final design was intended to recall Charroux's christological relics—the cruciform shape for their relic of the True Cross and the rotunda signifying the Holy Foreskin. This hypothesis, however, depends on the presence of the relic at Charroux in the early 11th cent. (*c.*1017/18) at the time of the initial construction of the abbey church (unless, as Remensnyder maintains, the church was substantially redesigned shortly after 1047). The relic, however, is not listed on an inventory from 1045 and most scholars consequently suggest that the Holy Virtue did not arrive at Charroux until the late 11th cent.—just before the council held there in 1082. The first datable mention of the relic occurs in a charter from the abbacy of Fulcrad (1077–95). The almost certain absence of the Holy Virtue at the time of the abbey church's design thus suggests that the rotunda was intended to evoke an image of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, and highlight the nexus between Charroux's dedication (to the Savior) and its christological relics (it possessed a relic of the True Cross since at least the 9th cent.). Cf. Remensnyder, *Remembering*, 177–8; Schwering-Illert, *Abteikirche*, 31–2; *Chartes et documents*, ed. de Monsabert, 95; L.-A. Vigneras, 'L'Abbaye de Charroux et la légende du pèlerinage de Charlemagne', *Romanic Review,* 32 (1941), 125–6. It is also possible that the rotunda further alludes to the chapel of St Mary at Aachen, heightening the Carolingian connections the monks so evidently wished to foster. On copies of the chapel at Aachen, see the examples in W. Eugene Kleinbauer, 'Charlemagne's Palace Chapel at Aachen and its Copies', *Gesta,* 4 (1965), 2–11.

[34] Later in the 11th cent., Charroux would claim that the consecration was performed by Pope Leo IX (1049–54). This claim emphasized the abbey's Carolingian connections—i.e. with Charlemagne through Pope Leo III (who, Charroux claimed in the 11th cent., had consecrated the initial church). See Schwering-Illert, *Abteikirche*, 50.

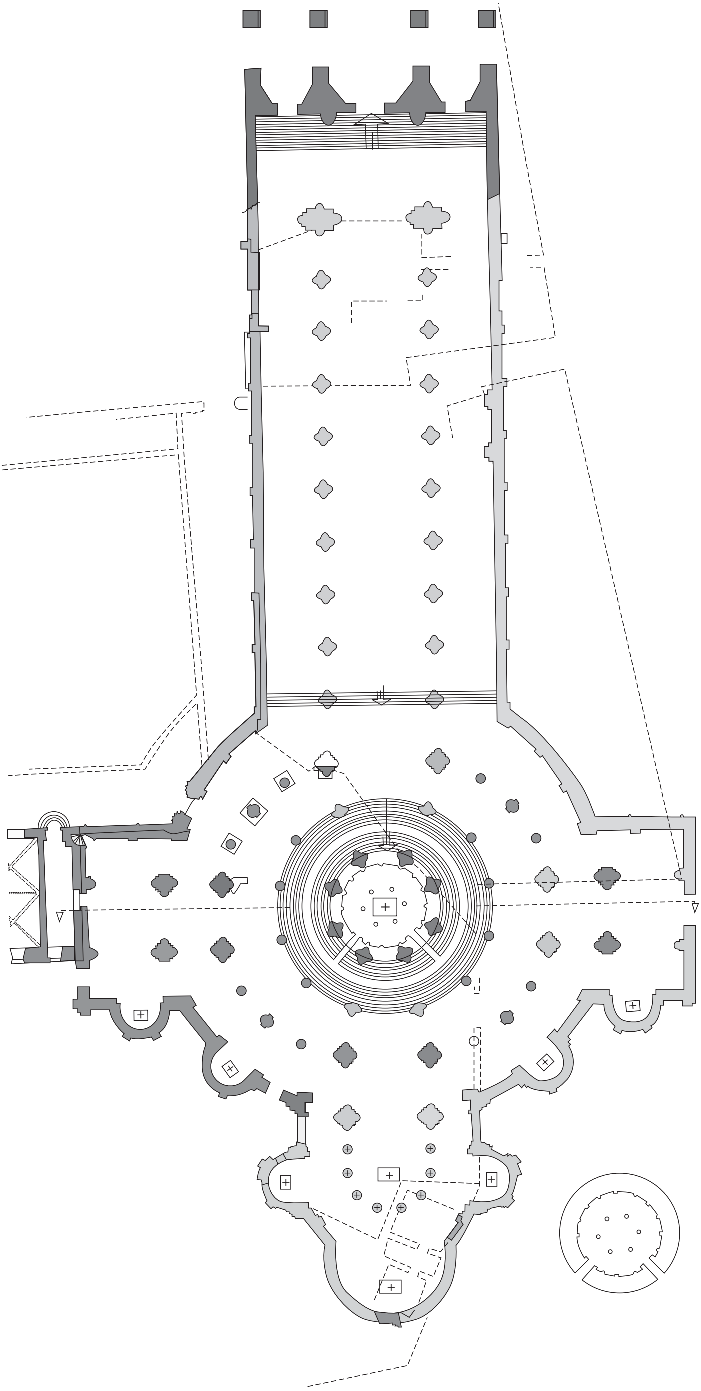

Figure 2.1. Reconstructed plan of the abbey church of Saint-Sauveur, Charroux. Reprinted from Gisela Schwering-Illert, ‘Die ehemalige französische Abteikirche Saint-Sauveur in Charroux (Vienne) in 11. und 12. Jh.: Ein Vorschlag zur Rekonstruktion und Deutung der romanischen Bauteile.’ Ph. D. diss., Bonn, Germany, 1963. If this image has been referenced incorrectly, the author will be happy to correct it.

immediately began another expansion, most likely adding the crypt and raising platform above it at this time in order to accommodate the growing number of pilgrims who came to Charroux to venerate the Holy Virtue. By 1096, the exhausted monks could finally rest and admire their handiwork when Pope Urban II (1088–99) stopped at Charroux during his preaching tour of southern Francia to consecrate the high altar in the rotunda, which stood in the middle of the elevated platform, directly above the altar in the crypt.[35]

The continuous expansion of Charroux's church and the rapid territorial gains made by the abbey throughout the eleventh century (especially the second half of the century) betoken a vibrant monastic community. Although both manuscripts of the cartulary containing the *Historia* date from the early modern period, internal factors place the date of its composition to just before 1100. Basing his argument primarily on Philip I's two diplomas for Charroux, L.-A. Vigneras has suggested the *Historia* dates to between 1088 and 1095. He noted that Philip I's 1077 diploma for Charroux mentioned Charlemagne, Roger of Limoges, and his wife Eufrasia as the three founders of the monastery, just as maintained in the first foundation narrative of the monastery (the *Privilegium*). Philip's 1085 diploma, however, only cited Charlemagne as Charroux's founder. Vigneras concludes that the discrepancy reveals the arrival of the Holy Virtue at the monastery in the interim and gestation of the story that would become the *Historia*. Further, the *Historia* names the archbishop of Bordeaux as Amatus, who did not succeed to the see until 1088, and does not mention Pope Urban II's visit to the abbey in early 1096.[36]

But there is one more piece of evidence. Very briefly, towards the end of his account, the anonymous author of the *Historia* refers to Abbot Fulcrad in the past tense.[37] Certainly, the author could simply be referring to his current abbot doing something in the past. The tenor of the sentence, however, implies a certain distance from the events in question—i.e. that these things happened not so long ago, when Fulcrad was abbot. So, taking all these factors together, we may tentatively suggest that the *Historia* was completed in late 1095, early in the abbacy of Peter II (abbot, 1095–1113), intended to legitimize Charroux's powerful christological relic, perhaps in anticipation of Urban II's visit.

But the *Historia* is not crusade propaganda (even if we must wonder what Urban II would have thought of it). Jerusalem is at peace. There are no Muslims and, indeed, the text seems much more concerned with the Holy Virtue than Charlemagne or the Christians of Jerusalem.[38] Here, he is not so much a person as an avatar, functioning primarily as Christ's earthly representative. Charles founds an abbey dedicated to Christ with a relic given him by Christ himself, forging, as an intermediary, an intimate connection between monastery and divine. And when Charlemagne departs the narrative, the Holy Virtue, that tangible link between Charroux and Christ, becomes the new centerpiece for the second part of the *Historia*. The relic itself is the most important aspect of the text. Even without terrestrial authority, because of its possession of the Holy Virtue, the monastery is a power in its own right. Removing Charlemagne from the text does not alter that fact. On the other hand, removing references to Charroux and the Holy Virtue from the account strips the narrative of all of its meaning. The *Historia* is fundamentally a document about the spiritual and religious claims of a particular monastery.

---

[35] Schwering-Illert, *Abteikirche*, 20, 51. One should not perhaps underestimate the functional impact of Urban, on a tour preaching the crusade, visiting an abbey evoking the Holy Sepulcher, practicing a devotion centered on both Christ in Jerusalem and Charlemagne.

[36] Vigneras, 'Abbaye', 125–6. The diplomas are at *Recueil des actes de Philippe I^{er}*, ed. Prou, nos. 85, 175, respectively.

[37] 'Postquam abbas cui nomen Fulcradus erat, dominice abbacie adeptus est sedem, inito cum suis consilio, ab intimis viscerum profunda trahens suspiria, comitem evocat Aldebertum, prece ut utebatur pia absconsi thesauri manifestari sibi precatur dignitatem.' *Liber de Const.* 39.

[38] Similarly, Elizabeth Pastan has recently shown how the Charlemagne window at Chartres is more about their relic of the *Sancta Camisia* than Charlemagne. See Elizabeth Pastan, 'Charlemagne as Saint? Relics and the Choice of Window Subjects at Chartres Cathedral', in *Legend of Charlemagne*, 97–135.

Even though the *Historia* seems to have been an intensely local narrative like the *Chronicon* of Benedict of St Andrew, the *Historia* enjoyed a substantial afterlife. Part of the reason behind the *Historia*'s liveliness must have been Charroux's presence on a popular pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostella, as well as Charroux's status as a popular pilgrimage destination in its own right. Indeed, pilgrims flocked from all over Europe to see the Holy Virtue.[39] Amy Remensnyder notes that a late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century gloss on Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* (composed *c.*1169–73) recounts a version of Charlemagne's journey to the East found in Charroux's *Historia*. In the gloss, as in the *Historia*, Charlemagne goes to Jerusalem to get some relics, including the Holy Virtue. Here, however, Charlemagne takes the relics to Aachen, leaving it to Charles the Bald to pass them to their final destination (in this case, Charroux).[40] Repeated throughout the late Middle Ages, this gloss appeared in the late twelfth-century Pseudo-Bede's *Account of the Holy Land*, Gervase of Tilbury's early thirteenth-century *De otiis imperialibus*, Pope Innocent III's (1198–1216) writings on the mass, and Jacobus de Voragine's late thirteenth-century *Legenda aurea*.[41]

A CAPETIAN *TRANSLATIO*: *C.*1080

During the reign of King Philip I of the Franks, someone associated with his entourage created another account of Charlemagne's journey to the East.[42] The

---

[39] For instance, Beech notes that the origin of the English and Flemish foundations dependent on Charroux likely stems from a group of Flemish nobles who visited Charroux on their way to Santiago. See Beech, 'Aquitanians', 76; de Monsabert, 'Introduction', p. x; Schwering-Illert, *Abteikirche*, 80–1.

[40] Remensnyder found fourteen manuscripts containing the gloss in the Bibliothèque Nationale and Vatican Library alone. Remensnyder, *Remembering*, 155 n. 23. This tradition melds the Charroux legend with another late 11th-cent. narrative of Charlemagne's journey to the East, the *Descriptio qualiter*, discussed below.

[41] Pseudo-Bede, *Account of the Holy Land*, in *Anonymous Pilgrims I.–VIII. (Eleventh and Twelfth centuries)*, tr. Aubrey Stewart, Palestine Pilgrims' Text Series, 13 vols. (London, 1894), vi. 65–6. Aryeh Graboïs suggests it dates to the late 12th cent. (*c.*1187). Aryeh Graboïs, *Le Pèlerin occidental en Terre sainte au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1998), 212. On Gervase, Innocent, and Jacobus, see Remensnyder, *Remembering*, 172.

[42] The text of one of the earliest manuscripts (late 12th cent.) has been published as *Descriptio qualiter Karolus Magnus clavum et coronam Domini a Constantinopoli Aquisgrani detulerit qualiterque*

Descriptio qualiter, as it is called, begins with the patriarch of Jerusalem fleeing to the Byzantine ruler at Constantinople. While there, the two of them wrote letters, dispatched to Charles by four emissaries (two Christians, two Jews), asking for help in retaking the Holy City. The Greek Emperor Constantine revealed in his letter that, although he was quite capable of helping the patriarch on his own, God specifically told him in a vision to summon Charles to the East.

> 'Constantine, you have asked God for aid and counsel in this task [freeing Jerusalem from the pagans]. Here accept the aid of the Charles, the great emperor, king of Gaul under God, defender of the peace of the Church.' And He showed me a soldier wearing shin greaves and a breastplate, carrying a ruddy shield, girded with a sword having a purple hilt, and a spear of the most white with a tip that often gave off flames. In his hand, he held a golden helmet. And he had an old, long beard, a beautiful face, and a body tall of stature. His head was white and gray, and his eyes shone like the stars.[43]

The emissaries found Charles at Paris and, upon receiving the call, he immediately departed for Constantinople.

Somewhere along the way, the Franks became lost in a wood and made camp for the night. Charlemagne, unable to sleep, began to recite from the Psalter. A bird heard his prayers, hailed him as 'unconquered caesar', and led his army out of the forest and back onto the correct road to Constantinople. As soon as they arrived in the East, Charles defeated the pagans, reinstalled the patriarch in Jerusalem, and restored the Eastern empire to good order—in all of two sentences![44] The two emperors enjoyed pleasant relations back at Constantinople but, his task completed, Charles asked leave to return to Francia. Charles and his men refused the rich gifts offered them by the Greek ruler, saying that to accept such gifts would imply they were mere mercenaries. After much wrangling, however, Charles finally agreed to return to the West with relics of the Passion. Charlemagne tells Constantine:

> 'We are eager, since some of our people are not able to come to Jerusalem to wipe away their sins, that they should have something visible in our regions, which might soften

---

Karolus Calvus hec ad Sanctum Dyonisium retulerit, in *Die Legende*, 103–25. An alternate version of the text (13th cent.) is in Ferdinand Castets, 'Iter Hierosolymitanum ou Voyage de Charlemagne à Jérusalem et à Constantinople', *Revue des Langues Romanes,* 36 (1892), 439–74. The earliest manuscript (late 11th or early 12th cent.) is Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 1711 and is edited in Marc du Pouget, 'Recherches sur les chroniques latines de Saint-Denis: Édition critique et commentaire de la *Descriptio clavi et corone domini* et de deux séries de textes relatifs à la légende carolingienne' (Thesis, Paris, 1978). I have been unable to obtain du Pouget's thesis but I have examined the manuscript.

[43] 'Constantine rogasti dominum auxilium et consilium huius rei, ecce accipe adiutorem Karolum magnum imperatorem regem Gallie in domino ac pacis ecclesie propugnatorem. Et ostendit michi quendam militem ocreatum et loricatum, scutum rubeum habentem, ense precinctum, cuius manubrium erat purpureum, hasta albissima, cuius cuspis sepe flammas emittebat, ac in manu cassidem tenebat auream. Et ipse senex prolixa barba, vultu decorus et statura procerus erat, cuiusque oculi fulgebant tanquam sidera, caput vero canis albescebat.' *Descriptio qualiter*, ed. Rauschen, 106–7.

[44] 'Tandem rex cum exercitu suo Constantinopolim pervenit. Postea vero fugatis paganis ad urbem, que vexilla vivifice crucis Christique passionis, mortis ac resurrectionis, retinet monimenta, letus et supplex advenit ac patriarche totique christicole plebi cuncta prospera deo opitulante solidavit.' *Descriptio qualiter*, ed. Rauschen, 109.

> their hearts at the mention of the Lord's Passion and recall them in worthy piety to the fruit of penance.'[45]

The Greek Emperor delighted at this request and opened Helena's treasury. After purifying themselves, the two emperors witnessed a number of miracles, then reclaimed a number of relics, which included thorns from the Crown of Thorns, pieces of the True Cross, a nail from the Cross, the shroud that covered Jesus in his tomb, Mary's tunic, and the arm of St Simeon.[46] Now laden with gifts, himself carrying the relics in a sack around his neck, Charles began the return journey, stopping for a time at a castle on the route, with the relics working endless miracles along the way.[47]

When Charles arrived back at Aachen, he constructed a church dedicated to Mary, called together the leading prelates of the realm, displayed the relics before them, and established a feast (eventually called Lendit) to honor them. After Charles's death, the narrative shifts its focus to Charles the Bald, who built the house of canons at Saint-Corneille of Compiègne (now, according to the *Descriptio qualiter*, called *Karnopolis* after him), endowed it with the Holy Shroud, and translated most of the remaining relics to Saint-Denis. This effectively ends the account, although some manuscripts conclude with the *Visio Karoli*—a vision that a ruler named Charles[48] had of himself in hell and only saved from its eternal torments because of the intervention of Sts Peter and Remigius.[49]

---

[45] 'Tribuas gestimus quatinus nostrates, qui ad urbem Iherosolimam causa abholendi sua peccata venire nequeunt, quiddam in partibus nostris visibile habeant, quod ad passionis dominice mentionem corda eorum fideliter molliat et ad fructum penitencie digna revocet pietate.' *Descriptio qualiter*, ed. Rauschen, 112.

[46] The scene is reminiscent of the discovery of Christ's tomb after the resurrection. Cf. Luke 24: 1–11. See e.g. another similar scene describing Emperor Otto III's entrance into Charlemagne's tomb in 1000, analyzed in Stephen G. Nichols, Jr., *Romanesque Signs: Early Medieval Narrative and Iconography* (New Haven, Conn., 1983), 76–8. Benzo of Alba reported that Emperor Henry IV received relics mirroring those found in the *Descriptio qualiter*—the Holy Shroud, pieces of the True Cross, and Crown of Thorns—from the Byzantine Emperor in 1082. It is unclear how this is related to the *Descriptio qualiter*. See Benzo of Alba, *Ad Heinricum IV. Imperatorem*, ed. Hans Seyffert, MGH SRG (Hanover, 1996), 65: 142, 548; and Tilman Struve, 'Kaisertum und Romgedanke in salischer Zeit', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters,* 44 (1988), 448 n. 109.

[47] The location of the castle is likely the modern Macedonian city of Ochrid (or Ohrid)—also known by its Greek name, Lychnidos. The city lay on the Roman Via Egnatia, an extension of the Via Appia (Rome to Brindisi), which connected Dyrrachion (modern Durazzo) with Constantinople, and served as a western pilgrim road through the Balkans. See the extended discussion of this location in Matthew Gabriele, 'The Provenance of the *Descriptio qualiter Karolus Magnus*: Remembering the Carolingians in the Entourage of King Philip I (1060–1108) before the First Crusade', *Viator,* 39 (2008), 98 n. 27.

[48] The vision was initially written in late 9th cent. and ascribed to Charles the Fat. See the discussion in Paul Edward Dutton, *The Politics of Dreaming in the Carolingian Empire* (Lincoln, Neb., 1994), 233–40. Who this Charles is depends on the manuscript though. In the early 12th-cent. Paris, Bib. Maz. MS 2013, the vision is had by Charles Martel. In the late 11th-cent. Paris, Bib. Maz. MS 1711 and the 12th-cent. Paris, BNF MS lat. 12710, it is Charles the Bald.

[49] This *Visio Karoli* is often associated with the *Descriptio qualiter* in the manuscript tradition but still seems to be considered a separate text by medieval copyists. Though the *Visio Karoli* immediately follows the *Descriptio qualiter* in the Paris, Bib. Maz. MS 1711, it precedes the *Descriptio qualiter* in some cases (as in Paris BNF MS lat. 12710, the source of Rauschen's edn.) and is omitted entirely in others (as it is copied into Barbarossa's *Vita Karoli Magni*).

The *Descriptio qualiter* proved popular. In Hugh of Fleury's early twelfth-century *Liber de modernorum regum Francorum qui continent actus*, the narrative noted, as did the *Descriptio qualiter*, that Compiègne is sometimes called *Karnopolis* (after Charles the Bald) and that he gave three major christological relics to Saint-Denis.[50] In addition, a portion of a historical miscellany, completed for Saint-Denis *c.*1118 and possibly linked to Hugh, reiterated the *Descriptio qualiter*'s description of Charles the Bald's gift of relics to Saint-Denis.[51] An early twelfth-century fragment of Hugh's *Historia Ecclesiastica* from Saint-Maur-les-Fossés summarized the *Descriptio qualiter*'s explanation of how the relics in Compiègne and Saint-Denis got from Constantinople to their final resting places and (copied almost verbatim) why Compiègne is named after Charles the Bald.[52] Hugh's *vita* of St Sacerdos, written for the monastery of Sarlat (in the Périgord) *c.*1107, does not mention the *Descriptio qualiter* explicitly but seems to rely on it when Hugh recounts how he had read elsewhere that Sarlat received a large piece of the True Cross from Charles, who had brought the relic back with him from Jerusalem.[53] The early twelfth-century *Gesta episcoporum Mettensium* summarized the entire *Descriptio qualiter* up to the death of Charlemagne, as did the early thirteenth-century *Chronicon* of Martin of Troppau.[54] Odo of Deuil, in describing the arrival of the Holy Tunic at the priory of Argenteuil, used the *Descriptio qualiter* to explain how the relic made its way from the East. Odo's account, however, omitted Charles the Bald entirely.[55] The entire *Descriptio qualiter* was included in the *Vita Karoli Magni* commissioned by Frederick I Barbarossa for Charlemagne's canonization in 1165[56] and can also be found in Primat's *Roman des rois*, later incorporated into the thirteenth-century *Grandes chroniques de France*.[57] The mid-twelfth-century Old French *Le Pèlerinage*

---

[50] Hugh of Fleury, *Liber de modernorum regum Francorum qui continent actus*, MGH SS 9: 377.

[51] This manuscript (Paris, Bib. Maz. MS 2013) is cited and discussed in Elizabeth A. R. Brown, and Michael W. Cothren, 'The Twelfth-Century Crusading Window of the Abbey of Saint-Denis: *Praeteritorum enim recordatio futurorum est exhibitio*', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtald Institutes,* 49 (1986), 14–15 n. 65. Its contents are described in detail in Jules Lair, 'Mémoire sur deux chroniques latines composées au XII^{e} siècle à l'abbaye de Saint-Denis', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes,* 35 (1874), 567–8; and Auguste Molinier, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Mazarine*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1886), ii. 321–3.

[52] Hugh of Fleury, *Historia Ecclesiastica: Fragmenta Fossatensis*, MGH SS 9: 372–3. This dates to *c.*1110.

[53] Hugh of Fleury, *Vita sancti Sacerdotis episcopis Lemovicensis*, PL 163: 992. On the dating, see Nico Lettinck, 'Pour une édition critique de l'Historia Ecclesiastica de Hugues de Fleury', *Revue Bénédictine,* 91 (1981), 386.

[54] *Gesta episcoporum Mettensium*, MGH SS 10: 538. It was likely written in the early 1120s under Bishop Stephen (1120–63). Also, Martin of Troppau, *Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum*, MGH SS 22: 461–2.

[55] The narrative is unpublished and survives in Oxford, Queen's College, MS 348, fos. 48^{v}–65^{v}. Elizabeth A. R. Brown and Thomas Waldman are currently completing an edn.

[56] *Vita Karoli Magni*, in *Die Legende*, 17–93. The entire second book (of three) is devoted to Charlemagne's journey to Jerusalem. Charlemagne was canonized by the anti-pope Paschal III, but Barbarossa and Pope Alexander III soon reconciled and the canonization was never formally recognized by the Pope.

[57] The section of the *Grandes Chroniques* concerning Charlemagne is translated in *A Thirteenth-Century Life of Charlemagne*, tr. Robert Levine (New York, 1991), 70–91. A more critical edn. is *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*, ed. Jules Viard, iii (Paris, 1923), 160–98.

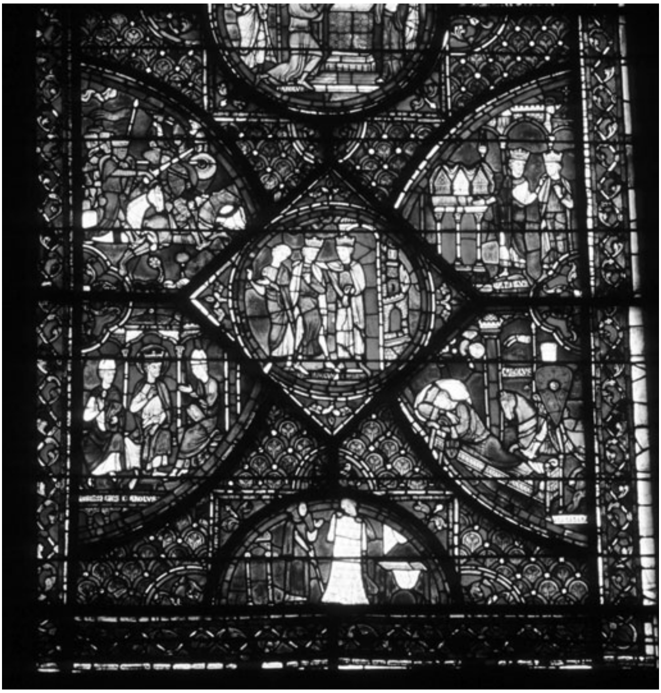

Figure 2.2. Scenes from the Jerusalem Crusade, Charlemagne Window, Chartres Cathedral. Photo by Elizabeth Pastan, reprinted with permission.

de Charlemagne used the *Descriptio qualiter* as its primary source of inspiration.[58] Even the thirteenth-century Old Norse *Karlamagnús Saga* used the *Descriptio qualiter*, although likely filtered through the *Pèlerinage*.[59]

At Chartres, an early thirteenth-century stained-glass window, dedicated to Charlemagne's legendary conquests in Spain and the Holy Land, has six panels depicting scenes from the *Descriptio qualiter*: Charles's reception of the Eastern envoys, the Byzantine ruler's dream of Charlemagne, the defeat of the Muslims at Jerusalem, Charles meeting the Byzantine ruler at the gates of Constantinople, Charles receiving relics as gifts, and finally his presentation of the crown of thorns to Aachen (Figure 2.2).[60] The abbey church at Saint-Denis had a window, a mid-twelfth-century creation, with fourteen medallions linking the *Descriptio qualiter* to the First Crusade (Figure 2.3). The first two medallions portray generalized scenes of crusading, the second two medallions show Charlemagne being summoned to the East by Byzantine envoys, then meeting the Byzantine ruler at Constantinople, and the final ten panels illustrate various scenes from the inception of the First Crusade through the battle of Ascalon.[61] By the thirteenth century one writer could comfortably state what the Saint-Denis window had suggested—that the crusade of 1095 was actually the Second because Charlemagne had staged the First.[62]

---

[58] *Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, tr. Glyn S. Burgess (Edinburgh, 1998). On the relationship between the *Descriptio qualiter* and *Le Pèlerinage*, see Anne Latowsky, 'Charlemagne as Pilgrim? Requests for Relics in the *Descriptio qualiter* and the *Voyage of Charlemagne*', in *Legend of Charlemagne*, 153–67.

[59] *Karlamagnús Saga: The Saga of Charlemagne and his Heroes*, tr. Constance B. Hieatt (Toronto, 1980), 181–205.

[60] Description from Clark Maines, 'The Charlemagne Window at Chartres Cathedral: New Considerations on Text and Image', *Speculum,* 52 (1977), 805–8. Also now see Pastan, 'Charlemagne as Saint?', 97–135.

As the last few examples imply, the *Descriptio qualiter* has been thought of as the narrative of 'Charlemagne's crusade', with the text necessarily emerging from the contemporary experience of the First Crusade.[63] These scholars have latched onto the martial nature of Charlemagne's journey to the East, further noting the text's condescension towards the Eastern empire, as well as the Byzantine call for help to the West. Yet it seems mistaken to link the *Descriptio qualiter* too closely to crusading. For example, Alexius' call for help at Piacenza in 1095 was not the first time he had asked the West for military assistance, having done so numerous times between 1071 and 94. Although the Greek emperor rates below Charles in the *Descriptio qualiter*, its portrayal of the Byzantine ruler is generally laudatory, very unlike his portrayal in Einhard's *Vita Karoli* and Benedict of St Andrew's *Chronicon* (let alone the narratives of the First Crusade).[64]

Additionally, the two most outstanding facets of crusading—Jerusalem and the Muslims—hardly figure in the narrative at all. The emphasis the author places on Constantinople (especially as the location of the relics Charlemagne returns with), as well as his mention of Ligmedon, may suggest the author's familiarity with the contemporary practicalities of pilgrimage. However, he shows almost no interest in the Holy Land more generally.[65] Jerusalem receives barely a mention, not even a token amount of rejoicing can be heard once Charles has rid the city of the befouling menace that plagued it. This is a far cry from the rhetoric deployed by Urban II, the crusaders, or their later narrators in the West.[66] Moreover, the

---

[61] Brown and Cothren, 'Crusading Window', 1–38.

[62] Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronicon*, MGH SS 23: 804. The text is mid-13th cent.

[63] For examples in modern scholarship, see Giosuè Musca, *Carlo Magno ed Harun al Rashid* (Bari, 1963), 78; and Paul Rousset, *Les Origines et les caractères de la Premiére Croisade* (New York, 1978), 41.

[64] On Alexius and the West, see M. de Waha, 'La Lettre d'Alexis I Comnène à Robert le Frison: Une revision', *Byzantion,* 47 (1977), 119. On Charles's relations with the Byzantines, *Descriptio qualiter*, ed. Rauschen, 110–12; Einhard, *Vita Karoli*, 20; Benedict, *Chronicon*, 711. Much hostility towards the Byzantine empire is also found in the narratives of the First Crusade. Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (Philadelphia, 1986), 108. On East–West relations generally, see Jonathan Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades* (London, 2003); Christopher Macevitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East: Rough Tolerance* (Philadelphia, 2007); and Brett Whalen, *Dominion of God: Christendom and the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 2009).

[65] Folz, *Souvenir*, 180; Marc du Pouget, 'Recherches sur les chroniques latines de Saint-Denis: Édition critique et commentaire de la *Descriptio clavi et corone domini* et de deux séries de textes relatifs à la légende carolingienne', *Positions des thèses soutenues par les élèves de la promotion de 1978 pour obtenir le diplôme d'Archiviste Paléolgraphe*, Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes (Paris, 1978), 43.

[66] There is also no mention of the Holy Sepulcher, which, Sylvia Schein argues, was the original objective of the First Crusade. See Sylvia Schein, 'Jérusalem: Objectif originel de la Première Croisade?', in Michel Balard (ed.), *Autour de la Première Croisade: Actes du colloque de la Society for*

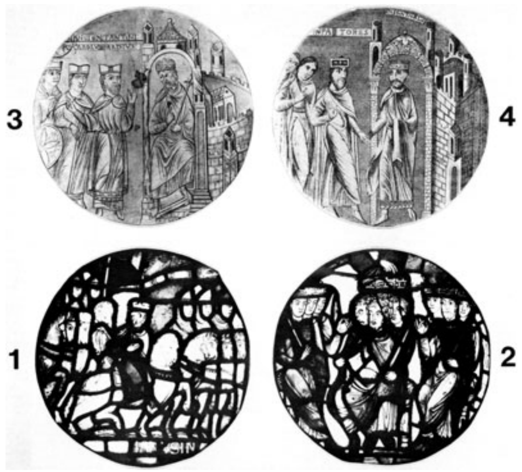

Figure 2.3. Reconstruction of lower registers of Crusading Window, Saint-Denis. Reprinted with permission from Elizabeth A. R. Brown and Michael W. Cothren, 'The Twelfth-Century Crusading Window of the Abbey of Saint-Denis: *Praeteritorum enim recordatio futurorum est exhibitio*', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtald Institutes,* 49 (1986), 1–40.

Muslims of the *Descriptio qualiter* seem to be little more than straw men—nothing but generic pagans, who are quickly swept aside by Charles and excised from the narrative in only two sentences. The roughly contemporary Oxford *Chanson de Roland*, even with all of its misconceptions about Islam, exhibits a better understanding of, and thoughtfulness about, the Muslims than does the *Descriptio qualiter*. Although an armed expedition to Jerusalem against the Muslims is the ostensible reason for Charlemagne's expedition to the East, it seems more of an excuse to get him to Constantinople and get powerful christological relics into his hands.

Most scholars date the *Descriptio qualiter* to the last quarter of the eleventh century, hinging their discussions about the *Descriptio qualiter*'s provenance upon a sentence towards the end of the narrative that has Charlemagne establish the feast of Lendit to celebrate the christological relics with which he had returned from Constantinople.[67] The narrative announces Lendit as occurring in the second week

---

the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East (Clermont-Ferrand, 22–25 juin 1995) (Paris, 1996), 119–26; repr. in Sylvia Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City: Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West (1099–1187)* (Burlington, Vt., 2005), 9–20. The *Descriptio qualiter* is, however, closer in tone to Gregory VII's 'proto-crusade' letters of 1074, especially in their shared focus on the Byzantines. See H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Pope Gregory VII's "Crusading" Plans of 1074', in B. Z. Kedar, H. E. Mayer, and R. C. Smail (eds.), *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Jerusalem, 1982), 27–40; and the discussion in Ch. 5, below.

[67] These scholars most prominently include Gaston Paris, Gerhard Rauschen, Robert Folz, and Marc du Pouget. Gaston Paris, *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne*, 2nd edn. (Paris, 1905), 56; Rauschen, *Die Legende*, 99–100; Folz, *Souvenir*, 179 n. 111; du Pouget, 'Recherches', *Positions des thèses*, 43; and

of June, when the Church celebrated the Ember Days.[68] Observed in the Western Church at the turn of each season and intended to thank God for the gifts of nature, the celebration of the Ember Days had been first regularized by Pope Gregory VII (1073–85). Pope Urban II, however, moved the summer celebration away from the second week of June to around the time of Pentecost.[69]

In the early twentieth century, Léon Levillain offered the more precise date of *c.*1080 for the composition of the *Descriptio qualiter*. In his study of the festival of Lendit, Levillain concluded that the text was composed in the wake of King Philip I's visit to the house of canons at Saint-Corneille of Compiègne in March 1079. At that time, the king presided over the translation of Saint-Corneille's relic of the Holy Shroud to a new reliquary, which had been given to the canons by Queen Matilda of England.[70] Levillain asserts that the *Descriptio qualiter* was written at Saint-Denis shortly after this event, as the abbey attempted to bolster its status in the face of a challenge to its prestige (and its festival) by Saint-Corneille.

Levillain was, I think, quite right in linking the composition of the *Descriptio qualiter* to the relic translation at Saint-Corneille in 1079. Founded in 877 by Charles the Bald and modeled on the palace chapel of St Mary's at Aachen, the house of canons at Saint-Corneille remained a significant center for the western Franks through the late Carolingian era. But Saint-Corneille was a shadow of its former self by the beginning of Philip I's reign. Philip I renewed royal interest in that religious house, probably because the town stood on the frontier of royal power, a base for incursions into the Vexin and Vermandois early in Philip's reign and a bulwark against the Norman dukes.[71]

For example, in 1092, Philip I, once again intervening in Norman affairs, offered a diploma to the canons of Saint-Corneille, giving them the right to oppose the building of any tower or fortification in their territory and also commemorating the translation of the Holy Shroud thirteen years before. This last part of the diploma is

---

Sumner McKnight Crosby and Pamela Z. Blum, *The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis from its Beginnings to the Death of Suger, 475–1151* (New Haven, Conn., 1987), 101. There are, however, outliers to this consensus. Joseph Bédier dated the text to 1100–20. Rolf Grosse has more recently dated it to 1053–4. See Joseph Bédier, *Légendes épiques: Recherches sur la formation des chansons de geste*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1921), iv. 125–7; and Rolf Grosse, 'Reliques du Christ et foires de Saint-Denis au XI^{e} siècle', *Revue d'Histoire de l'Église de France,* 87 (2001), 357–75. The discussion that follows relies heavily on Gabriele, 'Provenance of the *Descriptio qualiter*', 93–117.

[68] *Descriptio qualiter*, ed. Rauschen, 120. Lendit comes from *l'endit*, and ultimately from *indictum*, which was generally used to mean 'public fair' by the 12th cent. It was, however, the specific name given in the later Middle Ages to the festival held at Saint-Denis in honor of their christological relics. It took place during the second week of June and was legendarily begun by Charles the Bald to celebrate the relics of the Passion he gave to Saint-Denis—an attribution that rests entirely on the *Descriptio qualiter*. L. Levillain, 'Essai sur les origines du Lendit', *Revue Historique,* 155 (1927), 241.

[69] See Paris, *Histoire poétique*, 56; Bédier, *Légendes épiques*, iv. 126.

[70] Levillain, 'Essai', 261–2; and May Vieillard-Troïekouroff, 'La Chapelle du palais de Charles le Chauve à Compiègne', *Cahiers Archéologiques,* 21 (1971), 102. The Queen Matilda in question was the wife of King William I the Conqueror, daughter of Count Baldwin V of Flanders (d. 1067), and niece of King Philip I.

[71] Vieillard-Troïekouroff, 'La Chapelle du palais', 98–102; and Augustin Fliche, *Le Règne de Philippe I^{er}, roi de France (1060–1108)* (Paris, 1912), 154. My thanks to Geoffrey Koziol for conversations on this topic.

the most interesting for us, since it provides an almost certain *terminus ante quem* for dating the *Descriptio qualiter*. In this diploma, Philip noted that the relic had been given to the canonry by Charles the Bald and established an annual fair to be held on the fourth Sunday of Lent (*Carême*—hence, the fair was subsequently called *Le Mi-Karesme*).[72] In doing all this, Philip was in effect honoring the *Descriptio qualiter*, the sole justificatory source for Saint-Corneille's relic. And yet the diploma from 1092 seems to be recognizing, not creating, a tradition. The fair at Saint-Corneille may have been new in 1092 but the tradition that Charles the Bald gave the house of canons its relic was not. That tradition, and the likely date of composition of the *Descriptio qualiter*, can be traced to *c.*1080, around the time of the translation of the Holy Shroud in 1079 and shortly after the spectacular decision made by Count (later Saint) Simon of Crépy (d. 1081) in 1077.

Just two years before Philip's translation of the Holy Shroud, between March and May 1077, Simon of Crépy, only 25 years old but holding seven counties, receiving homage from seven more, and acting as advocate for five major monasteries, dramatically retired to the monastery of Saint-Arnoul. This set off shockwaves throughout Europe. Other magnates, such as Duke Hugh of Burgundy and Count Guy of Mâcon, along with two of Guy's sons, followed Simon's example, left the world, and joined monastic houses. Pope Gregory VII personally summoned Simon to Rome, in order for him to serve as a papal advocate. The nobility of northern Francia carved up what was left of Simon's lands.[73]

Both Simon and his father, Ralph IV of Valois (d. 1074), were often present at Philip's court and Simon remained close to Philip until his death in 1081. Indeed, Saint-Corneille's translation of the Holy Shroud can be dated so precisely to March 1079 because Simon himself was present, sent from his monastery of Saint-Arnoul by Abbot Hugh of Cluny (d. 1109). Simon then moved on to Normandy in order to help reconcile Robert Curthose (d. 1134) with his father, William I the Conqueror (1066–87), later that same year.[74] So, it is perhaps no surprise that Philip I and those close to his court profited immensely from Simon's retirement. The bishops of Amiens, frequent visitors to Philip's court, gained comital rights.[75] Count Herbert IV of Vermandois, whose daughter would soon marry Philip's brother Hugh, received Valois and Montdidier from Simon. Philip himself acquired the Vexin, as well as the advocacies for both Corbie and Saint-Denis.[76]

---

[72] In 1091–2, Philip was helping Robert Curthose against William Rufus. Fliche, *Le Règne de Philippe I^{er}*, 294–8. Every extant diploma Philip issued in 1092 had to do with this Norman adventure. Three were for Compiègne and two confirmed donations to religious houses by Robert of Bellême (a powerful Norman lord and ally of Robert Curthose). See *Recueil des actes de Philipe I^{er}*, ed. Prou, nos. 124–6, 128–9. Analysis of the diploma for Saint-Corneille in Louis Carolus-Barré, 'Le Mi-Karesme, foire de Compiègne (1092–1792)', in *Études et documents sur L'Île-de-France et la Picardie au Moyen Age*, 2 vols. (Compiègne, 1994), i. 229–30. The diploma can be found in both *Cartulaire de Saint-Corneille de Compiègne*, ed. E.-E. Morel, 3 vols. (Montdidier, 1904), i, no. 22; and *Recueil des actes de Philipe I^{er},* ed. Prou, no. 126.

[73] The conversion and its aftermath are discussed at length in H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Count Simon of Crepy's Monastic Conversion', in P. Guichard, M.-T. Lorchin, J.-M. Poisson, and M. Rubellin (eds.), *Papauté, Monachisme et Théories politiques: Études d'histoire médiévale offertes à Marcel Pacaut*, 2 vols. (Lyon, 1994), i. 253–66.

[74] *Vita beati Simoni comitis Crespeiensis*, PL 156: 1219.

[75] They appear numerous times in Philip's diplomas. See *Recueil des actes de Philipe I^{er},* ed. Prou, nos. 18, 19, 21–3, 25, 27, 30, 32, 60, 61, 65, 81, 84, 93, 110, 117, 124, 175.

The Merovingians and Carolingians had patronized Saint-Denis generously.[77] But the special relationship between monarchy and abbey waned under the Capetians, most likely because they were alienated from the monastery, as its advocacy eventually became the special purview of the counts of the Vexin. Then, in late 1077, Philip I became the first West Frankish king since the late Carolingians to claim the advocacy of Saint-Denis.[78] At Saint-Corneille in 1079, he presided over the translation of the Holy Shroud, supposedly given to the house of canons by Charles the Bald. Sometime around the time of Simon's retirement and Saint-Corneille's translation of its relic would seem to have been an opportune time to commemorate the Frankish kings' 'historical' connection to, and patronage of, both of those religious houses. Thus, linking the *Descriptio qualiter* to Philip's acquisition of the advocacy of Saint-Denis and the translation of the Holy Shroud at Saint-Corneille in 1079 suggests a close connection between the text, Philip I, Saint-Corneille, and Saint-Denis.

THE RELATIONSHIP AMONG THE SOURCES

Due to the similarities in their subjects and the fact that both Charroux's *Historia* and the *Descriptio qualiter* were most likely composed within roughly a decade of one another, one must wonder about the connections between the two.[79] As Amy Remensnyder has demonstrated in connection with Charroux, Charlemagne as the source of the abbey's powerful christological relics 'tacitly asserts that the abbey was a royal foundation; through the gift of relics, the abbey claims the king, who, like the saint, becomes its patron'.[80] Indeed, Charroux's cartulary reads like a litany of imperial/royal/papal gifts to the abbey. King Philip I gave two diplomas for Charroux, one enacted at the abbey itself. In the latter, Abbot Fulcrad seems to have sought King Philip I out at Compiègne in 1085 in order for him to confirm

---

[76] All of Herbert's lands went to Hugh upon Herbert's death in 1080, giving the Capetians an important foothold in Picardy. Very little has been written on the career of Hugh 'Magnus' but see Marcus Bull, 'The Capetian Monarchy and the Early Crusade Movement: Hugh of Vermandois and Louis VII', *Nottingham Medieval Studies,* 50 (1996), 25–46. On Philip's gains, see Cowdrey, 'Simon of Crepy', 264–5.

[77] Gabrielle Spiegel, *The Chronicle Tradition of Saint-Denis: A Survey* (Brookline, Mass., 1978), 11–29.

[78] Rolf Grosse, *Saint-Denis zwischen Adel und König: Die Zeit vor Suger (1055–1122)* (Stuttgart, 2002), 30–7, 84–5. On the movement of Saint-Denis away from the Carolingians, esp. the contest over Saint-Denis between Charles the Simple and Robert of Neustria, see Geoffrey Koziol, 'Charles the Simple, Robert of Neustria and the *Vexilla* of Saint-Denis', *Early Medieval Europe,* 14 (2006), 371–90.

[79] Explicit connection between the sources suggested in Abbé Georges Chapeau, 'Fondation de l'Abbaye de Charroux: Étude sur les textes', *Bulletin de La Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest,* 3rd ser. 7 (1926), 484; Schwering-Illert, *Abteikirche,* 31; and Remensnyder, *Remembering,* 173–4. Remensnyder believes that Charroux borrowed certain elements from the *Descriptio qualiter* but only to augment its own tradition concerning the Holy Virtue. This seems possible if we accept a *c.*1080 date for the *Descriptio qualiter,* a 1085 visit to Philip I's court by monks of Charroux, and a *c.*1095 date for their *Historia.*

[80] Remensnyder, *Remembering,* 78.

Robert of Péronne's donation to the monastery.[81] In both diplomas, Philip was not donating land or conceding rights to Charroux, but rather acting as the abbey's (at least theoretical) advocate. Philip was acting like a Carolingian, replicating what no king—and significantly no Capetian king—had done since Charles the Bald. His sudden interest in Charroux in the late 1070s seems all the more noteworthy then. Just as with the relic translation at Compiègne in 1079, Philip reinserted himself into an explicitly Carolingian legacy at a site of Carolingian memory. Abbot Fulcrad's attendance at Philip's court in 1085 and the abbey's later *Historia* were both attempts by Charroux to assert itself as a royal, Frankish monastery.

The *Descriptio qualiter*'s connection to Philip seems more murky. Scholars are almost universally agreed that the *Descriptio qualiter* originated at Saint-Denis.[82] Yet, there are significant problems with this conclusion. Perhaps most damning in this regard is that there is no evidence Saint-Denis knew of the text before the abbacy of Odo of Deuil (abbot, 1151–62).[83] In the later Middle Ages, Saint-Denis developed a reputation for promoting a special legendary relationship with Charlemagne but before Odo's abbacy, its devotion most often fell to Dagobert I (608–38/9) and Charles the Bald.[84] Indeed, even after becoming advocate for the abbey,

---

[81] There are three documents (out of twenty-four) in the *Liber de Constitutione* authored by people other than kings/emperors or popes. Even among these three, one is (purportedly) written by Roger of Limoges and is tied closely to the foundation legends of the monastery, and hence to Charlemagne (so, 2/24 = ~8%). Other diplomas from the period covered by the cartulary (*c.*800–*c.*1100) did survive, even at Charroux's scriptorium, but they are not included in the cartulary. They are included in *Chartes et documents*, ed. de Monsabert, 86–126.

[82] See du Pouget, 'Recherches', *Positions des thèses*, 41–4; Folz, *Souvenir*, 179; Levillain, 'Essai', 261–2.

[83] Suger says that he remembers pilgrims visiting the relics at Saint-Denis when he was a child oblate (in the 1090s) but the first mention of the relics at Saint-Denis by someone else is a charter given to Saint-Denis by Bishop Henry of Senlis sometime between 1183 and 1185. See Suger, *Scriptum consecrationis ecclesiae sancti Dionysii*, in *Œuvres*, ed. Françoise Gasparri, 2 vols. (Paris, 1996), i. 8–10; *Papsturkunden in Frankreich*, Neue Folge, ed. Rolf Grosse, 9 vols. (Göttingen, 1998), ix. 234. This charter from Senlis would make sense in the context of Odo's tireless promotion of the *Descriptio qualiter*. His program included forged diplomas, a history of the Holy Shroud for the priory of Argenteuil, and two roundels depicting scenes from the *Descriptio qualiter* in a crusading window for the abbey's church. Although Robert Barroux and Marc du Pouget have argued that the diplomas and Argenteuil text originated under Suger, Co van de Kieft, Brown, and Cothren have convincingly refuted their arguments. Robert Barroux, 'L'Abbé Suger et la vassalité du Vexin en 1124', *Le Moyen Âge,* 64 (1958), 1–26; Marc du Pouget, 'Le Légende carolingienne à Saint-Denis: Le Donation de Charlemagne au retour de Roncevaux', *Société des Sciences, Lettres, et Arts de Bayonne,* 135 (1979), 58; C. Van de Kieft, 'Deux diplômes faux de Charlemagne pour Saint-Denis, du XII^{e} siècle', *Le Moyen Age,* 64 (1958), 401–36; and Brown and Cothren, 'Crusading Window', 32–3. On the windows, see Brown and Cothren, 'Crusading Window', 37–8.

[84] Hincmar of Reims's (845–82) *Gesta Dagoberti* emphasized the special place Saint-Denis (and St Denis) had in Dagobert's affections. After Philip I's death in 1108, Abbot Adam of Saint-Denis instituted a feast commemorating Dagobert—not Charlemagne or Charles the Bald—for the benefit of the new king, Louis VI. Suger continued this tradition, displaying no real devotion to Charlemagne, while his 'special royal heroes appear to have been Dagobert . . . , and Charles the Bald'. See respectively Gabrielle M. Spiegel, 'The Cult of Saint Denis and Capetian Kingship', *Journal of Medieval History,* 1 (1975), 51–2; idem, *The Chronicle Tradition of Saint-Denis: A Survey* (Brookline, Mass., 1978), 28; and Brown and Cothren, 'Crusading Window', 25. Jean Dunbabin also comments on the pre-eminence of Charles the Bald as emperor and relic-collector in 12th-cent. Anjou. See idem, 'Discovering a Past for the French Aristocracy', in Paul Magdalino (ed.), *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe* (London, 1992), 7.

King Philip I never emphasized any sort of special relationship with either Saint-Denis or St Denis. In 1085/6, Philip I did place his son, later King Louis VI, in the care of Saint-Denis for his education[85] but Philip promoted St Remigius as the monarchy's patron and gave most of his attention to religious houses the Capetians had heretofore neglected, such as Saint-Maur-les-Fossés, Saint-Corneille of Compiègne, and Fleury.[86]

In most translation narratives, miracles occur at the site of the relic's new resting place, legitimizing the place. The original site associated with the relic 'travels' with the relic itself.[87] But in the *Descriptio qualiter*, the miracles all occur before the relics reach their final destinations. There are no litanies of miracles at Aachen, Saint-Corneille, or Saint-Denis. Instead, the *Descriptio qualiter*'s litany of miracles occur for Charlemagne, enhancing his power, legitimizing the translator as much as, if not more than, the translation. For example, it is not incidental, I think, that Charlemagne himself carries the relics back to Aachen from Constantinople. After Charlemagne's death, Charles the Bald brings the narrative to a close by passing the relics to Saint-Corneille and Saint-Denis. One could remove the religious houses from the *Descriptio qualiter* and the account would still stand as a story about Charlemagne's legendary journey to the East, with Charles the Bald as continuator of Charlemagne's legacy, and the current patron of Saint-Corneille and Saint-Denis as continuator of that Carolingian legacy. Unlike Charroux's *Historia*, the *Descriptio qualiter* is not about a monastery. It tells a story about a ruler, his activities, and his relics.

As Levillain so astutely recognized in his seminal article on Lendit, the *Descriptio qualiter* highlights a nexus between relics, religious foundation(s), and royal/imperial power; a nexus present in northern Francia under King Philip I but not earlier in the eleventh century. Functionally, the *Descriptio qualiter* created a legitimizing genealogy for King Philip I and fit well within an overarching program in the 1070s and 1080s intended to tie him back to the Carolingians. Shortly before 1080,

---

[85] Louis left Saint-Denis in 1092, when he was appointed count of the Vexin (perhaps naturally, given his connection to Saint-Denis) at the age of 11. See Grosse, *Saint-Denis*, 92. Philip also did, it seems, try to help Saint-Denis re-establish its authority around Paris though, for he realized that he would profit by limiting the independence of the seigneurs there. See Thomas G. Waldman, 'Saint-Denis et les premiers Capétians', in Dominique Iogna-Prat and Jean-Charles Picard (eds.), *Religion et culture autour de l'an mil: Royaume capétien et Lotharingie* (Paris, 1990), 191–2, 195.

[86] On Philip and St Remigius, see Spiegel, *Chronicle Tradition*, 28. Philip I especially favored Fleury during his reign. He offered ten diplomas in the abbey's favor, twice as many as he gave for his next most favored religious house (significantly, Saint-Corneille of Compiègne). Philip also visited Fleury on several occasions and, as shown in the subscriptions of his diplomas, was almost constantly accompanied by its abbots. His burial at Fleury in 1108 signaled not only his affection for the abbey but also an effort to move the royal necropolis away from Saint-Denis. See *La Chronique de Morigny*, ed. Léon Mirot (Paris, 1912), 10–11; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, tr. R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom (Oxford, 1998), 731–3; Hugh of Cluny, *Ad Philippum regum*, PL 159: 930–2; Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le Roi est mort: Étude sur les funérailles, les sépultres, et les tombeaux des rois de France jusqu'à la fin du XIII^{e} siècle* (Geneva, 1975), 75; Andrew W. Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France: Studies on Familial Order and the State* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), 49; and Crosby and Blum, *Royal Abbey*, 9.

[87] Rosamond McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, Ind., 2006), 54. For example, see the section on Charroux above.

Philip's brother Hugh, married Adela of Vermandois, whose family was proud of its Carolingian ancestry. Even Philip's first wife, Bertha of Holland, whom he married in 1072, was proud of her descent from the Carolingians.[88] This is especially significant, given that Philip gave his first son and projected heir a name not used since the Carolingians (Louis), on his birth in 1081 (two years after the translation of the Holy Shroud at Saint-Corneille), a decision that broke Capetian tradition to that point (Philip's father was Henry, his grandfather Robert, his great-grandfather Hugh, and his brothers Robert and Hugh as well).[89] Philip may have even had another son with a Carolingian name (Charles), who died in infancy.[90] In his diplomas, Philip skipped generations of ancestors—namely his family—in order to instead style himself as a direct successor to the Carolingians.[91] Those diplomas also make clear that Philip was greatly concerned with long-neglected sites of Carolingian memory such as Charroux, Saint-Maur-les-Fossés,[92] Saint-Corneille, and Senlis.[93] Lest we forget, all of these sites are tied specifically to either Charlemagne or Charles the Bald, the two main protagonists of the *Descriptio qualiter*.

---

[88] Bull, 'Capetian Monarchy', 33.

[89] Lewis, *Royal Succession*, 47–8. The importance of aristocratic naming should not be underestimated. Jean Dunbabin has demonstrated that King Henry I of France (1031–60) had chosen a name for his first son, Philip, intended to demonstrate Henry's 'piety, his goodwill towards his wife, his political optimism, his grasp of Christian history, his consciousness of the peculiar status of the Franks as the chosen people, and his personal conviction that the end of the world was near'. One would not stretch too far to suggest that Philip thought just as much about his choice of name for his son. Jean Dunbabin, 'What's in a Name? Philip, King of France', *Speculum,* 68 (1993), 949–68, quotation at 968.

[90] A donation to the monastery of Chaalis by Louis VI mentions a brother named Charles. Other texts from the monastery are problematic though. See Lewis, *Royal Succession*, 243 n. 10. If Philip indeed had a son named Charles, who was born after Louis, Philip would have been following the example of Charles the Bald (again). Charles named his first son Louis (the Stammerer, 877–9) and his second son Charles (king of Aquitaine, 855–66). Also like Charles the Bald, Philip placed *his* son Louis under the protection of Saint-Denis. See the genealogy in Janet L. Nelson, *Charles the Bald* (London, 1992), 310–11.

[91] e.g. *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, ed. Prou, no. 40. In this diploma, Philip confirms the privileges given to Saint-Denis by his predecessors. He only names Merovingians and Carolingians. Philip does invoke his father Henry I numerous times in his diplomas, but Hugh Capet and Robert the Pious rarely appear.

[92] Saint-Maur-les-Fossés was founded by the Merovingians. Monks from Glanfeuil fled there in 868, bringing relics of St Maur and beginning a protracted, nearly 250-year struggle between the abbeys for rights to those relics and over the dependence of which abbey on which. The Carolingians, beginning with Charles the Bald and continuing through Charles the Simple, were intimately involved in this controversy and so were well remembered there. See the summary in DHGE 21: 141–5.

[93] Much of Philip's interest in Senlis was practical, since the abbey of Saint-Vincent of Senlis was founded by his mother and the town, similar to Compiègne, stood at about the farthest extent of effective royal power, quite close to Normandy. The bishops of Senlis also seem to have been quite important at court and their appointment was a royal prerogative until *c.*1120 (although it began to slip away in 1099 when Bishop Hubert, who was earlier Philip I's chancellor, was invested directly by Pope Pascal II). Bishop Ursio of Senlis was the one who consecrated Philip I's bigamous marriage to Bertrada in 1092. But also similar to Compiègne, Senlis was an important palace for the late Carolingians, especially under Charles the Bald, who spent a great deal of time there. On Philip's interest in Senlis, see Fliche, *Le Règne*, 50, 96, 154; Olivier Guyotjeannin, 'Les Évêques dans l'entourage royal sous les premiers Capétians', in Michel Parisse and Xavier Barral I Altet (eds.), *Le Roi de France et son royaume autour de l'an mil: Actes du Colloque Hugues Capet 987–1987* (Paris, 1992), 96; Reinhold Kaiser, *Bischofsherrschaft zwischen Königtum und Fürstenmacht: Studien zur bischöflichen Stadtherrschaft im westfränkisch-französischen Reich im frühen und hohen Mittelalter* (Bonn, 1981), 490; and

The *Descriptio qualiter* created a tradition linking King Philip I to certain religious houses and to a tradition of royal/imperial patronage. In effect, the text moves imperial authority west along with the christological relics, from Jerusalem, to Constantinople, to Aachen, and finally to Saint-Denis and Saint-Corneille. More importantly, it suggests that *imperium* moves west through its *rulers*, from Christ himself, to Constantine, Charlemagne, Charles the Bald, and eventually to Philip I.[94] The Cross and Crown of Christ, his imperial symbols,[95] were deposited by Constantine and Helena at Constantinople, where they remained until given by—note, another—Constantine to Charlemagne, who translated them to Aachen after he had re-established proper order in the empire by expelling the Muslims from Jerusalem. The relics stayed at Aachen until Charles the Bald, the first west Frankish king, translated them once again to Saint-Corneille and Saint-Denis. Then, implicitly, Philip I begins the next chapter of this narrative. By resuming royal advocacy for Saint-Denis, by participating in and later commemorating the translation of the Holy Shroud at Saint-Corneille, and by instituting fairs at both Saint-Denis and Saint-Corneille to celebrate those relics, Philip confirmed those relics' previous translations and added another layer of royal patronage to these houses.[96]

Despite their common connections to Philip I, one should hesitate before asserting the dependence of the *Historia* upon the *Descriptio qualiter*, or vice versa. Like Monte Soratte, Charroux was a site of Carolingian memory in its own right, having a direct link to Charles the Bald, Louis the Pious, and Charlemagne (through one of his illegitimate sons). As discussed above, although both the *Descriptio qualiter* and the *Historia* focus on the translations of christological relics by Carolingians, they differ in how they deal with the points of contact between relic, monastery, and ruler. In the *Descriptio qualiter*, the relics' miracles all occur while in Charlemagne's possession. They occur for him. In the *Historia*, the miracles all occur for Charroux, legitimizing the *translation* directly but the *translator* only implicitly. The *Descriptio qualiter* is about a ruler and his relics. The *Historia* is about a monastery and its relics. These are two distinct texts, originating in two distinct places, telling two distinct stories.

Papsturkunden in Frankreich, Neue Folge, ed. Dietrich Lohrmann, 9 vols. (Göttingen, 1976), vii. 69. On Senlis and Charles the Bald, see Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, 36 n. 66, 57 n. 35, 209 n. 101, and 227.

[94] For more on this *translatio imperii* topos in the text, see Latowsky, 'Imaginative Possession', 100–7. Note here, however, that Rome is conspicuously absent. See Ch. 4, below.

[95] These symbols were particularly potent as they would both be offered to God by the Last Emperor just before the appearance of antichrist. See the Tiburtine Sibyl, *Explanatio Somnii*, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen*, ed. Ernst Sackur (Halle, 1898), 185–6; Pseudo-Methodius, *Sermo de Regnum Cantium*, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen*, ed. Ernst Sackur (Halle, 1898), 89–93; and the numerous reworkings of Adso Dervensis' tract on the antichrist compiled in *De ortu et tempore Antichristi*, ed. Daniel Verhelst, CCCM 45 (Turnhout, 1976). For more on the Last Emperor legend, see Ch. 4 below.

[96] Although there is no evidence that Philip I saw the *Descriptio qualiter*, it is possible that he knew of it. For example, see Nelson's comments on how Nithard's *Histories* likely circulated and influenced Charles the Bald's court. Janet L. Nelson, 'History-Writing at the Courts of Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald', in Anton Scharer and Georg Scheibelreiter (eds.), *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter* (Vienna, 1994), 438–40: also Yitzhak Hen, 'The Annals of Metz and the Merovingian Past', in *Uses of the Past*, 178.

And yet, along with numerous other sources discussed in Chapter 1, both narratives speak of Charlemagne's power *vis-à-vis* the East in similar ways. Charlemagne is clearly the pre-eminent earthly power in Charroux's *Historia* and the Capetian *Descriptio qualiter*. What ties all these sources together?

Aside from Benedict of Monte Soratte's *Chronicon*, Charroux's *Historia*, the *Descriptio qualiter*, and the texts directly dependent upon them, there are others that recount Charlemagne's legendary journey to the East. The First Crusade accounts of the anonymous *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*, Peter Tudebode, and Robert of Reims all mentioned that the crusade armies of Godfrey de Bouillon followed Charlemagne's overland route to Constantinople.[97] The Oxford *Chanson de Roland*, written in Anglo-Norman, sings of Charlemagne's conquest of Constantinople and hints at his future conquests in the East.[98] The early twelfth-century *Chronicon* from Saint-Pierre-le-Vif of Sens noted that the monastery received the head of St Quiriacus from Charlemagne, who had brought the relic back with him from Jerusalem.[99] None of these seem to have anything to do with any other.

The few scholars who have systematically discussed Charlemagne's journey to the East have long linked all the sources of the legend together, often simply presuming their interdependence without offering any substantial evidence to support this presumption.[100] We may suppose that pilgrims or other guests at monastic houses could have encountered each version of the Charlemagne legend in the various ways those houses commemorated their relics, especially around feast days. Jongleurs sang about saints, clerics preached in chapter and in the marketplace, etc. Sermons and songs composed at the time of (and after) the Carolingians often included material taken from histories, hagiographies, relic translations, and miracles, and even contained references to current events.[101] Many could have heard of Charlemagne's journey via this route, even if we have no firm evidence that this happened.

---

[97] *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymatinorum*, tr. Rosalind Hill (London, 1962), 2; Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, RHC Occ 3: 10–11; and Robert of Reims, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, RHC Occ 3: 732. Given their likely provenance, these texts may ultimately be indebted to the *Descriptio qualiter* but that connection has yet to be definitively shown. Jay Rubenstein has now made a compelling case about the relationship between the anonymous *Gesta* and Peter Tudebode, in which Rubenstein argues that both likely derive from an earlier text that comprised a loose collection of sermons and/or 'campfire stories'. The *Gesta* compiler gave that collection more shape and Tudebode lightly glossed that text. It would make sense that, in the end, Robert essentially did what the *Gesta* compiler did for his text. Yet we should consider them independent voices in some regards. Despite their close relationship, each author made choices about what to include and it seems notable that all three decided it was appropriate to call the Via Egnatia 'Charlemagne's Road'. See Jay Rubenstein, 'What is the *Gesta Francorum* and Who was Peter Tudebode?', *Revue Mabillon,* 16 (2005), 179–204; Jean Flori, 'De l'anonyme normand à Tudebode et aux *Gesta Francorum*: L'Impact de la propagande de Bohémond sur la critique textuelle des sources de la Première Croisade', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 102 (2007), 717–46; and on the 'theological refinement' to which Robert *et al.* subjected the *Gesta*, see Riley-Smith, *First Crusade*, 135–52.

[98] See the discussion in Matthew Gabriele, 'Asleep at the Wheel? Apocalypticism, Messianism and Charlemagne's Passivity in the Oxford *Chanson de Roland*', *Nottingham Medieval Studies,* 43 (2003), 60–3.

[99] *Chronicon sancti Petri Vivi Senonensis*, ed. Robert-Henri Bautier and Monique Gilles (Paris, 1979), 62. Saint-Pierre-le-Vif had close contacts with Fleury and Philip I in the 11th cent., so it is possible that this is how the monks heard of Charlemagne's journey to the East.

[100] The Charroux account is, however, only mentioned by scholars of the abbey and the minor accounts are rarely noted. For example, see Ralph Lützelschwab, 'Zwischen Heilsvermittlung und Ärgernis: Das *prepuitum Domini* im Mittelalter', *Pecia,* 8/11 (2005), 617–18; Giosuè Musca, *Carlo Magno*, 77–8; Barton Sholod, 'Charlemagne: Symbolic Link between the Eighth and Eleventh Century Crusades', in *Studies in Honor of M. J. Bernadete* (New York, 1965), 38–40; Jules Horrent, *Roncesvalles: Étude sur le fragment de cantar de gesta conservé à l'Archivo de Navarre (Pampelune)* (Paris, 1951), 203–4; and Folz, *Souvenir*, 180.

There is no perceptible sense of development among the sources created before 1100—no extant intermediary source between any two of the texts, no textual dependence of one on another. And we don't need to find any.[102] Instead, I would suggest that these narratives are not so much 'different' as 'separate', not so much products of different traditions as distinct products of a common tradition, linked by their common theme. As seen in Chapter 1, the early medieval West had a pervasive preoccupation with the legendary Charlemagne. This preoccupation did not always textually manifest itself in the same way, appearing, disappearing, and reappearing in different garb before the twelfth century, but there remained something tangibly similar among the different sources discussed above—a consensus of sorts on the nature of Charlemagne's power, manifested, in this case, most clearly in his domination over the East.

In creating new accounts, all three major pre-1100 sources of Charlemagne's journey to the East pushed against the boundaries between memory and history. Keith Baker's definitions of the two terms is perhaps best: 'History is memory contested; memory is history controlled and fixed.'[103] The two terms are not fixed and oppositional, even if they represent distinct, competing discursive strategies aimed at controlling the past. Authors constantly redrew the line separating the two ideas. People in the tenth and eleventh centuries were aware of the great distance separating them from the Golden Age of Charlemagne's reign. To narrow that gap, each author therefore made a choice. 'History' ascended by challenging memory, either continuing or restoring a dialogue about the past, emphasizing distance and difference, hence establishing a vertical (dissimilar) connection. 'Memory' ascended by fixing what had once been contested, flattening the relationship with the past into a horizontal (similar) connection, creating a sense of continuity by choking off dialogue that might problematize the relationship between past and present.

---

[101] On the uses and transmission of hagiography, see the summary in Samantha Kahn Herrick, *Imagining the Sacred Past: Hagiography and Power in Early Normandy* (Cambridge, Mass., 2007), 6–9. On sermons, see Thomas N. Hall, 'The Early Medieval Sermon', in Beverly Mayne Kienzle (ed.), *The Sermon* (Turnhout, 2000), 213, 247–8. On travelers and their reception at hostels and monasteries, see Bat-Sheva Albert, *Le Pèlerinage à l'époque carolingienne* (Brussels, 1999), 277–322; Julie Kerr, *Monastic Hospitality: The Benedictines in England, c.1070–c.1250* (Rochester, NY, 2007).

[102] Bédier and Zucchetti hint at this conclusion. See Bédier, *Legendes épiques*, iv. 135; and *Il Chronicon di Benedetto*, ed. Zucchetti, pp. xxix–xxxi. My conclusions here are a bit different than Rosamond McKitterick, who has recently argued that we ought to trace Carolingian texts through 'networks of information' that connect different sources. Here, there wasn't one and needn't have been one. See McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past*, 67; and Helmut Reimitz, 'The Art of Truth: Historiography and Identity in the Frankish World', in Richard Corradini (ed.), *Texts and Identities in the Early Middle Ages* (Vienna, 2006), 88–9, 97.

[103] Keith Michael Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution: Essays on French Political Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1990), 56.

Benedict of St Andrew lamented the distance he saw between his own time and the Golden Age of Charlemagne's reign. He extolled the virtues of Charlemagne but contrasted them with the Ottonians. No better example of this can be found than Benedict's lament for the city under Otto II, in the very last sentences of the *Chronicon*.

> Woe Rome! So many have oppressed and abused you; you who were captured by the Saxon king, your people put to the sword, and your power reduced to nothing . . . ! You conquered noble peoples, you trod on the world, you butchered the kings of the earth. Rome held the scepter and greatest power; [but the city now has been] forcefully plundered and polluted by the Saxon king. . . . Woe Leonine city . . . ! For a long time you have been held; truly, if only [you were] untouched by the Saxon king![104]

The passage likely refers to how far the city has fallen since the time of Augustus but it also, and perhaps more directly, refers to how far it has fallen from Charlemagne—the Golden Age that Benedict himself earlier discussed. Benedict chronicled an inverted parabola of rulers, stretching from Julian the Apostate through Otto II; we slowly ascend to Charlemagne, then descend thereafter. Benedict wanted to create history: to problematize memory by reigniting a discussion about the proper place of Rome and the papacy, showing the variations in the city's fortunes during the reigns of successive rulers—from its apex under Charlemagne to its current nadir under Otto II.

Charroux's *Historia* and the *Descriptio qualiter* conversely suggested continuity, creating memory by fixing history. The Charroux legend narrated the intimate connection between Charlemagne and the abbey at its foundation through a clear, unbroken, legitimating litany of miracles performed by the Holy Virtue. The narrative creates horizontal links (similarities) between Charroux and Jerusalem and between Charlemagne's Golden Age and the time of the text's composition, with the Holy Virtue as the bridge between them. In other words, the author attempted to create an equivalence: Charroux was just like Jerusalem, and Charlemagne's Golden Age was just like the author's own time, all because of the Holy Virtue. But at the same time, the Holy Virtue constantly reminded the reader of Charroux's one particular vertical (unequal), but timeless connection—Jesus as patron.[105] The *Descriptio qualiter* closed its account with the translations of Charlemagne's relics to sites contemporarily important to Frankish kings, thus stressing not only the legitimating nature of the Carolingians' association with these places, but also these sites' continuing relevance to religious and secular power. Saint-Corneille and Saint-Denis connect, through their relics and through their royal/imperial patrons, directly to Aachen, Constantinople, and Jerusalem. As patron of these houses and their relics, Philip I connected to those ideal rulers from the past.

---

[104] 'Vé Roma! quia tantis gentis oppressa et conculcata; qui etiam a Saxone rege appreensa fuistis, et gladiati populi tui, et robor tua ad nichilum redacta est . . . ! Celsa tuarum triumphasti gentibus, mundum calcasti, iugulasti regibus terre; sceptrum tenebat et potestas maxima; a Saxone rege expoliata et menstruata fortiter. . . . Vê civitas Leoniana! dudum capta fuistis, modo vero a Saxonicum rege relicta!' Benedict, *Chronicon*, 719.

[105] Remensnyder speaks of something similar, writing that monasteries in Aquitaine during this period commonly asserted themselves to be part of the center, hence receptacles of royal/celestial power. See Amy G. Remensnyder, 'Topographies of Memory: Center and Periphery in High Medieval France', in Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried, and Patrick J. Geary (eds.), *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography* (Cambridge, 2002), 199–200.

So, despite these differences in intent and content, all the sources discussed above, both major and minor, were participating in the same discussion. Charlemagne was the summit of Frankish power. And the roots of that discussion lay in the agendas of Charlemagne's contemporaries and near-contemporaries. Thanks to recent scholarship by Rosamond McKitterick (among others), we now better understand the nature of Carolingian historical sources. The *ARF*, for example, should be recognized 'not just as the clever construction it once was, but also as a collaborative piece of image making by many Frankish scribes over a number of decades'.[106] Carolingian histories like the *ARF*, *Annales Mettenses priores*, or Nithard's *Histories*, better called 'public' than 'official', reflected royal patronage but filtered it through the concerns and interests of their respective authors, representing 'many reflections of an "official viewpoint" coloured by the particular views of an individual compiler'.[107] And as soon as the Carolingians took power, their goal was to legitimize their line. Pro-Carolingian authors offered a gloss on the past in order to shape how they were later understood. Events required explanation and Carolingian success was the greatest proof of all of their legitimacy.[108] For instance, in the *ARF*, written in several stages between 790 and 829, all things led to Charlemagne. Pepin the Short's (751/2–68) reign served as an essential prelude to that of his son, while the ninth century becomes a necessary adjunct to the Golden Age of the eighth by palely reflecting its themes. The eighth century was, just shortly after its passing, portrayed as a Golden Age with Charlemagne as its centerpiece.[109]

---

[106] Rosamond McKitterick, 'Constructing the Past in the Early Middle Ages', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser. 7 (1997), 119; idem, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2004), 110–11; and idem, 'Political Ideology in Carolingian Historiography', in *Uses of the Past*, 168–9. On image-making at Charlemagne's court, see now the excellent Paul Edward Dutton, 'KAROLVS MAGNVS or KAROLVS FELIX? The Making of Charlemagne's Reputation and Legend', in *Legend of Charlemagne*, 23–37.

[107] Yitzhak Hen, 'The Annals of Metz and the Merovingian Past', in *Uses of the Past*, 178. Also, see the reassessment of Nithard's intentions, in Nelson, 'History-Writing', 435–42.

[108] McKitterick, *History and Memory*, 131, 272. In part, the process of legitimizing the line involved denigrating the Merovingians. See Paul Fouracre, 'The Long Shadow of the Merovingians', in Joanna Story (ed.), *Charlemagne: Empire and Society* (Manchester, 2005), 17–19; Rosamond McKitterick, 'The Illusion of Royal Power in the Carolingian Annals', *English Historical Review*, 115 (2000), 16–18; A. Gauert, 'Noch einmal Einhard und die letzten Merowinger', in L. Fenske (ed.), *Institutionen, Kultur und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter: Festschrift für Josef Fleckstein zu seinem 65. Geburtstag* (Sigmaringen, 1984), 59–72.

[109] This includes the well-known 'reviser', who wrote 814–20. Roger Collins, 'The "Reviser" Revisited: Another Look at the Alternate Version of the *Annales regni Francorum*', in Alexander Callander Murray (ed.), *After Rome's Fall: Narrators and Sources of Early Medieval History (Essays Presented to Walter Goffart)* (Toronto, 1998), 198; McKitterick, 'Constructing', 123–4. On the dating of the text, see Roger Collins, *Charlemagne* (Toronto, 1998), 4–6. On Carolingian histories generally, see McKitterick, *History and Memory*, 127–8, 131–2. On the *Annales Mettenses priores* specifically, see McKitterick, *History and Memory*, 125–6; Hen, 'Annals of Metz', 186–90.

Although modern historians may have subscribed to the constructed fictions of these Carolingian authors, until recently describing Charlemagne's reign as virtually unblemished—a metaphorical light shining in a dark age—I would argue that our medieval counterparts were not so fooled.[110] A medieval author never intended to discover the past *wie es eigentlich gewesen ist*.[111] The impact of the 'linguistic turn', combined with the new interest among modern historians (especially historians of the Middle Ages) in memorial practice, has called into question our understanding of medieval authorial intention. We now rightly recognize how very tenuous the line between (modern conceptions of) fact and fiction was in the Middle Ages, and how memory, reading, and writing were not so much concerned with what *was* as with what *ought to have been*. Essentially, we recognize how malleable the past was in the Middle Ages, being updated continually to suit the needs of the present.[112]

Of course, 'even invented pasts could not be created freely, they had to be likely enough to have come to pass'.[113] To take just one example, Benedict's account of how Charles took possession of the Holy Places may stem from him simply misreading Einhard but I would suggest that Benedict consciously reshaped the narrative to conform with what he believed had 'actually' happened. Einhard said that Harun granted Charles the Holy Sepulcher because of their great friendship, so Benedict said that Charlemagne had actually gone East to receive its submission himself because this probably made sense to him. As Mary Carruthers has so effectively illustrated, 'the "inaccuracy" we find so frequently in medieval citation is often . . . the result of a deliberate choice on the authors' part, either at the stage of initial memorizing or (and I think more frequently) at that of composing'. In other words, medieval reading was active, making little distinction between what had been read in a book and what that reader had actually experienced.[114]

Any given author or reader would have ingrained mental *catenae* of associations for certain key words. It would only be necessary to 'dream' on such words to reach conclusions perhaps originally unintended. Mayke de Jong points out that readers must have recognized the reference by Hincmar of Reims and by the *Annals of Fulda* to the stench of Charles the Bald's corpse as invoking Antiochus from the book of Maccabees. Readers of Hrabanus Maurus' commentary on Maccabees would also have recognized the reference to the antichrist. The Rhenish armies of the First Crusade similarly took the language of 'Jerusalem, Charlemagne,

---

[110] The claim of modern historians being fooled is from McKitterick, 'Illusion of Royal Power', 4. See also the comments of Richard E. Sullivan, 'The Carolingian Age: Reflections on its Place in the History of the Middle Ages', *Speculum,* 64 (1989), 279.

[111] The phrase is Leopold von Ranke's, although Peter Novick explained that Ranke likely did not mean it as literally as it has since been interpreted. See the discussion in Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The 'Objectivity Question' and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, 1988), 26–30.

[112] Catherine Cubitt, 'Memory and Narrative in the Cult of the Early Anglo-Saxon Saints', in *Uses of the Past*, 31; Patrick J. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton, 1994), 177–81; Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993), 10; among others. See also the discussion in the Introduction, above.

[113] Walter Pohl, 'Memory, Identity and Power in Lombard Italy', in *Uses of the Past*, 27.

[114] Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1990), 89 (quotation), also 168–9, 190.

Sepulcher, [and] infidels or enemies of Christ' in Urban's call as a reference to the Last Emperor legend, hence an exhortation to attack Jews during their march to the Holy Land.[115] Reading and 'consuming' a text made it the reader's own, and he could impart meaning to it that may not have originally been present. In the case of our great Frankish emperor, 'Charlemagne' meant 'Golden Age', 'Christendom', 'Holy Land', 'power', 'protector', 'relics', etc.—all ideas manifested in all of our sources, albeit in different measure.[116]

The obvious bears restating: words are multivalent. Keith Baker wrote that 'individual acts and utterances may therefore take on meanings within several different fields of discourse simultaneously. . . . Thus language can say more than any individual actor intends: meanings can be appropriated and extended by others in unanticipated ways.'[117] And this, I think, is a critical point. While we ought to be sure that we do not minimize the contextual differences that separate our sources, we should also recognize the striking similarities in how they portray Charlemagne's empire and how each source similarly plays with that common conception. All these sources dealt with Charlemagne and, especially during the eleventh century, they tended to illustrate his power, his glory, by talking about his relationship with the East. Much of this eastward gaze had to do with Charlemagne himself, but there were also other tenth- and eleventh-century developments we should consider. They are the subject of the next chapter.

---

[115] Mayke de Jong, 'The Empire as *Ecclesia*: Hrabanus Maurus and Biblical *Historia* for Rulers', in *Uses of the Past*, 223; Jean Flori, 'Une ou plusieurs "Prèmiere Croisade?" Le Message d'Urbain II et les plus anciens pogroms d'Occident', *Revue Historique,* 285 (1991), 22; and Matthew Gabriele, 'Against the Enemies of Christ: The Role of Count Emicho in the Anti-Jewish Violence of the First Crusade', in Michael Frassetto (ed.), *Christian Attitudes toward the Jews in the Middle Ages: A Casebook* (New York, 2006), 61–82. On the power of rhetoric and ideology in the First Crusade, see Ch. 5, below.

[116] This is similar to Eugene Vance's conception of Charlemagne as discourse. See his 'Semiotics and Power: Relics, Icons, and the "Voyage de Charlemagne à Jérusalem et à Constantinople" ', *Romanic Review,* 79 (1988), 170–1.

[117] Baker, *Inventing,* 7. For example, 'Babe Ruth' may mean 'baseball' or 'New York Yankees', while to others it may also mean 'home runs' and 'curse of the Bambino', while to still others the name can also mean 'pitcher' and 'Lou Gehrig' and 'Yankee stadium'. A text on Ruth might not explicitly evoke all of these associations but a knowledgeable reader encountering that text would likely make the missing associations anyway. Meaning does not inherently reside in text or reader but in the peculiar interplay between specific text and specific reader.

PART II

JERUSALEM

3

New Jerusalems and Pilgrimage to the East before 1100

Latin Christianity has always had a deeply nuanced relationship with Palestine. For ancient, medieval, and modern Christians, 'Jerusalem' has conjured a jumbled series of images: the Promised Land, Davidic kingship, Jesus' ministry, his passion, and the promised paradise—whether spiritual or terrestrial—for the elect at the end of time. At times, and especially during the eleventh century, the West palpably longed for the city. Churches dedicated to or modeled after the Holy Sepulcher sprang up throughout Europe. Relics of the human Christ, many linked to his life and death in Jerusalem and often said to have come directly from the East, proliferated across Latin Christendom.[1] Pilgrimage to the Holy Land increased in frequency and the century was punctuated by several large groups traveling to the East together.

In previous chapters, we have seen how the boundaries of Charlemagne's imagined empire seemed to expand inexorably eastwards. But, to risk stating the obvious, the Charlemagne legend did not develop in a vacuum. The legend interacted with and at times grew alongside the West's peculiar, and changing, conception of Jerusalem, a conception that is critical to the development of the Charlemagne legend. Many who lived during the eleventh century may have desired the city, but for very long periods the medieval West seemed to think that Jerusalem was largely irrelevant. So, let us now turn and gaze at Jerusalem, pilgrimage, and how those ideas could excite the eleventh-century mind in particular.

JERUSALEM AND THE WEST BEFORE THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

Generally dictated by an ever-changing combination of anti-Jewish sentiment and political pragmatism, if any one word could characterize the early medieval Christian West's relationship with the city of Jerusalem, that word would be 'inconsistent'. A large segment of early Christians went to some length to play down the importance of the terrestrial city in an attempt to distinguish their new cult from its sibling, rabbinic Judaism. Paul himself had argued that the city was no longer important to the practice of religion and many early Christians believed that Jesus' death heralded the end of the old city and birth of a new, spiritual city.[2] Jerusalem's destruction and the dispersal of the Jews in 70 CE only seemed to confirm the truth of Christianity in the minds of many of these early thinkers and reinforced the perceived transience of the earthly city.[3]

---

[1] Sylvia Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City: Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West (1099–1187)* (Burlington, Vt., 2005), 1–2; A. Frolow, *La Relique de la Vraie Croix: Recherches sur le développment d'un culte* (Paris, 1961).

So, in their early centuries, Christians began to read Jerusalem as one would a text. Historically, Jerusalem was the city of the Jews, allegorically it was the Church, anagogically the heavenly city (paradise), and tropologically the soul of man.[4] The historical understanding of Jerusalem—the city of the patriarchs, prophets, kings, and apostles—quickly came to occupy the third or fourth rank in this hermeneutic, as the anagogical Jerusalem—the new, spiritual city founded by Jesus—triumphed. Thus, the city as the site of Jesus' suffering and sacrifice gave way to the transcendental images that populate the book of Revelation.[5] Jerome (d. 419/20), following Eusebius (d. 339/40), etymologically defined Jerusalem as *visio pacis* and linked it with the city of the elect and the world to come. Augustine (d. 430) concurred, portraying Jerusalem as the ark, the allegorized Church, that carried the faithful on their continuous pilgrimage towards salvation.[6]

Constantine (306–37) and his mother Helena (d. 329), as they are wont to do, problematized all this. By transforming the physical landscape of the city, replacing the small Roman town of Aelia Capitolina with the new Christian city of Jerusalem, Constantine offered Christians an alternative to a simple narrative of Christianity's movement away from the terrestrial Jerusalem and towards a more spiritual and figurative understanding of the holy city.[7] But even this building program shared something with earlier Christian conceptions of the city. Eusebius of Caesarea compared God's command to build the original Temple with Constantine's construction of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Constantine was the new David, coaxing a new (Christian) Jerusalem out from the ruins of the old. Constantine's actions, Eusebius continued, were physical manifestations—literal prefigurations—of the descent of the new Jerusalem from heaven (as spoken of in Revelation).[8] This was ideological supersession in action. Although the importance of the terrestrial city to Christianity would continue to be debated in the succeeding decades and centuries, a strong current of thought flowed from the imperial circle. Jas Elsner has illuminated the Christian imperial ideology that underlay the fourth-century Bordeaux pilgrim's experience and how that ideology meshed nicely with Constantine's own vision.[9] The fifth-century apse mosaic of Santa Pudenziana in Rome elided the earthly and heavenly Jerusalems by placing the skyline of Constantine's rebuilt Jerusalem behind an image of Christ in majesty, who was supposed to be seated in the heavenly Jerusalem. Cassiodorus' mid-sixth-century *Expositio psalmorum* offered a ringing paean to this new Christian Jerusalem, while early medieval hagiographies often emphasized instances of pilgrimage to the East in order to bolster their subjects' reputation of sanctity.[10]

---

[2] Joshua Prawer, 'Jerusalem in the Christian and Jewish Perspectives of the Early Middle Ages', in *Gli ebrei nell'alto medioevo: 30 marzo—5 aprile 1978*, 2 vols. (Spoleto, 1980), ii. 741–52; and Schein, *Gateway*, 6. More generally, see also Bianca Kühnel, *From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem: Representations of the Holy City in Christian Art of the First Millennium* (Rome, 1987); Robert L. Wilken, *The Land Called Holy: Palestine in Christian History and Thought* (New Haven, Conn., 1992); and Andrew S. Jacobs, *Remains of the Jews: The Holy Land and Christian Empire in Late Antiquity* (Stanford, Calif., 2003).

[3] The impact of Josephus' account of the destruction of Jerusalem on the medieval West remains understudied. See Karen Kletter, 'The Uses of Josephus: Jewish History in Medieval Christian Tradition' (Ph.D. Diss., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 2005); and Amnon Linder, 'Jews and Judaism in the Eyes of Christian Thinkers of the Middle Ages: The Destruction of Jerusalem in Medieval Christian Liturgy', in Jeremy Cohen (ed.), *From Witness to Witchcraft: Jews and Judaism in Medieval Christian Thought* (Wiesbaden, 1996), 115–17.

[4] This fourfold reading of Jerusalem was begun by John Cassian in the early 5th cent. See Bernard McGinn, '*Iter sancti Sepulchri*: The Piety of the First Crusaders', in Bede Karl Lackner and Kenneth Ray Philip (eds.), *The Walter Prescott Web Memorial Lectures* (Austin, Tex., 1978), 40–1. I should note here that I follow Henri de Lubac in using 'allegory' instead of 'typology'. See (on allegory) Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale: Les Quatre Sens de l'Écriture*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1959); and (on typology) Jean Danielou, *From Shadows to Reality*, tr. Wulstan Hibberd (Westminster, Md., 1960).

[5] Primarily Revelation 21–2. All citations from the Bible are, unless otherwise noted, taken from *The Oxford Study Bible* (New York, 1992). See also the discussion in Wilken, *Land Called Holy*, 46–81. Sylvia Schein recently suggested that there were three distinct Jerusalems: the earthly, heavenly, and future (this last Jerusalem being a rough conflation of the other two). See Schein, *Gateway*, 4–5.

[6] Stemming from the Greek *ieros* (holy) *solyma* (peace). This idea was also picked up by Isidore of Seville in his *Etymologies*. McGinn, '*Iter sancti Sepulchri*', 40–1, 60 n. 44, respectively; also Wilken, *Land Called Holy*, 230. On Augustine specifically, see Augustine, *The City of God against the Pagans*, tr. R. W. Dyson (Cambridge, 1998), 768–70.

Although the late Roman building and renovation program reintroduced the terrestrial Jerusalem into the minds of Christians and likely inspired the birth of Western Christian pilgrimage to the Holy Land, it by no means simplified the discourse surrounding the city. Jerome's thought is representative, as he unsuccessfully struggled to reconcile the anagogical and historical readings of the city, torn (metaphorically) between Augustine and Constantine. Like Augustine, Jerome persistently attacked physical pilgrimage as a waste of time and championed the idea that Jerusalem's terrestrial or physical importance lay only in the past. He argued that Christianity had taken over the meanings of the sites without having to physically take over the sites themselves. But at the same time, Jerome himself spent much of his life in the Holy Land. In his writings, he defended the importance of the holy places, wrote that one could not truly understand scripture unless living in the Holy Land, and supported his disciples Paula and Eustochium in their visits to the holy city and Palestine. His description of Paula's journey in particular suggests that simple proximity to sacred sites could increase one's devotion.[11]

---

[7] Colin Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West: From the Beginning to 1600* (Oxford, 2005), 16–40; Kühnel, *From the Earthly*, 79; and especially Jacobs, *Remains of the Jews*, 143–58.

[8] The details of the building program in Jerusalem can be found in Eusebius, *The Life of Constantine*, tr. Averil Cameron and Stuart G. Hall (Oxford, 1999), 132–7. This building program continued for several centuries, finally being completed during the reign of the Emperor Justinian (527–65) when almost all of the holy sites had been located and honored. See Aryeh Graboïs, *Le Pèlerin occidental en Terre Sainte au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1998), 166; Prawer, 'Jerusalem', 754–6; and Kühnel, *From the Earthly*, 83.

[9] Jas Elsner, 'The *Itinerarium Burdigalense*: Politics and Salvation in the Geography of Constantine's Empire', *Journal of Roman Studies,* 90 (2000), 181–95.

[10] Frederic W. Schlattter, 'Interpreting the Mosaic of Santa Pudenziana', *Vigiliae Christianae,* 46 (1992), 282–5; Thomas Renna, *Jerusalem in Medieval Thought, 400–1300* (Lewiston, NY, 2002), 47; and Adriaan H. Bredero, 'Jérusalem dans l'Occident médiéval', in Pierre Gallais and Yves-Jean Riou (eds.), *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet*, 2 vols. (Poitiers, 1966), i. 265, respectively.

Jerome, however, was Jerome. Christians of the succeeding couple of centuries tended not to be so conflicted. The empress Eudocia, wife of Theodosius II (401–50), made her home in Jerusalem. Emperor Justinian (527–65) rebuilt several churches in Palestine and completed Jerusalem's Nea ('New') church, dedicated to Mary. Around 570, one of many pilgrims made the long trek eastwards from Piacenza, offering a richly textured account, devoted to the physical remains of the Holy Land and their spiritual significance. Throughout this period, the liturgy of Jerusalem spread into the West and to the rest of Byzantium. And as it did so, it continued to highlight the importance of *place* in its listeners' ears, evoking the sites of biblical history as tangible locations here on this earth.[12]

But things changed radically in the seventh century. Jerusalem fell to the Persians in 614 and its restoration by the emperor Heraclius (610–41) was short-lived, with the city reconquered in 638 by the Muslims, who would hold it for more than 460 years, until it was retaken by the Franks in 1099. For the West, Jerusalem remained the land of the prophets, kings, and Messiah but the terrestrial city effectively became an artifact—an object of interest for the importance it held during a particular historical moment but with little immediate, functional value to the West. Augustine's reading of the city provided a built-in rationalization for the Muslim possession of the city. Jerusalem possessed a past, acknowledged as sacred and indeed significant, but it had no sacred present, partly because it was controlled by the Muslims and the overland route to the East (especially through the Balkans) became so problematic, but also partly because the peculiarities of Frankish spirituality, beginning around the time of Gregory of Tours (538–94) and continuing into the tenth century.

Charlemagne exhibited some interest in the contemporary Holy Land, most directly in that he exchanged numerous emissaries with the patriarch of Jerusalem and Islamic Caliph.[13] Yet, during the later ninth and tenth centuries, the West tended to intellectually focus on Paul and Augustine's anagogical (contemplative and figurative) Jerusalem. One prominent vein in Carolingian exegesis, culminating in the work of Haimo of Auxerre (d. 855), drew from Augustine to assert that Jerusalem could be found in his city of God. In turn, these exegetes defined Jerusalem as both the heavenly and earthly churches. For example, Frankish royal ideology, enmeshed with ideals of Davidic kingship, conceived of the Frankish realm as based upon an Old Testament model. The empire under the Carolingians was conceptualized as a Christian empire, whose rulers were new kings of Israel. As such, Jerusalem was their primary imperial ideal. Rome too may have been important, but only through Constantine, who, in turn, led back to Jerusalem.[14] Because it represented the center of *imperium Christianum*, Aachen became the Carolingian Jerusalem in all of its iterations—as center of Israel, as center of the world, as image of the Holy Sepulcher, and as a representation of the heavenly Jerusalem. So, by this logic, any 'paradigmatic paradise', any archetypal earthly institution, such as society, the empire, or the monastery, was thought by the ninth-century Franks to be an image of the new Jerusalem.[15]

---

[11] Steven Runciman, 'The Pilgrimages to Palestine before 1095', in Kenneth M. Setton and Marshall W. Baldwin (eds.), *A History of the Crusades*, 6 vols. (Philadelphia, 1955), i. 69; Jonathan Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An Image of Mediaeval Religion* (Totowa, NJ, 1975), 90; Graboïs, *Le Pèlerin occidental*, 120; Prawer, 'Jerusalem', 757–65. Jerome arrived in Bethlehem *c.*385 and remained there until his death. Bredero, 'Jérusalem', 262. His letter to Eustochium is partially translated in Jerome, *To Eustochium*, in *Jerusalem Pilgrims Before the Crusades*, tr. John Wilkinson (Warminster, 2002), 79–91.

[12] On Eudocia, Elizabeth A. Clark, 'Claims on the Bones of Saint Stephen: The Partisans of Melania and Eudocia', *Church History*, 51 (1982), 141–56. The rebuilding program of Justinian is described in Procopius, *On Buildings*, 5. 6, tr. H. B. Dewing and Glanville Downey (Cambridge, Mass., 1940), 342–9. On the Piacenza Pilgrim, see Piacenza Pilgrim, *Travels from Piacenza*, in *Jerusalem Pilgrimages Before the Crusades*, tr. John Wilkinson (Warminster, 2002), 79–84; and the analysis in Blake Leyerle, 'Landscape as Cartography in Early Christian Pilgrimage Narratives', *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 64 (1996), 132–7. On the Jerusalem liturgy, see Morris, *Sepulchre of Christ*, 85–9; Allan Doig, *Liturgy and Architecture: From the Early Church to the Middle Ages* (Burlington, Vt., 2008), 30–9; and the discussion below.

[13] See Ch. 1, above.

The Carolingians did not invent this reading of the holy city. Gregory of Tours in *Glory of the Martyrs* used Radegund of Poitiers as the Helena of the West, translating Jerusalem to the churches of Gaul through its relics.[16] Another Gregory, the great pope (590–604), perceived the monastery as a center of reform, hence a refuge of peace and contemplation, and the surest path towards salvation. Pope Gregory explained Jerusalem to represent the act of contemplation itself and more generally the contemplative way of life. In effect, Jerusalem was both an allegory of, and an allegory for, monasticism and the cloister.[17] Bedan (and subsequent Carolingian) exegesis of the Temple of Solomon made the monastery function within a series of Christian Old Testament symbols, leading to Jerusalem at the apex—'Ark-Altar-Tabernacle-Temple-Jerusalem'.[18] We should not underestimate the importance of the ideas emanating from this Carolingian monastic revival, which placed Jerusalem front-and-center. At the very least, monasticism in the Carolingian age institutionalized the idea—ubiquitous by *c.*1000—that monks had a 'special role vital to the spiritual condition and salvation not only of individual monks, but of the total Christian community'.[19] Ideas from Carolingian 'centers'—court or cloister—spread outwards.[20] And the monastic liturgy of the Carolingian age, filled as it was with paeans to the city of David, commemoration of the Passion, and praise for the new Jerusalem to come, only served to remind one of the holy city and cement its association with the cloister in the minds of that liturgy's listeners. For instance, at Saint-Riquier under Abbot Angilbert (d. 814), the liturgical procession on Palm Sunday virtually mimicked that which took place in Jerusalem. This elision of cloister and Jerusalem continued even after the last Carolingian ruler. For instance, in East Francia an Ottonian book of pericopes from Echternach crowned a picture of its monastic scriptorium with a rhomboidal structure punctuated with towers, paralleling contemporary depictions of the heavenly Jerusalem.[21]

---

[14] Even then, many (such as Alcuin) never compared Charlemagne to Constantine, instead keeping with David. See Kühnel, *From the Earthly*, 118; Donald Bullough, 'Empire and Emperordom from Late Antiquity to 799', *Early Medieval Europe,* 12 (2003), 386; and esp. Thomas F. X. Noble, *The Republic of St. Peter: The Birth of the Papal State, 680–825* (Philadelphia, 1984), 287–301. See also the discussion in Ch. 4, below.

[15] Aryeh Graboïs, 'Charlemagne, Rome and Jerusalem', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire,* 59 (1981), 792–809; Pierre Riché, 'La Bible et la vie politique dans la haut Moyen Age', in Pierre Riché and Guy Lobrichon (eds.), *Le Moyen Âge et la Bible* (Paris, 1984), 388–98; Robert Folz, *The Coronation of Charlemagne, 25 December 800*, tr. J. E. Anderson (London, 1974), 121–3; Doig, *Liturgy and Architecture*, 114; and Roger Collins, *Charlemagne* (London, 1998), 150–1. On the Marian church at Aachen and Jerusalem, see Kühnel, *From the Earthly*, 117; Prawer, 'Jerusalem', 775; Bredero, 'Jérusalem', 264; and Renna, *Jerusalem*, 122–8. On Frankish ideas of *imperium*, see Ch. 4, below.

[16] Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria martyrum*, ed. B. Krusch, MGH SRM (Hanover, 1885), 1: 489–93, explicit comparison of Radegund and Helena at 489.

[17] Bredero, 'Jérusalem,' 261, 271; Graboïs, *Le pèlerin occidental*, 80; and Renna, *Jerusalem*, 86–7.

[18] Kühnel, *From the Earthly*, 127; and especially Samuel Collins, 'Domus domini patet figura mysterii: Architectural Imagination and the Politics of Place in the Carolingian Ninth Century,' (Ph.D. Diss., History, University of California, Berkeley, 2005). This reading of the cloister as Jerusalem also stems from the peculiar use of anagogy in the early Middle Ages. Henri de Lubac suggests that anagogy could exegetically function in two ways during this period. The first was objective, doctrinal, defined by the object of consideration, and speculative. The second was subjective, defined by the manner of understanding, and contemplative. The first sense led to a concrete, historical, and eschatological

But interest in the terrestrial city of Jerusalem never disappeared and can be seen in that the anagogical Jerusalem took on characteristics of the literal, earthly city. Carolingian and Ottonian illustrators generally preferred abstract representations of the holy city, either harking back to Old Testament symbols of Jerusalem as the city of the promise (historical) or presenting idealized representations of the heavenly Jerusalem (anagogical). In illustrated Carolingian apocalypses, the heavenly Jerusalem was almost always represented as circular, even though Revelation said that the city to come would be square. Noticing this apparent irony, Carol Heitz concluded that these images must be based on the *Anastasis*—the rotunda Constantine constructed over Jesus' tomb. The city rebuilt (and more specifically the churches at the Holy Sepulcher built) by Constantine had come to be idealized and reproduced in the West as an image of the mystical city.[22]

---

reading, while the second sense led to a more contemplative, figurative reading—i.e., imagining the presence of the Heavenly Jerusalem on earth (in the cloister, in this instance). See de Lubac, *Exégèse Médiévale*, 624–5; and McGinn, '*Iter sancti Sepulchri*,' 41–2.

[19] Richard E. Sullivan, 'What Was Carolingian Monasticism? The Plan of St. Gall and the History of Monasticism,' in *After Rome's Fall: Narrators and Their Sources of Early Medieval History*, ed. Alexander Callander Murray (Toronto, 1998), 284.

[20] On ideas moving outwards from Charlemagne's court, now see Janet L. Nelson, 'Charlemagne and Empire', in Jennifer R. Davis and Michael McCormick (eds.), *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe: New Directions in Early Medieval Studies* (Burlington, Vt., 2008), 223–34. On 'center' and 'periphery' as they relate to monasteries especially, see Amy G. Remensnyder, 'Topographies of Memory: Center and Periphery in High Medieval France,' in Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried, and Patrick Geary (eds.), *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography* (Cambridge, 2002), 193–214.

[21] On Saint-Riquier, see Kühnel, *From the Earthly*, 92–5. For more on Angilbert's liturgical program, see Susan A. Rabe, *Faith, Art, and Politics at Saint-Riquier: The Symbolic Vision of Angilbert* (Philadelphia, 1995), 122–32. On Echternach, see Kühnel, *From the Earthly*, 135.

[22] 'The city had four sides, and it was as wide as it was long.' Rev. 21: 16. Heitz, *Recherches sur les rapports*, 133–7. There are also much earlier examples. Robert Wilken points to a 4th-cent. floor mosaic in his, *Land Called Holy*, 124. See also Kühnel, *From the Earthly*, 166–7, and esp. plates 1–125.

JERUSALEM AND PILGRIMAGE FROM THE WEST DURING THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

Sometime shortly before 1030, Ralph Glaber recounted the fiery destruction of Orléans. In Orléans, Ralph began, there was an ancient nunnery possessing an icon of the crucifix. It began suddenly to weep in 988, 'for the Saviour is said to have wept for Jerusalem when He foresaw its imminent destruction, and similarly it is proved that He wept, through the icon representing Him, for this city of Orléans when it was on the verge of a calamity'. Shortly afterwards, a wolf burst into the city's cathedral, seized the bell-rope, and rang the bells of the church. The city burnt to the ground the following year. Bishop Arnulf of Orléans began the rebuilding effort with the cathedral, formerly dedicated to St Stephen but now rededicated to the True Cross (!), and financed with the recent discovery of a miraculous cache of gold buried by an early bishop of Orléans named St Evurtius. Arnulf, however, did not stop there. He ordered that every church in the city be rebuilt more magnificently than it was before. People returned and the Frankish king (Robert the Pious) once again favored the city as his principal seat.[23] Ralph's description of the destruction and rebuilding of Orléans parallels the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus in 70 and its rebuilding under Constantine in the fourth century, as well as the liturgy of the ninth Sunday after Pentecost, with both centered around Luke 19: 41–4 (Jesus' tears for Jerusalem and the crucifix's tears for Orléans) and a commemoration of the loss of Jerusalem.[24] Fiery destruction cleansed both cities and miraculous discoveries spurred their respective reconstructions and new devotions to the cross. Bishop Arnulf functioned as a new Constantine, rebuilding the city from the ashes. A new Jerusalem in the West was reborn in new Orléans.

In the eleventh century, Jerusalem became closer—more familiar—to the West than it ever had before. The monastic rebirth that had begun under the Carolingians and gathered momentum in the late tenth century following the reforms of Cluny and Gorze (among others), led to the image of Jerusalem enjoying something of an intellectual renaissance during this period. Marcus Bull has demonstrated that Jerusalem was so commonly held to have sat atop a complex hierarchy of cult centers that eleventh- and early twelfth-century miracle collections consistently appropriated imagery of the city in order to lend sanctity to their own cult centers.[25] As Gregory of Tours, Gregory the Great, and any number of Carolingian intellectuals had suggested before, there were many new Jerusalems scattered throughout the West.

---

[23] The entire passage can be found at Ralph Glaber, *The Five Books of the Histories*, ed. and tr. John France (Oxford, 1989), 64–9. See John France's dating of the narrative ibid., pp. xxxiv–xlv.

[24] Stephen G. Nichols, Jr., *Romanesque Signs: Early Medieval Narrative and Iconography* (New Haven, Conn., 1983), 24; Guy G. Stroumsa, 'Mystical Jerusalems', in Lee I. Levine (ed.), *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (New York, 1999), 354; and on the liturgy of the ninth Sunday of Pentecost, Linder, 'Jews and Judaism', 117.

[25] Marcus Bull, 'Views of Muslims and of Jerusalem in Miracle Stories, c.1000–c.1200: Reflections on the Study of the First Crusaders' Motivations,' in Marcus Bull and Norman Housley (eds.), *The Experience of Crusading*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 2003), i. 31–4; and Jonathan J. G. Alexander, '"Jerusalem the Golden": Image and Myth in the Middle Ages in Western Europe', in Bianca Kühnel (ed.), *The*

Jerusalem first gave its name to a church in Bologna in the eighth century but the consistent evocation of the city in stone (primarily through the Holy Sepulcher) did not begin in earnest until around the millennium.[26] In this period, notes on the measurements of the Holy Sepulcher were often taken at Jerusalem and brought back to be used in religious constructions. As Richard Krautheimer has shown, these measurements could be used selectively and were often intentionally imprecise. Architectural imitation in the Middle Ages mattered not in the exactness of the replication but in the implication of the architectural style, two things being comparable so long as there were some outstanding elements they had in common. In other words, these recreations of the Holy Sepulcher reproduced their targets allegorically.[27]

Under the Carolingians, the abbey church at Saint-Riquier evoked the Holy Sepulcher by recreating its layout and emulating architectural features from its basilica (the *Martyrium*). The chapel of St Michael at Fulda, and the chapel dedicated to St Mary at Aachen echoed the round shape of the *Anastasis*, or rotunda over Christ's tomb. The Ottonian chapel of St Maurice at Constance did the same.[28] Already having the first church dedicated to the Holy Sepulcher in the West, Bologna in the tenth century began to construct other shrines in the city similar to those found in the Holy Land. 'The whole complex, then, was created as a "theme park" of sorts, the first Eurodisney, offering a reproduction of Jerusalem,

---

Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art: Studies in Honor of Bezalel Narkiss on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday (Jerusalem, 1998), 255. For a dissenting view, however, which suggests that Jerusalem did not play a distinctive role in Western piety during the 11th cent., see Bernard Hamilton, 'The Impact of Crusader Jerusalem on Western Christendom', *Catholic Historical Review,* 80 (1994), 697; and Sylvia Schein, 'Jérusalem: Objectif originel de la Première Croisade?', in Michel Balard (ed.), *Autour de la Première Croisade: Actes du colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East (Clermont-Ferrand, 22–25 juin 1995)* (Paris, 1996), 119–26.

[26] Stroumsa, 'Mystical', 352–5. Ann Meyer has argued that every medieval church intentionally evoked Jerusalem, at least in its celestial form. This is likely the case but paints the phenomenon of Jerusalem *translatio* with such a broad brush so as to make it virtually meaningless. It would seem reasonable to suggest that certain religious foundations were 'more' closely tied to the Holy City than others, through a combination of the relics they possessed, the provenance of those relics, and the dedication of the structure itself. For example, Ademar of Chabannes' early 11th-cent. sermon on the dedication of the church of St Peter in Limoges tied that event and that church to Jerusalem but that church specifically boasted (according to Ademar) a relic of the True Cross given by Charlemagne and coming directly from Jerusalem. See Ann R. Meyer, *Medieval Allegory and the Building of the New Jerusalem* (Woodbridge, 2003). On Ademar, see Daniel F. Callahan, 'The Cross, the Jews, and the Destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in the Writings of Ademar of Chabannes', in Michael Frassetto (ed.), *Christian Attitudes toward the Jews in the Middle Ages: A Casebook* (New York, 2007), 17–19.

[27] Richard Krautheimer, 'Introduction to an "Iconography of Medieval Architecture" ', in *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval, and Renaissance Art* (New York, 1969), 121, 127–8.

[28] On Saint-Riquier, see Heitz, *Recherches*, 109–13. On the other sites, see Stroumsa, 'Mystical', 353; Robert Ousterhout, 'Loca Sancta and the Architectural Response to Pilgrimage', in Robert Ousterhout (ed.), *The Blessings of Pilgrimage* (Chicago, 1990), 110; Richard Plant, 'Architectural Developments in the Empire North of the Alps: The Patronage of the Imperial Court', in Nigel Hiscock (ed.), *The White Mantle of Churches: Architecture, Liturgy, and Art around the Millennium* (Turnhout, 2003), 50.

its hills and valleys, and permitting a short escapade into the mythical Holy Land without the vagaries of the voyage.'[29]

These few examples cannot compare to the veritable explosion of churches evoking Jerusalem during the eleventh century. The churches erected for Henry II's (1002–24) new 'capital' at Bamberg may not have been structurally similar to the Holy Sepulcher but Richard Plant has demonstrated that their layout and many of their architectural features were intentionally reminiscent of the holy city. Around 1008, Bishop Notker of Liège more explicitly emulated the *Anastasis* with a new circular chapel in that city, as did the Aquitanian abbey of Charroux, which incorporated a rotunda at the crossing of its new church begun in 1017/18. Bishop Meinwerk of Paderborn sent the abbot of Helmershausen to Jerusalem just before 1036 in order to retrieve measurements of the Holy Sepulcher for his new chapel, while another version of the Holy Sepulcher was constructed between 1063–4 at Cambrai with measurements taken from Jerusalem.[30] The cruciform church at Neuvy-Saint-Sépulchre was dedicated in the middle of the eleventh century and so was the monastery at Villeneuve d'Aveyron, which was built in honor of the Holy Sepulcher after its founder had returned from pilgrimage to Jerusalem. A rotunda at Lanleff (near Caen) modeled on the *Anastasis* was built shortly afterwards. Count Lancelin of Beaugency founded a church dedicated to the Holy Sepulcher and gave it to the monastery of Saint-Trinité of Vendôme in 1081.[31] This is, of course, only a partial list and one that focuses exclusively on physical constructions. Stone, however, was not the only medium to make the holy city manifest in the West.

Changes to the liturgy in the tenth and eleventh centuries only served to enhance this renewed focus on the terrestrial Jerusalem, especially during Easter Week. The destruction of Jerusalem, with readings taken from Lamentations, Flavius Josephus, and Pseudo-Hegisippus, was commemorated at Matins during Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday. And after Gregory the Great, the ninth Sunday of Pentecost was dedicated to remembering the same event.[32] Cluniac liturgy from Abbot Maiolus (d. 994) onward was filled with praise of the heavenly city and, in attempting to recreate an image of it here on earth, Maiolus and his successors thought that the monks (through their lifestyle) came closest to living as the angels and saints in heaven. Cluny was 'a place where the dwellers on high would tread, if it could be believed that human abiding-places of this sort were pleasing to them'.[33] Devotion to the Cross dominated the liturgy, both at Cluny and elsewhere, with explicit linkages made directly to the terrestrial Jerusalem. Rachel Fulton observed that 'in the liturgy for Good Friday, the [church's monumental] Cross . . . would become the ritual focus for the Adoration of the Cross, the artistic image no longer simply an object of commemorative meditation but rather a physical substitute for the Cross upon which Christ had actually died'—Golgotha symbolically transported to the West for the purposes of monastic devotion.[34]

---

[29] Stroumsa, 'Mystical', 355–6.

[30] On Liège, see Plant, 'Architectural', 49–50; on Charroux, see Ch. 2 above; on Paderborn and Cambrai, Krautheimer, 'Introduction', 117, 124, respectively.

[31] Ousterhout, 'Loca sancta', 111; J. Bousquet, 'La Fondation De Villeneuve D'aveyron', *Annales du Midi,* 75 (1963), 538–9; and Krautheimer, 'Introduction', 118; *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye Cardinale de la Trinité de Vendome*, ed. Ch. Métais, 2 vols. (Paris, 1894), ii, no. 301; respectively. Morris, *Sepulchre of Christ*, 153–7, lists, with commentary, even more constructions.

[32] Liturgical objects themselves could also evoke the terrestrial Jerusalem. See Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto, 1982), 245–71; and Victor H. Elbern, 'Das Heilige Grab in der bildlichen und liturgischen Kunst', in Kaspar Elm and Cosimo Damiano Fonseca (eds.), *Militia Sancti Sepulchri: Idea e Istituzioni* (Vatican City, 1998), 161–77. On liturgical commemoration of the destruction of Jerusalem, see Linder, 'Jews and Judaism', 115–17.

The tenth-century *Monastic Agreement of the English Nation* described a service in which monks symbolically re-enacted the resurrection. On Good Friday, the monks 'buried' a monumental cross, wrapped in linen, in a faux sepulcher next to the altar. On Easter Sunday, three monks searched the sepulcher, while the other, dressed in an alb and holding a palm, waited inside to re-emerge.[35] These services were derived from Cluniac and Lotharingian sources (specifically Fleury and Ghent) and other evidence suggesting a liturgical emulation of the *visitatio sepulchri* can be found at both St Gall and Limoges from around the same time, suggesting a wide diffusion of the practice on the continent. The practice became even more common in the West during the eleventh century.[36] The hymn '*Urbs beata Ierusalem*' (traditionally sung at the dedication of a church) is essentially a paean to the heavenly Jerusalem, drawing heavily on imagery from Revelation and earlier Christian exegesis. Jerusalem was lauded as a spiritual city refounded by Christ, as well as (metaphorically) the new church at which the dedicatory hymn was sung. By the end of the eleventh century, the hymn became much more literally accurate. That century's incessant focus on the architecture and relics of the holy city, as well as its particular brand of christological devotion transformed the new church into an earthly representation of the heavenly Jerusalem. The church was Jacob's ladder, the gate of heaven, and a meeting place between heaven and earth.[37] At these *loci sancti* (cloister, chapel, church, etc.), 'the relic, the crucifix, the sepulchre, the procession could make Jerusalem real in the imagination, even to those many people who had no prospect of making the demanding journey for themselves'.[38] Even at the time of the First Crusade, Anselm of Canterbury and Geoffrey of Vendôme forbade their monks from making the journey to the terrestrial Jerusalem, instead emphasizing the spiritual Jerusalem to which the cloister provided a path.[39] Reality gave way to perception. The city no longer mattered for what it *was* but for what it *represented*. As exemplified by Ralph Glaber's Orléans, Jerusalem came west to stay.

---

[33] Robert G. Heath, *Crux Imperatorum Philosophia: Imperial Horizons of the Cluniac Confraternitas, 964–1109* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1976), particularly 144–53; and Renna, *Jerusalem*, 159–60. Cluny became even more appealing to the heavenly host after 1180, when the cluster of fifteen towers on the abbey church made the structure extremely similar to contemporary representations of the Heavenly Jerusalem. Kenneth John Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture, 800 to 1200* (Baltimore, 1959), 115.

[34] Rachel Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800–1200* (New York, 2002), 80; Heath, *Crux Imperatorum Philosophia*, 126–7; and Susan Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity: Liturgy and History at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000–1125* (New York, 2006), esp. 98–105 and 156–7. For specific examples from Cluny for the feasts of Palm Sunday and the Exaltation of the Cross, see *Consuetudines Cluniacensium antiquiores cum redactionibus derivatis*, ed. Kassius Hallinger, CCM (Siegburg, 1983), 7/2: 62–8, 127–33, respectively.

[35] *The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation*, tr. Dom Thomas Symons (London, 1953), 44, 49–50.

[36] Ibid., pp. xlvi–xlix. Also, Stroumsa, 'Mystical', 356; and Elizabeth C. Parker, 'Architecture as Liturgical Setting', in Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter (eds.), *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church* (Kalamazoo, Mich., 2001), 291–2.

[37] Nichols, *Romanesque*, 24–5; and Meyer, *Allegory*, 84–5. The hymn's origins date to sometime between the 6th and 8th cents. Reprinted in *Early Latin Hymns*, ed. A. S. Walpole (Cambridge, 1922), 378–80.

Another factor—particular to this period—that played an instrumental role in this renewed focus on Jerusalem was relics, specifically a remarkable surge in the veneration and proliferation of relics of the Passion in the West during the late tenth and eleventh centuries.[40] Praying over these relics of the Passion would inevitably remind one of the city where Christ suffered and was crucified, and would conjure up a complex series of associations—its donor, provenance, selected miracles, etc.—that we saw in action in Chapters 1 and 2. In the eleventh century, most of these relics came from Jerusalem. For example, during his pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1026, Abbot Richard of Saint-Vannes (of Verdun) received pieces of the True Cross from the patriarch of Jerusalem that he brought back to Saint-Vannes. Holy Blood arrived at Mantua from the East in 1048.[41] Religious houses could also create new, legendary provenances for their relics, often, as we know, involving Charlemagne. In the first quarter of the eleventh century, Charroux developed a legend about its relic of the True Cross, said to have been passed on to the abbey by Charlemagne, who in turn had received it from a pilgrim recently returned from Jerusalem.[42] The contemporary sermon by Ademar of Chabannes on the dedication of St Peter in Limoges referenced a relic of the True Cross, supposedly coming to them from Jerusalem, via Charlemagne.[43] Charlemagne, in the *c.*1080 *Descriptio qualiter*, took christological relics from the Byzantine Emperor back to Francia 'since some of our people are not able to come to Jerusalem to wipe away their sins, that they should have something visible in our regions, which might soften their hearts at the mention of the Lord's Passion and recall them in worthy piety to the fruit of penance'.[44] Yet, all this devotion to new Jerusalems in the West simultaneously (and perhaps paradoxically) reinforced the necessity of the real Jerusalem. No matter how sacred the *loci sancti* in the West, no matter how vivid an image of Jerusalem that shrine or cloister became, it could never be anything more than an image. And an image requires something tangible and real from which it can reflect—the true Jerusalems, heavenly and terrestrial. While the heavenly Jerusalem was not attainable in this life, Christ's own city was.

---

[38] Morris, 'Memories', 109.

[39] Giles Constable, 'Monachisme et pèlerinage au Moyen Âge', *Revue Historique,* 258 (1977), 19; John France, 'Le Rôle de Jérusalem dans la piété du XI^{e} siècle', in Michel Balard and Alain Ducellier (eds.), *Le Partage du monde: Échanges et colonisation dans la Méditerranée médiévale* (Paris, 1998), 156; Renna, *Jerusalem*, 153–6, 201; and now esp. William J. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, C.1095–C.1187* (Rochester, NY, 2008), who points out that Bernard of Clairvaux was another staunch advocate of the necessary *stabilitas* of the monastic vocation.

[40] See esp. Frolow, *La Relique de la Vraie Croix*. Also France, 'Le Rôle de Jérusalem', 157; Bredero, 'Jérusalem', 263; Colin Morris, 'Memories of the Holy Places and Blessings from the East: Devotion to Jerusalem before the Crusades', in R. N. Swanson (ed.), *The Holy Land, Holy Lands and Christian History* (Woodbridge, 2000), 95.

[41] *Vita Richardi Abbatis s. Vitoni Virdunensis*, MGH SS 11: 288; and on Mantua, Morris, 'Memories', 95.

[42] Ademar of Chabannes, *Chronicon*, ed. R. Landes and G. Pon, CCCM (Turnhout, 1999), 129: 144; seconded by the contemporary *Miracula sancti Genulphi episcopi*, AASS 2 Jan.: 463. Later in the 11th cent., the Charroux legend eliminated the middle man and had Charlemagne acquire the christological relics in Jerusalem himself. See Ch. 2 above.

[43] Callahan, 'The Cross, the Jews', 17–19.

The roots of Christian pilgrimage lay deep in late antiquity.[45] Despite the fact that virtually every monastery or church throughout Europe was a pilgrimage destination during the Middle Ages, the perceived efficacy of their relics distinguished certain cult centers from the rest. In other words, the difference was mostly a matter of scale, with Jerusalem sitting at the apex.[46] Bede's *De locis sanctis*, an early eighth-century reworking of Adomnan of Iona's (and the Pseudo-Eucherius') description of the holy places, may best represent how the West thought about the Holy Land in the early Middle Ages. This extremely popular text, which served as a model for later writers and was particularly important during the Carolingian centuries, continued to be the dominant descriptive source of the Holy Land until well into the twelfth century.[47] Bede's account begins with a short biblical history of the city and its geographical situation, then briefly narrates Jerusalem's destruction by Titus in 70 CE and explains why the Holy Sepulcher is now located within the city walls.

---

[44] 'Tribuas gestimus quatinus nostrates, qui ad urbem Iherosolimam causa abholendi sua peccata venire nequeunt, quiddam in partibus nostris visibile habeant, quod ad passionis dominice mentionem corda eorum fideliter molliat et ad fructum penitencie digna revocet pietate.' *Descriptio qualiter Karolus Magnus clavum et coronam Domini a Constantinopoli Aquisgrani detulerit qualiterque Karolus Calvus hec ad Sanctum Dyonisium retulerit*, in *Die Legende*, 112.

[45] See the fundamental Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, 1981). On the transformation of Jerusalem into a Christian space and its appeal as a pilgrimage destination, see Wilken, *Land Called Holy*, 82–125; and Annabel Wharton, *Refiguring the Post-Classical City: Dura Europe, Jerash, Jerusalem and Ravenna* (Cambridge, 1995), 64–104. We should here too note that the word 'pilgrimage' reflects our modern understanding of this particular phenomenon. Into at least the early 12th cent., *peregrinus* seems to have commonly meant 'traveler' or 'wanderer' and is used in just this manner e.g. in the Vulgate. 'peregrino molestus non eris scitis enim advenarum animas quia et ipsi peregrini fuistis in terra Aegypti', Exod. 23: 9. See also Janus Møller Jensen, 'War, Penance and the First Crusade: Dealing with a "Tyrannical Construct"', in Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen, Kurt Villads Jensen, Janne Malkki, and Katja Ritari (eds.), *Medieval History Writing and Crusading Ideology* (Helsinki, 2005), 55–6.

[46] Bernhard Töpfer, 'The Cult of Relics and Pilgrimage in Burgundy and Aquitaine at the Time of the Monastic Reform', in Thomas Head and Richard Landes (eds.), *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000* (Ithaca, NY, 1992), 46–50.

[47] For instance, Bernard the Monk's late 9th-cent. account does not describe the Holy Sepulcher in his pilgrimage account, simply referring the reader back to Bede. Bernard the Monk, *A Journey to the Holy Places and Babylon*, in *Jerusalem Pilgrims Before the Crusades*, tr. John Wilkinson (Warminster, 2002), 266. On the afterlife of Bede's account, see Graboïs, *Le Pèlerin occidental*, 79, 184, 192. On Bede and the Carolingians generally, see Joyce Hill, 'Carolingian Perspectives on the Authority of Bede', in Scott DeGregorio (ed.), *Innovation and Tradition in the Writings of the Venerable Bede* (Morgantown, WV, 2006), 227–49; and Mark Stansbury, 'Early-Medieval Biblical Commentaries and their Readers', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien,* 33 (1999), 75–6. Bede's was a very conscious reworking of Adomnan's text. See Arthur G. Holder, 'Allegory and History in Bede's Interpretation of Sacred Architecture', *American Benedictine Review,* 40 (1989), 127, for examples of some of the choices Bede made.

After mentioning Constantine and Helena's impact on the city, the account moves on to descriptions of the holy sites, beginning with the Holy Sepulcher and ending with the resting place of the True Cross in Constantinople.[48] But these discussions of the holy sites do not note contemporary architectural or geographical markers. Instead they are couched exclusively in terms of Old or New Testament events.

Jerusalem continued to be 'read' and the terrestrial Jerusalem's only importance sat squarely in the past. The land around Jerusalem was the dwelling place of the (long-dead) saints. Monasteries and churches were empty vessels, devoid of current inhabitants and contemporary significance, serving only as memorializations of decisive moments of sacred history. Mount Zion commemorated the descent of the Holy Spirit to the apostles and the death of the Virgin. Raab's house in Jericho was all that was left of the city of Joshua and its tumbling walls. According to Bede, all there was in the city now called Neapolis was 'a church split into four parts, that is in the way of a cross, in the middle of which is Jacob's well, forty cubits deep . . . , at which Christ thought a Samaritan woman worthy to ask water from her'.[49] Bede narrates a place where time seems to have stopped, allowing the pilgrim (or reader) to walk through the pages of the Old and New Testaments.

In Palestine, the pilgrim followed his or her own mental map, created by their particular understanding of scriptures. Sacred history led the early medieval pilgrim through the Holy Land, even if that history seemed to have stopped just after the crucifixion. The Holy Land became, in a way, 'atemporal'. It existed almost outside of time, a museum where one could look directly at the past, which lived on into the present. The pilgrim 'relived' both Testaments as he or she visited each site, contemplating the crucifixion on Golgotha, the entry into Jerusalem via the Mount of Olives, etc. If one so chose, the pilgrim could quite literally walk in Jesus' footsteps, especially along the route of the crucifixion. As Blake Leyerle has written, 'Unlike other historical events which unscroll in time, the sights of the biblical land are repeatable.'[50] One could experience them anew by visiting their place. The stational liturgy that the pilgrim would encounter at Jerusalem would only heighten this association, with specially chosen readings recreating the past for their listeners.[51] In this way the pilgrim could feel the continuation of the covenant between God and his people—the 'new' Israel—without being troubled by the city's 'profane' present (Jerusalem being controlled by Muslims continuously between 638 and 1099).

---

[48] Bede, *De locis sanctis*, ed. I. Fraipont, CCSL (Turnhout, 1965), 175: 251–80.

[49] 'Ecclesia quadrifida est, hoc est in crucis modum facta, in cuius medio fons Iacob XL cubitis altus . . . , de quo Dominus aquas a Samaritana muliere petere dignatus est.' Bede, *De locis sanctis*, ed. Fraipont, 258–9, 267, and quotation at 275.

[50] Leyerle, 'Landscape as Cartography', 128–31, quotation at 131; Graboïs, *Le Pèlerin occidental*, 33, 109–16; Ora Limor, '"Holy Journey": Pilgrimage and Christian Sacred Landscape', in Ora Limor and Guy G. Strousma (eds.), *Christians and Christianity in the Holy Land: From the Origins to the Latin Kingdoms* (Turnhout, 2006), 347–51; and Mary B. Campbell, '"The Object of One's Gaze": Landscape, Writing, and Early Medieval Pilgrimage', in Scott D. Westrem (ed.), *Discovering New Worlds: Essays on Medieval Exploration and Imagination* (New York, 1991), 6, 11–12. On the *imitatio Christi*, see Graboïs, *Le Pèlerin occidental*, 84–5; Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, 92–3; and now Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, who argues convincingly for the prevalence of the idea (if not the explicit use of the phrase) in the 11th cent. It is interesting to note, however, that pilgrim narratives almost never dwell on Jerusalem's place in the events of the Last Days. For example, of all the pre-1100 narratives translated in John Wilkinson's *Jerusalem Pilgrims Before the Crusades*, Bernard the Monk is the *only* writer to mention the site of the Last Judgment. See Bernard the Monk, *Journey to the Holy Places*, tr. Wilkinson, 267.

None of these ideas, however, could overcome inherent difficulties in travel from the West and pilgrimage to Palestine remained sporadic before the eleventh century. In the ninth century, the Franks tried to re-establish contacts with Jerusalem by exchanging emissaries with the Islamic Caliph, the patriarch of Jerusalem, and religious houses around the city (especially the Benedictine monastery on the Mount of Olives and the church of St Mary Latin in Jerusalem itself).[52] This all seems to have had an effect, for while the eighth century was dominated by diplomatic envoys to Constantinople, the ninth century witnessed an upsurge in the number of pilgrims setting off for the Holy Land.[53] But the waxing of pilgrimage to the East in the ninth century was followed by its waning in the tenth, which in turn was followed by renewed interest in pilgrimage to the Holy Land before the turn of the first millennium. At that time, the Holy Sepulcher became a 'magnetic pole', likely attracting many more pilgrims than are even attested in the surviving sources. By *c.*1030, pilgrimage to the Holy Land had become more popular than it ever had been before, more popular even than the route to Rome.[54] One of the factors contributing to this resurgence in pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the eleventh century was the reopening of the land route to Constantinople.

In the ninth century, the Western traveler could sail the short distance across the Adriatic Sea from Bari or Brindisi to Durazzo and follow the old Roman Via Egnatia through the Byzantine-held Balkans to Constantinople. The Bulgars, however, took control of at least part of the route by the middle of the century and this change, coupled with the poor physical condition of the road at the time, led to the collapse of the route by the beginning of the tenth century. But the route reopened as the Byzantines expanded once again into the Balkans and northern Syria, with their navy simultaneously starting to reassert itself in the eastern

---

[51] e.g. see the late 4th-cent. description by Egeria. *Egeria's Travels*, tr. John Wilkinson, 3rd edn. (Warminster, 1999), 142–64.

[52] See the fuller discussion in Ch. 1, above.

[53] Michael McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy: Communication and Commerce, A.D. 300–900* (Cambridge, 2001), 435, 171, respectively; also Yitzhak Hen, 'Holy Land Pilgrims from Frankish Gaul', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire,* 76 (1998), 295.

[54] The characterization of the Holy Sepulcher is from Françoise Micheau, 'Les Itinéraires maritimes et continentaux des pèlerinages vers Jérusalem', in *Occident et Orient au X^e^ siècle: Actes du IX^e^ congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public (Dijon, 2–4 Juin 1978)* (Paris, 1979), 75. On the number of pilgrims, see Colin Morris, 'Memories of the Holy Places and Blessings from the East: Devotion to Jerusalem before the Crusades', in R. N. Swanson (ed.), *The Holy Land, Holy Lands and Christian History* (Woodbridge, 2000), 90–1; Phyllis G. Jestice, 'A New Fashion in Imitating Christ: Changing Spiritual Perspectives around the Year 1000', in *Year 1000*, 178; and France, 'Le Rôle de Jérusalem', 154–5. See also the lists of travelers compiled in Runciman, 'Pilgrimages to Palestine', 68–78; Micheau, 'Itinéraires', 79–104; and Jean Ebersolt, *Orient et Occident: Recherches sur les influences byzantines et orientales en France pendant les Croisades*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1929), i. 72–81.

Mediterranean.[55] Thus, the oft-cited conversion of the Hungarians to Latin Christianity, coupled with this re-emergence of Byzantium as a power in the Balkans, allowed a Western pilgrim to travel virtually the whole overland route to the Holy Land through Christian lands by the early eleventh century. The 'new' land route to the East was immediately popular. As late as the First Crusade, every army followed the land route in one form or another. The armies of the northern Franks and Southern Italian Normans did journey part of the way to Constantinople by ship, but they both followed ninth-century precedent, traveling only the short distance from Southern Italy to the Albanian coast by sea and continuing overland to Constantinople from there. The northern Franks picked up the Via Egnatia at Durazzo and followed it through the Balkans to Constantinople, while the Italian Normans landed at Avlona, south of Durazzo, and proceeded on the southern branch of the Via Egnatia to Constantinople via Thessalonica.[56]

Sea travel, although much faster than the overland route, continued to be perceived as inherently dangerous. Even if for 'all the dangers modern medievalists have posited along early medieval shipping routes, very few of our early travelers had their voyage interrupted by violence', shipwreck and illness nevertheless continued to be real impediments to the journey.[57] Of course, this is not to say that any route was free of danger. Udalric of Celle, for instance, was attacked by 'gentiles' in the Holy Land during his early eleventh-century pilgrimage, only to be saved through the miraculous intervention of God.[58] Nevertheless, there were a few factors that may have argued against traveling by sea at this time and for using this new land route. First, the *perceived* dangers of sea travel by a segment of the population wholly unused to it should not be underestimated. Jean Verdon summarizes (and perhaps overgeneralizes) that 'for a land civilization like that of the Middle Ages, the sea could only provoke fear, anxiety, and repulsion'.[59] Second, pirates were still a problem. The Italian maritime cities were not yet the forces they would become in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and Byzantine naval power, although resurgent, was nonetheless a shadow of its former self. Both of these factors allowed maritime raiders, including fleets out of Egypt and Iberia, to more-or-less raid at will. Finally, the number of people traveling together on pilgrimage generally became much larger in the eleventh century, making the cost of a sea journey more prohibitive.

The first 'great' (large-scale) eleventh-century pilgrimage to the Holy Land, in 1026, saw Abbot Richard of Saint-Vannes of Verdun lead a group of approximately 700 notables to Jerusalem. The party included such figures as the count of Angoulême, the abbot of Saint-Cybard of Angoulême, the abbot of St Martin of Trier, and many other nobles and clerics from Normandy, northern Francia,

---

[55] McCormick, *Origins*, 559–62; and Ebersolt, *Orient*, 71.

[56] See Jonathan Riley-Smith (ed.), *The Atlas of the Crusades* (New York, 1991), 30–1.

[57] McCormick, *Origins*, 170.

[58] *Ex vita posteriore s. Udalrici Prioris Cellensis*, MGH SS 12: 256.

[59] Jean Verdon, *Travel in the Middle Ages*, tr. George Holoch (Notre Dame, Ind., 2003), 55–72, quotation at 55; and Aryeh Graboïs, 'Les Pèlerinages du XI^{e} siècle en Terre Sainte dans l'historiographie occidentale de l'époque', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique,* 101 (2006), 531.

Lotharingia, and Aquitaine.[60] There does not seem to have been any participation outside the aristocracy. Regardless, Abbot Richard and his party suffered at the hands of bandits and 'gentiles' on their way but eventually arrived safely at Jerusalem, where they honored the sites of the Passion and shed many tears on Calvary and in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher.[61]

Ralph Glaber, near the end of fourth book of his *Histories*, wrote of another large number of Westerners who departed on pilgrimage around 1033. He said that:

> an innumerable multitude of people from the whole world, greater than any man before could have hoped to see, began to travel to the Sepulchre of the Saviour at Jerusalem. First to go were the petty people, then those of middling estate, and next the powerful . . . finally, and this was something which had never happened before, numerous women, noble and poor, undertook the journey.[62]

Ralph is, of course, a problematic source on many levels and might not immediately be trusted. Other contemporary narratives, however, bear out his claims regarding the movement of pilgrims around the millennium of the Passion. For instance, Bishop Avesgaud of Le Mans appears to have departed for the Holy Land in 1032 with a large retinue.[63] In 1035, Count Fulk Nerra of Anjou and Duke Robert of Normandy met during their respective pilgrimages to Jerusalem. Also, Bishop Ulrich of Orléans and the abbot of Helmershausen independently went to the Holy Sepulcher at about this time. Ademar of Chabannes was another who departed for Jerusalem in 1034 and died there that same year.[64]

By 1054, when a group estimated to be around 3,000 aristocrats and ecclesiastics followed Archbishop Lietbert of Cambrai towards Jerusalem, chroniclers did not comment that the size of the contingent seemed out of the ordinary. This band passed overland through Hungary without incident but encountered trouble after leaving Laodicea (in Syria). After staying there for three months, Lietbert decided to lead his party the rest of the way by sea. Chronically unlucky, they encountered a storm that made them put ashore at Cyprus. Returning to Laodicea to try the remainder of the journey overland, there they met the bishop of Laon with a host of other pilgrims returning from Jerusalem, who informed Lietbert of the dangers ahead. This last potential setback seems to have been too much for the bishop of Cambrai, for the contingent abandoned the journey to return home.[65] Others who traveled to the East at about the same time were more fortunate. In addition to the aforementioned bishop of Laon, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* mentions that Swein, son of Earl Godwine, went to Jerusalem in 1052 and Bishop Aldred of Worcester went in 1058. In the same year, the archbishop of Rouen went on pilgrimage with the abbot of Saint-Évroul and the future bishop of Rochester. Abbot Lambert of Hersfeld went to Jerusalem at about the same time. Abbot Theodoric of Angers also seems to have gone in 1053, as did a Count Odilo from the Rouerge, who founded the monastery of Villeneuve d'Aveyron on his return.[66]

---

[60] On the size and make-up of this contingent, see Dom Hubert Dauphin, *Le Bienheureux Richard: Abbé de Saint-Vanne de Verdun* (Paris, 1946), 284. This contingent may or may not have included the abbot of Conques who went to Jerusalem about this time with a number of nobles from around Toulouse or Count Adalbert of Alsace, who also went in the late 1020s. On these travelers, see Bernard of Angers, *The Book of Sainte Foy*, tr. Pamela Sheingorn (Philadelphia, 1995), 115–20; and Morris, 'Memories', 94. Incidentally, Richard of Saint-Vannes was a close adviser to Duke Robert of Normandy (who would undertake his own journey to Jerusalem in 1035). See Daniel F. Callahan, 'Jerusalem in the Monastic Imaginations of the Early Eleventh Century', *Haskins Society Journal*, 6 (1994), 122.

[61] *Vita Richardi Abbatis s. Vitoni Virdunensis*, MGH SS 11: 288–9. The pilgrims arrived just before Easter of 1027. See Dauphin, *Le Bienheureux Richard*, 291. Shortly after this pilgrimage's return, Bishops Isembert of Poitiers and Jordan of Limoges went on their own journey. See Marcus Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony, c.970–c.1130* (Oxford, 1993), 209.

[62] Glaber, *Five Books*, tr. France, 199–201.

[63] Jean Mabillon, *Vetera analecta sive collectio veterum aliquot operum & opusculorum omnis generis, carminum, epistolarum, diplomatum, epitaphiorum, &c.* (Paris, 1723), 304. On the timing of Avesgaud's journey, see Le R. P. Dom Paul Piolin, *Histoire de l'église du Mans*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1856), iii. 118.

[64] On Fulk and Robert, see below, n. 72; Glaber, *Five Books*, tr. France, 202; Krautheimer, 'Introduction', 117; and Richard Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits of History: Ademar of Chabannes, 989–1034* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995), 281.

The largest pre-crusade pilgrimage of the eleventh century was the German pilgrimage of 1064–5, estimated to have been more than ten times larger than the pilgrimage of 1026–7.[67] Between 7,000 and 12,000 persons, primarily from the Rhineland, followed Archbishop Siegfried of Mainz, Bishops Gunther of Bamberg, William of Utrecht, and Otto of Regensburg, along with a host of other ecclesiastics both named and unnamed, towards Jerusalem. But the majority of the contingent was composed of laymen including 'counts, princes, courtiers from the royal palace, numerous knights, [and] a large host of commoners, rich and poor'.[68] The Rhenish pilgrims were constantly troubled by bandits but eventually reached Jerusalem thanks to an escort of armed youths sent by the local emir. After completing their pilgrimage, the Westerners (perhaps wisely) chose to secure a sea passage back to Constantinople before finishing their return journey overland through the Balkans.

Traditionally, scholars have looked at this list of large-scale journeys and suggested that one of the most characteristic aspects of pilgrimage to the East in the eleventh century was its mass appeal, across social class. Moreover, the traditional narrative goes, these mass pilgrimages increased in frequency throughout the eleventh century, building in intensity and becoming a natural precursor to the First Crusade in 1095.[69]

First, the characterization of pilgrimage in the eleventh century as a 'popular' phenomenon is inaccurate. Before the First Crusade in 1095, the vast, vast majority of those who undertook the expensive and time-consuming journey to the holy sites were elites—nobles and churchmen (of the latter, primarily monks). The possible exceptions to this rather categorical statement would be 1033 and 1064–5 but even then there is little evidence to support the claim that these pilgrimages were patronized broadly across social class.[70] And yet, we must concede that these early medieval elite pilgrims almost never traveled alone, inevitably being surrounded by entourages of servants, churchmen, and other nobles.[71] For example, when Lietbert of Cambrai led his large party east, he happened upon another large band of pilgrims around the bishop of Laon, as noted above. Count Robert I of Flanders could hardly be called 'lonely' during his trip to Palestine in the late 1080s. Count Fulk Nerra of Anjou may have gone to Jerusalem 'alone' no less than four times during the first half of the eleventh century, yet he was undoubtedly accompanied by a number of retainers and hangers-on. Fulk even (apparently intentionally) met the large party surrounding Duke Robert of Normandy in 1035.[72]

---

[65] *Vita s. Lietberti episcopus Cameracensis*, AASS 23 June: 596–9; also *Gesta Lietberti*, MGH SS 7: 497.

[66] See *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, tr. Dorothy Whitelock, David C. Douglas, and Susie I. Tucker (London, 1961), 124, 134; William M. Aird, *Robert Curthose Duke of Normandy, c.1050–1134* (Woodbridge, 2008), 157 and n. 20; Graboïs, 'Les Pèlerinages du XI^{e} siècle', 533; *Vita Theodorici abbatis Andaginensis*, MGH SS 12: 44–5; and Bousquet, 'La Fondation de Villeneuve d'Aveyron', 538–9.

[67] The essential work on the pilgrimage of 1064–5 remains Einar Joranson, 'The Great German Pilgrimage of 1064–1065', in *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays: Presented to Dana C. Munro by his Former Students*, ed. Louis J. Paetow (Freeport, NY, 1928), 3–43; but now also see Fritz Lŏsek, ' "Et bellum inire sunt coacti": The Great Pilgrimage of 1065', in Michael J. Herren, C. J. McDonough, and Ross J. Arthur (eds.), *Latin Culture in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Medieval Latin Studies* (Turnhout, 2002), 61–72.

[68] Joranson, 'Great German Pilgrimage', 10–12; and Lŏsek, 'Et bellum inire', 63.

[69] e.g. Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'Pilgrims and Crusaders in Western Latin Sources', in Mary Whitby (ed.), *Byzantines and Crusaders in Non-Greek Sources, 1025–1204* (Oxford, 2007), 5; and Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, 64–5.

Second, we cannot subscribe to an evolutionary model that sees a steady increase in either pilgrimage generally or large-scale pilgrimage specifically during this period. Recently, Rachel Fulton has asserted that there were only four great, collective pilgrimages in the eleventh century before the First Crusade—those in 1026–7, 1033, 1054, and 1064–5.[73] This estimate seems a bit reductionist. For example, it does not include the 1080 journey by Robert of Flanders, nor does Fulton's statement allow for the pilgrimage of Bishop Berengar of Elne (in the Pyrenees) in 1047, said to have included a large number of minor ecclesiastics, local lay nobility, and their followers.[74] Certainly, neither Robert's 1080 journey nor Berengar's 1047 pilgrimage were on the same scale as the German pilgrimage of 1064–5, yet they were not altogether different either. They may have varied in size and in the eminence of the regional elites that they attracted, but these peculiar eleventh-century elite pilgrimages were structurally similar in that they each centered around a single person and attracted large numbers of the lay nobility (and their retinues).[75] Nevertheless, I think that Fulton is correct in pointing to the extraordinary nature of large-scale pilgrimage in the eleventh century.

---

[70] See France, 'Le Rôle de Jérusalem', 155–6. At the very least, people knew how expensive and time-consuming the trip would be. See Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge, 1997), 106–43.

[71] McCormick, *Origins*, 162; Graboïs, *Le Pèlerin occidental*, 187; and Morris, 'Memories', 94.

[72] On Robert's journey, see Charles Verlinden, *Robert Ier le Frison, comte de Flandre* (Paris, 1935), 151–9. On Fulk's pilgrimages, see Bernard S. Bachrach, 'The Pilgrimages of Fulk Nerra, Count of the Angevins, 987–1040', in Thomas F. X. Noble and John J. Contreni (eds.), *Religion, Culture, and Society in the Early Middle Ages: Studies in Honor of Richard E. Sullivan* (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1987), 205–17. On Robert of Normandy, see Elisabeth M. C. van Houts, 'Normandy and Byzantium in the Eleventh Century', *Byzantion,* 55 (1985), 544–59.

[73] Fulton, *Judgment*, 77.

[74] On Berengar, see *Synodum Helense*, RHG 11: 514.

[75] In 1026, 1047, 1054, and 1064, this leader was an ecclesiastic. At other times, such as *c.*1033, these pilgrimages could be led by the lay nobility themselves. This latter structure is strikingly similar to how Benedict of Monte Soratte's *Chronicon* and Charroux's *Historia* portray Charlemagne's voyage to the East—a large group, comprised of aristocrats and ecclesiastics, following a central figure.

Functionally, the increasing availability of horses to the aristocracy in this period may have increased the ability of large groups to stay together on a journey. In addition, large groups could afford more protection against external threats, as shown in the ability of the pilgrims of 1026–7 and 1064–5 to defend themselves from raiders, but large groups also presented logistical nightmares for their organizers regarding food, water, and shelter. Breakdowns in discipline, such as raiding into the countryside, could incite the ire of the local populace, leading to the closure of available markets or even outright armed hostility.[76] Furthermore, brigands did not suddenly appear in the eleventh century. If anything, the eleventh century was a *safer* time than most to travel to the East. Byzantine power in the Balkans and Asia Minor was greater than it had been in the tenth century. Hungary was now Christian as well. Centralized Muslim control of Syria and Palestine may have been weaker towards the end of the eleventh century but, as seen in 1064–5, Islamic authorities did attempt to protect pilgrims during their journey.

Nor did the nature of pilgrimage suddenly change between the tenth and eleventh centuries. In addition to the appeal of a possible cure at a cult center, pilgrimage as a form of penance had been practiced in the West since at least the eighth century. Through confession, a sinner could be immediately reconciled to the Church, but that person still had to atone for that sin. Pilgrimage filled that gap. Cyrille Vogel has explained that this form of penitential pilgrimage evolved from insular monasticism. But whereas Irish monks had practiced a pilgrimage akin to exile (wandering without destination) to atone for their sins, Carolingian religious added a firm destination to the journey in the ninth century. Exile and return. Despite immediate Carolingian resistance to the practice by Charlemagne and his court circle, it quickly became popular and one can find few complaints about the practice by the end of the ninth century.[77] It didn't disappear thereafter. Certainly, concern for the state of one's soul might explain why some such as Duke Robert of Normandy (who was suspected of murdering his brother) and Fulk Nerra of Anjou (who killed just about everyone he could, including his first wife and the king's favorite, Hugh of Beauvais) sought the Holy Sepulcher, or why others like Count William IV of Angoulême in 1026 attached themselves to already-formed pilgrimages organized by clerical elites.

Perhaps related to this, we can perceive a new surge in Western pilgrims deliberately spending their last days in the holy city during the eleventh century.

---

[76] Indeed, this may have been part of the problem in 1064–5. Think e.g. of the general chaos that accompanied the progress of the First Crusade armies through the Balkans, recounted in Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades*, tr. John Gillingham (Oxford, 1972), 40–4. On the relationship between horses and pilgrimage, see Bull, *Knightly Piety*, 206.

[77] Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, 100–1; Cyrille Vogel, 'Le Pèlerinage pénitentiel', *Revue des Sciences Religieuses,* 38 (1964), 113–53; Bat-Sheva Albert, *Le Pèlerinage à l'époque carolingienne* (Brussels, 1999), 49–99; Graboïs, *Le Pèlerin occidental*, 54–5, 67; and Sarah Hamilton, *The Practice of Penance, 900–1050* (Rochester, NY, 2001), 173–4. See also the intriguing connection between penitential pilgrimage and monastic *correctio* suggested in Valerie I. J. Flint, 'Space and Discipline in Early Medieval Europe', in Barbara A. Hanawalt and Michael Kobialka (eds.), *Medieval Practices of Space* (Minneapolis, 2000), 149–66.

At the time of the Last Judgment, pilgrims would profit both from the spiritually beneficial nature of their journey—perishing in an at least semi-sanctified state—as well as from proximity to both the resting places of the powerful saints of the Holy Land and the actual place of Judgment.[78] The laity of the eleventh were almost certainly concerned for the state of their souls but so too were those who lived in preceding centuries.[79] Penitential pilgrimage to Jerusalem may have been more common in the eleventh century but penitential pilgrimage itself was not.

So, what can we say about pilgrimage and Jerusalem in the eleventh century? What distinguishes pilgrimages of the eleventh century from those that came before was not that the poor began to go, nor that eleventh-century elites had fundamentally different ideas about what pilgrimage was, nor that they practiced it more often, but simply that *groups of elites began to travel together*, merging their retinues and pooling their resources in common cause. This development, however, was, as Fulton earlier suggested, not evolutionary towards 1095 but rather episodic. This type of large-scale pilgrimage tended to cluster around specific dates. Many seem to have gone to the East on their own throughout the period but unprecedented numbers of people appear to have decided to travel east, and travel together, at certain times—between 1000 and 1033,[80] then around 1054, 1064–5, and 1095.

In the eleventh century, Jerusalem became firmly entrenched in the Western consciousness. The holy city came to the West, memorialized in stone throughout Europe, but at the same time, the West looked east. The importance of the anagogical Jerusalem continued unabated, while the historical (literal/terrestrial) Jerusalem emerged periodically to supplant it. The cloister echoed the heavenly Jerusalem but took on characteristics of the terrestrial city. The liturgy evoked the heavenly city, as well as the Jerusalem of Christ's humanity. Pilgrimage to the East increased. The flow (both real and imagined) of christological relics from East to West became steadier, with increasing numbers of Western religious houses seeking them out. Nevertheless, we should be conscious of the fact that these developments moved in fits and starts, becoming more prominent at specific times during the period. Nothing in the eleventh-century West's understanding of Jerusalem—not in its allegorization of the city, nor in its devotion to pilgrimage—can lead us to believe that Jerusalem alone was calling the West inexorably towards it before 1095.

---

[78] See Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, 130–2. Adso Dervensis in 992, Ademar of Chabannes in 1034, and a pilgrim by the name of Lethbaud in 1033 all almost certainly intentionally died during their respective pilgrimages. Udalric of Celle similarly went to Jerusalem *c.*1000 desiring martyrdom but was robbed of it when God intervened to save him from some Saracen attackers. See Françoise Micheau, 'Les Itinéraires maritimes', 84; Landes, *Relics*, 279–81; Glaber, *Five Books*, 199; *Vita posteriore s. Udalrici*, 256. On this practice generally see Bredero, 'Jérusalem', 267; Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, 130.

[79] Hamilton, *Practice of Penance*. Though she does not deal specifically with pilgrimage, Mayke de Jong has now shown how central the conception of lay penance was to the Franks under Louis the Pious and his heirs. Marcus Bull, speaking just of SW Francia but with findings more broadly applicable, perhaps inadvertently has shown how this idea was passed into the 10th and 11th cents. See Mayke de Jong, *The Penitential State: Authority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious, 814–840* (Cambridge, 2009), esp. 148–259; and Bull, *Knightly Piety*, particularly 163–203, but also see his comments on lay piety and pilgrimage, 204–49.

[80] Jonathan Riley-Smith has recently claimed that pilgrimage to Palestine 'restarted' around 1025 after a hiatus caused by events in the East. Martin Biddle, however, says that the flow of pilgrims was uninterrupted. Cf. Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'Pilgrims and Crusaders in Western Latin Sources', in Mary Whitby (ed.), *Byzantines and Crusaders in Non-Greek Sources, 1025–1204* (Oxford, 2007), 5; and Martin Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ* (Stroud, 1999), 81.

This page intentionally left blank

PART III

THE FRANKS RECREATE EMPIRE

This page intentionally left blank

4

The Franks' Imagined Empire

In the 1060s, the *Annales* of Saint-Amand (in Flanders) recorded that in the year 771 Charles, king of the Franks, went to Saxony. By way of identification, the annalist helpfully added, 'this is the emperor (*imperator*) Charles, son of Pippin the Short, who acquired territory (*regnum*) all the way to Jerusalem'.[1] There is much to unpack from this short sentence. This entry was the first time the Saint-Amand annalist used the title *imperator* to describe a ruler and the only time he used it to describe Charlemagne. Note that our Flemish annalist linked military activities in Saxony with a more general memory of Frankish expansion. Indeed, the annalist's use of *imperator* does not seem to have anything to do with Rome or the papacy but rather seems tied to Frankish expansion, specifically to power in the East, all the way to Jerusalem. Finally, and related to all of these preceding points, by the second half of the eleventh century, at least at Saint-Amand, none of these claims needed justification or elaboration. Indeed, they *were* what would allow a reader to understand who the annalist was talking about—this Charles, the emperor, whose rule extended to Jerusalem.

Several strands from previous chapters begin to come together. Chapters 1 and 2 examined the formation of a Frankish Golden Age, remembered in the tenth and eleventh centuries to have existed under Charlemagne. Einhard, Notker, and their later readers understood that Charlemagne's power extended to and enveloped the East. Eleventh-century texts like Charroux's *Historia*, the *Descriptio qualiter*, and others such as the *Annales* of Saint-Amand began to close the intellectual distance separating their own time from that Golden Age. Narratives of Charlemagne's journey to Jerusalem were part and parcel of the same themes uncovered in Chapter 1, belying the notion that 'East' and 'West' were considered distinct, irreconcilable entities. Chapter 3 reinforced the intellectual 'closeness' felt between West and East, especially in the eleventh century, by looking at the image of Jerusalem in the West, even if nothing in that period seems to have been leading us towards a peculiar brand of Christian religious violence that would erupt in 1095.

So now, we must ask harder questions. For example, in the case of the *Annales* of Saint-Amand, what did it mean in the eleventh century to evoke Charlemagne's empire and to associate the Franks with power over the East? What did it mean to remember Frankish power as stemming from conquest? Was it simply a memory of past glories or was it something more?

---

[1] 'Hic est Karolus imperator, filius Pipini parvi, qui acquisivit regnum usque Hierosolimis.' *Annales Elnonenses minores*, MGH SS 5: 18. The text seems to have been written *c.*1064.

A CHRISTIAN REALM

In the *Chronicon* of Benedict of Monte Soratte, scholars have commented on the fact that Charlemagne appears to become an emperor in Rome only after his return from the East.[2] But that is not entirely accurate. Charles is first called *imperator* while he is at Constantinople. The title does not stay with him though and he becomes a *rex* again when he returns to Francia at the very end of the account. Benedict thinks that Charlemagne's imperial credentials have been established before his acclamation at Rome; that the acclamation ceremony is something else. Charlemagne's power stems from his pilgrimage, not his new title.[3] Charles's possession of the Holy Places and clear dominance over the Byzantines—that he has been acknowledged as the head of a universal Christianity, both in Europe and the East—warranted Benedict calling him an emperor.

Charroux's *Historia* shows a similar understanding of 'emperor'. The text immediately assigns Charlemagne the title of *rex* but as soon as he reaches Jerusalem, welcomed personally by the patriarch outside the walls, Charlemagne becomes an *imperator*. But then, as above, the title changes when he returns to Francia; Charles is called *rex* as he builds Charroux and then once more when he dies.[4] Because of how Charlemagne's title seems to be applied, one might suggest that these two authors saw great fluidity between the titles *rex* and *imperator*. Perhaps they believed that the two titles essentially meant the same thing. But perhaps not.

Both Benedict of Monte Soratte and the anonymous author of the *Historia* were actually being quite subtle in their use of the terms. *Rex* refers to an office—one who rules over a people or a specific area (though we should be careful to note that these are not the same thing).[5] In Benedict's *Chronicon*, the Carolingians and Ottonians are all kings, just as Charlemagne is at the outset. None save Charles, however, is ever called emperor.[6] Charlemagne becomes a king once again at the end of both Benedict's *Chronicon* and Charroux's *Historia* because he returns to Francia to rule over his people, his *gens*. The 'empire', on the other hand, was not confined to a single *gens*, nor did it ever really have fixed territory or boundaries (in the modern sense) during antiquity or the early Middle Ages.[7] An early medieval emperor ruled over people, not places.

---

[2] e.g. Stephen G. Nichols, Jr., *Romanesque Signs: Early Medieval Narrative and Iconography* (New Haven, Conn., 1983), 73; Johannes Kunsemüller, *Die Chronik Benedikts von San Andrea* (Ph.D. diss., Erlangen/Nürenberg, 1961), 86–7; and F. Kampers, *Die deutsche Kaiseridee in Prophetie und Sage* (Münich, 1896), 56.

[3] 'Qui mox imperator cum quanta donis et munera, et aliquantulum de corpore sancti Andreae apostoli, ad imperatoribus Constantinopolim accepto, in Italia est reverses. . . . Victor et coronator triumphator rex in Francia est reverus.' Benedict of Monte Soratte, *Chronicon*, MGH SS 3: 711. Though he does not note this anomaly, Kunsemüller also suggests that Charlemagne's power derives more from his trip than his acclamation in Rome. See Kunsemüller, *Die Chronik*, 87.

[4] 'Imperator civitatem ingressus regiam vestem deposuit, pedes nudavit, sicque ad Domini sepulcrum properare curavit. . . . Postquam ergo rex hoc quo descripsimus ordine locum construxit. . . . Nam mortuo rege Karolo et quibusdam regibus qui ei in regno successerant.' *Liber de Const.* 31, 33–4, respectively. Cf. to the imperial *adventus*. See Ch. 2 n. 15.

[5] There was e.g. a big difference between a *rex Francorum* and a *rex Franciae*. See Ronnie Ellenblum, 'Were there Borders and Borderlines in the Middle Ages? The Example of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem', in David Abulafia and Nora Berend (eds.), *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices* (Burlington, Vt., 2002), 110; and esp. Hans-Werner Goetz, '*Gens*: Terminology and Perception of the "Germanic" Peoples from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages', in Richard Corradini, Max Diesenberger, and Helmut Reimitz (eds.), *The Construction of Communities in the Early Middle Ages: Texts, Resources and Artefacts* (Leiden, 2003), 39–40. See also Ch. 5 below.

In both the *Chronicon* and *Historia*, the title of *imperator* is first applied to Charlemagne at the completion of his pilgrimage—while at Constantinople in the *Chronicon* and upon his arrival at Jerusalem in Charroux's *Historia*.[8] Charlemagne, clearly the pre-eminent power in Benedict's narrative, has the Byzantines quivering in fear before him, revealing their inadequacies as rulers, while the Islamic Caliph freely places the Holy Places under the great Frankish ruler's power. In the *Historia*, the point is even clearer. The text does not justify Charles's power; it does not assert; it simply assumes. The *Historia* has no Byzantines, no Muslims—only Charlemagne, who is met outside Jerusalem's walls (as if expected) by the patriarch and the city's Christians. Even Jesus works through Charlemagne. The Christ-child appears for all to see during a mass performed explicitly for Charlemagne in the Holy Sepulcher. Jesus recognizes Charles's purpose, saying directly to him, 'Most noble prince, accept with reverence this small present, which remains from my true body and blood.'[9] The direct connection between Christ and Charlemagne suggests that their statures are analogous: as Christ reigns in Heaven, so Charlemagne reigns on Earth. These narratives appear to have similar understandings of *rex* and *imperator*. An *imperator* is a '*rex* +', one who rules over many *regna* but who demonstrates his authority/power even more broadly, over the *populus christianus*—all Christians, West and East.

In the *Descriptio qualiter*, things begin slightly differently. Charles is called both *rex* and *imperator* in the very first line, mildly echoing the well-known opening line of the contemporary Oxford *Chanson de Roland*.[10] This dual intitulation continues throughout the *Descriptio qualiter*, with the anonymous author more often than not calling Charlemagne by both titles simultaneously. Nonetheless, the very first paragraph of the *Descriptio qualiter* justifies his two titles.

---

[6] Lothar I is called *agustus* (sic), but never *imperator*. See Benedict, *Chronicon*, 712.

[7] Ellenblum, 'Borders and Borderlines', 106–10; also Warren Brown, 'The Idea of Empire in Carolingian Bavaria', in Björn Weiler and Simon Maclean (eds.), *Representations of Power in Medieval Germany, 800–1500* (Turnhout, 2006), 37–55; and below.

[8] A medieval pilgrimage was completed when the traveler reached his destination. The return was something else. David R. Blanks, 'Islam and the West in the Age of the Pilgrim', in *Year 1000*, 257.

[9] 'Princeps, inquit, nobilissime, munusculum hoc cum veneratione suscipe, quod ex mea vera carne et vero constat sanguine.' *Liber de Const.* 31.

[10] 'Tempore quo rex et imperator Karolus magnus Gallicum regebat regnum'. *Descriptio qualiter Karolus Magnus clavum et coronam Domini a Constantinopoli Aquisgrani detulerit qualiterque Karolus Calvus hec ad Sanctum Dyonisium retulerit*, in *Die Legende*, 103. 'Carles li reis, nostre emperere magnes', *La Chanson de Roland*, ed. Gerard J. Brault (University Park, Pa., 1978), l. 1. There are also mild echoes of this convention in other contemporary Frankish texts. In these, however, it is Christ who is both *rex* and *imperator*. See *Ordines Coronationis Franciae: Texts and Ordines for the Coronation of Frankish and French Kings and Queens in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard A. Jackson, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1995), i. 149, 161–2, 187; and Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship* (Berkeley, Calif., 1946).

> In the time when Charles, the king and great emperor (*rex et imperator magnus*), ruled over the kingdom (*regnum*) of the Gauls, many opponents of the holy church of God belonged to [his kingdom]. . . . He prevailed on the peoples all around him, through all the neighboring regions almost everywhere, placing them under him either by conquering or by making peace with the laws of God's church. Further, often fiercely stirring up war among the most worthless pagans, he always returned the arisen victor with the help of God and thereby restored the church to commendable things in a short time. Hence, when the fame and upright faith of so great and famous a man carried across the whole world of the faithful, with great alarm the thoroughly frightened Romans gave to him the mightiest Roman imperial authority (*imperium*), even indeed the choice of the pope. Thus by God's surpassing providence, he was made Roman Emperor (*imperator Romanus*).[11]

Charlemagne was a king because he ruled Gaul. He was an emperor because he possessed *imperium*. He fought the pagans, converted them to Christ, maintained authority among the faithful, and could even appoint the pope. In the *Descriptio qualiter*, Charlemagne is an emperor because he has earned it.

Even if we should be careful not to discount the sometimes self-conscious role Constantine himself played, Eusebius of Caesarea (d. 339/40) was one of the first to paint a portrait of a specifically Christian emperor charged with guarding a peculiarly Christian empire. Their collective influence on later thinkers was, as may be guessed, profound. For Eusebius and Constantine, the earthly empire was a reflection of the heavenly kingdom, its inhabitants united in their common Christianity, transcending ethnic identity.[12] Empire then was not a geographical space but the power/authority that the ruler wielded. Bede, following many of the Fathers, helped transmit this idea into the early Middle Ages by asserting that *imperium* meant 'power' and 'jurisdiction', not necessarily attached to a territory—the unification of a mosaic of peoples through the exercise of supreme power.[13] We should not accept the nineteenth- and twentieth-century tendency to translate *imperium* as 'empire'. 'Imperial authority' is a much better translation, at least through the early Middle Ages.[14]

---

[11] 'Tempore quo rex et imperator Karolus magnus Gallicum regebat regnum, multe quoque contrarientes sancte dei ecclesie inerrant. . . . Quas circumquaque gentes attingere prevaluit, aut eas debellando aut eas pacificando legibus dei ecclesie supposuit adeo, ut fere per omnes circumadiacentes regiones longe lateque, sepius etiam in nequissimos paganos acriter bellum exagitando, sed semper deo oppitulante victor existens ubique brevi tempore res ecclesiasticas celebrabiles reddiderit. Proinde postquam tanti tamque famosi viri per totum fere orbem terrarum fidei probitatisve fama transvolavit, Romani magno terrore perterritit potentissimum Romanum imperium, immo etiam pape electionem ipsi prescripserunt. Ita dei providentia precurrente Romanus imperator effectus est.' *Descriptio qualiter*, 103.

[12] On Eusebius' portrayal of Constantine and its later impact, see D. M. Nicol, 'Byzantine Political Thought', in J. H. Burns (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought, c.350–c.1450* (Cambridge, 1988), 52–3; and R. A. Markus, 'The Latin Fathers', ibid. 92–122. On Constantine's hand at work, see Yves Christe, 'Victoria-Imperium-Judicium: Un schème antique du pouvoir dans l'art paléochrétien et médiéval', *Rivista di archeologica cristiana,* 49 (1973), 90–1; and Jeremy M. Schott, *Christianity, Empire, and the Making of Religion in Late Antiquity* (Philadelphia, 2008), 110–35.

[13] Steven Fanning, 'Bede, *Imperium*, and the Bretwaldas', *Speculum,* 66 (1991), 1–26, esp. the discussion 7–14. Also, Donald Bullough, 'Empire and Emperordom from Late Antiquity to 799', *Early Medieval Europe,* 12 (2003), 380–3; James Muldoon, *Empire and Order: The Concept of Empire, 800–1800* (New York, 1999), 29; Anthony Pagden, *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in*

The Carolingians followed Bede. The language of Frankish rulership, even back to the 740s, had long paralleled the language of Christian hierarchy and order. As such, Frankish power was thought to be universal and derived from the community of all believers over which the emperor ruled and whom he protected. In other words, the empire was Christendom: its boundaries thought to be coextensive with the boundaries of the *ecclesia*, the boundaries of orthodoxy. This conception became even more pronounced during the reigns of Louis the Pious and his sons.[15] Take the example of Rome.

The ninth-century Franks tried to split hairs, asserting that they possessed Roman *imperium* but not that this power was inextricably tied to the city of Rome itself. Indeed, Charlemagne's coronation in 800 only seems to have amplified earlier ideas. Even if the Carolingian architectural program drew heavily from models in Rome, Ravenna, Trier, and Constantinople, the Franks tried to be very careful about taking their examples specifically from *Christian* emperors. Moreover, neither Charlemagne nor Louis the Pious ever tried to rule from—or in—Rome. Instead, Rome and Jerusalem moved north and west with their relics under Charlemagne, translating sacred space and sacred time with them, making the Franks (as the *populus christianus*) successors of the Romans and Hebrews, but with their own special place in sacred history.[16] As we saw in Chapter 1, conquered

---

Spain, Britain and France c.1500–c.1800 (New Haven, Conn., 1995), 25; and Rosamond McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2004), 114–15.

[14] Mayke de Jong, *The Penitential State: Authority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious, 814–840* (Cambridge, 2009), 27. The intitulation of one of Charlemagne's diplomas reads: 'Karolus serenissimus augustus a deo coronatus magnus pacificus imperator Romanum gubernans imperium, qui et per misercordiam dei rex Francorum atque Langobardorum.' ('Charles, most serene augustus, crowned by God, the great and peaceful emperor who controls Roman imperial authority, and who is king of the Franks and Lombards by the mercy of God.') *Pippini, Carlomanni, Caroli Magni Diplomata*, ed. Engelbert Mühlbacher, MGH Dipl. Karol. (Hanover, 1906), i, no. 197.

[15] Robert Folz, *The Coronation of Charlemagne, 25 December 800*, tr. J. E. Anderson (London, 1974), 74, 120–1; Janet Nelson, 'Kingship and Empire in the Carolingian World', in Rosamond McKitterick (ed.), *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1994), 61; Lutz E. v. Padberg, 'Zur Spannung von Gentilismus und christlichem Universalitätsideal im Reich Karls des Grossen', in Franz-Reiner Erkens (ed.), *Karl der Grosse und das Erbe der Kulturen* (Berlin, 2001), 36–53; Mayke de Jong, 'Charlemagne's Church', in Joanna Story (ed.), *Charlemagne: Empire and Society* (Manchester, 2005), 103–35; Matthew Innes, '"Immune from Heresy": Defining the Boundaries of Carolingian Christianity', in Paul Fouracre and David Ganz (eds.), *Frankland: The Franks and the World of the Early Middle Ages* (Manchester, 2008), 101–25; and now de Jong, *Penitential State*. On Bede's influence over the Franks, see Ch. 3 n. 47.

[16] On the Carolingian building program and Rome, see Charles B. McClendon, *The Origins of Medieval Architecture: Building in Europe, A.D. 600–900* (New Haven, Conn., 2005), 106–27. On Charlemagne and Louis's relationship with Rome, see Thomas F. X. Noble, *The Republic of St. Peter: The Birth of the Papal State, 680–825* (Philadelphia, 1984), 287–301; Janet L. Nelson, 'Translating Images of Authority: The Christian Roman Emperors in the Carolingian World', in *The Frankish World, 750–900* (London, 1996), 89–98; and Janet L. Nelson, 'Kingship and Empire', in J. H. Burns (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought, c.350–c.1450* (Cambridge, 1988), 232. On the Franks' conception of their place in history, see the trenchant comments in McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, 326–30, 370–7. On the matrix of relics, space, and time, see the excellent R. A.

peoples rather quickly came to think of themselves as Franks and these Franks were the new chosen people, possessors of their own particular empire. The Franks *were* the Church; they *were* the Christians. It was probably not coincidence that Alcuin kept calling Charlemagne 'David' and not 'Augustus' and, drawing from Gregory the Great, spoke of the Franks holding the *christianitas regnum*. Charlemagne was thought to have led a united *populus christianus* against all God's enemies.[17]

The Frankish *regnum* was intellectualized to be comprised of one all-embracing *gens*, defined not by ethnicity but rather by common adherence to an ideal, by submission to a new, universal Frankish *imperium*. Indeed, the places Charlemagne cared about were varied. As seen in Chapter 1, Charlemagne's circle intellectually constructed a special role for the Franks in watching over the Christians living in the Holy Land. The Franks also tried to make their presence felt in Iberia and Constantinople by taking great interest in quelling the heresy of Adoptionism and refuting the Second Council of Nicaea's stance on images, respectively. The early thirteenth-century Peutinger map was almost certainly modeled on a ninth-century original. The map geographically represented the extent of the Franks' vision of empire—the entire world touched by Christianity, the world evangelized by the apostles and subsequent missionaries, from Britain to Sri Lanka.[18] The empire under the Carolingians was never tied geographically to any one place (including Rome) but rather linked intellectually to both 'Franks' and its contemporary synonym 'Christians'.

Court ideology spread outwards. By the end of his reign, the Frankish royal agenda under Charlemagne had 'like dye in cloth . . . , *taken*, or become absorbed, in human material collectively. Charlemagne's government would persist as an empire of the mind.'[19] Or, perhaps better, it would persist as an 'empire of

---

Markus, 'How on Earth Could Places Become Holy? Origins of the Christian Idea of Holy Places', *Journal of Early Christian Studies,* 2 (1994), 257–71.

[17] Mary Garrison, 'The Franks as the New Israel? Education for an Identity from Pippin to Charlemagne', in *Uses of the Past,* 114–61; Bullough, 'Empire and Emperordom', 386; and Mary Alberi, 'The Evolution of Alcuin's Concept of the *Imperium Christianum*', in Joyce Hill and Mary Swan (eds.), *The Community, the Family and the Saint: Patterns of Power in Early Medieval Europe* (Turnhout, 1998), 3–17. Alberi suggests that this understanding of the *populus christianus* would downplay the significance of the different *gentes* under Charlemagne and hence the importance of 'Frankishness'. I don't agree. As I have mentioned in Chs. 1 and 2 above and will discuss in more depth in Ch. 5 below, this smoothing of differences seems to have elided the *populus christianus* with the Frankish *gens* in particular and highlighted its importance.

[18] On the Adoptionism controversy, see John C. Cavadini, *The Last Christology of the West: Adoptionism in Spain and Gaul, 785–820* (Philadelphia, 1993); and the brief summary in Rosamond McKitterick, *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge, 2008), 311–15. On Carolingian sources and the Holy Land, see Ch. 1, above. On the Peutinger Map, see Emily Albu, 'Imperial Geography and the Medieval Peutinger Map', *Imago Mundi,* 57 (2005), 136–49; and idem, 'Rethinking the Peutinger Map', in Richard J. A. Talbert and Richard W. Unger (eds.), *Cartography in Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Fresh Perspectives, New Methods* (Leiden, 2008), 111–19.

[19] Janet L. Nelson, 'Charlemagne and Empire', in Jennifer R. Davis and Michael McCormick (eds.), *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe: New Directions in Early Medieval Studies* (Burlington, Vt., 2008), 232. Warren Brown elsewhere suggested that scribes in Bavaria, at least, picked up on court ideologies. See Warren Brown, 'The Idea of Empire in Carolingian Bavaria', in Björn Weiler and Simon Maclean (eds.), *Representations of Power in Medieval Germany, 800–1500* (Turnhout, 2006), 37–55.

memory'. Charlemagne's ninth-century successors remembered well their duty to shepherd the *populus christianus*. In a new study of the reign of Louis the Pious (814–40), Mayke de Jong has convincingly, though obliquely, shown the central importance of this intellectual legacy by showing how Frankish court elites argued over the proper relationship between the ruler and the *populus christianus*. In the period 827–34 Louis and some of his advisers bumped up against a group of old hands from Charlemagne's reign, notably Einhard and Wala. In the end, the old system—a more collective conceptualization of responsibility to God—won out and the health of the whole *populus christianus* remained of paramount concern for the Frankish ruler.[20] Two of Charles the Bald's diplomas for the abbey of Montier-en-Der share this idea, referring to his gifts for the abbey as benefiting the whole *populus christianus*. Charles's brothers, Louis the German (840–76) and Lothar I (840–55), also dreamt on the meaning of empire as defined by their father and grandfather, looking for ways to lay claim to the symbols that defined them, such as Aachen and the imperial title.[21] This continued into the next generation as well. In 871 Emperor Louis II (855–75) implied his superiority to his Byzantine counterpart by informing him that the Franks remained united in 'flesh, blood, and spirit' and he rightfully held the title of Roman emperor because of the Franks' constant orthodoxy. In this context, Notker the Stammerer's imperial ideas, and his likely hope that they would be absorbed by Charles the Fat (emperor 881–8) via the *Gesta Karoli Magni*, seem rather standard. Notker conceived of the empire—begun by Charlemagne and passed to Charles the Fat—as universal and Christian, anchored in sacred history, but with the Franks at its core and straddling Byzantium, Africa, and the rest of the known world.[22]

The first Ottonians (through Otto II, 967–83) tended to de-emphasize both the empire's essential Frankishness and its pan-Christian character. Their definition of empire generally became more about establishing the title within a quasi-feudal

---

[20] De Jong, *Penitential State*, esp. chs. 4–6. On Louis's reign generally, see esp. Karl Ferdinand Werner, '*Hludovicus Augustus*: Gouverner l'empire chrétien.—Idées et réalités', in Peter Godman and Roger Collins (eds.), *Charlemagne's Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814–40)* (Oxford, 1990), 3–123; Thomas F. X. Noble, 'The Monastic Ideal as a Model for Empire: The Case of Louis the Pious', *Revue Bénédictine*, 86 (1976), 235–50; and Eric J. Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire: Kingship and Conflict under Louis the German, 817–76* (Ithaca, NY, 2006), 29–31.

[21] *The Cartulary of Montier-en-Der, 666–1129*, ed. Constance Brittain Bouchard (Toronto, 2004), nos. 14, 16. On Louis and Lothar, see Eric J. Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire: Kingship and Conflict under Louis the German, 817–76* (Ithaca, NY, 2006); and Elina Screen, 'The Importance of the Emperor: Lothar I and the Frankish Civil War, 840–3', *Early Medieval Europe*, 12 (2003), 25–51; respectively.

[22] Steven Fanning, 'Imperial Diplomacy between Francia and Byzantium: The Letter of Louis II to Basil I in 871', *Cithara*, 34 (1994), 3–17; and De Jong, 'Charlemagne's Church', 114–15. On Notker and Charles the Fat, see Theodor Siegrist, *Herrscherbild und Weltsicht bei Notker Balbulus: Untersuchungen zu den Gesta Karoli* (Zürich, 1963), 112–14; Hans-Werner Goetz, *Strukturen der spätkarolinischen Epoche im Spiegel der Vorstellungen eines Zeitgenössischen Mönchs: Eine Interpretation der 'Gesta Karoli' Notkers von Sankt Gallen* (Bonn, 1981), 76–80; and Simon Maclean, *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century: Charles the Fat and the End of the Carolingian Empire* (Cambridge, 2003), 154, 223–4. See also the battle for Aachen in the late 970s, analyzed well in Theo Riches, 'The Carolingian Capture of Aachen in 978 and its Historiographical Footprint', in Paul Fouracre and David Ganz (eds.), *Frankland: The Franks and the World of the Early Middle Ages* (Manchester, 2008), 191–208.

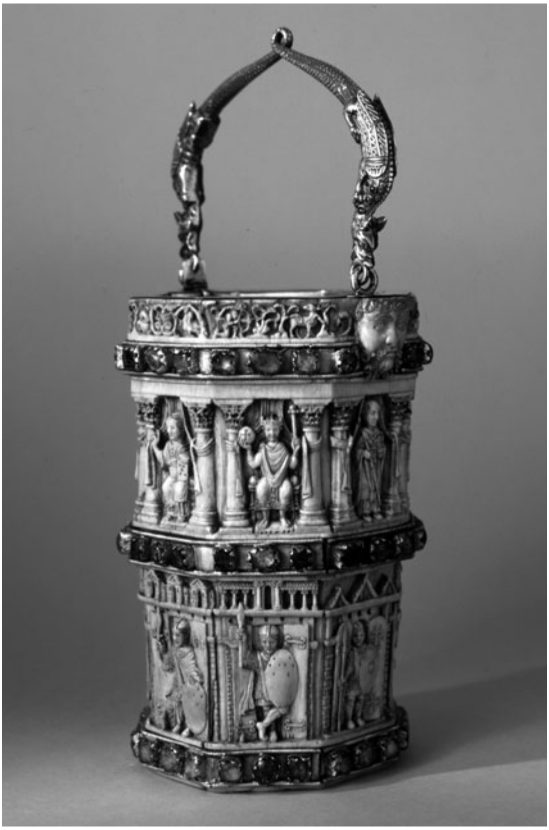

Figure 4.1. Eleventh-Century Ottonian Ivory Water Vessel, Aachen Cathedral Treasury. © Domkapitel Aachen (photo by Ann Münchow).

hierarchy (an emperor above a king, as a king was above a count). Theirs was a different dynasty, utilizing different symbols of authority than their Carolingian predecessors. Territorial boundaries became more important, if perhaps more limiting, in understanding empire.[23] Otto III, however, resurrected and re-engaged with an earlier Carolingian imperial ideal and Henry II followed in that Otto's footsteps. Otto III and Henry II both envisioned either 'a Christian Empire or Imperial Christendom, under the sole control of the Emperor'.[24] Ritual and symbolism of universal authority mattered here. For example, at his coronation, Otto III wore a cloak decorated with figures from Revelation and possessed another garment called the *orbis terraum*, the latter based on the description of the mantle worn by the High Priest of the Temple in Jerusalem. Henry II's imperial mantle was embroidered with stars, signifying his cosmic authority, while he carried a golden globe, representing his worldly authority.[25] An Ottonian ivory water vessel (Figure 4.1), likely dating from the reign of Otto III, nicely synthesized Roman, Carolingian, and Ottonian ideas of empire. Here, soldiers and bishops all inhabit a city reminiscent of the heavenly Jerusalem, while the emperor, likened to Christ and wielding universal power on earth akin to his in heaven, rules them all. The entire iconographic program here represents the emperor's *imperium* and how it extended over all the faithful.[26] What changed around the millennium, however, was that Rome became progressively more important to this conception of imperial authority. For example, Otto III attempted (unsuccessfully) to rule from Rome and may have begun building himself a palace on the Palatine Hill.[27] Later eleventh-century emperors continued their predecessors' Rome policy, gradually adopting the title *Romanorum rex* (which became standard by the time of Henry V, 1106–25) and advancing their claims to far-flung empire through these Roman pretensions. Anselm of Bésate's mid-eleventh-century *Rhetorimachia* thought that Henry III (1039–56) as king of the Romans would soon rule the ancient provinces of Greece, Judea, and Persia.[28]

---

[23] Robert Folz, *The Concept of Empire in Western Europe from the Fifth to the Fourteenth Century*, tr. Sheila Ann Ogilvie (London, 1969), 27–32, 47–51; Timothy Reuter, '*Regemque, quem in Francia pene perdidit, in patria magnifice recepit*: Ottonian Ruler Representation in Synchronic and Diachronic Comparison', in Janet L. Nelson (ed.), *Medieval Polities and Modern Mentalities* (Cambridge, 2006), 136–42; and John W. Bernhardt, 'Concepts and Practice of Empire in Ottonian Germany (950–1024)', in Björn Weiler and Simon Maclean (eds.), *Representations of Power in Medieval Germany, 800–1500* (Turnhout, 2006), 142–54.

[24] Folz, *Concept of Empire*, 64–6, quotation at 64; Helmut Beumann, *Der deutsche König als 'Romanorum Rex'* (Wiesbaden, 1981), 75–7; and now Matthew Gabriele, 'Otto III, Charlemagne,

But—and I cannot emphasize this enough—the study of imperial ideology by modern scholars is too often confined to the imperial circle itself, despite abundant evidence that shows how deeply others were thinking about universal empire too.[29] The sources discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, especially those coming from religious houses scattered across Europe, are replete with such instances. Even West Frankish kings began to absorb some of this imperial language, sometimes calling themselves *imperator* or *augustus*, oftentimes speaking of their special place as *rex Francorum*

---

and Pentecost A.D. 1000: A Reconsideration Using Diplomatic Evidence', in *Year 1000*, 111–32. This shift may have had something to do with the fact that the Carolingians were a more distant memory by the turn of the millennium. Timothy Reuter, 'The Ottonians and Carolingian Tradition', in Janet L. Nelson (ed.), *Medieval Polities and Modern Mentalities* (Cambridge, 2006), 279.

[25] On Otto's robes, see Geoffrey Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor: Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca, NY, 1992), 163. On Henry II, see Nelson, 'Kingship and Empire', 246; and Bernhardt, 'Concepts and Practice of Empire', 159–60.

[26] Piotr Skubiszewski, '*Ecclesia, Christianitas, Regnum et Sacerdotium* dans l'art des X^{e}–XI^{e} s.: Idées et structures des images', *Cahiers des civilisation médiévale,* 28 (1985), 139–51.

[27] See now David A. Warner, 'Ideals and Action in the Reign of Otto III', *Journal of Medieval History*, 25 (1999), 1–18; Benjamin Arnold, 'Eschatological Imagination and the Program of Roman Imperial and Ecclesiastical Renewal at the End of the Tenth Century', in *Apocalyptic Year*, 271–87; and, of course, Percy Ernst Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio: Studien zur Geschichte des römischen Erneuerungsgedankens vom Ende des karolingischen Reiches bis zum Investiturstreit*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1929).

[28] Generally, see Beumann, *Der deutsche König als 'Romanorum Rex'*. On Anselm of Bésate and Henry III, see Tilman Struve, 'Kaisertum und Romgedanke in salischer Zeit', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters,* 44 (1988), 424–9.

[29] For an example of how narrow modern studies can be, see Werner Goez, *Translatio Imperii: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Geschichtsdenkens und der politischen Theorien im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit* (Tübingen, 1958).

and their authority over many peoples.[30] The Anglo-Saxons and Anglo-Normans were also heavily influenced by Carolingian models of governance and attempted to lay claim to the mantle of Carolingian inheritance. Henry of Huntingdon, just to take one example, constructed an ideal of *imperium* for Henry II (1154–89) that drew directly and consciously from Carolingian precedent.[31]

In addition, the ecclesiastical reform movements of the tenth and eleventh centuries attempted to appropriate for their own use the language of Christian community inherited from the ninth-century Franks. At Cluny, especially under Abbot Odilo (d. 1049), the monks expanded their horizons with the institution of the feast of All Souls. Monks at Cluny, like the eighth- and ninth-century Franks before them, were concerned about the whole of the *populus christianus*, making explicit the connections they saw between the totality of time (life → afterlife) and the totality of space (the Christian community). Later in that century, the reform papacy, still thinking in strikingly similar terms to what we have discussed thus far, believed that they led the *ecclesia* and the entire *populus christianus*—West and East—from Rome. The leader of this redefined Christendom, however, was now, of course, the pope.[32] Again, these eleventh-century ecclesiastical reformers were not so much creating something new as trying to redefine something much older. The Carolingians, Ottonians, Salians, Capetians, Cluniacs, *et al.* had done this all before. If a reforming cleric talked about *ecclesia* or the *populus christianus* in the eleventh century, his audience would likely understand him—but maybe not in precisely the terms the speaker had intended. Both speaker and listener might disagree on who the ruler of that group might rightly be and the exact contours of that *populus*, but both would understand that a single ruler was responsible for the care of a universal Christian community. Both speaker and listener would also likely agree that such a community had existed once in the past and would exist once more in the future.

---

[30] See the examples in Karl-Ferdinand Werner, 'Das Hochmittelalterliche Imperium im politischen Bewusstein Frankreichs (10–12. Jahrhunderts)', *Historische Zeitschrift,* 200 (1965), esp. 14–18. Werner argues that West Frankish sources, perhaps as a reaction to the Rome policy of the Ottonians and Salians, began to speak of a 'Frankish empire' (as he translates *imperium Francorum*), distinct from the 'Roman empire' (*imperium Romanorum*). This is problematic for a number of reasons, not least of which is how problematic reading *imperium* as 'empire' is for this period. Indeed, Werner's examples seem to support reading *imperium* as 'authority' or 'power'. See Werner, 'Das Hochmittelalterliche Imperium', 14 n. 2.

[31] Nelson, 'Kingship and Empire', 239–42; and Wendy Marie Hoofnagle, 'Charlemagne's Legacy and Anglo-Norman *Imperium* in Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*', in *Legend of Charlemagne*, 77–94. See also my discussion of Norman and Frankish identities in the 11th cent. in Ch. 5, below.

[32] On Cluny, see Robert G. Heath, *Crux Imperatorum Philosophia: Imperial Horizons of the Cluniac Confraternitas, 964–1109* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1976), 93–4. On the papacy, see Skubiszewski, '*Ecclesia, Christianitas, Regnum et Sacerdotium*', 137–8; Maria Lodovica Arduini, 'Il problema *Christianitas* in Guiberto di Nogent', *Aevum,* 78 (2004), 379–410; Paul Magdalino, 'Church, Empire and Christendom in c. 600 and c. 1075: The View from the Registers of Popes Gregory I and Gregory VII', in *Cristianita' d'Occidente e cristianita' d'Oriente (secoli VI–XI): 24–30 aprile 2003* (Spoleto, 2004), 17–25; the still useful Jan van Laarhoven, '"Christianitas" et réforme grégorienne', *Studi Gregoriani,* 6 (1959–61), 1–98; and now the exceptional Brett Edward Whalen, *Dominion of God: Christendom and Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 2009). See also Ch. 5, below.

THE EMPIRE TO COME

Today, we often forget how integral prophecy was to medieval society, when it 'deeply affected political attitudes. . . . [T]he stupendous drama of the Last Days was not a phantasy about some remote and indefinite future but a prophecy which is infallible and which at almost any given moment was felt to be on the point of fulfillment.'[33] In many ways, because of its connection to the divine plan for all mankind, prophecy provided the most reliable, most authoritative, and truest insight into the progress of sacred history.[34] Eschatology, after all, is a fundamental part of Christianity. Like it or not, the end will come.

One version of that end was the legend of the Last Emperor. The Last Emperor legend has existed in a number of forms but generally is, by its very nature, a violent prophecy that promises peace only after the destruction of Christ's enemies.[35] Called upon to fight against the enemies of Christ, whether they be Gog and Magog or servants of antichrist, the Last Emperor creates an idealized, unified Christian empire and leads that community into battle. Only when the world is at peace will this last ruler journey to Jerusalem and relinquish his power directly to God. Antichrist will then appear shortly thereafter to begin the events described in Revelation.

Pseudo-Methodius, who likely was a seventh-century Syrian from Mesopotamia, was the first to speak of the Last Emperor and this Syriac text should be seen as part of a series of Byzantine apocalyptic writings that erupted in response to the Arab invasions. Translated into Greek within a few years of its original composition, it became available in Latin by the beginning of the eighth century. This translation made Pseudo-Methodius one of the most widespread and influential of all Latin medieval apocalyptic texts, especially north of the Alps.[36] It relates that:

---

[33] Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1970), 35.

[34] R. W. Southern's observations, as summarized in Monika Otter, 'Prolixitas Temporum: Futurity in Medieval Historical Narratives', in Robert M. Stein and Sandra Pierson Prior (eds.), *Reading Medieval Culture: Essays in Honor of Robert W. Hanning* (Notre Dame, Ind., 2005), 61. See also Djelal Kadir, *Columbus and the Ends of the Earth: Europe's Prophetic Rhetoric as Conquering Ideology* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992), 4–6.

[35] Paul J. Alexander, 'The Medieval Legend of the Last Roman Emperor and its Messianic Origin', *Journal of Warburg and Courtald Institutes,* 41 (1978), 2. I will retain the common phrase 'Last Emperor' here, even if that title is a bit misleading. As we will see, it might better have been termed 'Last King' because the first sources of the apocalyptic prophecy spoke exclusively of a *rex*. Medieval commentators understood it thus, which allowed them of a great deal of flexibility in determining who this 'last king' might be. Modern historians have, however, tended to read the Last 'Emperor' legend far too literally. For instance, see Bernard McGinn, '*Iter sancti Sepulchri*: The Piety of the First Crusaders', in Bede Karl Lackner and Kenneth Roy Philip (eds.), *The Walter Prescott Webb Memorial Lectures: Essays on Medieval Civilization* (Austin, Tex., 1978), 47–8.

[36] Jean Flori, *L'Islam et la fin des temps: L'Interprétation prophétique des invasions musulmanes dans la chrétienté médiévale* (Paris, 2007), 130–42; Paul J. Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition* (Berkeley, Calif., 1985), 13; idem, 'Byzantium and the Migration of Literary Works and Motifs: The Legend of the Last Roman Emperor', *Religious and Political History and Thought in the Byzantine Empire,* 12 (London, 1978), 61; and Otto Prinz, 'Eine frühe abendländische Aktualisierung der lateinischen Übersetzung des Pseudo-Methodius', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters,*

> the king of the Greeks, that is the Romans, will come out against [the enemies of God] in great anger, roused as from a drunken stupor like one whom men had thought dead and worthless[37] . . . [and the] whole indignation and fury of the king of the Romans will blaze forth against those who deny the Lord Jesus Christ. . . . [Then, after Gog and Magog have been released and defeated,] the king of the Romans will go down and live in Jerusalem . . . [until the time] when . . . the Son of Perdition will appear.

After antichrist appears, the Last Emperor will ascend Golgotha to place his crown upon the Cross, giving up his spirit and returning 'the kingdom of the Christians to God the Father'.[38] In all of its iterations, the narrative speaks consistently of a *rex* ruling a unified *regnum*, making it clear that this last ruler would lead a united Christendom against Christ's enemies—many *gentes* have become one Christian *gens* here. We should also note that the Latin versions of Pseudo-Methodius, especially those reworked during the eighth through the tenth centuries, privileged the West in leading Christ's armies against the forces of evil, working to replace the *rex Gregorum* (sic) of the Syriac and Greek versions with a *rex Romanorum*, who would hand over the *regnum christianorum* to Christ before he dies. An early recension of the Latin translation, probably completed after 732 and in response to the Frankish action against the Arab incursions into Aquitaine and Provence, was even more insistent. When the last ruler emerges to rage against the enemies of Christ, he is no longer the *rex Gregorum sive Romanorum* of the original Latin text but rather a *rex christianorum et Romanorum*, elsewhere sometimes simply a *rex christianorum*.[39] A Christian king will war against Christ's enemies.

---

41 (1985), 3. On its popularity, see Bernard McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1979), 72; Folz, *Souvenir*, 141.

[37] In the original Syriac text, the Last Emperor will suddenly arise 'like a man who shakes off [the effects of] his wine' and go forth to victory against the pagans 'as if they were [already] dead'. In the Greek and subsequent Latin translation of this text, these two lines were combined and corrupted into what we have in the Latin version of the Pseudo-Methodius: 'he will awake like a man from drunkenness, whom men considered as if he were dead and of no use' (*expergiscitur tamquam homo a somno vini, quem extimabant homines tamquam mortuum esse et in nihilo utilem profecisse*). This inaugurated the later belief that the Last Emperor would be a ruler who would not die, or would return from the dead. See Alexander, 'Emperor', 2–3.

[38] 'Tunc subito insurgent super eos tribulatio et angustia et exiliet super eos rex Gregorum [*sic*] sive Romanorum in furore magna et expergiscitur tamquam homo a somno vini, quem extimabant homines tamquam mortuum esse et in nihilo utilem profecisse. . . . et omnis indignatio et furor regis Romanorum super eos qui abnegaverint dominum Iesum Christum exardiscit . . . Tunc reserabuntur portae aquilonis et egredientur virtutes gentium illarum. . . . Post ebdomada vero temporis . . . emittit dominus Deus unum ex principibus miliciae suae et percuciet eos in uno momento temporis, et post haec discendit rex Romanorum et domorabitur in Hierusalem . . . [usque ad] apparebit filius perditionis. . . . Et cum apparuerit filius perditionis, ascendit rex Romanorum sursum in Golgatha, in quo confixum est lignum sanctae crucis. . . . et tollit rex coronam de capite suo et ponet eam super crucem, et expandit manus suas in caelum et tradit regnum christianorum Deo et patri.' Pseudo-Methodius, *Sermo de Regnum Cantium*, in *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen*, ed. Ernst Sackur (Halle, 1898), 89–93. English tr. taken from McGinn, *Visions*, 75–6.

[39] Prinz, 'Eine frühe abendländische Aktualisierung', 14. According to Marc Laureys and Daniel Verhelst, there are ninety-one extant manuscripts of this 8th-cent. version (five from before 1100) and forty-four of the original Latin translation (ten from before 1100). See Marc Laureys and Daniel Verhelst, 'Pseudo-Methodius, *Revelationes*: Textgeschichte und kritische Edition. Ein Leuven-Groninger Forschungsprojekt', in Werner Verbeke, Daniel Verhelst, and Andries Welkenhuysen (eds.), *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages* (Leuven, 1988), 112–36. More generally,

The *Explanatio somnii* of the Tiburtine Sibyl was originally written in Greek sometime in the late fourth century CE. The first Latin version of the text appeared shortly afterwards, but underwent four major reworkings in eleventh-century Italy—*c.*1000, *c.*1030, *c.*1090, and *c.*1100. The Latin Tiburtina enjoyed immense popularity south of the Alps throughout the Middle Ages but it is only these eleventh-century Latin versions that contain 'a brief but forceful account of the Final Emperor'.[40] The Latin Tiburtina states that a king of the Romans will arise by the name of Constans,[41] who will conquer the world for Christ, converting the Jews and pagans and putting those who refuse to the sword. Then, when all worship the Lord, the antichrist will be born, signaling the release of Gog and Magog. The Last Emperor will vanquish them, then journey to Jerusalem to hand over the kingdom of the Christians to God. At this moment, when Roman imperial authority (*imperium*) ceases, the antichrist will begin his reign and the Last Judgment will shortly follow.[42] Like Pseudo-Methodius, the eleventh-century Latin Sibyls consistently speak of *rex* and *regnum*, specifically a *rex Romanorum* and the *regnum christianorum*. This choice of language, as well as the reference to Roman imperial authority (*imperium Romanum*), all makes sense in the context of the Latin Sibyl's composition. This rhetoric of authority follows Pseudo-Methodius but ideas about Rome attached to a Christian kingdom sit well in the early eleventh-century Ottonian context from which the Tiburtina sprang. The Latin Tiburtine Sibyl suggested that imperial glory, even at the end, would be at the same time wholly Christian and wholly Roman.

One can see this conceptualization at work in another Ottonian work—Liudprand of Cremona's discussion of the Last Emperor legend in his *Relatio de Legatione Constantinopolitana*, which was probably composed *c.*969. Paul Alexander has suggested that Liudprand's reference to some prophecies, supposedly written by a Bishop Hippolytus of Sicily (now known as Pseudo-Hippolytus), indicated the existence and acceptance of Pseudo-Methodius at the Byzantine court.[43] If this is indeed the case, the differences we see between Liudprand's account and the surviving Latin versions of Pseudo-Methodius become particularly interesting. Liudprand first recounts the prophecy itself, how 'the lion and the cub together will exterminate the wild donkey'. The Byzantines interpreted this

---

see Paul J. Alexander, 'The Diffusion of Byzantine Apocalypses in the Medieval West and the Beginnings of Joachimism', in Ann Williams (ed.), *Prophecy and Millenarianism: Essays in Honour of Marjorie Reeves* (Harlow, 1980), 75–6; and Flori, *L'Islam et la fin des temps*, 182–6.

[40] McGinn, *Visions*, 43–4. On the reworkings of the text in the 11th-cent. West, see Bernard McGinn, *Antichrist: Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil* (New York, 1994), 309 n. 87; and esp. Anke Holdenried, *The Sibyl and her Scribes: Manuscripts and Interpretation of the Latin Sibylla Tiburtina, c.1050–1500* (Burlington, Vt., 2006), 4–6.

[41] This rex is initially *rex Grecorum, cuius nomen Constans, et ipse erit rex Romanorum et Grecorum*, but is called *rex Romanorum* thereafter. See Tiburtine Sibyl, *Explanatio Somnii*, in *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen*, ed. Ernst Sackur (Halle, 1898), 181–6.

[42] Ibid. 185–6.

[43] On the dating, see Liudprand of Cremona, *The Complete Works of Liudprand of Cremona*, tr. Paolo Squatriti (Washington, DC, 2007), 30–1; and the comments of Paul Magdalino, 'Prophecies on the Fall of Constantinople', in Angeliki E. Laiou (ed.), *Urbs Capta: The Fourth Crusade and its Consequences* (Paris, 2005), 43–7; and Alexander, 'Diffusion of Byzantine Apocalypses', 67.

prophecy to mean that the Byzantine ruler, as the *imperator Romanorum sive Graecorum* (the lion), along with the *rex Francorum* (the cub), would together destroy the Saracens. Liudprand, however, didn't agree. He saw the lion and cub as necessarily being of the same type—something a Frankish king and Greek emperor certainly were not. Instead, the lion and cub were Otto I and Otto II respectively, who together would destroy the Byzantine emperor, Nikephorus Phocas (the donkey), then move on to smash the Saracens. According to Liudprand, the two Ottos were obviously of the same type but were more importantly both *reges Francorum* and true *imperatores Romanorum augusti*, whose *imperium* (again, meaning 'imperial authority' or 'power') spanned West and East.[44] Like we saw in Pseudo-Methodius and would later see in the Latin Tiburtine Sibyl, Rome and Christendom are one and the same. But now the true emperor, the one who holds *imperium* over all the different Christian peoples West and East, he who has the duty to smash the enemies of Christ, is not a Roman and/or a Greek. He is a Frank.

The reference to a Frank as universal Christian ruler may have been a holdover of eighth- and ninth-century Carolingian thought, as filtered through northern Italian politics, then in turn filtered through early Ottonian ideology, but it also could be evidence that Liudprand knew of Abbot Adso Dervensis's (d. 992) *De antichristo*. Written just a few years after 950, Adso addressed his tract on the antichrist to the West Frankish Queen Gerberga (the sister of Otto II and wife of King Louis IV, 936–54).[45] We don't know much about Adso. He probably studied at Luxeuil, then came to the abbey of Montier-en-Der from Toul after 935, when Montier-en-Der was reformed by the bishop of Toul, with help from Fleury. Adso became abbot of Montier-en-Der in c.960 and remained in that position until he died in 992, while on pilgrimage to Jerusalem.[46]

Adso's brief work relies heavily on two authorities. Haimo of Auxerre's (d. 855) commentaries on 2 Thessalonians and Revelation provided most of Adso's material on antichrist, while Pseudo-Methodius served as the inspiration for the brief section in *De antichristo* on the Last Emperor. Adso, like any number of Carolingian authors before him, was no slavish imitator of his sources though, so the novelties

---

[44] Liudprand of Cremona, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Paolo Chiesa, CCCM (Turnhout, 1998), 156: 204–6. English tr. Liudprand, *Complete Works*, ed. Squatriti, 262–5. For an example of how Liudprand uses *imperium*, he writes to Otto I, 'Sed Hippolytus quidam Siciliensis episcopus eadem scripsit et de imperio vestro et gente nostra—"nostram" nunc dico omnem quae sub vestro imperio et gentem.' Here, Liudprand means the peoples (*gentes*) under Otto's authority (*imperium*). Liudprand, *Opera*, ed. Chiesa, 204.

[45] Robert Konrad, *De ortu et tempore Antichristi: Antichristvorstellung und Geschichtsbild des Abtes Adso von Montier-en-Der* (Kallmünz, 1964), 23–6. To my knowledge, no one has suggested that Liudprand knew of Adso's work. Liudprand was, however, working more than a decade after Adso's *De antichristo* and, although Adso wrote for the West Franks, his text was almost immediately popular and circulated near the Ottonian court (perhaps through Queen Gerberga, who was herself an Ottonian). On Adso's popularity at the Ottonian court, see Bernhardt, 'Concepts and Practice', 146–7; and Jean-Pierre Poly, 'Le Procès de l'an mil ou du bon usages des *leges* en temps de désarroi', in *La giustizia nell'alto Medioevo, secoli IX–XI: 11–17 aprile 1996* (Spoleto, 1997), 32–9.

[46] On Adso's background, see Bernd Schneidmüller, 'Adso von Montier-en-Der und die Frankenkönige', *Trierer Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst des Trierer Landes und seiner Nachbargebiete,* 40–1 (1977–8), 189–99; and Constance Brittain Bouchard, *The Cartulary of Montier-en-Der, 666–1129* (Toronto, 2004), 4–7, 365.

Adso introduced are telling.[47] His essential argument is that because the Romans 'had all the kingdoms [*regna*] of the earth under their control' antichrist would not appear. He continues:

> This time [of the antichrist] has not yet come, because even though we may see Roman imperial authority (*imperium*) for the most part in ruins, nonetheless, as long as the kings of the Franks, who now rightfully possesses Roman imperial authority (*imperium*), endure, the dignity of the Roman kingdom (*regnum*) will not completely perish because it will endure in its kings. Some of our learned men truly say that one of the kings of the Franks will possess Roman imperial authority (*imperium*) anew. He will be in the last time and himself will be the greatest and last of all kings.

Just before the end, this king of the Franks will go to Jerusalem to lay down his crown and scepter on the Mount of Olives, signaling the 'end and consummation of Roman and Christian imperial authority (*imperium*).'[48] Unfortunately, because modern scholars have tended to render *imperium* here as 'empire', we tend to miss Adso's point. When referring to a territory or political unit controlled by someone or something, Adso consistently uses *regnum*—the *regnum Romanorum* was the greatest of all other *regna*. *Imperium* is used as his Frankish predecessors understood the term and as Liudprand (Adso's contemporary) seemed to use the word. It refers to universal imperial authority/power. Roman *imperium* allowed its *regnum* to control all the world's *regna*.[49] This is what Adso's Last Emperor will resurrect—not the Roman *regnum*, but something greater, Roman and Christian imperial authority (*imperium*). The Last Emperor will be defined by his power, by his ability to unite the rest of the world's kingdoms under the banner of Christ. And, as Nithard had suggested a century earlier, and as Liudprand would suggest just a few years hence, only a Frank could accomplish this.[50]

---

[47] On Adso's sources, Kevin L. Hughes, *Constructing Antichrist: Paul, Biblical Commentary, and the Development of Doctrine in the Early Middle Ages* (Washington, DC, 2005), 147–57, 168–9; Daniel Verhelst, 'La Préhistoire des conceptions d'Adson concernant l'Antichrist', *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale,* 40 (1973), 52–103; and Alexander, 'Diffusion of Byzantine Apocalypses', 67; but now see Flori, *L'Islam et la fin des temps*, 206–7.

[48] 'Hoc autem tempus nondum uenit, quia, licet uideamus Romanum imperium ex maxima parte destructum, tamen, quandiu reges Francorum durauerint, qui Romanum imperium tenere debent, Romani regni dignitas ex toto non peribit, quia in regibus suis stabit. Quidam uero doctores nostri dicunt, quod unus ex regibus Francorum Romanum imperium ex integro tenebit, qui in nouissimo tempore erit et ipse erit maximus et omnium regum ultimus. Qui, postquam regnum suum feliciter gubernauerit, ad ultimum Hierosolimam ueniet et in monte Oliueti sceptrum et coronam suam deponet. Hic erit finis et consummatio Romanorum christianorumque imperii.' Adso Dervensis, *De ortu et tempore Antichristi*, in *De ortu*, ed. Verhelst, 25–6. The phrase *ex integro* is rather difficult to translate. Often, it is rendered as 'wholly' or 'entirely'. The coupling of *ex* with *integro*, however, gives the phrase a slightly different meaning, which I have followed here. See *A Latin Dictionary*, ed. Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short (Oxford, 1879), 973; and *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, ed. P. G. W. Clarke (Oxford, 1992), 934.

[49] This distinction between *regnum* and *imperium* is particularly evident in Haimo of Auxerre, one of Adso's sources. See Haimo of Auxerre (mistakenly called Haimo of Halberstadt), *In divi Pauli Epistolas expositio*, PL 117: 779–81. On Haimo, see *Second Thessalonians: Two Early Medieval Apocalyptic Commentaries*, ed. Steven R. Cartwright and Kevin L. Hughes (Kalamazoo, Mich., 2001), 14.

[50] Nithard, *Historiarum libri III*, ed. E. Müller, MGH SRG (Hanover, 1907), 44: 1–2. See also the discussion in Natalia Lozovsky, 'Roman Geography and Ethnography in the Carolingian Empire',

Looking through Montier-en-Der's cartulary, we can see how important Frankish identity was at the monastery and how the language of Frankish rulership may have entered Adso's lexicon. The charters that survive from Adso's own time as abbot, especially those given by Count Heribert of Vermandois, are heavy with the language of Frankishness, describing how this particular count—as a Frank—would protect Montier-en-Der as Charlemagne and Charles the Bald had done before.[51] But earlier documents say more. Charles the Bald appears repeatedly, in both real and forged diplomas, as a generous patron who was concerned for the good of the whole *populus christianus*.[52] A late eighth-century diploma dates itself by mentioning that Charles, king of the Franks, now *imperavit* across all *regna*.[53]

So here we are, with Adso Dervensis and Liudprand of Cremona, over a century removed from the dissolution of the unified Carolingian empire, and Charlemagne's 'empire of memory' lives on, now to be reborn at the end. Towards the end of the tenth century, in Adso's *De antichristo* and Liudprand's *Relatio*, the Franks have a special role to play and their ruler—the *rex Francorum*—will resurrect a universal Christendom, defined by a Carolingian ideal.[54]

Adso's text was immensely popular in the Middle Ages. One reason for its popularity likely stems from the way that the text tethered the future to the contemporary political situation, in this case using the fact that prophecy had not yet been fulfilled (the continuation of *imperium* in the Frankish kings, versus its foretold fall) to reassure Gerberga that the end was not near. Her husband's continued reign was a bulwark against the coming of antichrist.[55] The early redactors of Adso's texts were similarly moved to create their versions in reaction to the vagaries of contemporary, primarily Ottonian imperial politics. Generally, these later versions of *De antichristo* dominated Western thought about the Last Emperor until the first half of the eleventh century, when, as we have seen, the Tiburtine Sibyl was reworked in northern Italy and new types of imperial speculation arose around the Ottonian and Salian courts. In the 1080s, two strands of the Last Emperor legend came together in a long letter to Emperor Henry IV written by Bishop Benzo of Alba.

Speculum, 81 (2006), 349–57; and on Nithard's conception of Charlemagne, Steffen Patzold, 'Eine "loyale Palastrebellion" der "Reichseinheitspartei"? Zur "Divisio imperii" von 817 und zu den Ursachen des Aufstands gegen Ludwig der Frommen im Jahre 830', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien,* 40 (2006), 47–8.

[51] *The Cartulary of Montier-en-Der, 666–1129*, ed. and tr. Constance Brittain Bouchard (Toronto, 2004), nos. 24, 26.

[52] Ibid., nos. 12, 14, 16 (real), and 21 (forged).

[53] Ibid., no. 23. Bouchard notes that, given its placement in the cartulary, the monks of Montier-en-Der thought the diploma was given during the reign of Charles the Bald, although it almost certainly dates to the time of Charlemagne.

[54] Hughes, *Constructing Antichrist*, 171–2; and Claude Carozzi, *Apocalypse et salut dans le christianisme ancien et médiéval* (Paris, 1999), 21–2.

[55] Daniel Verhelst, 'Adso of Montier-en-Der and the Fear of the Year 1000', in *Apocalyptic Year*, 83; Hughes, *Constructing Antichrist*, 168–71; and Konrad, *Antichristvorstellung*, 144. There are 171 known surviving manuscripts of the tract and its many variations, dating from the 10th to 14th cents. *De ortu*, ed. Verhelst, 3.

Benzo's letter is rife with suggestions that contemporary political events echo the events of the end and that Henry would be the Last Emperor. This type of speculation seems to have been in the air in the second half of the eleventh century. Pope Gregory VII, Robert Guiscard, and Alexius I Comnenus were all subject to sustained eschatological speculation, specifically involving the Last Emperor legend.[56] This speculation was also particularly common at the courts of Henry III and Henry IV. Henry III's chancellery often used the title *rex Romanorum*, a title we have seen to carry eschatological connotations.[57] Anselm of Bésate, a notary and chaplain for Henry III, sustained Liudprand of Cremona's earlier claims about the Ottonians by writing that Henry III would soon unite Greece, Judea, and Persia under his rule, thus recreating the Last Emperor's conquests as detailed in both Pseudo-Methodius and the Tiburtine Sibyl. The anonymous 1062–3 *Exhortatio ad proceres regni* moved Henry III's future conquests to the shoulders of the new Henry IV, saying the latter ruler would renew and unify Rome and smash the Saracens. At about the time Benzo was writing, Bishop Rainer of Florence suggested that Henry IV was the Last Emperor.[58]

Benzo first set out to define Henry IV as superior to all other rulers. The Byzantine ruler is not even an emperor, no more than a *basileus* or *rex Bizanzenus*.[59] Conversely, Henry IV cannot be given titles grand enough. He is *imperator imperatorum* and the *imperator christianissimus* who defends Christendom from its enemies.[60] Twice, Benzo referred to Henry directly as *rex Romanorum*, the title used by Henry III and given the Last Emperor in both the Pseudo-Methodius and Tiburtine Sibyl. More significant still, Benzo included a purported letter to Henry from the Byzantine ruler, where he essentially offered to submit to Henry's power if he would come to the East in order to protect Christian liberty from the threats of the Normans and pagans until the end of time.[61] Elsewhere, Benzo clarified Henry's role in saying:

---

[56] For more on Benzo himself, see Struve, 'Kaisertum und Romgedanke', 437–49. On Gregory VII, see H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Pope Gregory VII's "Crusading" Plans of 1074', in B. Z. Kedar, H. E. Mayer, and R. C. Smail (eds.), *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Jerusalem, 1982), 38–40; and Paul Magdalino, 'Prophecies on the Fall of Constantinople', in Angeliki E. Laiou (ed.), *Urbs Capta: The Fourth Crusade and its Consequences* (Paris, 2005), 41–53. On Robert Guiscard and Alexius I, see Paul Magdalino, 'The Porphyrogenita and the Astrologers: A Commentary on *Alexiad* VI.7.1–7', in Charalambos Dendrinos, Jonathan Harris, Eirene Harvalia-Crook, and Judith Herrin (eds.), *Porphyrogenita: Essays on the History and Literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in Honour of Julian Chrysostomides* (Burlington, Vt., 2003), 25; and idem, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180* (Cambridge, 1993), 34.

[57] Helmut Beumann does not think that the title carried any apocalyptic meaning but, if Last Emperor speculation was otherwise current at the Salian court, then I think it difficult to support this assertion: *Der deutsche König als 'Romanorum Rex'*, 46–52 (on Henry III's use of the title), 80–3 (for the title's eschatological uses).

[58] On Anselm of Bésate, see Struve, 'Kaisertum und Romgedanke', 428–9. On the *Exhortatio*, see Flori, *L'Islam et la fin des temps*, 245; Struve, 'Kaisertum und Romegedanke', 424–5; and below at n. 94. On Rainer of Florence, see Carl Erdmann, 'Endkaiserglaube und Kreuzzugsgedanke im 11. Jahrhundert', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte,* 51 (1932), 388–90; and Struve, 'Kaisertum und Romgedanke', 444.

[59] Benzo of Alba, *Ad Heinricum IV. Imperatorem*, ed. Hans Seyffert, MGH SRG (Hanover, 1996), 65: 152, 214, 226, 272, 302; and 312, 334; respectively. Note too that the Byzantine ruler is never called *rex Grecorum*, let alone *Romanorum*, perhaps to stifle any association between the Byzantine ruler and Last Emperor.

[60] Ibid. 88, 586, and 118 respectively. The former title may allude to Rev. 17: 14, when Jesus is called 'Dominus dominorum est et rex regum'.

> As the Sibyl's prophecy relates, a long road lies before [Henry]. For when Apulia and Calabria are placed in good order and put back in their former state, Bizas[62] will see [Henry] crowned in [Bizas's] own land. Then without delay, [Henry] will go to the city of Solomon and honor the Holy Sepulcher and the Lord's other shrines, and be crowned to the praise and glory of the one who dwells in eternity. Babylon, astounded, will come to Zion, wishing to lick the dust from [Henry's] feet. Then that which is written will be fulfilled: And his sepulcher will be glorious.[63]

Twice Benzo asserted that Henry would pacify the whole of the West, be crowned at Constantinople (hence becoming *rex Grecorum et Romanorum*), journey to Jerusalem, and take the submission of all the enemies of Christ (represented by Babylon). Note that Benzo's Last Emperor fulfilled both Pseudo-Methodius and Tiburtine Sibyl's prophecies almost perfectly. But note too that, with only minor modifications, this passage from Benzo could function quite effectively as a summary of Benedict's *Chronicon* or the *Descriptio qualiter*. In each of these three texts a ruler sets the West in order, travels to the East, demonstrates his superiority to the Byzantine ruler, goes to Jerusalem, and cows the pagans into submission.

The similarities between Benzo's work and these particular sources of the Charlemagne legend may not have been a coincidence. Much as we saw in Chapter 1, Charlemagne was becoming the standard by which all rulers were judged during the eleventh century and Benzo's tract is no different.[64] In book 1, Benzo devoted an entire chapter to an imagined speech Charlemagne gave to Henry. The speech begins with Charlemagne recognizing Henry's power, saying that Henry was Charles's 'friend of friends', who had been made in his own image. Charles then went through his own accomplishments, comparing them with Henry's own (generally greater) endeavors. For instance, Charlemagne received an elephant from the king of the Persians but Henry received a lion and other amazing beasts.

---

[61] Benzo, *Ad Heinricum*, ed. Seyffert, 214, 226, and 226–8.

[62] The legendary founder of Byzantium.

[63] 'Adhuc enim longa sibi restat via, sicut Sybille testatur prophetia. Nam ordinatis et in statum pristinum collocatis Apulia scilicet atque Calabria videbit eum Bizas coronatum in sua patria. Deinceps erit egressio eius usque ad urbem Solimorum et saluto sepulchro ceterisque dominicis sanctuariis coronabitur ad laudem et gloriam viventis in secula seculorum. Stupens igitur Babylon desiderans lingere pulverem pedum eius veniet in Syon. Tunc implebitur, quod scriptum est: Et erit sepulchrum eius gloriosum [Isa. 11: 10].' Benzo, *Ad Heinricum*, ed. Seyffert, 144. Isa. 11: 10 is used similarly in the Tiburtine Sibyl, *Explanatio*, 185; and Pseudo-Alcuin. See below at n. 100. Huguette Taviani-Carozzi notes that this route—Apulia, Calabria, Byzantium, Jerusalem—is the same one attempted by Robert Guiscard and later his son, Bohemond of Taranto. See Huguette Taviani-Carozzi, *La Terreur du monde: Robert Guiscard et la conquète normande en Italie, mythe et histoire* (Paris, 1996), 485.

[64] Hannes Möhring has argued that Benzo's letter was a conscious attempt to insert Henry IV into the Charlemagne legend. See Hannes Möhring, 'Benzo von Alba und die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens', in Karl Borchardt and Enno Bunz (eds.), *Forschungen zur Reichs-, Papst- und Landesgeschichte: Peter Herde zum 65. Geburtstag von Freunden, Schülern und Kollegen dargebracht* (Stuttgart, 1998), 177; idem, *Der Weltkaiser der Endzeit: Entstehung, Wandel und Wirkung einer tausendjährigen Weissagung* (Stuttgart, 2000), 157.

A legate from the bishop of Jerusalem sent Charles many relics, mementoes of the Holy Sepulcher, and a standard, but by the will of God Charlemagne said that Henry will become the standard-bearer for all Christendom, having been sent the Holy Shroud, pieces of the True Cross, and pieces of the crown of thorns in the hopes that Henry will be victorious over all his enemies.[65]

But Henry was even more. He was a Christ-type—a savior, or messiah. This is significant because the Last Emperor functions as a Christ-type too, a messianic figure who would unite Christendom and prepare it for the final battle between good and evil. The Last Emperor is both figure and fulfillment—prefiguring Christ of the Last Days, but fulfilling the figure of Christ portrayed in the Gospels. Just as the Last Emperor will hand the world over to God at his death, so too did Christ at his death, and as he will again at the end of time.[66] Honorius Augustodunensis, writing in the early twelfth century, explicitly drew on this parallel when he wrote that, just as 'on Palm Sunday, when the Lord went to Jerusalem and was met by a crowd with palms, this is [now] the time when the Last Roman Emperor will go to Jerusalem and, as the Sibyl wrote, give his kingdom to God the Father'.[67] Benzo's letter foreshadows Honorius. Henry IV will be treated as if a redeemer by all the cities of the world. They will greet him with palms and branches and open their gates to him, just as Jerusalem did for Jesus on Palm Sunday.[68]

THE FRANKS AT THE END OF HISTORY

Stephen Nichols has remarked that, 'by the year 1000 . . . , [in] art, literature, and history, we find a tendency to refer to Charlemagne in terms of an expressive system usually reserved for Christ'.[69] In the *Descriptio qualiter*, Charlemagne primarily mimics Christ's eschatological roles as King and Conqueror. For example, in the Byzantine ruler's vision of Charlemagne, he stands clad as a resplendent warrior, described in language that seems to allude to the Son of Man in Revelation. Both figures stand girded for battle, with beautiful faces and white flowing locks.[70] Also, Charlemagne's christological relics in the *Descriptio qualiter* sanctify him as much as their new resting place, the relics twinning with the ruler, recalling Charlemagne's statement to St William of Gellone in his early twelfth-century *Vita*.

---

[65] Benzo, *Ad Heinricum*, ed. Seyffert, 148–52; and cf. 548–50. The claim that Henry received these specific relics from the Byzantine ruler almost exactly mimics the claims in the *Descriptio qualiter*. The *Descriptio qualiter*, of course, had said that these very relics had been brought to the West by Charlemagne himself, given as gifts by an emperor Constantine and eventually donated to Saint-Corneille and Saint-Denis. In 1082, Henry IV had supposedly received these relics in Rome from the Byzantine ruler at that time, Alexius Comnenus. See Gerold Meyer von Knonau, *Jahrbücher des deutschen Reiches unter Heinrich IV. und Heinrich V.*, iii (Leipzig, 1900), 448; and Struve, 'Kaisertum und Romgedanke', 448 n.109. On the dating of the *Descriptio qualiter*, see Ch. 2 above.

[66] Alexander, 'Emperor', 6–9; idem, 'Medieval', 5, 8; McGinn, *Antichrist*, 88–9; idem, 'End of the World', 78; and Konrad, *De ortu et tempore Antichristi*, 50–1. More generally, see Erich Auerbach, 'Figura', in *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature* (New York, 1959), 41. The example Auerbach provides is: Moses (figure) → Christ of the Gospels (fulfillment/figure) → Christ of Last Days (fulfillment). Mayke de Jong has noted another example: Antiochus (figure) → Charles the Bald (fulfillment/figure) → Antichrist (fulfillment). See Mayke de Jong, 'The Empire as *Ecclesia*: Hrabanus Maurus and Biblical *Historia* for Rulers', in *Uses of the Past*, 223.

[67] 'Dies utique Palmarum, quando Dominus ad Hierosolymam venit, et ei turba cum palmis occurrit, est illud tempus cujus ultimus Romanorum imperator Hierosolymam ibit, regnum Deo et Patri dabit, ut Sibylla scribit.' Honorius Augustodunensis, *Gemma animae*, PL 172: 679.

[68] Benzo, *Ad Heinricum*, ed. Seyffert, 140. Henry is also referred to as *divus imperator augustus Romanorum*, *divus rex*, *divus cesar augustus*, and *christus*. Ibid. 116; 282, 284, 458; 118, 140; respectively. On Henry as messiah in Benzo's work, see Struve, 'Kaisertum und Romgedanke', 447.

[69] Stephen G. Nichols, Jr., *Romanesque Signs: Early Medieval Narrative and Iconography* (New Haven, Conn., 1983), 76.

> These [relics of the Passion] will always be true and most certain symbols, an eternal memorial, a means of frequently recalling [my] affection [for you]. For without doubt, as often as you gaze upon . . . or touch . . . these holy objects, you will not be able to forget your lord Charles.[71]

Charlemagne in the *Descriptio qualiter*, called king and emperor, defender of the Church, and designated protector of the Holy Places by God himself, may, in fact, legitimately be called God's champion, a terrestrial image of Christ himself as heavenly king.[72] But also, it would seem, Charlemagne was a universal Christian ruler who destroyed the power of the pagans in the East, hence an image of the Last Emperor.

Contemporary to the *Descriptio qualiter*, the Oxford *Chanson de Roland* also appears to have been heavily influenced by the legend of the Last Emperor.[73] Analogous to the *Descriptio qualiter*, the Old French epic only implicitly makes the connection between Charlemagne and Last Emperor but the poem is still suffused with echoes of Charles's messianic christomimesis. For example, in Charlemagne's second dream, a boar (Ganelon) set his teeth into Charles's right arm while a leopard (Marsile) attacked his body. A greyhound (Roland) then charged out of the hall to defend his lord against the attack, biting off the boar's right ear in a manner reminiscent of Peter's attack on the high priest's servant in the garden of Gethsemane. Here we have the leader of the twelve peers/apostles (Roland/Peter) defending his lord (Charlemagne/Christ) from a traitor (Ganelon/Judas).[74]

---

[70] Cf. *Descriptio qualiter*, 106–7; and Rev. 1: 13–16.

[71] 'Haec tibi semper erunt nostrae dilectionis vera et certissima signa, frequens recordatio, memoria sempiterna, Haud enim dubium, quia quoties cumque haec sancta vel oculis aspexeris, vel manibus tenueris, Domini tui Caroli oblivisci non poteris.' *Vita s. Willelmo monachi Gellonensis*, AASS 6 May: 805. English tr. from Remensnyder, *Remembering*, 169.

[72] Remensnyder, *Remembering*, 171. Remensnyder's argument in her book is based on Aquitainian monasteries, removed from contemporary secular centers of power. The *Descriptio qualiter*, however, was composed in an intimately Capetian atmosphere. Still, it seems that her comments regarding the connection between Charlemagne and Christ are appropriate for the West more generally during this period. See also Nichols, *Romanesque Signs*, 76.

[73] Matthew Gabriele, 'Asleep at the Wheel? Messianism, Apocalypticism and Charlemagne's Passivity in the Oxford *Chanson de Roland*', *Nottingham Medieval Studies,* 43 (2003), 46–72; and Karl Heisig, 'Die Geschichtsmetaphysik des Rolandsliedes und ihre Vorgeschichte', *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, 55 (1935), 72–5. As for the dating of the Oxford *Roland*, I follow (what seems to be) the majority of scholars in accepting that an anonymous northern Frankish author composed the version in the Oxford manuscript *c.*1100, with the poem predating the manuscript by at least fifty years. See Wolfgang van Emden, *La Chanson de Roland* (London, 1995), 10.

[74] *La Chanson de Roland*, ed. Gerard J. Brault (University Park, Pa., 1978), ll. 725–36. Cf. Matt. 26: 51–4; John 18: 10–11. The interpretation of this particular dream has been hotly contested. I follow the interpretation which sees the second dream as foreshadowing Roncevaux, rather than Ganelon's trial. See Frederick Whitehead, 'Charlemagne's Second Dream', in G. R. Mellor (ed.), *Société Rencesvals: Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference* (Salford, 1977), 71; and Marianne

The key to understanding Charlemagne's role in the story, however, lies in his quick transition from passivity to activity just after Roland's death. This shift in state reveals the Oxford *Chanson de Roland*'s dependence on Pseudo-Methodius, which prophesied the Last Emperor's re-emergence, 'roused as from a drunken stupor like one whom men had thought dead and worthless'.[75] Painfully aware of Ganelon's imminent betrayal, Charlemagne cannot act. But Charlemagne awakens from his stupor after Roland's death, destroying the Muslims to a man, bringing the Muslim queen Bramimonde to baptism, and punishing Ganelon for his betrayal. This consistent narrative emphasis on the extermination of the Muslims by conversion or death implies the eschatological significance of the whole world coming to Christ before the end.[76] Moreover, the poem's list of Charlemagne's conquests and his actions against the Muslims—figures of antichrist and the hordes of Gog and Magog—reinforce his role as God's champion and Christianity's protector: key elements, along with Charles's quick switch from passivity to activity, in many versions of the Last Emperor legend.

Another, albeit earlier, eleventh-century text that shows a substantial dependence on the Last Emperor legend is the *c.*1032 *Annales Altahenses Maiores*.[77] The entry for the year 800 in Niederaltaich's *Annales* is only two sentences long but is extraordinarily rich with meaning, combining clear dependence on a well-known Carolingian source (the *Annales regni Francorum*) with new features that only serve to enhance a very particular portrait of Charlemagne. The annals from Niederaltaich have Charlemagne going to Rome, where he received emissaries from the patriarch of Jerusalem, who had brought great gifts for both Charles and the Pope. Some of the gifts listed, including a relic of the Cross and mementoes from the Holy Sepulcher and Calvary, were taken directly from the *ARF*. But the patriarch's additional gifts of a lance, mementoes from the Mount of Olives, two writing tablets with two inkwells, and keys for the 'Beautiful Gate, which was last opened by Peter' were entirely new. Also new was the annals' closing, which hoped that Charles, perhaps using these gifts, would liberate the *populus christianus*.[78]

Cramer Vos, 'Aspects démoniaques de quelques protagonistes rolandiens', in *Charlemagne et l'Épopée Romane: Actes du VII*^{e} *Congrès International de la Société Rencesvals*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1978), i. 580.

[75] 'Expergiscitur tamquam homo a somno vini, quem extimabant homines tamquam mortuum esse et in nihilo utilem profecisse.' Pseudo-Methodius, *Sermo* 89. Gabriele, 'Asleep at the Wheel', 56–7.

[76] It must be remembered that the conversion of non-believers—in Gospel accounts and in the Last Emperor legends—will precede the end of time. See e.g. Isa. 6: 4–13; Matt. 24: 14, 28: 18–20; Mark 13: 10; Acts 2: 17. This belief in the coming end, Bernard McGinn has suggested, was a major factor in the great missionary push of the early Middle Ages, and even such well-known missionaries as St Patrick, Martin of Braga, and St Gregory the Great believed they lived in the 'shadow of the Second Coming'. Bernard McGinn, 'The End of the World and the Beginning of Christendom', in Marcus Bull (ed.), *Apocalypse Theory and the Ends of the World* (Oxford, 1995), 63, 66. See also Matthew Gabriele, 'Against the Enemies of Christ: The Role of Count Emicho in the Anti-Jewish Violence of the First Crusade', in Michael Frassetto (ed.), *Christian Attitudes toward the Jews in the Middle Ages: A Casebook* (New York, 2006), 61–82.

[77] The early part of the *Annales Altahenses*, up to the year 1032, was composed before the monastery of Niederaltaich burnt down in that year. *Annales Altahenses Maiores*, ed. Edmund L. B. A. B. Oefele, MGH SRG (Hanover, 1891), 4, pp. xi–xiv.

[78] 'Advenere Hierusalem legati cum legato Caroli Zacharia, attulere vexillum, lanceam, duas tabulas duobus attramentariis scriptas, claves sepulcri Christi, de loco Calvariae, monte Oliveti, de porta

The key to the passage is the gift of the inkwell. The Latin for inkwell in the text is *atramentarium* and it occurs in the Vulgate only once. In Ezekiel 9, the prophet was watching the destruction of Jerusalem when he saw six men arrive at the northernmost gate to the city. All carried battle-axes but one was specifically dressed in linen and carried a pen and inkwell (*atramentarium*) on his belt. God told these men to go through the city killing everyone they found, except for those whom the figure carrying the inkwell had marked with a Thau. Exegesis since Jerome (including Paschasius Radbertus in the ninth century and Rupert of Deutz in the twelfth) had consistently read this singular figure as Christ Himself, assuring the final salvation of those who bore his sign.[79] Now Charlemagne carries such an inkwell.

The patriarch's gifts, coming from the Beautiful Gate and Mount of Olives, only strengthened the annalist's allusion to Christ. In the Acts of the Apostles, Peter healed a crippled man just outside of the Beautiful, or Golden, Gate. Then that same gate miraculously opened to him so that Peter could flee the city (hence the reference to 'the gate which was last opened by Peter').[80] Since at least the sixth century, Western pilgrims believed that the Beautiful Gate was the same as the blocked gate on the eastern wall of the Temple mount; the gate through which Christ entered on Palm Sunday and through which he would return at the end of time.[81] Regarding the Mount of Olives, the *ARF* had simply recorded that the patriarch had sent a memento of 'the mountain' (*montis*), while the ninth-century *Annales Mettenses Priores* and *Chronicon Moissiacense* explicitly said it was to Mount Zion.[82] The annalist of Niederaltaich understood 'mountain' as the Mount of Olives though, a

---

Speciosa, quae ultro aperta Petro. Optabant, ut omnia Carolo patefiant ad liberandum populum christianum.' *Annales Altahenses*, ed. Oefele, 4. Incidentally, the *Annales* of Niederaltaich make no mention of Charlemagne's coronation either here or in the entry for 801. A similar theme of Charlemagne's responsibility to protect Christians everywhere (including those in Jerusalem) can be found in *Annales Nordhumbranis*, MGH SS 13: 156.

[79] Ezek. 9: 1–11. The entire prophetic destruction of Jerusalem is described in Ezek. 3: 22–4: 27. Jerome, *Commentarii in Ezechielem*, ed. François Glorie, CCSL (Turnhout, 1964), 75: 105. Also Paschasius Radbertus, *De corpore et sanguine Domini*, ed. Bede Paulus, CCCM (Turnhout, 1969), 16: 48; and Rupert of Deutz, *De sancta trinitate et operibus eius*, ed. Hrabanus Haacke, CCCM (Turnhout, 1972), 23: 1688. On the importance of Ezekiel for the late Carolingians, see now de Jong, *Penitential State*, ch. 3. The angels of Ezekiel were rarely given visual expression until the middle of the 12th cent. There is, however, evidence of an early 11th-cent. fresco from Hildesheim depicting this scene from Ezekiel. See Anne Derbes, 'Crusading Ideology and the Frescoes of S. Maria in Cosmedin', *Art Bulletin*, 77 (1995), 465–6 and n. 36.

[80] Acts 3: 1–26, 12: 1–10, respectively.

[81] Piacenza Pilgrim, *Travels from Piacenza*, in *Jerusalem Pilgrimages before the Crusades*, tr. John Wilkinson (Warminster, 2002), 83; and Bernard the Monk, *A Journey to the Holy Places and Babylon*, in *Jerusalem Pilgrims Before the Crusades*, tr. John Wilkinson (Warminster, 2002), 266. The association of the two gates (Beautiful and Blocked) seems to have been common knowledge by the time of the capture of the city in 1099. In the 12th cent., however, the Beautiful Gate 'moved' and was henceforward associated with the western entrance to the Temple Mount and thus *not* with the Blocked Gate. John Wilkinson, Joyce Hill, and W. F. Ryan, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099–1185* (London, 1988), 40–1.

[82] 'Qui benedictionis causa claves sepulcri dominici ac loci Calvariae, claves etiam civitatis et montis Sion cum vexillo detulerunt.' *Annales Mettenses priores*, ed. B. Von Simson, MGH SRG (Hanover, 1905), 10: 86. Virtually verbatim in *Chronicon Moissiacense*, MGH SS 1: 305. Others, such as Regino of Prüm, omit the mountain altogether. Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon*, ed. Friedrich Kurze, MGH SRG (Hanover, 1890), 50: 62.

decision that only makes sense in the context of the entire passage. On Palm Sunday, Christ's journey to Jerusalem ended with his entrance into Jerusalem via the Beautiful Gate but began on the Mount of Olives. The patriarch's two gifts call to mind the replication of this messianic journey, beginning on the Mount of Olives and entering Jerusalem through the Beautiful Gate, just as had occurred before and as would occur again before the Apocalypse.[83]

The *Annales Altahenses* gave Charlemagne everything he needed to complete his journey as Last Emperor: a piece of the Cross making Charlemagne's connection to Christ explicit; a lance to slay the wicked; a relic of the Mount of Olives, whence he would begin his return journey into Jerusalem; a link to the Beautiful Gate where he might make his triumphant entry into the city; tablets and inkwells with which to mark the saved and the damned; relics from the Holy Sepulcher, so that he can worship the Lord; and a relic from Calvary, where he can finally give up his Christian *imperium* to God.[84] In this context, it made perfect sense for the *Annales Altahenses* to follow its list of gifts by asking Charles to use these tools he has been given to liberate the *populus christianus*. That is, after all, both the Frankish king's and the Last Emperor's task.

We see now that references to Charlemagne as Last Emperor were oftentimes allusive but were nonetheless fundamental to how some in the eleventh century preserved Charlemagne's memory. By the middle of the eleventh century, the various versions of the Last Emperor legend provided authors with a stock of tropes that fused well with contemporary understandings of Charlemagne and his empire. Putting words like 'emperor', 'Franks', 'Jerusalem', and 'conqueror' (among others) together would conjure both Charlemagne and Last Emperor in many people's minds, just as they seem to have done in the *Annales Altahenses Maiores* and Oxford *Roland*.[85] But this did not necessarily mean these authors thought that Charlemagne *was* the Last Emperor (though the Niederaltaich *Annales* hint strongly in that direction): rather it means that our texts associated the two figures, seeing parallel images of universal, Frankish, Christian empire and tentatively bringing past and future together.

---

[83] On the ceremony of Adventus as mimicking Christ's entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday and at the End of Time, see Ernst Kantorowicz, 'The "King's Advent" and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina', in *Selected Studies* (Locust Valley, NY, 1965), 37–75. By the 11th cent., the Mount of Olives was a site replete with apocalyptic significance. It was e.g. where Adso Dervensis said the Last Emperor would relinquish his crown. See Ora Limor, 'The Place of the End of Days: Eschatological Geography in Jerusalem', in Bianca Kühnel (ed.), *The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art: Studies in Honor of Bezalel Narkiss on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday* (Jerusalem, 1998), 13–22. Ademar of Chabannes, whose apocalyptic proclivities have been well documented, also interpolates *montis Oliveti* for the original *montis*. See Ademar of Chabannes, *Chronicon*, ed. R. Landes and G. Pon, CCCM (Turnhout, 1999), 129: 98.

[84] According to Pseudo-Methodius, the last duties of the Last Emperor would take place on Calvary, but according to Adso Dervensis, the Last Emperor would give up his crown to God on the Mount of Olives.

[85] There may also be an echo of the Last Emperor legend in the early 12th-cent. *Annales Nordhumbranis*. In the entry for the year 800, this source calls Charlemagne 'emperor of the whole world', has the Greeks effectively cede to him their *regnum* and *imperium*, has the *populus christianus* heap gifts upon him, and calls on him to expel the nefarious pagans from Jerusalem. *Annales Nordhumbranis*, 156. Although the text as it now stands dates to the very early 12th cent., these annals have roots in the late 8th and early 9th cents. See Joanna Story, *Carolingian Connections: Anglo-Saxon England and Carolingian Francia, c.750–870* (Burlington, Vt., 2003), 93–133.

Others, however, were not so hesitant. On the feast of Pentecost in the year 1000, Emperor Otto III opened Charlemagne's tomb at Aachen. By 'participating in the holiness' to be found there, Otto attempted to create a symbolic nexus between Heaven and Earth (a holy man's tomb) at a time when Heaven and Earth symbolically meet (Pentecost—the feast of the descent of the Holy Spirit to the apostles after Christ's resurrection).[86] But the sources discussing this event betrayed something more. Every account of this event presented Charlemagne as residing in something resembling a state of suspended animation, life still coursing through his body. Thietmar of Merseberg's spare account relates that Charlemagne remained sitting 'on a royal throne'. The *Chronicon Novaliciense* stated that 'Charles was not laid out as is the custom for other dead bodies, but was sitting in a throne as if he were still alive.'[87] By showing due reverence to Charlemagne in his tomb, where the dead emperor seemed ready to 'spring back to life' at any moment (just as Pseudo-Methodius said the Last Emperor would do and just as Charlemagne did in the Oxford *Roland*), Otto III and his chroniclers demonstrated their own understanding of Charlemagne's role as sleeping emperor, the Last Emperor.

The Limousin monk Ademar of Chabannes, who wrote in the 1020s, composed another account of Otto's entrance into Charlemagne's tomb. Ademar was intensely interested in Charlemagne, copying Einhard's biography, structuring the three books of his *Chronicon* with Charlemagne's reign as the centerpiece, and even forging a letter from the monks of the Mount of Olives (in Jerusalem) supposedly intended for the great Frankish ruler.[88] The combination of these two powerful preoccupations perhaps led to Ademar's peculiar description of the events of Pentecost 1000, for he presents Charlemagne as 'an imperial personage who, although buried, is still erect and ruling, albeit dead—yet not dead, a hieratic figure similar to Carolingian depictions of Christ in majesty'.[89] The passage reads:

> In those days, the Emperor Otto [III] was advised in a dream to raise the body of the Emperor Charlemagne, who had been buried at [Aachen]. At the end of three days' fast [by

---

[86] The phrase is Knut Görich's. See idem, 'Otto III. öffnet das Karlsgrab in Aachen: Überlegungen zu Heiligenverehung, Heiligsprechung und Traditionsbildung', in Gerd Althoff and Ernst Schubert (eds.), *Herrschaftsrepräsentation im Ottonischen Sachsen* (Sigmaringen, 1998), 396. For a fuller discussion of Otto III's entrance into Charlemagne's tomb, see Gabriele, 'Otto III', 111–32.

[87] Thietmar of Merseberg, *Chronicon*, ed. Robert Holtzmann, MGH SRG ns (Berlin, 1935), 9: 185–6; and *Chronicon Novaliciense*, MGH SS 7: 106. '[Karolus n]on enim iacebat, ut mos est aliorum defunctorum corpora, sed in quandam cathedram ceu vivus residebat.'

[88] On the dating of this section of Ademar's chronicle see Daniel F. Callahan, 'The Problem of "*Filioque*" and the Letter from the Pilgrim Monks of the Mount of Olives to Pope Leo III and Charlemagne: Is the Letter Another Forgery by Ademar of Chabannes?', *Revue Bénédictine,* 52 (1992), 114 n. 165. On Ademar generally, see Richard Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse and the Deceits of History: Ademar of Chabannes, 989–1034* (Cambridge, 1995); and Daniel F. Callahan, *The Making of a Millennial Pilgrim: Jerusalem and the Cross in the Life and Writings of Ademar of Chabannes* (forthcoming). On Ademar's fascination with Charlemagne, see Callahan, 'Problem of "*Filioque*"', 111–16; idem, 'The Tau Cross in the Writings of Ademar of Chabannes,' in *Year 1000*, 65; and idem, 'Ademar of Chabannes, Charlemagne, and the Pilgrimage to Jerusalem of 1033', in Michael Frassetto (ed.), *Medieval Monks and their World: Ideas and Realities: Studies in Honor of Richard E. Sullivan* (Leiden, 2006), 71–80.

[89] Callahan, 'Problem of "*Filioque*"', 113; also Nichols, *Romanesque Signs*, 82.

> Otto III], [Charlemagne] was found in the place which the Emperor had perceived in his dream. He was found sitting on a golden throne, within an arched crypt, under the basilica of St Mary, crowned with a crown of gold and gems, holding a scepter and a sword of the purest gold, the body itself uncorrupted. . . . A canon of that church . . . , who was enormous and tall of stature, put the crown on his head as if to take its measure, but found the top of his head too small for it. . . . He also compared his leg to that of the king, and his was found to be smaller. Immediately afterward, by a divine miracle, his leg was fractured. . . . Charles's body was [re-]buried in the right transept of that basilica . . . and a magnificent golden crypt constructed over it, and it began to be known by means of many signs and miracles.[90]

The crown, the throne, the scepter, and sword all point to Charlemagne's stature as holy emperor even after his death; the breaking of the canon's leg after he touched Charlemagne, the uncorrupted body, as well as the miracles performed at his new grave, all point to Charlemagne's sanctity, for these wonders were common occurrences at the shrines of recognized saints.[91] Charlemagne is also portrayed as a giant—the size of his head and leg much larger than those of the canon, 'enormous and tall of stature' himself, who attempted to place Charlemagne's crown on his head. Here, Ademar paints a picture of a majestic emperor—the Last Emperor—who sits erect upon his throne, literally larger than life, untouched by death, ruling even beyond the grave, seemingly ready to spring back to life at a moment's notice to battle the enemies of Christ.

Critical to understanding Ademar's characterization of Charlemagne are two small sketches from the autograph of his *Chronicon*. The first is an image of Charlemagne that is strikingly reminiscent of contemporary portrayals of Christ-in-Majesty (Figure 4.2). The second shows the location of Charlemagne's tomb within the church of St Mary at Aachen. On the tomb, Ademar inscribes *Hic requiescit Karolus imperator*. Normally, this would be taken to mean that this sketch denotes Charlemagne's burial chamber but taken in combination with Ademar's description of the event and his other sketch in the *Chronicon*, an equally legitimate and perhaps more meaningful translation of the sentence could read, 'Here rests [or reposes] the Emperor Charles.'[92] Otto's entrance—both as it seems to have

---

[90] 'Quiebus diebus Otto imperator per somnum monitus est ut levaret corpus Caroli Magni imperatoris, quod Aquis humatus erat; sed, vetustate obliterante, ignorabatur locus certus, ubi quiescebat. Et peracto triduano jejunio, inventus est eo loco, quem per visum congnoverat imperator, sedens in aurea cathedra . . . coronatum corona ex auro et gemmis, tenens sceptrum et ensem ex auro purissimo, et ipsum corpus incorruptum inventum est. . . . Quidam vero canonicorum, ejusdem loci . . . , cum enormi et procero corpore esset, coronam Caroli quasi pro mensura capiti suo circumponens, inventus est strictiori vertice . . . Crus proprium etiam ad cruris mensuram regis dimetiens, inventus est brevior, et ipsum ejus crus protinus divina virtute confractum est . . . ; Corpus vero Caroli condictum . . . retro altare sancti Johannis Baptiste, et cripta aurea super illud mirifica est fabricata, multisque signis et miraculis clarescere cępit.' Ademar, *Chronicon*, ed. Landes and Pon, 153. Tr. from Nichols, *Romanesque Signs*, 67.

[91] 'In a manner reminiscent of Uzzah's sudden death for touching the Ark of Yahweh (2 Samuel 6:6–7), the maiming of [the canon] demonstrates the potency of Charlemagne as relic.' Nichols, *Romanesque Signs*, 68.

[92] Callahan, 'Problem of "*Filioque*"', 115. The sketches are also discussed in Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, 'Les Dessins d'Adémar de Chabannes', *Bulletin Archéologiqe du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques,* 3 (1967), 217–18.

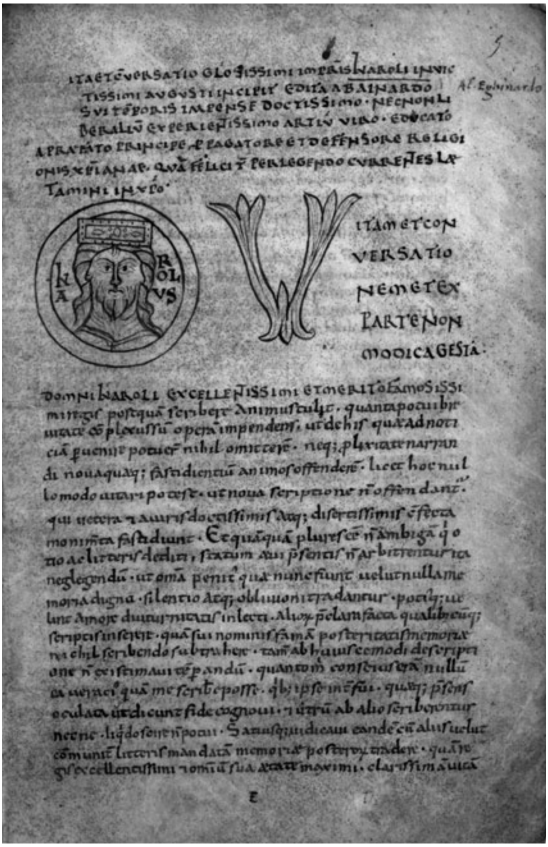

Figure 4.2. Paris, BnF lat. 5943A, fo. 5^{r} with drawing of Charlemagne by Ademar of Chabannes. Image courtesy Bibliothèque nationale de France.

happened and as Ademar presents it—was staged so that it had a powerful effect on the Charlemagne legend, helping to create the idea that Charlemagne was still alive (albeit in suspended animation) within his tomb.

Paul Dutton has elegantly demonstrated that the convention of the sleeping ruler—a ruler whom death has taken, but not completely—had its origins in the decades just after Charlemagne's death, when the Franks pined for the (perceived) glory of his reign. Charlemagne as sleeping emperor in turn blended seamlessly with the legend of the Last Emperor because 'people preferred to believe in [Charlemagne's] energetic insomnia . . . , [for it] opened up a domain wherein dead emperors might still breathe life into an old and troubled world'.[93] Otto III seemed to find Charlemagne resting, still on his throne. In the late 1020s, Ademar of

---

[93] Paul Edward Dutton, *The Politics of Dreaming in the Carolingian Empire* (Lincoln, Neb., 1994), 14–15 (quotation at 15); Folz, *Souvenir*, 93.

Chabannes thought Charlemagne waited patiently in his tomb to re-emerge. The eleventh-century *Exhortatio ad proceres regni* refers to a future utopia where Rome will arise to rule all peoples, and Julius Caesar, Augustus, and Charlemagne will return to renew the world under the keys of St Peter.[94] At the end of the eleventh century, the Oxford *Roland* had Charlemagne symbolically re-emerge, blazing forth from passivity to vigorous activity. During the First Crusade, rumors circulated that Charlemagne had indeed risen from the dead to help retake Jerusalem for the Christians.[95]

At about that same time, around the time of the First Crusade, contemporary to Benzo's *Ad Heinricum*, the *Descriptio qualiter*, Charroux's *Historia*, and the Oxford *Chanson de Roland*, an anonymous scribe created a new version of Adso's tenth-century *De ortu et tempore Antichristi*.[96] Adso's original tract drew heavily on Carolingian symbols of power in portraying his vision of the Last Emperor. Indeed, Daniel Verhelst has suggested that these Carolingian echoes in Adso's prophetic vision may in part account for the subsequent popularity of his tract because that vision 'evoked in [its readers], with a certain nostalgia . . . , memories of the idealized empire of the Franks under Charlemagne, where "real" peace reigned'.[97] The eleventh-century revision of Adso's treatise, called Pseudo-Alcuin for reasons that will shortly become apparent, amplified these Carolingian echoes by creating something quite novel. Here, the vibrant eleventh-century traditions of antichrist, pilgrimage, Charlemagne, and christomimetic Last Emperor are combined into a coherent narrative.[98]

Pseudo-Alcuin begins by retelling a version of the antichrist's life taken almost directly from Adso's original letter to Queen Gerberga, including details of antichrist's birth, his arrival at Jerusalem, the subsequent persecutions of the Christians there, and the false miracles he will perform. Pseudo-Alcuin then, in the first of two separate discussions of the Last Emperor, revisits Adso's procession of the world *regna*, from the Greeks, to the Persians, to the Romans. In a standard trope, Rome will be the last and mightiest of these kingdoms, still holding off the antichrist's arrival because, although Roman rule has almost totally been destroyed, the Franks rightfully held power. The last and greatest of these rulers of the last and mightiest of these kingdoms will be a Frank, who will travel to Jerusalem at the end of his reign in order to turn over Christian and Roman imperial authority to God on the Mount of Olives.[99]

---

[94] *Exhortatio ad proceres regni*, ed. E. Dümmler, *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde,* 1 (1876), 177. Folz claimed that, slightly before the *Exhortatio*'s composition, a poem by Anselme de Bésate asserted that 'Charlemagne will reign anew' at some point in the near future. Folz, *Souvenir*, 141. I have, however, been unable to find Folz's source.

[95] Paul Alphandéry reports that an East Frankish legend held that Charlemagne was sleeping in a mountain, waiting to re-emerge in order to return the empire to glory. Paul Alphandéry and Alphonse Dupront, *La Chrétienté et l'idée de croisade* (Paris, 1954), 76, 78, 131. For a more full discussion of the idea of *Carolus redivivus* in the 11th cent. (without mention of the Last Emperor legend), see Nichols, *Romanesque Signs*, 66–94.

[96] There are at least eight distinct revisions of Adso's original text. See *De ortu*, ed. Verhelst; and Möhring, *Der Weltkaiser der Endzeit*, 360–8.

[97] Verhelst, 'Adso', 86. On the Carolingian echoes, see Verhelst, 'La Préhistoire', 95, 101; Konrad, *De ortu et tempore Antichristi*, 98–9; and Alphandéry and Dupront, *Chrétienté*, 24.

[98] Pseudo-Alcuin dates to the late 11th cent., but before Clermont (1095) and the First Crusade. See *De ortu*, ed. Verhelst, 109–10; Folz, *Souvenir*, 141–2; and *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France: Chartres*, 63 vols. (Paris, 1890), xi. 58–60. Verhelst calls Pseudo-Alcuin not 'a copy with some interpolations, but a manifestly intentional [second-generation] adaptation' of Adso's original treatise. By 'second-generation', I mean that the Pseudo-Alcuin is actually an adaptation of the anonymous *Descriptio cuiusdam sapientis de Antichristo*, which is in turn adapted from Adso's original treatise. See the stemma printed in *De ortu*, ed. Verhelst, 32. On its status as a novel work, see *De ortu*, ed. Verhelst, 106. Pseudo-Alcuin can be found in eighteen extant manuscripts, dating from the 12th to the 15th cent. Manuscript summary in *De ortu*, ed. Verhelst, 110–16. Most (though not all) of the earliest manuscripts are from West Francia.

The second section of Pseudo-Alcuin dealing with the Last Emperor has no precedent in either Adso's work or any of its subsequent revisions. As the sibylline books say, Pseudo-Alcuin relates, the Last Emperor, this king of the Romans who holds universal imperial authority (*imperium*), will be named 'C.' While this 'C.' reigns, the hordes of Gog and Magog will suddenly re-emerge from the north, forcing the king of the Romans to conquer the whole world. The Last Emperor 'will therefore devastate all the islands and cities of the pagans, destroy their idolatrous temples, and bring them to baptism. The cross of Christ will be displayed in every temple. The Jews will then be converted to the Lord.' After a reign of 112 years, 'C.' will finally go to Jerusalem, put down his diadem, give over his Christian—*not* Roman—kingdom to God, and thus Christ's 'sepulcher will be glorious'.[100] Elias and Enoch will then appear, as the world will have been prepared for the coming of antichrist and the final stages of the end of the world.

Both sections dealing with the Last Emperor are complementary, together offering the reader clues to his identity. The most obvious clue is that his name will begin with the letter 'C'. The Tiburtine Sibyl had called the Last Emperor 'Constans', a king of the Romans and Greeks. Pseudo-Alcuin, however, eliminates all reference to the Greeks, designating the Last Emperor solely as *rex Romanorum*, more specifically 'one from the kings of the Franks [who] will hold Roman authority anew (*ex integro*)'.[101] This rather strange construction appears to mean that the Last Emperor will be a Frankish king or a descendant of Frankish kings, but significantly a Frank who has already ruled—i.e. that there have been a certain number of Frankish kings until this time and the Last Emperor will be one of them. The word 'anew' suggests that the Last Emperor will be a Frankish ruler who has already lived and who will re-emerge in the Last Days to *again* hold Roman authority so that he can 'conquer all the kingdoms of the world' and hand all of Christendom over to God at the very end.[102] Only one figure, whose name will be 'C.', possessed all these characteristics. The text's incipit—*Vita Antichristi ad Carolum Magnum ab Alcuino edita*—seems to be original and is very clear as to its supposed author (Alcuin) and dedicatee (Charlemagne).[103] Writing just before the First Crusade, Pseudo-Alcuin's Last Emperor was Charlemagne.

---

[99] Pseudo-Alcuin, *Vita Antichristi ad Carolum Magnum*, in *De ortu*, ed. Verhelst, 122–3. Pseudo-Alcuin seems to be using *imperium* a bit more insistently than Adso, emphasizing again and again that the Last Emperor will possess universal imperial authority.

[100] 'Sicut ex sibyllinis libris habemus, tempore predicti regis, cuius nomen erit C. rex Romanorum totius imperii. . . . Tunc exsurgent ab aquilone spurcissime gentes, quas Alexander rex inclusit in Goch et Magoch. . . . Quod cum audierit Romanorum rex, conuocato exercitu, debellabit eos et prosternet eos usque ad internecionem. . . . Rex Romanorum omne sibi vindicet regnum terrarum. Omnes ergo insulas et civitates paganorum deuastabit et uniuersa idolorum templa destruet et omnes paganos ad baptismum conuocabit, et per omnia templa crux Christi dirigetur. Iudei quoque tunc convertentur ad Dominum. . . . Impletis autem centum duodecim annis regni eius, ueniet Hierosolimam, et ibi, ut dictum est, deposito diademate, relinquet Deo Patri et Filio eius Christo Iesu regnum christianorum et erit sepulchrum eius gloriosum [Isa. 11: 10].' Pseudo-Alcuin, *Vita Antichristi*, in *De ortu*, ed. Verhelst, 125. Pseudo-Alcuin is speaking of the Tiburtine Sibyl, on whose account the he draws heavily.

[101] 'Unus ex regibus Francorum Romanum imperium ex integro tenebit.' Pseudo-Alcuin, *Vita Antichristi*, in *De ortu*, ed. Verhelst, 123. On the translation of *ex integro*, see above at n. 48. On the text's similarities to the Tiburtine Sibyl, see *De ortu*, ed. Verhelst, 107.

Verhelst has argued that the legends of the Last Emperor and Charlemagne developed parallel to each other in the early Middle Ages.[104] 'Parallel' is not the right word though, for the two legends most certainly intersected. This intellectual connection between the legends of Charlemagne and Last Emperor may stem in part from the reigns of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, for it now seems clear that at least some in their court circles thought that one or the other of them might have been the Last Emperor and thus tried to make their actions echo prophecy.[105] There is no direct evidence that either Charlemagne or Louis knew the Latin or Greek versions of the Last Emperor legend directly, but they had been circulating the West since the middle of the eighth century and early ninth-century writings are suggestive. For instance, Ambrosius Autpertus (d. 784), Alcuin (d. 804), and (later) Haimo of Auxerre all have shown their familiarity with Pseudo-Methodius.[106] Moreover, modern scholars, especially Juan Gil, Wolfram Brandes, Hannes Möhring, and Johannes Heil, have done much to illuminate the apocalyptic concerns of the late eighth and early ninth centuries more generally. Some have focused on Charlemagne's coronation as emperor in 800, occurring as it did in 6000 AM (*annus mundi*), while others have shown that this date was just an 'additional element in a larger eschatological context'.[107] For instance, the Frankish reaction to the Adoptionism controversy speaks consistently in apocalyptically charged terms such as 'pseudo-prophets' and 'pseudo-christs', and Alcuin often used the phrase *tempora periculosa* (in one instance, specifically in conjunction with a discussion of Charlemagne's rule), which he took from the apocalyptic passage of 2 Timothy 3: 1 and Pseudo-Methodius. The successive Frankish defeats of 827, all at the hands of the 'pagans', seem to have shocked the court of Louis the Pious and spawned apocalyptic concerns. Late Carolingian discussions of antichrist, which are relatively common, may have been an outgrowth of the preoccupations of this earlier period.[108]

---

[102] 'Rex Romanorum omne sibi vindicet regnum terrarium. . . . relinquet Deo Patri et Filio eius Christo Iesu regnum christianorum'. Pseudo-Alcuin, *Vita Antichristi*, in *De ortu*, ed. Verhelst, 125.

[103] The incipit appears in the earliest manuscript, which was 11th cent. and from Saint-Pierre de Chartres (though the manuscript was destroyed in the Second World War). *De ortu*, ed. Verhelst, 110.

[104] Verhelst, 'La Préhistoire', 101.

[105] Wolfram Brandes, '*Tempora Periculosa Sunt*: Eschatologisches im Vorfeld der Kaiserkrönung Karls des Grossen', in Rainer Berndt Jr. (ed.), *Das Frankfurter Konzil von 794: Kristallisationspunkt karolingischer Kultur* (Mainz, 1997), 49–79; Hannes Möhring, 'Karl der Grosse und die Endkaiser-Weissagung: Der Sieger über den Islam kommt aus dem Westen', in Benjamin Z Kedar, Jonathan Riley-Smith, and Rudolf Hiestand (eds.), *Montjoie: Studies in Crusade History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer* (Brookfield, Vt., 1997), 1–19; and David van Meter, 'The Empire of the Year 6000: Eschatology and the Sanctification of Carolingian Politics' (Ph.D. Diss., Boston University, 1997).

[106] Möhring, *Der Weltkaiser der Endzeit*, 142–3, 332.

[107] Johannes Heil, ' "Nos Nescientes de Hoc Velle Manere"—"We Wish to Remain Ignorant about This": Timeless End, or: Approaches to Reconceptualizing Eschatology after A.D. 800 (A.M. 6000)', *Traditio,* 55 (2000), 77. The apocalyptic idea of the 'millennial week' suggests that one day equals 1000 years. Thus, 6000 years would equal the beginning of the 'last day', ushering in either the Last Judgment or an earthly millennium of peace to precede the Last Judgment. The prophecy was enshrined into mainstream Christian thought by Eusebius and Jerome in the 4th cent. See Robert E. Lerner, 'The Medieval Return to the Thousand Year Sabbath', in Richard K. Emmerson and

Ernst Kantorowicz pointed out long ago that the myth of Christian world unity was fundamentally eschatological in character. The world began with unity and would end in unity. In between was discord.[109] The Last Emperor legend united beginning and end by evoking that unity and completing the circle. The legend sprang up as a reaction to the Islamic invasions of the seventh century, bringing to mind an idealized, militant Rome, where universal political authority blended seamlessly with a universal united Christian community.[110] The Last Emperor legend then gestated in the East, cleaving closely to the Byzantine emperors who remained the standard-bearers of Christian imperial glory in the early Middle Ages. Then Charlemagne and the Franks appeared. Controlling virtually all of the old Roman empire in the West, looking to the past to help them understand their conquests, believing in their own unflagging orthodoxy, perhaps thinking they lived in a time near the world's end, the Frankish court under Charlemagne resurrected and coalesced the two estranged strands of thought—idealized Roman and apocalyptic, Constantine and Last Emperor—in the late eighth century; the Roman and apocalyptic conceptions of empire dovetailing so well because one derived from the other. Christianity was reconceptualized as a coherent political and ideological unit; Charlemagne's empire came to be defined as 'the city of God, and its population . . . Christendom. Outside his empire was the state of the devil.'[111] The empire of the Franks was thought to be a haven for all Christians, a bulwark against the enemies of God here on earth, but also critically a bulwark

---

Bernard McGinn (eds.), *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY, 1992), 51–71; and Richard Landes, 'Lest the Millennium Be Fulfilled: Apocalyptic Expectations and the Pattern of Western Chronography 100–800 C.E.', in Werner Verbeke, Daniel Verhelst, and Andries Welkenhuysen (eds.), *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages* (Leuven, 1988), 137–211.

[108] Juan Gil, 'Los terrores del año 800', in *Actas del simposio para el estudio de los codices del 'Comentario al Apocalipsis' de Beato de Liebana*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1978), i. 215–47; Brandes, '*Tempora*', 49–79; and de Jong, *Penitential State*, chs. 4–6. Johannes Heil has recently shown how thinkers in the decades after 800 began to create an anti-apocalyptic narrative of history by downplaying the importance of the progression of time and highlighting the survival of the Jews (who would be converted at the End). See Heil, 'Nos Nescientes', 73–103. On late Carolingian apocalypticism, see Hughes, *Constructing Antichrist*, 121–57; and Flori, *L'Islam et la fin des temps*, 177–86.

[109] Ernst Kantorowicz, 'The Problem of Medieval World Unity', in *Selected Studies* (Locust Valley, NY, 1965), 78–9.

[110] An idea hinted at in Paul Rousset, 'La Notion de Chrétienté aux XI^{e} et XII^{e} siècles', *Le Moyen Âge*, 69 (1963), 192.

[111] Adriaan H. Bredero, *Christendom and Christianity in the Middle Ages: The Relations between Religion, Church, and Society*, tr. Reinder Bruinsman (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1994), 17.

against antichrist and the hordes of Gog and Magog—the forces of evil arrayed against God during the last cosmic battle. The Frankish 'empire of the mind' survived as an empire of memory and 'it was the eschatological dimension that gave the [Carolingian] idea of empire its extraordinary capacity to withstand the repeated shocks of confrontation with dissonant political realities'.[112]

The intellectual themes evident in the Charlemagne and Last Emperor legends, although perhaps distinct in the eyes of modern historians, were not so easy to separate in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Like the Last Emperor, Charlemagne was an archetype—an exemplar. Just as the Last Emperor would preside over a Golden Age just before the end, so Charlemagne prefigured it, presiding over a Golden Age in the past. Sometimes texts like Ademar's *Chronicon* or Pseudo-Alcuin's *Vita antichristi* explicitly brought the two reigns together, eliding Jerusalem, Christendom, *imperium*, Charlemagne, and Last Emperor into a coherent narrative.[113] Others, such as the *Descriptio qualiter* and the *Annales* of Niederaltaich, were more allusive, even as they still suggested an intellectual connection between the empire that was and the empire to come, oftentimes united in the person of Charlemagne.

But that's not quite right.

It might be more correct to say that the empires of past and future were united in the people of the Franks. Chapters 1 and 2 demonstrated that the sources of the Charlemagne legend, especially those dealing with his remembered dominion over the East, were also about the Golden Age more generally and the place of the Franks within it. So too with the Last Emperor, who is himself a rather shadowy figure, his personality not necessarily as important as the train of events he sets in motion.[114] Both legends are primarily about the privileged place that the followers of these rulers occupied in these legends. Notice how in the Charlemagne legend—Benedict's *Chronicon*, the *Descriptio qualiter*, and Charroux's *Historia*, for example—he is never without his army. So too with every version of the Last Emperor legend. These are both militant legends, speaking of victory over their enemies, speaking of conquest. And, of course, we must remember that the enemies of both Charlemagne and Last Emperor—leaders of the *populus christianus* and *regnum christianorum*, possessors of *imperium*—were Christ's enemies as well.

The Franks were Charlemagne's heirs. They were the defenders of his legacy, responsible for resurrecting his empire, which had been intellectually constructed over the course of more than two centuries to include all Christians West and East. After Adso's tenth-century tract, and perhaps even as early as the eighth-century Latin revision of Pseudo-Methodius, the Franks would lead Christ's army against his enemies under the banner of the Last Emperor. The Franks had been the new imperial people under Charlemagne and would be again at the end. It is, I think, no coincidence that the *Descriptio qualiter*, Charroux's *Historia*, the sources around Otto III, Ademar's *Chronicon*, the *Exhortatio ad proceres regni*, the *Annales* of Niederaltaich, Benzo's *Ad Heinricum*, Pseudo-Alcuin, perhaps the Oxford *Roland*, among others—from places as diverse as the Île-de-France, Normandy, Aquitaine, Saxony, Lombardy, and Bavaria—all emerged during the eleventh century, and many clustered towards the century's end. Charlemagne's militant, Frankish, Christian empire prefigured the Last Emperor's; and in the eleventh century, past and future began to converge.

---

[112] Nelson, 'Kingship and Empire', 73.

[113] Verhelst does say elsewhere that the Pseudo-Alcuin synthesized the legends of Charlemagne and Antichrist with the idea of pilgrimage. He does not, however, expand the idea past this specific text to the Charlemagne legend more generally. Alphandéry does much the same, limiting his discussion to the call to crusade. See *De ortu*, ed. Verhelst, 110; and Alphandéry and Dupront, *Chrétienté*, 24, 51–2.

[114] Alexander, 'Medieval Legend', 3; and Magdalino, 'Prophecies', 52.

5

The Franks Return to the Holy Land

In the early nineteenth century, Victor Hugo published an account of his recent trip down the Rhine. On that trip, he stopped at Aachen and immediately went to the chapel of St Mary's, intent upon paying his respects to Charlemagne. Near the end his visit, Hugo struck up a conversation with his guide and was surprised to find that he was a former soldier in Napoleon's army. Tears streaming from his eyes as he remembered his old comrades, the soldier told Hugo: 'You can say, Sir, that you saw at Aix-la-Chapelle an old soldier of the thirty-sixth Swiss regiment. . . . You can also state that he is . . . Prussian by chance of birth; Swiss by profession; but French at heart.'[1]

At the beginning of book 2 of Guibert of Nogent's early twelfth-century *Dei gesta per Francos*, the abbot displayed an eerily similar understanding of identity. Shortly after the capture of Jerusalem in 1099, Guibert remembered spewing invective at an archdeacon from Mainz, contrasting the archdeacon's 'Teutonic' reticence in answering Urban's call with the Franks' strength and courage. Just a few lines later, Guibert clarified his definition of Frankishness. He said: 'Because [the name "Frank"] has carried the yoke since the days of its youth, it will sit in isolation [Lamentations 3: 27–8], a nation noble, wise, war-like, generous, [and] brilliant above all kinds of nations. Every nation borrows the name as an honorific title; do we not see the Bretons, the English, [and] the Ligurians call men 'Frank' if they behave well?'[2] Guibert knew that the archdeacon's cowardice—not his provenance—prevented him from answering Urban's call and hence kept the archdeacon from being called 'Frank' too.

As we have seen in previous chapters, the Charlemagne legend was prevalent throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries and became increasingly linked to the East and to the Last Emperor legend as time moved towards 1100. But we have also seen that the Charlemagne legend was also a legend of the Franks, with the man standing as an exemplar for a larger truth—that the Franks had held an empire spanning West and East, leading and defending the *populus christianus* by the strength of their arms. In this last chapter, let us then begin by looking more closely at Frankish identity and how it moved into the eleventh century. The Franks thought they had once held a special place in sacred history. Is there evidence that swathes of the eleventh-century aristocracy held on to this notion as they waited, reassured by the Last Emperor legends that they would reclaim that special place once again? And then, what are the implications of these ideas? Did they ultimately move men to action, spurring them, for example, to march eastwards towards Jerusalem in 1095–6?

---

[1] Victor Hugo, *The Rhine*, tr. D. M. Aird (Boston, Mass., 1886), 85. 'Tel que vous me voyez, monsieur, j'appartiens à trois nations; je suis Prussien de hasard, Suisse de métier, Français de cœur.'

[2] Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, CCCM 127A (Turnhout, 1996), 108–10. English tr. from Guibert, *The Deeds of God through the Franks*, tr. Robert Levine (Woodbridge, 1997), 41. Note that Guibert is initially offended because he was called *Franconus*, rather than *Francus*. This suggests that the archdeacon had a similar understanding of 'Frank' and was excluding Guibert from that category.

FRANKISH IDENTITY IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

Mary Garrison has recently shown that sources from before the reign of Pepin I the Short (751–68) often referred to the contemporary ruling dynasty as, indeed, 'Merovingians'. Eighth- and ninth-century sources, however, did no such thing for their rulers. Garrison explains that 'rather than imputing an identity to Charlemagne's countrymen as *Carolingians*, God's Chosen people, it appears that we instead have *Franks*, loved by God since the time of the Salic law, and *Franks*, God's blessed people . . . , because of their wonderful ruler Charlemagne'.[3] This can be seen throughout contemporary sources. The *Annales regni Francorum*'s entry for 783 twice records that Charles and his Franks advanced into Saxony, where 'with the help of God the Franks had the victory'. In 799, a Saxon leader 'delivered his land, his people, and himself to the Franks[,] and the whole province of Brittany was subjugated by the Franks'.[4] As Janet Nelson has noted, Charlemagne himself was rarely singled out. The Saxons swore oaths to Charles but also to his sons and all the Frankish people, while contemporary *laudes* praised the whole Frankish army.[5] Charlemagne may have been the prime mover of many ninth-century sources but he represented a larger collectivity. The ruler guarded the *cultus divinus* but because he modeled his actions on rulers from the Old Testament, filtered through the actions of earlier Christian emperors, Frankish rulers after the Merovingians had to enlist the entire *gens* in order to ensure God's support for their actions. In effect, this intellectually created the king's subjects as a *populus christianus*, united in prayer and collective responsibility.[6] The Franks were the actors.

---

[3] Mary Garrison, 'Divine Election for Nations: A Difficult Rhetoric for Medieval Scholars?', in Lars Boje Mortensen (ed.), *The Making of Christian Myths in the Periphery of Latin Christendom (c.1000–1300)* (Copenhagen, 2006), 275–314, quotation at 306–7; and idem, 'The Franks as the New Israel? Education for an Identity from Pippin to Charlemagne', in *Uses of the Past*, 114–61. This seems to dovetail with Richard Sullivan's observation that the Carolingian Age has been 'imagined' by modern historians as something distinct in itself. See Richard E. Sullivan, 'The Carolingian Age: Reflections on its Place in the History of the Middle Ages', *Speculum*, 64 (1989), 279.

[4] *Annales regni Francorum*, ed. G. H. Pertz, MGH SRG (Hanover, 1895), 6: 64, 108. English tr. *The Royal Frankish Annals*, in *Carolingian Chronicles*, tr. Bernhard Walter Scholz (Ann Arbor, 1970), 61, 78.

[5] Janet L. Nelson, 'Kingship and Empire', in J. H. Burns (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought, c.350–c.1450* (Cambridge, 1988), 215.

[6] On the attempt to change this model during the reign of Louis the Pious, see Mayke de Jong, *The Penitential State: Authority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious, 814–40* (Cambridge, 2009), 116–22, 154–7.

They had the victory in warfare. They (admittedly, not too often) suffered the defeat. Peoples bent their knees to the Franks' collective power.

And then, as we have seen in previous chapters, the conquered were subsumed. They too became Franks. This was not necessarily a difficult transition. In the early Middle Ages the word *gens* should best be thought of as a political unit that corresponded to a particular geographical area. Membership in the *gens* was flexible and open, not necessarily tied to ethnicity and, as such, a layered form of identity. In the case of the Franks, ascription to the *gens* had everything to do with ideology. When speaking of oneself and how one related to a specific place, one could be a Norman, Bavarian, or Provençal but when speaking of a larger, greater, more Christian, and unified collectivity, one was a Frank.[7] Being a Frank meant being Christian and being subject to the Frankish ruler's *imperium*. Being a Frank during and after Charlemagne's reign was not an exclusive category but rather a supplementary one, an identity to be deployed in certain situations. By the time of the *ARF*'s last early ninth-century redactor, writing just after Charlemagne's death in 814, where once there were Lombards, Bavarians, Saxons, etc., now there was only one united Francia, ruled by a glorious king—a new chosen people, a *populus christianus*, occupying a special place in God's favor that extended both backwards and forwards to the ends of sacred history.[8]

Even after the political and territorial fragmentation of the 840s, this ideological unity remained. Hincmar of Reims (d. 882) spoke of a united *regnum Francorum* (he thought he just lived in one part of it). Emperor Louis II of Italy (855–75) argued that the Franks remained one in 'flesh, blood, and spirit' into his own time. Both Ado of Vienne (d. 875) and Regino of Prüm (d. 915) wrote their universal chronicles as narratives of *Frankish* history, with special attention given to their localities' place in that history.[9] For instance, in his entry for 880, Regino lamented how the Franks had gradually lost *imperium* after Charlemagne's death because they were no longer able to keep hold of the diverse peoples who once comprised the Frankish kingdom.[10] Notker the Stammerer (d. 912) wrote that Charlemagne had inaugurated a new Golden Age, a Frankish world empire that encompassed and subsumed all peoples. This was an empire that lived on in the minds of the late ninth century. For instance, Notker thought he was both an Alamann and a Frank. This latter identity was particularly important to him, writing that men from across Europe 'all prided themselves on being paid a great compliment if they earned the right to be called Franks'.[11] The memory of Frankish *imperium* lived on in the contemporary *Bella Parisiacae urbis* of Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, where Abbo claimed that a Frank could be anyone, anywhere, who was ruled by a descendant of Charlemagne. This did not efface their more local identity though. Andreas of Bergamo, writing around 877, considered himself to be '[a] man of Bergamo, a Lombard, and a Frank. . . . These categories were not mutually exclusive.' The contemporary Saxon Poet displayed similar sentiments, writing the Saxons into Frankish history by way of their conversion under Charlemagne. They didn't, however, stop being Saxons too.[12]

---

[7] Hans-Werner Goetz, '*Gens*: Terminology and Perception of the "Germanic" Peoples from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages', in Richard Corradini, Max Diesenberger, and Helmut Reimitz (eds.), *The Construction of Communities in the Early Middle Ages: Texts, Resources and Artefacts* (Leiden, 2003), 39–64; Ronnie Ellenblum, 'Were there Borders and Borderlines in the Middle Ages? The Example of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem', in David Abulafia and Nora Berend (eds.), *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices* (Burlington, Vt., 2002), 106–9; Helmut Reimitz, '*Omnes Franci*: Identifications and Identities of the Early Medieval Franks', in Ildar H. Garipzanov, Patrick J. Geary, and Przemyslaw Urbanczyk (eds.), *Franks, Northmen, and Slavs: Identities and State Formation in Early Medieval Europe* (Turnhout, 2008), 57; and Janet L. Nelson, 'Frankish Identity in Charlemagne's Empire,' ibid. 71–5, 83. As we have seen, signifiers for groups of people were related to geography but not coextensive with that geography. Much of the difficulty in appreciating this understanding, I think, to do with the spell 19th- and 20th-cent. nationalistic historiography still casts on us. See the discussion of these problems in Patrick J. Geary, *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe* (Princeton, 2002), esp. 16–38; and Courtney M. Booker, *Past Convictions: The Penance of Louis the Pious and the Decline of the Carolingians* (Philadelphia, 2009), 15–126.

[8] See Margaret Lugge, '*Gallia' und 'Francia' im Mittelalter: Untersuchungen über den Zusammenhang zwischen geographish-historischer Terminologie und politischen Denken vom 6–15. Jahrhundert* (Bonn, 1960), 38–9; Lutz E. v Padberg, 'Zur Spannung von Gentilismus und christlichem Universalitätsideal im Reich Karls des Grossen', in Franz-Reiner Erkens (ed.), *Karl der Grosse und das Erbe der Kulturen* (Berlin, 2001), 42–5; Natalia Lozovsky, 'Roman Geography and Ethnography in the Carolingian Empire', *Speculum,* 81 (2006), 332, 364; also Rosamond McKitterick, *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge, 2008), 30–1, 271–4, 371–2; idem, *Perceptions of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, Ind., 2006), 91–4; and Chapter 4, above.

But overt claims of Frankishness tended to fade in the tenth century, perhaps because of the changing political landscape. In West Francia, the Capetians and texts sympathetic to them tried to carve out an identity for themselves as new *reges Francorum* who still held a special kind of *imperium*. This seems to have been acknowledged throughout West Francia. Although areas like Aquitaine, Normandy, and Flanders were increasingly considered separate *regna* in this period, people from these regions thought that 'there was a kingdom of the Franks, it could have only one king, and everyone knew it'.[13] At least implicitly, the men of these regions still felt themselves to be subject to that king. At least implicitly, they still thought of themselves as Franks.

In East Francia and Italy, the Ottonians and their boosters clung to the Franks through an imagined continuity of rulership stemming from Charlemagne. We saw this at work in Chapter 1. Just to take the example of the Ottonians, Bishop

---

[9] Nelson, 'Kingship and Empire', 233; Steven Fanning, 'Imperial Diplomacy between Francia and Byzantium: The Letter of Louis II to Basil I in 871', *Cithara,* 34 (1994), 4, 9; and the comments in Goetz, '*Gens*: Terminology and Perception', 60; and McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past*, 29–30.

[10] Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon*, ed. Friedrich Kurze, MGH SRG (Hanover, 1890), 50: 116–17.

[11] Notker the Stammerer, *Gesta Karoli Magni imperatoris*, ed. H. F. Haefele, MGH SRG NS (Berlin, 1959), 12: 13. On Notker and his lineage, see Matthew Innes, 'Memory, Orality and Literacy in an Early Medieval Society', *Past and Present,* 158 (1998), 11–12, 31. On Notker's imperial ideas, see Hans-Werner Goetz, *Strukturen der spätkarolinischen Epoche im Spiegel der Vorstellungen eines Zeitgenössischen Mönchs: Eine Interpretation der 'Gesta Karoli' Notkers von Sankt Gallen* (Bonn, 1981), 70–80; Simon Maclean, *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century: Charles the Fat and the End of the Carolingian Empire* (Cambridge, 2003), 223–4; and the discussion in Chapter 1, above.

[12] MacLean, *Kingship and Politics,* 60–3; Peter Godman, *Poets and Emperors: Frankish Politics and Carolingian Poetry* (Oxford, 1987), 183; and McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, 22.

[13] Geoffrey Koziol, 'Political Culture', in Marcus Bull (ed.), *France in the Central Middle Ages, 900–1200* (Oxford, 2003), 44. See also, Joachim Ehlers, 'Karolingische Tradition und frühes Nationalbewusstsein in Frankreich', *Francia,* 4 (1976), 213; and Nelson, 'Kingship and Empire', 76.

Thietmar of Merseburg's *Chronicon* claimed in several places that Otto I was directly in the line of Charlemagne. And as I have shown elsewhere, Emperor Otto III was obsessed with Charlemagne and his connection to both Rome and Aachen, even descending into his tomb on Pentecost in the year 1000.[14] But the memory of Charlemagne's Golden Age could be a double-edged sword, a site of contestation, contrasting (instead of comparing) the current rulers of the eastern Franks with an idealized past. In the tenth century, Benedict of Monte Soratte elevated Charlemagne as an ideal while lambasting the Ottonians as sowers of discord. Lambert of Hersfeld would unfavorably contrast Henry IV (1056–1105) with Charlemagne.[15] These critiques were made because they could have real bite.

This contestation represents something important, something beyond simple critique. This contestation was a struggle over inheritance. In a certain sense, everyone thought they were connected to the legacy of a Frankish Golden Age. At 'centers' of power, at the Ottonian court for example, a connection to the Franks lived on in the memory of Charlemagne as predecessor. But in places removed from (or in conflict with) these royal/imperial centers—places like central Italy, Alamannia, Aquitaine, and Normandy—Frankish identity survived too. For these latter peoples and groups, the Charlemagne legend was primarily about a moment of consensus between ruler and polity and the consequently elevated status of the Frankish people as a whole. Throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries, disparate places, scattered across the Franks' ninth-century empire, shared a common political culture, one ultimately derived from a common Carolingian experience; one that sustained and was sustained by a particular understanding of their Frankish past.[16] Charlemagne seems to have just been *there*, hovering in the backs of people's minds, functioning much like he had in ninth-century sources—still that archetype, standing in as a personification of larger ideas about a Frankish Golden Age.[17]

For instance, one early eleventh-century *Historia* from West Francia barely mentioned the Carolingian rulers but still notes that the ascension of Hugh Capet (987–96) marked 'the end of Charlemagne's kingdom'. In East Francia, at about the same time, new copies of the palace chapel at Aachen began to suddenly appear—in Bruges, Liège, Muizen, Nijmegen, Groningen, Ottmarsheim, and Essen.[18] Why? Why invoke Charlemagne's name? Why begin aping his architectural program? The simple answer here is perhaps best: *because it meant something.*

---

[14] Karl Hauck, 'Die Ottonen und Aachen, 876–936', in KdG iv. 41–3, 53; Timothy Reuter, '*Regemque, quem in Francia pene perdidit, in patria magnifice recepit*: Ottonian Ruler Representation in Synchronic and Diachronic Comparison', in Janet L. Nelson (ed.), *Medieval Polities and Modern Mentalities* (Cambridge, 2006), 136–7; and Hagen Keller, 'Die Ottonen und Karl der Grosse', *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschchtsvereins,* 104/5 (2002–3), 79. Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, in *Ottonian Germany: The Chronicon of Thietmar of Merseburg*, tr. David A. Warner (Manchester, 2001), 89, 124. Matthew Gabriele, 'Otto III, Charlemagne, and Pentecost A.D. 1000: A Reconsideration Using Diplomatic Evidence', in *Year 1000*, 111–32; and John W. Bernhardt, 'Concepts and Practice of Empire in Ottonian Germany (950–1024)', in Björn Weiler and Simon Maclean (eds.), *Representations of Power in Medieval Germany, 800–1500* (Turnhout, 2006), 155–8.

[15] Benedict of Monte Soratte, *Chronicon*, MGH SS 3: 719; and Lambert of Hersfeld, *Libelli de institutione Herveldensis ecclesiae quae supersunt*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH SRG (Hanover, 1894), 38: 353.

[16] Koziol, 'Political Culture', 47, 71–5. Although Koziol confines his comments to West Francia, given the intellectual development I have been tracking, they seem more generally applicable.

[17] This is similar to Eugene Vance's assertion of Charlemagne as discourse. Eugene Vance, 'Semiotics and Power: Relics, Icons, and the "Voyage de Charlemagne à Jérusalem et à Constantinople"', *Romanic Review,* 79 (1988), 170; also Robert Morrissey, *Charlemagne and France: A Thousand Years of Mythology*, tr. Catherine Tihanyi (Notre Dame, Ind., 2003), 10.

As we enter the eleventh century, being a Frank seems to have meant consciously tying into an empire of memory, associating oneself with an idea of empire that had little to do with political realities. The Salians and Capetians both began moving to reclaim the Carolingians. Religious houses from across Europe, many of them no longer intimately tied to royal or imperial courts but still almost all from within the borders of Charlemagne's historical empire, created documents to narrow the perceived gulf between their own times and that lost Golden Age. Charlemagne's imagined authority in all of these texts began to expand, reaching into Iberia, Eastern Europe, and the Holy Land. Sometimes, he would go to Jerusalem himself. In several instances, Charlemagne would be the Last Emperor and rise from the dead to lead an army of Franks against the hordes of antichrist.

An empire of memory, a common adherence to the name 'Frank' held together by an idealized (if fictional) memory of Charlemagne's reign, survived. Talking about Charlemagne in the eleventh century was a key that unlocked a mental *catena* of other associations, most especially related to power and identity. Talking about Charlemagne was a way of remembering a glorious, militant past that saw the Franks extend their dominion across the Mediterranean world. But talking about Charlemagne was also a way of connecting to that past, claiming him as yours. Talking about Charlemagne was a statement that *his* Golden Age was a part of *your* heritage.

And most of eleventh-century Europe fondly remembered their Charlemagne. In previous chapters, we have seen how this functioned in numerous regions throughout Europe—Italy, Saxony, Bavaria, Lotharingia, SW Francia, Flanders, the Île-de-France, etc. Let us look in more depth at the people of one of these regions, specifically the Normans. There has long been a vein of scholarly literature devoted to how different the Normans thought themselves to be in this period. In carving out this niche for themselves, it seems quite clear that they did not think of themselves as 'French'.[19] But, especially considering how identities could be supplementary (oftentimes even complementary) in the early Middle Ages, could they have still thought of themselves as 'Franks'?

---

[18] 'Eodem anno unctus est in regem Remis civitate Hugo dux, et ipso anno Robertus, filius eius, in regnum piissimus rex ordinatus est. Hic deficit regnum Karoli Magni.' *Historia Francorum Senonensis*, MGH SS 9: 368. The *HFS* moves quickly through the period 688–877 (there are only twelve entries) and really begins in 877, when Count Odo becomes regent for Charles the Simple. See also the discussion of this text in Ehlers, 'Karolingische Tradition', 226. On the chapels, see Charles B. McClendon, *The Origins of Medieval Architecture: Building in Europe, A.D. 600–900* (New Haven, Conn., 2005), 197. Jason Glenn has also shown how large the Carolingians loomed in Richer's mind, even into the time of Robert II the Pious (996–1031). Jason Glenn, *Politics and History in the Tenth Century: The Work and World of Richer of Reims* (Cambridge, 2004), 196–8, 207–14.

[19] The most recent examples of this historiography are Nick Webber, *The Evolution of Norman Identity, 911–1154* (Woodbridge, 2005); and Hugh M. Thomas, *The English and the Normans: Ethnic Hostility, Assimilation, and Identity, 1066–c.1220* (Oxford, 2003).

Tenth- and eleventh-century Normans were much like their neighbors in that they held fast to older Frankish institutions and political models. Moreover, even if the realities of Norman governance may have differed from its antecedents, we should be clear that the ideal of Carolingian power endured. Later Normans liked to think of Rollo (d. *c.*932) as a law-giver but there was little he did that was not consciously adapted from Frankish precedent. Charles the Bald, for example, loomed large in Rollo's imagination as the rebuilt houses of Jumièges and Fécamp were modeled on the Carolingian foundation of Saint-Riquier. Fécamp was then expanded to function as a new version of Charles the Bald's Compiègne (which was itself a new version of the Aachen of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious). Manuscripts produced by these 'Norman' centers looked just like ninth-century exemplars. And the Normans took their obsession with them south into Italy and across the English Channel. According to John Le Patourel, the transition from duke to king was an easy one for William exactly because of how tightly the Normans had held on to Carolingian prerogatives. Such Frankish prerogatives would have been well understood by the Anglo-Saxons, who also followed them in this period.[20]

The documents the Normans themselves produced consistently testified to how they thought of themselves as Franks. Dudo of Saint-Quentin (d. *c.*1020) originally came from lands under the control of the counts of Vermandois and was probably educated at Liège. By 1011 though, he was chaplain to Duke Richard II of Normandy (d. 1027) and by 1015 Dudo was Richard's chancellor. Still, his *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae Ducum*, finished *c.*1015, was not intended solely for Norman consumption but was deliberately pitched to their neighbors as well.[21]

Geoffrey Koziol has suggested that Dudo thought the Franks were an exhausted race who could only renew themselves by looking to the vigorous Normans.[22] But let us slightly modify that conclusion. Similar to the work of the late ninth-century Saxon Poet, Dudo was showing how the Franks and 'Dacians' came together to become the Normans, a new member of the *gentes Francorum*. This plural construction is significant and Dudo used it several times.[23] Ninth-century Frankish ideas survived. The Franks continued to absorb new peoples, even through the tenth century. According to Dudo, these Normans were a new, separate people from others who lived in Francia but were still part of the Frankish legacy and were still themselves ultimately Franks. Towards the beginning of his narrative, Dudo offers a poem in praise of Francia, recognizing how far the Franks have fallen, but exulting that they will eventually ally with the Dacians so that Frankish *imperium* would rise to Olympus again. Later, a poem for Rollo notes how Francia will benefit from his rule because his offspring will mingle with the Franks to produce kings, priests, and nobles to renew the *ecclesia* (meaning the whole community of Christians). This comes true with the birth of Duke William I Longsword (d. 942), who was born of a Dacian father and Frankish (Carolingian!) mother and who, Dudo says, will father a son to make all Francia rejoice. Indeed, William possesses true Frankish *imperium*, presumably because he holds power over many peoples, including the Franks, Burgundians, Bretons, Danes, Flemings, English, and Irish. That power culminates in William's son, Richard (d. 996), who rules almost all of Gaul and acts like a real *rex Francorum*.[24] Dudo set the tone for later Norman authors. The ideas he borrowed from the ninth century—Frankish identity as supplementary, the definition of *ecclesia*, ideas of *imperium* tethered to the king of the Franks—passed into the eleventh.

---

[20] Bruce R. O'Brien, *God's Peace and King's Peace: The Laws of Edward the Confessor* (Philadelphia, 1999), 12, 20–1, and esp. his thoughts at 210 n. 22; Felice Lifshitz, 'La Normandie carolingienne: Essai sur la continuité avec utilisation de sources négligées', *Annales de Normandie,* 48 (1998), 505–20; John Le Patourel, *The Norman Empire* (Oxford, 1976), 238–9; and David Bates, *Normandy before 1066* (New York, 1982), 162–72. On the Anglo-Saxons and Carolingian tradition, see James Campbell, 'Observations on English Government from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* 25, 5th ser. (1975), 39–54; and Nelson, 'Kingship and Empire', 239–42. For a more thorough discussion of the Anglo-Norman fascination with Charlemagne and the Carolingians, though with a later chronological focus, see Wendy Marie Hoofnagle, 'Creating Kings in Post-Conquest England: The Fate of Charlemagne in Anglo-Norman Society' (Ph.D. diss., University of Connecticut, 2008). I have seen portions of Hoofnagle's work but have been unable to consult it in its entirety.

[21] Dudo probably hoped that dedicating the work to Bishop Adalbero of Laon would spread the narrative into Francia. Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *History of the Normans*, tr. Eric Christiansen (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. ix–xii; and Leah Shopkow, 'The Carolingian World of Dudo of Saint-Quentin', *Journal of Medieval History,* 15 (1989), 19–37.

[22] Geoffrey Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor: Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca, NY, 1992), 150.

One path of Norman historiography stemming from Dudo can be seen in the works of Geoffrey Malaterra and William of Poitiers. On this path, the story of the Normans 'accumulated'. Each author added another layer to the reputation of this, the newest member of the *gentes Francorum*. Geoffrey Malaterra was likely a Norman monk who came south to become a bishop in Sicily, only to return to monastic life at St Agata in Catania. His record of the deeds of Roger of Calabria and Robert Guiscard, written in the late 1090s, has little to say about the French. The Normans have clearly surpassed a once-proud people, best personified in the vile *rex Francorum* Philip I, who tries to bigamously seduce Roger of Sicily's daughter and steal her dowry.[25] William of Poitiers (d. *c.*1087), chaplain to William I of England (1066–87) and archdeacon of Lisieux, also had little good to say about the *Francigeni*, who William clearly delineated from the *Normanni*. But the objects of Norman scorn are not *Franci*, they are *Francigeni*—not 'Franks' but the 'French'.[26]

---

[23] e.g. see Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae Ducum*, ed. Jules Lair (Caen, France, 1865), 133, 135. See also the comments of R. H. C. Davis, *The Normans and their Myth* (London, 1976), 52–4. Note, however, that Davis reads *Franci* as 'French'. This is a common but problematic reading. See below.

[24] Dudo, *De moribus et actis*, ed. Lair, 135–6, 144 (and the vision of the two types of birds/*gens* mingling at 146–7), 179–80, 183–92, 264–5, respectively.

[25] On Geoffrey's life, see the sketch in Geoffrey Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger of Calabria and Sicily and of his Brother Duke Robert Guiscard*, tr. Kenneth Baxter Wolf (Ann Arbor, 2005), 6–8. On Philip I, see Geoffrey Malaterra, *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae Comitis et Roberti Guiscardi Ducis fratris eius*, ed. Ernesto Pontieri, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (Bologna, 1928), 90.

[26] *Francigeni* seems to almost exclusively refer to the inhabitants of a geographical region around the Île-de-France. For instance, see William of Poitiers, *Gesta Guillelmi*, ed. R. H. C. Davis and Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford, 1998), 14, 96, 130.

Other 'Normans' were more explicit about showing a connection between *Normannitas* and Frankishness. The Bayeux Embroidery, in its only references to William's assembled invaders, called them *Franci* and Orderic Vitalis had no problem using *Franci* for the assembled armies of the First Crusade. Numerous Norman magnates of the late eleventh century were proud of their Carolingian ancestry. As R. H. C. Davis observed, it was only in the early twelfth century that *Normanni* and *Franci* 'ceased to be synonyms' for the conquerors of England.[27] William of Apulia, writing in the late 1090s and perhaps coming from Marmoutier,[28] began his work by saying he will sing of the *gens Normannica* and generally does so, even if the terminology he employed could be all over the place.[29] Near the end of his account though, William displayed his debt to Dudo, establishing a line of continuity between the Franks of old and the Normans. Recounting Robert Guiscard's burial at Venosa, William claims that the earth had not seen such a man as Robert since the time of Charlemagne.[30]

Yet another William, this one a monk of Jumièges (d. *c.*1070) who possibly worked at the request of William I himself, relied heavily on Dudo to compose his *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*. He made some significant changes though. If anything, the Frankishness of the Normans is heightened in the account by William of Jumièges. Like Dudo, at the very beginning of his text William laments how far the *gens Francorum* has fallen. But William reaches back to the ninth century to explain why. As Nithard had done more than 200 years earlier, William said that the Franks were the first to cast off 'Roman savagery' and raise up unconquered kings who allowed the *ecclesia* to flourish. Then, again as Nithard had suggested, the fratricide of Fontenoy shattered the *populus christianus* (the Franks). Northmen came and punished the Franks for their sins. But now the Normans, after their conversion, have rejuvenated the Franks, intermarrying and intermingling with them to become the new chosen people who have wrested Frankish glory from the Capetians. Indeed, William's narrative attitude towards the Franks seems to change with the transition in kingship from Carolingian to Capetian. For William of Jumièges, the true Franks were decended from the Carolingian *reges Francorum*, not the Capetian *reges Franciae*.[31] True Franks were *Franci*, not *Francigeni*.

---

[27] Full text of embroidery reproduced at Lucien Musset, *The Bayeux Tapestry*, tr. Richard Rex (Woodbridge, 2005), 270. See also Schneidmüller, *Nomen patriae*, 81–3; and Davis, *Normans and their Myth*, 105.

[28] William's modern editor doubts that he was a monk at Marmoutier before coming south. Given my discussion and his dedication of the work to Urban II (as well as Roger Borsa), this provenance does not seem problematic though. At the very least, it seems William was more closely attached to the papacy and Urban II than to the Norman nobility in Southern Italy. On his background, see William of Apulia, *La Geste de Robert Guiscard*, ed. Marguerite Mathieu, *Testi e monumenti* (Palermo, 1961), 4: 11–25.

[29] The northern armies William describes are often composed of *Normanni*, but are sometimes called *Galli*, sometimes *Francigeni*, sometimes *Franci*, and sometimes *christiani*. See William, *Geste de Robert Guiscard*, ed. Mathieu, Prologue l. 3, 1. 169, 371–2, 397–401, 2. 54–60, 174–6, 3. 98–105, 218–19, 242–5. These northerners are clearly distinct from the Byzantines, Muslims, and subjects of the Salians, the last of whom are called *Alemanni*. Ibid. 1. 52–7, 95–9, 2. 80–92, 3. 284–8.

[30] Ibid. 5. 405–9. Cf. similar language in *La Chanson de Roland*, ed. and tr. Gerard J. Brault, 2 vols. (University Park, Pa., 1978), ii, ll. 1731–4.

[31] William of Jumièges, *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, ed. Elisabeth van Houts, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1992–5), i. 10, 18; and i. 82, 124, ii. 26; respectively. On Nithard, see the beginning of Chapter 1 above.

Bishop Guy of Amiens (d. 1074/5), who completed his poem on the battle of Hastings just a few years after the event, alternated between referring to William's army as one of Gauls and one of Franks. *Franci* and *Galli* were not synonyms though. Before Hastings, William of England spurs on his army of Normans, Gauls, and Bretons collectively as Franks, a people chosen and beloved by God, whose fame resounds around the world. Later, however, Guy makes his terminological distinction clearer. He uses different names to describe different activities. The Franks are skilled in the arts of war, while William is forced to chastise the Normans and Gauls for shamefully fleeing. Later, Guy says that William entrusts the *Franci* to continue the fight as he seeks out Harald.[32] The difference is this: Guy used 'Gauls' as a generic, geographic term to describe the collective regions from which the army came. He used 'Franks', however, as a collective term used to connote martial prowess and bravery in arms. Like Notker had said and Guibert would say, being a Frank was something you earned. The Franks were warriors.

Throughout these Norman sources, as Notker had written not so long before, Normans, Gauls, Bretons, and others earned the honor of also calling themselves 'Franks'. Perhaps this is why, in an underutilized article, David Douglas observed that 'it is . . . impossible to escape the conclusion that an eleventh-century Norman would have had little difficulty in regarding himself as a *Francus* in the sense in which the term is used in the *Chanson* [*de Roland*]'.[33] In the *c.*1100 Oxford *Roland*, we see that Charlemagne had conquered all the regions of Gaul, in addition to Flanders, Bavaria, Normandy, England, Scotland, Iceland, Aquitaine, Provence, Italy, Saxony, Poland, Spain, Brittany, and the Byzantine empire. His army reflected these conquests. When Charlemagne draws up his battle-lines to confront Baligant, he divides his army into divisions of (in order) Franks, Bavarians, Alamanns, Normans, Bretons, Poitevins, Flemings and Frisians, Lotharingians and Burgundians, and Franks again. Finally, back at Aix, Charlemagne summons his men to judge Ganelon and organizes them in ranks of Bavarians, Saxons, Lotharingians, Frisians, Alamanns, Burgundians, Poitevins, Normans, Bretons, and Franks.[34] But, of course, in all of these instances, they are together an army of Franks. Baligant says he will fight 'Charles and the Franks'. The Franks taunt the pagans and cry out 'Monjoie!' together. The Franks strike hard blows in battle and rout the enemy. The Franks cheer as one when Thierry defeats Pinabel in single combat.[35] Although these men came from different regions, together they were one. They fought together, celebrated together, conquered together, and together they were Franks.

---

[32] Guy of Amiens, *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio*, ed. Frank Barlow (Oxford, 1999), ll. 159–60, and 250–4; then ll. 423–48, 533–6. We should be sensitive to the fact that neither the conquest of England nor that of Southern Italy and Sicily were exclusively Norman affairs. Although both armies were primarily composed of men from Normandy, there were substantial contingents from Brittany, Maine, and the Île-de-France. Ecclesiastics who filled newly created bishoprics could be from anywhere in West Francia. On the conquest of Southern Italy, see Graham A. Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard: Southern Italy and the Norman Conquest* (Harlow, 2000), 81–3; and Errico Cuozzo, 'Les Évêques d'origine normande en Italie et en Sicile', in Pierre Bouet and François Neveux (eds.), *Les Évêques normands du XI^e siècle* (Caen, 1995), 67–78. On William's army at Hastings, see the recent summary with references in Thomas, *English and the Normans*, 33.

[33] David C. Douglas, 'The "Song of Roland" and the Norman Conquest of England', *French Studies,* 14 (1960), 110; and Davis, *Normans and their Myth*, 12. For more on the Norman connection to the Oxford *Roland*, see Joseph J. Duggan, 'The Generation of the Episode of Baligant: Charlemagne's Dream and the Normans at Mantzikert', *Romance Philology,* 30 (1976/7), 59–82.

[34] *Chanson de Roland*, ed. Brault, ll. 2322–34, 3026–95, 3700–4, respectively.

So, let us expand Douglas's observation. Even if the earliest complete manuscript of the *Roland* tradition is Anglo-Norman, the poem was popular across Europe and peoples from numerous regions shared its understanding of what it meant to be a Frank. They claimed these heroic Frankish predecessors as *theirs*, and clung to them tightly. Paul Aebischer has found eleventh-century evidence of brothers named Roland and Oliver at Angers, Marseilles, Saint-Pé in the Pyrenees, and Béziers, while The Hague and San Millán de la Cogolla have preserved early manuscripts of the *Roland* legend, both predating the Oxford manuscript. Numerous façades of churches in Aquitaine from this period fondly reference the Roland legend.[36]

The weight placed on Frankish martial exploits during the eleventh century had precedent. Remember ninth-century sources and how peoples trembled on bended knee before the power of the Franks. Think back on the Last Emperor legends, especially those derived from the wildly popular *De antichristo* of Adso Dervensis, and how the End of Time became a stage of Frankish history. The Frankish Last Emperor would blaze forth at the head of Christ's army—an army of Franks—against his enemies just before the end of time. Charlemagne's legendary foundation (or refoundation) of the monasteries listed in Chapter 1 often occurred while he was on campaign, fighting the Saxons, Lombards, or Muslims. Remember how eleventh-century chronicles and hagiographies from all across Europe dreamt on Charlemagne's conquests, so that the Frankish empire seemed to blanket the entire world. By the end of the eleventh century, the glorious Frankish past was a militant one and was widely remembered as such.

CALLING THE FRANKS TO HOLY WAR: IDEAS BECOME ACTION

Charlemagne appears, albeit briefly, in a few contemporary narratives of the First Crusade. Three authors claimed that Godfrey de Bouillon's army followed Charlemagne's road to Constantinople.[37] Robert of Reims reported that Urban urged the assembled Franks at Clermont to remember

---

[35] Ibid., ll. 3287, 3299–3300, and 3931–3, respectively.

[36] Paul Aebischer, 'Les Trois Mentions plus anciennes du couple "Roland et Olivier"', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire,* 30 (1952), 657–75; Ramón Menéndez-Pidal, *La Chanson de Roland et la tradition épiques des Francs*, tr. Fr. Irénée-Marcel (Paris, 1960), 372–81, 384–447; and Linda Seidel, *Songs of Glory: The Romanesque Facades of Aquitaine* (Chicago, 1981).

[37] *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymatinorum*, ed. and tr. Rosalind Hill (London, 1962), 2; Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, ed. John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill (Paris, 1977), 31–3; and Robert of Reims, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, RHC Occ 3: 732. On the relationship among the three sources, see my comments above at Ch. 2 n. 97.

> the glory and greatness of king Charles the Great, and of his son Louis . . . who destroyed the kingdoms of the pagans, and extended the holy church to their lands. . . . Oh, most valiant soldiers and descendants of invincible ancestors, be not degenerate, but recall the valor of your progenitors.[38]

Ekkehard of Aura suggested that the men of the West could more literally follow their predecessor's example, noting rumors around 1095 that Charlemagne had risen from the dead to lead the crusade. Ralph of Caen, writing in the first quarter of the twelfth century, said that it was fitting for King Baldwin I (1100–18) of Jerusalem to sit on the throne of the real David, as he was a descendant of the new David (Charlemagne).[39]

Charlemagne, often characterized by historians as an archetypal crusader, had long been thought by modern scholars to have played a role in motivating men to join the crusade, especially within a vein of (predominantly) French scholarship. But Jonathan Riley-Smith has questioned whether the Charlemagne legend had much of an impact on crusading at all, because Urban would have avoided invoking an exemplar of Frankishness in front of the 'southern French' who attended Clermont and subsequently took up the call to crusade.[40] Further, although Charlemagne himself as a crusading archetype undoubtedly played a part in motivating some men to go on crusade, we must concede that there are no extended meditations on Charlemagne in any crusade chronicle and his name is mentioned, briefly, in only a few contemporary sources. Also, although the earliest narrative of Charlemagne's martial involvement in the affairs of the East (the *Descriptio qualiter*) does predate the First Crusade, this text was not well-known before the first decades of the twelfth century.

Some scholars have thus argued that Charlemagne's influence on the first crusaders was more indirect. Hannes Möhring has shown that the Charlemagne legend underlay a late eleventh-century manifestation of the Last Emperor legend, which was particularly influential on crusaders from the Rhineland. For Jean Flori, Charlemagne did not serve as a literal archetype for the crusaders but they were influenced by Charlemagne's legendary wars, which represented the pretensions of a universal Frankish empire.[41] Marcus Bull believed that, because the First Crusade was conceptualized as a collective endeavor, the crusaders identified themselves more with the 'Franks' than with a specific legendary ruler. Indeed, Michel Balard (perhaps problematically) using the PL editions, has found that the terms 'Franks' or 'Frankish' appear consistently in the accounts of eyewitnesses but are even more prevalent in the second-generation of crusade chroniclers.[42] Following from this logic, the historiographic consensus holds that this language came with the crusade. Searching for a label to explain the perceived unity among such disparate groups, the appellation 'Frank' gained general currency after the First Crusade because the term—meaning any 'body composed of various ethnic groups . . . [as] a label for the whole of this body'—was appropriated from the Byzantines and Muslims, who had long called all Westerners 'Franks'.[43]

---

[38] 'Moveant vos et incitant animos vestros ad virilitatem gesta praedecessorum vestorum, probitas et magnitudo Karoli Magni regis, et Ludovici filii ejus . . . qui regna paganorum destruxerunt et in eis fines sanctae ecclesiae dilateverunt. . . . O fortissimi milites et invictorum propago parentum, nolite degenerari, sed virtutis priorum vestrorum reminiscimini.' Robert, *Historia*, 728. English tr. from *The First Crusade: The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and Other Source Materials*, ed. Edward Peters, 2nd edn. (Philadelphia, 1998), 27.

[39] Ekkehard of Aura, *Chronica: Recensio I*, in *Frutolf und Ekkehards Chroniken und die Anonyme Kaiserchronik*, ed. Franz-Josef Schmale and Irene Schmale-Ott (Darmstadt, 1972), 144; also in the later 12th-cent. idem, *Hierosolymita*, RHC Occ 5: 19. Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi in expeditione Hierosolymitana*, RHC Occ 3: 633.

[40] See Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders: 1095–1131* (Cambridge, 1997), 64–5. But cf. Étienne Delaruelle, 'Essai sur la formation de l'idée de Croisade', in André Vauchez and Jean Richard (eds.), *L'Idée de croisade au Moyen Âge* (Turin, 1980), 3–19; Paul Alphandéry and Alphonse Dupront, *La Chrétienté et l'idée de croisade*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1954), i. 51–2; Barton Sholod, 'Charlemagne: Symbolic Link between the Eighth and Eleventh Century Crusades', in *Studies in Honor of M. J. Bernadete* (New York, 1965), 33–46; and Paul Rousset, *Les Origines et les caractéres de la Premiére Croisade* (New York, 1978), 41.

[41] Hannes Möhring, 'Benzo von Alba und die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens', in Karl Borchardt and Enno Bunz (eds.), *Forschungen zur Reichs-, Papst- und Landesgeschichte: Peter Herde zum 65. Geburtstag von Freunden, Schülern und Kollegen dargebracht* (Stuttgart, 1998), 177–86; idem,

But, given how Frankish identity was understood in other ninth-, tenth-, and eleventh-century sources—how a collective Frankish identity seems to have survived throughout the eleventh-century West—does this conclusion still hold water? Was there a language of Frankishness implicit in the call put out by Urban II (1088–99) in 1095? Can that help us to explain why papal calls to holy war went out three times in the eleventh century but only this one translated ideas into action, resulting in an army marching eastwards towards Jerusalem?

In 1009, the Fatimid Caliph al-Hakim ordered the destruction of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem and began persecuting Christians throughout his realm. The Latin chroniclers who recorded the event spoke of portents in the heavens similar to those found in the book of Revelation, implied that al-Hakim was the antichrist, and noted the first violent persecution of Jewish communities in the West. Sometime shortly thereafter, Pope Sergius IV (1009–12) responded to the destruction of the Holy Sepulcher by issuing a call for Western Christians to take up arms and travel to Jerusalem.[44] Alexander Gieysztor, writing shortly after

---

Der Weltkaiser der Endzeit: Entstehung, Wandel und Wirkung einer tausendjährigen Weissagung (Stuttgart, 2000), 157, 165–7; and Jean Flori, *La Guerre sainte: La Formation de l'idée de croisade dans l'Occident chrétien* (Paris, 2001), 30–3, 152–8, 228, 313.

[42] Marcus Bull, 'Overlapping and Competing Identities in the Frankish First Crusade', in *Concile de Clermont de 1095 et l'appel à Croisade: Actes du Colloque Universitaire International de Clermont-Ferrand (23–5 Juin 1995) organisé et publié avec le concours du Conseil Régional d'Auvergne* (Rome, 1997), 195–211; Michel Balard, '*Gesta Dei per Francos*: L'Usage du mot "Francs" dans les chroniques de la première Croisade', in Michel Rouche (ed.), *Clovis, histoire et mémoire* (Paris, 1997), 473–84. On the reworking of the narrative of the First Crusade among these second-generation historians, see Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (Philadelphia, 1986), 135–52; and now Jay Rubenstein, *The First Crusade and the End of Time*, forthcoming. My thanks to Jay for letting me see several chapters of his work in draft form.

[43] See, for instance, Alan V. Murray, 'Questions of Nationality in the First Crusade', *Medieval History*, 1 (1991), 64; Bernd Schneidmüller, *Nomen Patriae: Die Entstehung Frankreichs in der politisch-geographischen Terminologie (10–13. Jahrhundert)* (Sigmaringen, 1987), 106–24; and Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950–1350* (London, 1994), 101–5, quotation at 102. This assessment of what language the Byzantines and Muslims used to describe Westerners is due for revisitation.

[44] On apocalyptic interpretations of the event, see Daniel F. Callahan, 'The Cross, the Jews, and the Destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in the Writings of Ademar of Chabannes', in Michael Frassetto (ed.), *Christian Attitudes Toward the Jews in the Middle Ages: A Casebook* (New York,

the Second World War, cast doubt on the document's authenticity, arguing that it originated at the abbey of Moissac in Aquitaine, created during Urban II's preaching tour of Francia in 1095–6. Gieysztor's analysis has been followed by virtually every crusade historian since. John France, for example, has argued that the destruction of the Holy Sepulcher in the early eleventh century quickly 'passed out of human memory' in the West.[45]

We must reassess this conclusion. In the 1930s, Carl Erdmann did excellent work to contextualize Sergius' encyclical within a larger field of papal-Italian actions against the Muslims of North Africa, Sicily, Sardinia, and southern Francia. More recently, Hans Martin Schaller has rebutted Gieysztor point-by-point to show the document's authenticity, and Herbert Kessler and Johanna Zacharias have discussed Sergius' commission of a series of frescos for St Paul's Outside the Walls in Rome. The scenes of Gethsemane, Christ bearing the Cross, the Deposition, and the Marys at the Tomb all show the importance Sergius seems to have placed on the service Christians owed to Jesus and thus illustrate Sergius' language of service to Christ that echo throughout his encyclical.[46]

The text itself begins with a brief christological meditation: how Jesus saved man from the devil's grip, how he trod the earth in Jerusalem, and how some pilgrims have honored their Lord by journeying to the East. Then, the encyclical quickly moves on to lament the destruction of the Holy Sepulcher, an event unprecedented in sacred history. Sergius had never read,

> not in the writings of the prophets, or the psalms, or in any doctor of the church—that the tomb of the redeemer would be destroyed, but rather that it would stand till the end of time. For it is made clear through the prophet: '[Christ's] tomb shall be glorious forever [Isaiah 11: 10 and Genesis 13: 15].' Therefore . . . , I myself . . . desire to set sail with all the Romans, that is Italians, and Tuscans, and any other Christian who wishes to go with us to the people of Hagar . . . , since I desire to kill them all and wish to restore the unharmed holy tomb of the redeemer.

2007), 15–23; and Richard Landes, 'The Massacres of 1010: On the Origins of Popular Anti-Jewish Violence in Western Europe', in Jeremy Cohen (ed.), *From Witness to Witchcraft: Jews and Judaism in Medieval Christian Thought* (Wiesbaden, 1996), 79–112.

[45] Alexander Gieysztor, 'The Genesis of the Crusades: The Encyclical of Sergius IV (1009–12)', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, 5–6 (1948–50), 3–23, 3–34; John France, 'The Destruction of Jerusalem and the First Crusade', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* 47 (1996), 10–14; and idem, 'Le Rôle de Jérusalem dans la piété du XI^{e} siècle', in Michel Balard and Alain Ducellier (eds.), *Le Partage du monde: Échange et colonisation dans la Méditerranée médiévale* (Paris, 1998), 153. Many arguments against the encyclical's authenticity appear rather tautological, supposing that the apocalyptic and christomimetic spirituality expressed was also expressed at the end of the 11th cent. and so must date to this later period.

[46] Carl Erdmann, 'Die Aufrufe Gerberts und Sergius IV. für das heilige Land', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken,* 27 (1931–2), 16–19; Hans Martin Schaller, 'Zur Kreuzzugsenzyklika Papst Sergius' IV', in Hubert Mordek (ed.), *Papsttum, Kirche und Recht im Mittelalter: Festschrift für Horst Fuhrmann zum 65. Geburtstag* (Tübingen, 1991), 135–49; Martin Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ* (Stroud, 1999), 76; Colin Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West: From the Beginning to 1600* (Oxford, 2005), 135–7; and Herbert L. Kessler and Johanna Zacharias, *Rome 1300: On the Path of the Pilgrim* (New Haven, Conn., 2000), 172–3. Jean Flori, however, remains ambivalent. Jean Flori, *L'Islam et la fin des temps: L'Interprétation prophétique des invasions musulmanes dans la chrétienté médiévale* (Paris, 2007), 229–32.

The text then closes with a meditation on the debt that Jesus paid for man's sins and, consequently, the debt that his followers owe to him. So, let there be peace everywhere and let all those who wish to fight the 'Lord's battle' join Sergius and the Italians on this expedition.[47]

Sergius' project never got off the ground. He called specifically for this to be an Italian expedition, adding only on a sidebar that any other Christian who wished could join them. Yet, the early eleventh-century papacy was not in a particularly strong position, either politically or spiritually, to unite the feuding Italian maritime cities in common cause for such a grand undertaking. Moreover, we do not know anything about Sergius IV's efforts to promote his expedition. He may not have even made one. His message sounds like it was aimed more towards the cure of his audience's souls than sustained military action. It reads like a sermon rather than a letter.[48] Indeed, the fighting here seems peripheral to his main point. Jerusalem and the Muslims are barely there. After noting the destruction of the Holy Sepulcher, Sergius never mentions Jerusalem again and he notes the Muslims only thrice, calling them differently each time: pagans, descendants of Hagar, and enemies of God. Instead, the majority of the text dwells on Jesus' role in saving his followers from the devil's grasp. Follow the Lord, resist the devil's wiles, maintain the peace. Contemporaries, such as Ælfric of Eynsham (d. 1010) and Wulfstan of York (d. 1023), structured their sermons similarly. Apocalyptic expectation spurred by the arrival of a marauding force (here, the Muslims; in England, the Vikings) is redirected towards personal repentance.[49] Sergius may well have intended the same.

The expedition Pope Gregory VII (1073–85) proposed to help the Byzantines was conceptualized differently. A letter from early 1074, addressed to Count William I of Burgundy (d. 1087), urged William to come to Rome, strike fear into the hearts of the Normans of Southern Italy and then 'cross to Constantinople to bring aid to Christians who are grievously afflicted by . . . the Saracens'.[50] In March 1074, Gregory put out a general summons to aid the Byzantine empire. In April, he chided Godfrey IV of Lower Lorraine (d. 1076) for not following through on his promise to provide aid in this matter. Although the expedition had been postponed by September 1074, with Gregory assuring Count William VI of Poitou (d. 1086) that the 'Christians have thus far repelled the savagery of the pagans', the plan was back on, though slightly modified, by December 1074. Now the pope himself would lead an army of 50,000 strong to the East and against the enemies of God, pushing even as far as the Holy Sepulcher. Care for the *ecclesia* would remain in the hands of Emperor Henry IV.[51] The optimism did not last and Gregory's plan had fizzled by January 1075.[52]

---

[47] 'nunquam legimus neque per prophetam neque per psalmistam neque per doctorem sepulchrum redemptoris destructum fuisse, sed usque in finem permansisse. Sed per prophetam manifestatur: Et erit sepulchrum eius gloriosum usque in sempiternum. . . . Igitur . . . quia ego . . . per memetipsum cupio pergere ex marino litore, et omnes Romani seu Itali cum Tuscis vel qualiscumque Christianus nobiscum volunt pergere ad gentem Agarenam . . . , cum omnes hostiliter desidero interficere et sanctum redemptoris sepulchrum volo restaurare incolume.' Sergius IV, *Cum nos pretioso*, ed. Hans Martin Schaller, in Mordek (ed.), *Papsttum, Kirche un Recht im Mittelalter*, 150–1.

[48] See the comments on genre and Sergius' encyclical in Morris, *Sepulchre of Christ*, 137.

[49] Sergius did seem to think his expedition to the East would be an apocalyptic moment. Because the Holy Sepulcher 'would stand until the end of time' and because it had now been destroyed by the Saracens, Sergius was saying that prophecy had been fulfilled. We must hasten to Jerusalem, slay the Muslims, restore the Holy Sepulcher, and help the end come. On Wulfstan and Ælfric, see Mary P. Richards, 'Wulfstan and the Millennium', in *Year 1000*, 43–6. For example, see Wulfstan, *Sermo ad Anglos*, in *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. Dorothy Bethurum (Oxford, 1957), 267–75.

[50] 'Speramus etiam . . . transeamus Constantinopolim in adiutorium christianorum, qui nimium afflicti creberrimis morsibus Saracenorum inianter flagitant, ut sibi manum nostri auxilii porrigamus.' *Gregori VII Registrum*, ed. Erich Caspar, MGH Epist. sel. (Berlin, 1920–23), 2/1: 1. 46. English tr. in *The Register of Pope Gregory VII, 1073–85*, tr. H. E. J. Cowdrey (Oxford, 2002), 1. 46.

Gregory's ideas about this expedition to the East seem to have evolved throughout 1074. His first call early in the year seems to have simply been for soldiers to aid the Byzantine empire. His three letters of general summons followed the same contours and dwelt upon the audience's duty to aid their fellow Christians. By the end of 1074 though, the pope had decided to take charge of the expedition himself, to march at its head 'against the enemies of God and go as far as the sepulchre of the Lord'. He would personally lead this army to the East, to help their Christian brothers and return them to the bosom of Rome.[53] To this end, he referred to Eastern Christians as the West's *fratres*,[54] as part of the *gens christiana*,[55] and as subject to a more universal Christian *imperium*.[56]

This was provocative language, going back to the ninth century. The *gens* (or *populus*) *christianus* were those over whom Frankish rulers once watched and those who would, according to Adso Dervensis, be subject to universal *imperium christianum* under the Last Emperor. These stark, apocalyptic terms were matched by Gregory's language towards his enemies. Initially, they were *Saraceni* or a *gens paganorum*[57] but towards the end of 1074, as his proposed expedition was taking shape, the enemies had become *inimicos Dei* and *membra diaboli*.[58] Gregory, however, did not sustain this language and the apocalyptic urgency of the situation in the East seems to have eased (in his mind) by early 1075.[59] Gregory, for instance, was more anodyne in his letters referencing Southern Italian Muslims and was positively nice when he wrote to the North African Emir an-Nasir in late 1076.[60]

---

[51] *Gregori VII Registrum*, ed. Caspar, 2/1: 1. 49; 1. 72; and 2. 3, 2. 31, 2. 37; respectively. See also, Pope Gregory VII, *Epistolae Vagantes,* ed. H. E. J. Cowdrey (Oxford, 1972), no. 5.

[52] *Gregori VII Registrum*, ed. Caspar, 2/1: 2. 49 where Gregory is lamenting the state of affairs to Abbot Hugh of Cluny. See also the analysis in H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII, 1073–85* (Oxford, 1998), 485.

[53] Gregory was likely thinking of leading the *milites sancti Petri*. See Erdmann, *Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, esp. chs. 5–7; Delaruelle, 'Essai sur la formation', 79–96; I. S. Robinson, 'Gregory VII and the Soldiers of Christ', *History*, 58 (1973), 161–92; Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, esp. ch. 5; and Flori, *Guerre sainte*, esp. chs. 6–7; among many others.

[54] *Gregori VII Registrum*, ed. Caspar, 2/1: 1. 49, 2. 31, and 2. 37.

[55] Ibid. 2. 31; and 1. 46, 1. 49, 2. 3, and 2. 31.

[56] Ibid. 1. 49.

[57] Ibid. 1. 46; and 1. 49, 2. 3, 2. 31; respectively.

[58] Ibid. 2. 31; and 2. 37, 2. 49; respectively.

[59] See H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Pope Gregory VII's "Crusading" Plans of 1074', in B. Z. Kedar, H. E. Mayer and R. C. Smail (eds.), *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Jerusalem, 1982), 38–40; and Paul Magdalino, 'Prophecies on the Fall of Constantinople', in Angeliki E. Laiou (ed.), *Urbs Capta: The Fourth Crusade and its Consequences* (Paris, 2005), 41–53.

[60] Cowdrey thought Gregory VII reserved his incendiary language for the Seljuks in Asia Minor. See Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, 489–94. I don't agree. See below.

Why these sudden shifts? A staid military expedition became a cosmic battle between good and evil, which then became, well, nothing. But perhaps there was no shift. Perhaps he had not changed; the enemy had. Gregory displaced his incendiary language, moving it from East to West. As a man who saw the devil constantly at work in the world around him, he believed his pontificate was witnessing a moment of cosmic struggle against the forces of evil. But the devil worked in two ways, killing Christians through his agents and creating new allies by pulling men from the true faith. This latter movement, closer to home, began to consume Gregory's thoughts beginning in 1075–6. The partisans of Henry IV, these 'false Christians', were now a more pressing threat—newly revealed *membra antichristi* who tormented the *ecclesia* (the community of all Christians) from within.[61]

Although a military adventure to the East may have been at the center of Gregory VII's priorities in 1074, the campaign quickly lost steam. Part of the reason must have had to do with Gregory warming to the Normans and so backing away from his relationship with the emperors Henry IV and Michael VII (1071–8).[62] As he passed through 1075, Gregory was torn 'between a world that was about to end with Rome, Constantinople and Jerusalem united in a single, united *res publica*, and a world that could not end until they were reunited under the authority of St. Peter'.[63] But first things first. Constantinople and the plight of the Eastern Christians retreated to the background as a new, more dangerous enemy, emerged closer to home.

Odo, later Pope Urban II (1088–99), was born *c.*1035 not far from Châtillon-sur-Marne, in the archdiocese of Reims and the county of Champagne, possibly to the family of the lords of Lagéry. He studied at Reims under Bruno of Cologne, later founder of Chartreuse, and became an archdeacon at Reims *c.*1050. He remained an archdeacon until *c.*1067, when he entered the monastery of Cluny, eventually rising to the rank of prior. Around 1080, he was sent to Rome and ended up remaining there. Gregory VII elevated Odo to the cardinal-bishopric of Ostia shortly thereafter and he remained in that position until 1088, when he was elected to the papacy after the death of Victor III (1086–88).[64]

During 1095–6, roughly eighty-five years after Sergius IV put out his call and twenty years after Gregory VII, more than 100,000 people from across Europe (Figure 5.1), from all classes of society, left hearth and home in waves to walk

---

[61] See *Gregori VII Registrum*, ed. Caspar, 2/1: 4. 1, 4. 2, etc. In 1082, Gregory sketched out the war being fought between good and evil. Ibid. 2/2: 9. 21; and Gregory VII, *Epistolae Vagantes*, ed. Cowdrey, no. 54. See also, Karl Josef Benz, 'Eschatologie und Politik bei Gregor VII', *Studi Gregoriani,* 14 (1991), 1–20; H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'The Gregorian Papacy, Byzantium, and the First Crusade', *Byzantinische Forschungen,* 13 (1988), 155–6; and idem, *Pope Gregory VII*, 531–4.

[62] For an overview of the shifting diplomacy in this period involving the papacy, Normans, and Byzantium, see Jonathan Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades* (London, 2003), 46–7; and Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, 483–6.

[63] Paul Magdalino, 'Church, Empire and Christendom in c.600 and c.1075: The View from the Registers of Popes Gregory I and Gregory VII', in *Cristianita d'Occidente e cristianita d'Oriente (secoli VI–XI): 24–30 aprile 2003* (Spoleto, 2004), 28–30, quotation at 30.

[64] The essential discussion of Odo's biography is Alfons Becker, *Papst Urban II. (1088–99)*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1964–88), i. 24–90.

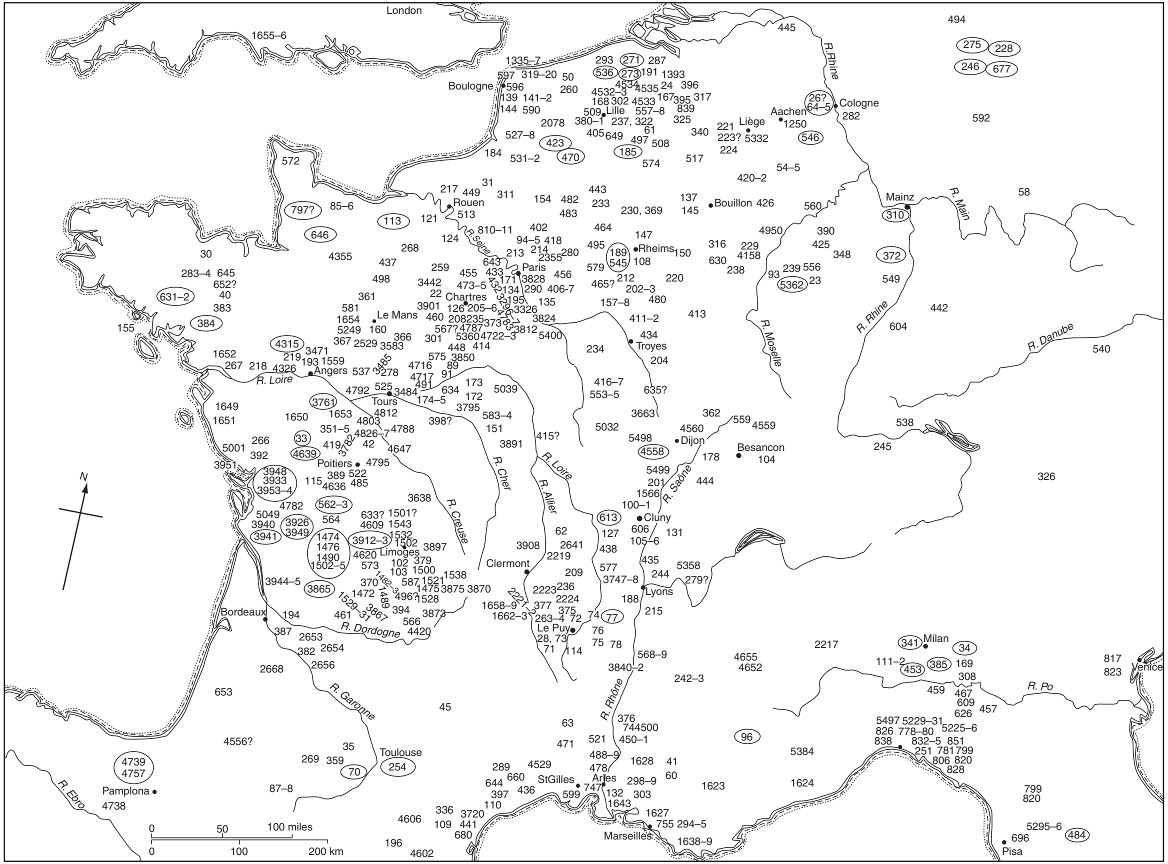
London
Boulogne
Lille
Liège
Aachen
Cologne
R. Rhine
Rouen
R. Seine
Paris
Rheims
Bouillon
Mainz
R. Main
Chartres
Le Mans
Troyes
R. Moselle
R. Rhine
R. Danube
Angers
R. Loire
Tours
Dijon
Besancon
Poitiers
R. Cher
R. Loire
R. Allier
R. Saône
R. Creuse
Cluny
Limoges
Clermont
Lyons
Bordeaux
R. Dordogne
Le Puy
Milan
Venice
R. Po
R. Garonne
R. Rhône
Toulouse
R. Ebro
Pamplona
StGilles
Arles
Marseilles
Pisa
N
0
50
100 miles
0
100
200 km

Figure 5.1. Map of recruitment to the First Crusade. Reprinted with permission from Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge, 1997).

several thousand miles to Palestine. Urban may have actually been planning some sort of armed expedition to the East for a number of years but the match that lit the bonfire was most likely struck in south-western Francia, at Clermont in November 1095.[65] We have three attendees who left us substantive accounts of Urban's crusade sermon. They are Fulcher, a canon of Chartres; Robert, a monk from somewhere around Reims; and Baudri, abbot of Bourgueil (in Anjou) and later archbishop of Dol.[66] Abbot Geoffrey of Vendôme and Hugh, a monk of Saint-Vannes of Verdun, then of Saint-Bénigne of Dijon, and later abbot of Flavigny, may also have attended.[67] Later, the anonymous Norman author of the *Gesta Francorum*, the Poitevin priest Peter Tudebode, and Guibert, monk of Saint-Germer of Fly and later abbot of Nogent-sous-Coucy, would write down versions of Urban's speech.[68] Although many have tried to reconstruct what Urban said from the surviving versions of his speech, in truth none of the above authors tell us much about what Urban said.

The very idea of an armed journey to the East in 1095 subjected each preacher, participant, and observer to 'a swarm of emotional and intellectual responses', the number and variety of which would only grow as independent preachers carried Urban's message outwards from Clermont.[69] Further, as discussed in Chapter 2, textual composition was linked to medieval mnemonic practice and as such was more interested in recording what ought to have been than *wie es eigentlich gewesen ist*.[70] Since all those who wrote versions of Urban's speech were writing after the capture of Jerusalem in 1099, intimately touched by the West's joy at the crusade's success, these writers explained the event's inception by its conclusion. They read the narrative of the First Crusade backwards, from the sack of Jerusalem to what they saw as the movement's beginning (in most cases, Urban's speech at Clermont). In this way, despite what we might think of as their proximity to objective fact, the 'eyewitness' versions of the speech are actually little different from those of the second-generation of crusade chroniclers. All of them sought, in the words of Guibert of Nogent, to capture the *intentio* of Urban's speech. And there is still more to confound modern attempts to reconstruct Urban's speech at Clermont. Not only intending to capture the *intentio* of the speech, our authors then sought to package this *intentio* into a sermon of their own composition.[71] So, to summarize, these authors, deeply affected by the call to crusade and the subsequent fall of Jerusalem, sought to explain what had happened by making an educated guess at Urban's mindset, but a guess filtered through their own historical and theological terms—and all this in the form of a model sermon. Cross-referencing the versions of Urban's speech, looking for common themes as Dana Munro famously did, probably alerts us to the fact that these authors understood the meaning of the crusade similarly, not that Urban did or didn't say something.[72]

---

[65] The expedition may have been in Urban's mind *c.*1090, when he mentioned his intention to journey into Francia. See Alfons Becker, 'Urbain II et l'Orient', in Francesco Babudri (ed.), *Il Concilio di Bari del 1098: Atti del convegno storico internazionale e celebrazioni del 9. centenario del concilio* (Bari, 1999), 123–44; Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, Mass., 2006), 66–83; Becker, *Papst Urban II.*, ii. 333–4, 379–81; Riley-Smith, *First Crusade*, 14–15; Carl Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, tr. Marshall Baldwin and Walter Goffart (Princeton, 1977), 319–28; among others. John Pryor has even put into doubt whether the Byzantines called for help at Piacenza. John H. Pryor, 'A View from the Masthead: The First Crusade from the Sea', *Crusades,* 7 (2008), 126 and n. 168.

[66] Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana (1095–1127)*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913); Robert of Reims, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, RHC Occ 3: 717–882; and Baudri of Dol, *Historia Jerosolimitana*, RHC Occ 4: 1–111. A research group around Marcus Bull hopes to soon put out new critical editions of the last two of these texts.

[67] Abbot Geoffrey of Vendôme mentioned his reaction to the speech in one of his letters. Hugh of Flavigny may have been with Abbot Jarento of Saint-Bénigne of Dijon, who was at the council. See Geoffrey of Vendôme, *Ad Odonem*, PL 157: 162–3; Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicon*, MGH SS 8: 474. On Hugh's career, see Patrick Healy, *The Chronicle of Hugh of Flavigny: Reform and the Investiture Contest in the Late Eleventh Century* (Burlington, Vt., 2006), 63–88.

[68] *Gesta Francorum*, ed. Hill, 1–2; Peter Tudebode, *Historia*, ed. Hill and Hill, 31–3; and Guibert, *Dei gesta per Francos*, ed. Huygens, 110–17. On the distinction between Peter and the *Gesta*, see Ch. 2 n. 97 above. It is possible too that Tudebode (a priest from Civray, near Poitiers and Charroux) was at Clermont or saw Urban elsewhere as he toured Francia.

[69] E. O. Blake, 'The Formation of the "Crusade Idea"', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* 20 (1970), 17; also Jean Flori, 'Une ou plusieurs "première croisade"? Le Message d'Urbain II et les plus anciens pogroms d'Occident', *Revue Historique,* 285 (1991), 22–6; idem, *Guerre sainte*, 17, 19; Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'Christian Violence and the Crusades', in Anna Sapir Abulafia (ed.), *Religious Violence between Christians and Jews: Medieval Roots, Modern Perspectives* (New York, 2002), 12–14; and the seminal H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Pope Urban II's Preaching of the First Crusade', in Thomas F. Madden (ed.), *The Crusades: Essential Readings* (Oxford, 2002), 16.

[70] See Ch. 2, at nn. 110–17.

Further complicating our understanding of Urban's role in the genesis of the First Crusade, we must recognize that we are not only talking about Clermont when we talk about the inception of the First Crusade. Urban spent much of 1095 and 1096 traveling around in order to promote his military expedition. He was in Tuscany, Lombardy, Provence, Languedoc, Burgundy, Nevers, the Auvergne, the Périgord, Aquitaine, the Poitou, Anjou, Maine, Blois, and Gascony (Figure 5.2). Before he even crossed the Alps, he was in Rome, Pisa, Pistoia, Florence, Cremona, and Piacenza. He held a major assembly at Clermont and councils at Piacenza, Nîmes, and Tours, and spent Christmas at Limoges. He sent legates from all these assemblies back to their dioceses to preach. His numerous stops at monasteries and cathedrals must have attracted sizeable crowds from near and far.[73] (It wasn't every day that a pope came to visit.) It is hard to gauge who attended these smaller gatherings but we do know something about who came to Clermont. Clermont was huge: eighty bishops and perhaps thirteen archbishops, more than forty abbots, a number (though not necessarily a large one) of laymen, delegations from absent ecclesiastics, such as the archbishop of Rouen, each with sizeable entourages, and of course the

---

[71] Guibert, *Dei gesta per Francos*, ed. Huygens, 111; and Penny J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusade to the Holy Land, 1095–1270* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), ch. 1.

[72] Marcus Bull, 'Views of Muslims and of Jerusalem in Miracle Stories, c.1000–c.1200: Reflections on the Study of the First Crusaders' Motivations', in Marcus Bull and Norman Housley (eds.), *The Experience of Crusading*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 2001), i. 22. Some, however, still think it worth trying to reconstruct his speech. See Christoph T. Maier, 'Konflikt und Kommunikation: Neues zum Kreuzzugsaufruf Urbans II', in Dieter Bauer, Klaus Herbers, and Nikolas Jaspert (eds.), *Jerusalem in Hoch- und Spätmittelalter: Konflikte und Konfliktbewältigung-Vorstellungen und Vergegenwärtigungen* (Frankfurt, 2001), 13–30; Thomas Asbridge, *The First Crusade: A New History* (Oxford, 2004), 31–9; Flori, *L'Islam et la fin des temps*, 276; and most famously Dana C. Munro, 'The Speech of Urban II at Clermont', *American Historical Review,* 11 (1906), 231–40.

[73] The best reconstruction of Urban's Frankish itinerary is still Becker, *Papst Urban II.*, ii. 435–57. Becker leaves out the Italian part of Urban's itinerary though.

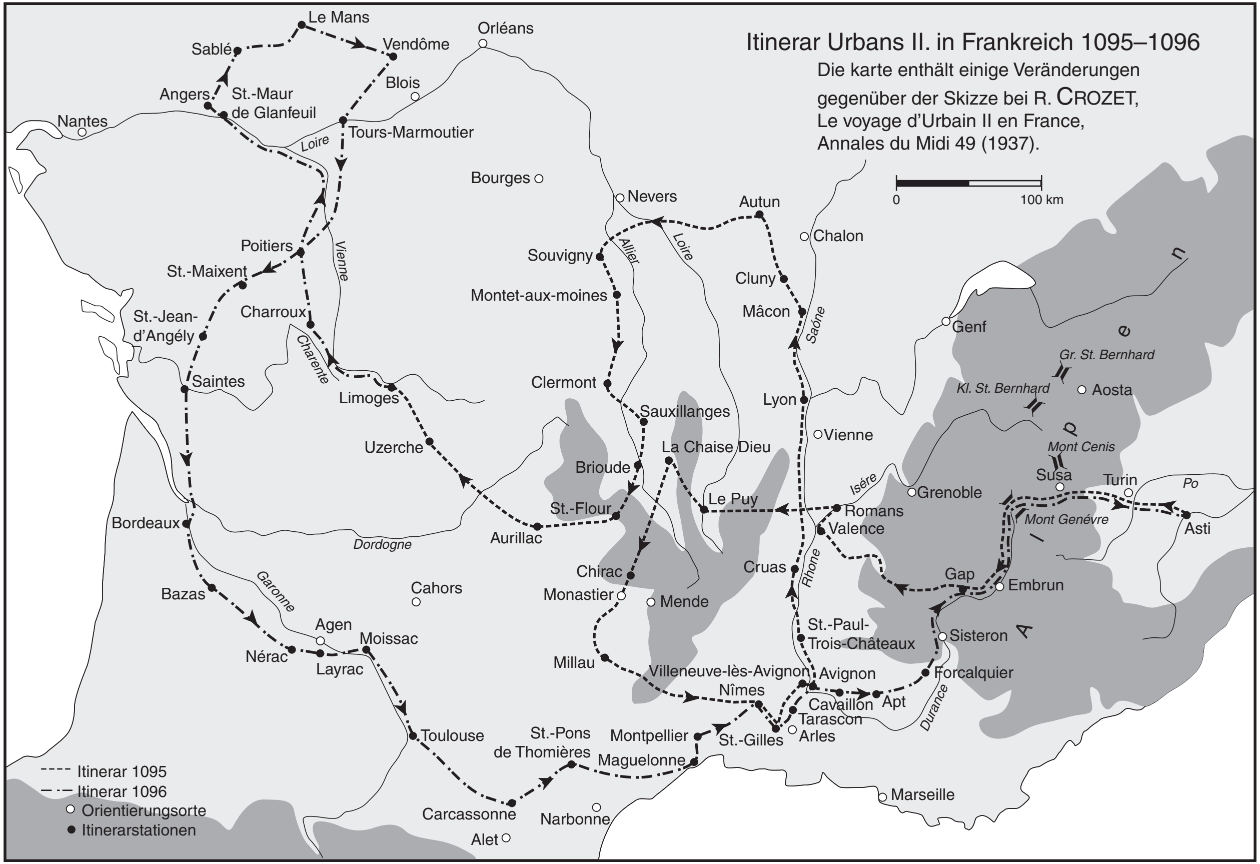
Itinerar Urbans II. in Frankreich 1095–1096
Die karte enthält einige Veränderungen gegenüber der Skizze bei R. CROZET, Le voyage d'Urbain II en France, Annales du Midi 49 (1937).
0
100 km
Le Mans
Vendôme
Orléans
Sablé
Blois
Angers
St.-Maur de Glanfeuil
Nantes
Tours-Marmoutier
Loire
Bourges
Nevers
Autun
Chalon
Poitiers
St.-Maixent
Vienne
Souvigny
Allier
Loire
Cluny
Mâcon
Saône
Montet-aux-moines
Charroux
St.-Jean-d'Angély
Charente
Genf
Gr. St. Bernhard
Aosta
Kl. St. Bernhard
Saintes
Limoges
Clermont
Lyon
Sauxillanges
Vienne
Mont Cenis
Uzerche
La Chaise Dieu
Brioude
Susa
Turin
Po
Isére
Grenoble
Le Puy
St.-Flour
Romans
Valence
Mont Genévre
Asti
Bordeaux
Aurillac
Dordogne
Cruas
Rhone
Gap
Embrun
Chirac
Bazas
Garonne
Cahors
Monastier
Mende
Agen
Moissac
St.-Paul-Trois-Châteaux
Sisteron
Nérac
Layrac
Millau
Villeneuve-lès-Avignon
Avignon
Forcalquier
Nîmes
Cavaillon
Apt
Durance
Tarascon
Arles
Toulouse
St.-Pons de Thomières
Montpellier
St.-Gilles
Maguelonne
Marseille
Carcassonne
Narbonne
Alet
A l p e n
Itinerar 1095
Itinerar 1096
○ Orientierungsorte
● Itinerarstationen

Figure 5.2. Map of Pope Urban II's preaching itinerary in Francia, 1095–96. Reprinted with permission from Alfons Becker, *Papst Urban II. (1088–1099)*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart, 1988).

papal entourage itself. They were by no means all from south-western Francia. They came from Provence and Aquitaine, but also Italy, Iberia, Normandy, Flanders, Lotharingia, Burgundy, Champagne, and the Île-de-France.[74] Other gatherings were probably similarly composed.

Then, all of these attendees, at all of these gatherings, took the message of an armed expedition to Jerusalem home with them and the message spread from there.[75] Urban wrote letters to those he never met with—men of Catalonia, Flanders, Bologna, and the monks of Vallombrosa. Legates preached the expedition in Pisa, Genoa, and Venice. A network of monks, canons, and village priests passed word along.[76] Archbishop Manasses II of Reims told his suffragans to push the message in their dioceses. Abbot Jarento of Saint-Bénigne, with Hugh of Flavigny, went to Normandy and England, eventually convincing Robert Curthose to join the expedition, and recruitment was indeed strong in Flanders, Normandy, and the Île-de-France.[77] King Philip I of Francia (1060–1108) met with legate Archbishop Hugh of Lyons at Mozac just before Clermont and, likely informed about the crusade plans, went back to Paris to convoke a council of war with his brother, Hugh of Vermandois. Urban personally asked Count Fulk of Anjou to join the expedition when he visited Fulk and likely spoke directly with Count Raymond of Saint-Gilles as well.[78] There was heavy interest in the Rhineland, even though there is no evidence that anyone from that region met with Urban along his itinerary.[79] Peter the Hermit preached the expedition but did not attend Clermont.[80]

---

[74] See the list in Robert Somerville, 'The Council of Clermont (1095) and Latin Christian Society', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae,* 12 (1974), 62–80. Somerville also notes that we can only definitively place about 40% (50/80+) bishops who attended and that we know little of their retinues, which were certainly quite large and composed of numerous other churchmen. It may have been in these retinues that the crusade chroniclers Fulcher of Chartres and Robert of Reims attended Clermont.

[75] Marcus Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony, c.970–c.1130* (Oxford, 1993), 258–9; Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 75–6; and Tyerman, *God's War*, 76–81. Robert Somerville, however, has suggested that overall clerical interest in the crusade may have been slight, hence the relatively few mentions of the expedition in conciliar decrees. See Robert Somerville, 'The Council of Clermont and the First Crusade', *Studia Gratiana,* 20 (1976), 325.

[76] Pryor, 'View from the Masthead', 89; Marcus Bull, 'The Roots of Lay Enthusiasm for the First Crusade', *History,* 78 (1993), 361–3.

[77] Patrick Demouy, 'L'Église de Reims et la croisade aux XI^{e}-XII^{e} siècles', in Yvonne Bellenger and Danielle Quérel (eds.), *Les Champenois et la croisade: Actes des quatrièmes journées rémoises, 27–8 novembre 1987* (Paris, 1989), 24; and Healy, *Chronicle of Hugh of Flavigny*, 70–2. See also the brief discussion in Matthew Gabriele, 'The Provenance of the *Descriptio qualiter Karolus Magnus*: Remembering the Carolingians at the Court of King Philip I (1060–1108) before the First Crusade', *Viator,* 39 (2008), 115–16.

[78] Augustin Fliche, *Le règne de Philippe I^{er}, roi de France (1060–1108)* (Paris, 1912), 58–9. On the council of war, see Guibert, *Dei gesta per Francos*, ed. Huygens, 133–4; and the comments of Marcus Bull, 'The Capetian Monarchy and the Early Crusade Movement: Hugh of Vermandois and Louis VII', *Nottingham Medieval Studies,* 50 (1996), 34. On Fulk, see Fulk le Réchin, *Fragmentum Historiae Andegavensis*, in *Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou et des seigneurs d'Amboise*, ed. Louis Halphen and René Poupardin (Paris, 1913), 237–8. On Raymond, see the summary of the scholarship in Asbridge, *First Crusade*, 44–6.

[79] Matthew Gabriele, 'Against the Enemies of Christ: The Role of Count Emicho in the Anti-Jewish Violence of the First Crusade', in Michael Frassetto (ed.), *Christian Attitudes towards Jews in the Middle Ages: A Casebook* (New York, 2006), 61–82; and Flori, 'Une ou plusieurs "première croisade"?', 3–27.

[80] Jean Flori, *Pierre l'Ermite et la Première Croisade* (Paris, 1999); and Jay Rubenstein, 'How, or How Much, to Reevaluate Peter the Hermit?', in Susan Ridyard (ed.), *The Medieval Crusade* (Rochester, NY, 2004), 53–69.

We may be able to get a better sense of the message these people heard if we use Urban's letters. His letter to the people of Flanders, probably written in late 1095, asked them to help stop the 'barbaric madness' that had 'laid waste the churches of God'. Therefore, Urban said that he had asked the *principes* of Gaul to hasten to liberate the churches of the East.[81] In another letter, written slightly later, Urban attempted to discourage some Catalonian nobles from going to the East by linking the struggles against the Saracens in both Iberia and Asia, writing that the whole *populus Christi* benefited from their actions to resettle Tarragona. The Catalan nobility should remain in Iberia because 'it is of no virtue to rescue Christians from the Saracens in one place, only to expose them to the tyranny and oppression of the Saracens in another'. Both those who aided Tarragona and those who aided the churches of Asia would be equal in God's eyes.[82] A 1096 letter to Urban's supporters in Bologna praised them for their steadfastness in the face of so many schismatics and heretics (supporters of Henry IV and the anti-pope). Therefore Urban was heartened to hear that many of them had decided to go to Jerusalem in order to liberate the churches there.[83] A fourth letter told the monks of Vallombrosa, on the other hand, to stay home. It was not for monks but for soldiers to make 'for Jerusalem with the good intention of liberating Christianity. . . . [It is they who will] restrain the savagery of the Saracens by their arms and restore the Christians to their former freedom.'[84]

Even here, we must remain conscious of just how problematic these letters are.[85] Overall, there are few common points among them. This is itself an important point. Urban knew his audiences and seems to have pitched the project accordingly. To those in Flanders, who may well have known of Count Robert I's (d. 1093) recent pilgrimage to Jerusalem and meeting with the Byzantine emperor, Urban could subtly echo an earlier Byzantine request to Robert for military help. Urban's Flemish audience may have also known of Emperor Alexius' supposed letter, which may have been a later Latin version of an oral Greek message that reached Flanders *c.*1091.[86] This redacted letter, in a much more verbose manner, repeated many of

---

[81] Urban II, *Ad omnes fideles in Flandria*, in *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088–1100*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Innsbruck, 1901), no. 2.

[82] 'Neque enim uirtutuis est alibi a Saracenis christianos eruere, alibi christianos Saracenorum tyrannidi oppressionique exponere.' *Papsturkunden in Katalanien*, ed. Paul Kehr, Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen (Berlin, 1926), no. 23.

[83] Urban II, *Ad Bononienses*, in *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe*, ed. Hagenmeyer, no. 3.

[84] 'Nos enim ad hanc expeditionem militum animos instigauimus, qui armis suis Saracenorum feritatem declinare et christianorum possint libertati pristinae restituere.' *Papsturkunden in Florenz*, ed. W. Wiederhold, Nachrichten von der Königlischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen (Göttingen, 1901), no. 6.

[85] Leaving aside the fact that, as John Pryor reminds us, the three most often cited letters (to the Flemish, Bolognese, and Vallombrosans) only survive in 18th-cent. copies. John H. Pryor, 'Review of Norman Housley: *Contesting the Crusades*', *Journal of Religious History,* 33 (2009), 115.

[86] On this journey, see Charles Verlinden, *Robert Ier le Frison, comte de Flandre* (Paris, 1935), 151–9. Although most scholars think the letter to be false, François-Louis Ganshof suggested that Emperor Alexius asked for some military help but thought it unlikely—though not impossible—that the letter was genuine. See François-Louis Ganshof, 'Robert le Frison et Alexis Comnène', *Byzantion,* 31 (1961), 57–74; Michel de Waha, 'La Lettre d'Alexis I Comnène à Robert le Frison: Une revision', *Byzantion,* 47 (1977), 113–25; and Robert of Reims, *History of the First Crusade*, tr. Carol Sweetenham (Burlington, Vt., 2005), 215–18.

Urban's themes. The letter of Pseudo-Alexius called on the Flemish to rush to the defense of the *regnum christianorum*, the *populus Dei*, and the eastern churches, which were suffering mightily under the weight of pagan oppression.[87] The core of this message, repeated to Robert II of Flanders (d. 1111) by Urban II and (perhaps) Pseudo-Alexius, worked. In late 1096, shortly before his departure, Robert echoed many of these themes in a charter for Saint-Peter of Lille. Robert said that, at the behest of the papacy, he was leaving for Jerusalem in order to free the church of God from the oppression of the savage nations.[88]

Urban was quite familiar with the situation in Iberia and used language in his letter to the counts in Catalonia that they would have recognized. Almost immediately after ascending to the papal throne, Urban concerned himself with propping up the archbishopric of Toledo, recently restored in 1085, as well as the reconquest and restoration of the lost archbishopric of Tarragona, a city about fifty-seven miles south-west of Barcelona.[89] In his letter to the Catalonian counts, Urban strove to draw parallels between their current struggle in Iberia and his new expedition to the East. For instance, Urban's missives directed to those in Iberia, including the one at the time of the First Crusade, often used the term 'Saracen' to describe the enemy. This is particularly significant in the context of the First Crusade because, although Urban used *Saraceni* to refer to Muslims in his letters concerning Iberia and Italy (including his letter to the Vallombrosans), his letter to the Flemish calls the enemy a 'barbaric madness', while his letter to the Bolognese does not name the enemy at all.[90] In his letter to Catalonia, Urban rhetorically linked the battles in Iberia and Asia (and Italy) and said that the Catalonians needed to fight their battles closer to home.[91]

---

[87] Pseudo-Alexius, *Ad Robertum I comitem Flandrensem*, in *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe*, ed. Hagenmeyer, no. 1. English tr. in Einar Joranson, 'The Problem of the Spurious Letter of Emperor Alexius to the Count of Flanders', *American Historical Review,* 55 (1949), 812–15.

[88] 'auctoritate apostolice sedis promulgato, iturus Jherusolimam, ad liberandam Dei ecclesiam diu a feris nationibus conculcatam.' *Actes des comtes de Flandre, 1071–128,* ed. Fernand Vercauteren (Brussels, 1938), no. 20. Note that Count Fulk of Anjou, however, got a similar message (directly from Urban himself) and did not go. See above at n. 78.

[89] The best account of Urban's interest in Tarragona remains the unpublished Lawrence J. McCrank, 'Restoration and Reconquest in Medieval Catalonia: The Church and Principality of Tarragona, 971–1177' (Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1974). Ingrid Ringel has suggested that Urban encountered Iberian texts and ideas while still at Cluny. See Ingrid Heike Ringel, '*Ipse transfert regna et mutat tempora*: Beobachtungen zur Herkunft von Dan. 2,21 bei Urban II', in Ernst-Dieter Hehl, Hubertus Siebert, and Franz Staab (eds.), *Deus qui mutat tempora: Menschen und Institutionen im Wandel des Mittelalters* (Sigmaringen, 1987), 137–56; and Becker, *Papst Urban II.*, ii. 285–9. I will be revisiting some of her conclusions in Matthew Gabriele, 'The Rhetoric of Reconquest: Pope Urban II and the *Populus Christianus*', forthcoming.

[90] e.g. Urban II, *Ad Bernardo archiepiscopo Toletano*, PL 151: 288–9; idem, *Ad Ildefonsum Galleciae regem*, PL 151: 289–90; idem, *Ad proceres provinciae Tarraconensis*, PL 151: 303; idem, *Ad Berengarium Ausonensem episcopum*, PL 151: 332–3; and idem, *Ad Petrum Oscensem episcopum*, PL 151: 504–6.

[91] On this connection, but without mention of the different language deployed by Urban for the First Crusade, see Becker, *Papst Urban II.*, ii. 333–72; also William J. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c.1095–c.1187* (Rochester, NY, 2008), 123–6. Urban explicitly drew a parallel between the two fronts in Iberia and Asia again in 1098. See Urban II, *Ad Petrem Oscensem*, PL 151: 504.

Urban flipped this idea of near versus far when he wrote his two letters to the Bolognese and monks of Vallombrosa, undoing some of the work that Gregory VII had done, probably because both places were intimately involved with the heated politics of the Investiture Contest. In both instances, Urban's letters focused on the *libertas ecclesiae*. Bologna, near Ravenna, was firmly in the Salian camp under Bishop Sigefried (d. 1086) but things began to change after his death and the city began to move more towards the papacy, especially under Bishop Bernard (d. 1104), who was close to Matilda of Tuscany and Urban II.[92] The monastery of Vallombrosa had vigorously defended ecclesiastical reform since its foundation in the early eleventh century. Gregory VII, for example, helped the monks reject the simoniacal bishop of Florence and then commended them for their actions after he became pope. Urban later took the monastery under his protection.[93] In his letters to these Italian locations, Urban reversed what Gregory VII had done, moving the focus from West to East. Although he did not want the monks of Vallombrosa to go to Jerusalem, Urban did want them to urge on others (like the men of Bologna).[94] Just as Christians were struggling for their liberty against heretics and schismatics in Italy, the crusaders would work towards the same end against the pagans in the East.

It certainly matters what was said at Clermont, at other papal gatherings in Francia and northern Italy, and in Urban's letters. Urban's message of novelty blending with tradition, the new with the familiar, allowed the core of his message to take hold.[95] Like Sergius IV's encyclical, Urban's letters focused on how peace must precede the expedition, how its endpoint would be Jerusalem, and how necessary it was to strike back against the pagans who had trampled on the city. Like Gregory VII, Urban focused on the *libertas* of the *ecclesia* and its synonym, the *populus Christi*.[96] Unlike either of his predecessors though, Urban, at least initially, did not intend to lead this army eastwards; this was not an Italian expedition like that of Sergius, nor was it a papal expedition in the same way as Gregory's. The work of this project was left to others. Urban's intended audience would recreate a peace amongst themselves, return to East, destroy the enemies of Christ, protect the

---

[92] On the politics of Bologna, see Gerhard Schwartz, *Die Besetzung der Bistümer Reichsitaliens unter den sächsischen und salischen Kaisern: Mit den Listen der Bischöfe, 951–1122* (Berlin, 1913), 162–5. We should also remember that Bologna had a particular devotion to Jerusalem, with a series of structures throughout the city that replicated the sites of the Holy Land. See Ch. 3, at n. 29.

[93] Cowdrey, *Gregory VII*, 66–7; Kathleen G. Cushing, *Reform and the Papacy in the Eleventh Century: Spirituality and Social Change* (Manchester, 2005), 130–3; and Urban II, *Privilegium pro Vallumbrosanis*, PL 151: 322–4.

[94] Urban was not too successful at forbidding monks from joining the Crusade. For example, a letter of Urban's to the monastery of Saint-Gilles mentions that that abbot and some monks were journeying to Jerusalem and the abbot of Marmoutier seems to have abandoned his monastery to go as well. Anselm of Canterbury lamented the departure of the abbot of Cerne. Urban II, *Pro monasterio S. Aegidii*, PL 151: 478; Geoffrey, *Ad Odonem*, 162–3; and on Anselm, Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588* (Chicago, 1988), 18–19. On the monastic response to Urban's call generally, see the thoughtful analysis in Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, 12–58.

[95] Christopher Tyerman calls the message 'old wine in new bottles'. Unlike my conclusions though, Tyerman is thinking of a vintage only twenty or so years old. Tyerman, *God's War*, 57, 64–5.

[96] For Urban's attention to Christian *libertas*, see Becker, *Papst Urban II.*, ii. 333–71.

populus Christi, and return their brothers to union with the West. In the ears of an aristocracy that still thought of themselves as Franks, it was like *déjà vu*.

Not once, in any of his letters related to the First Crusade, did Urban mention Charlemagne or use the word 'Frank.' Moreover, we have to be careful, for the reasons outlined above, about trusting what Robert of Reims thought and Guibert of Nogent surmised about Urban using an explicit language of Frankishness. Regardless, the narrative Urban seems to have offered his audiences—the story of how this expedition would play out—fundamentally echoed eleventh-century understandings of Frankish *imperium* under Charlemagne. Urban's audiences would have recognized it as such. The attendees at Clermont and the recipients of Urban's letters, particularly those from SW Francia, Lombardy, Flanders, Lotharingia, Normandy, and around the Île-de-France, clung to their (oftentimes imagined) Frankish heritage through the eleventh century (see Figure 1.1). Indeed, ideas of Frankish identity, such as those explored in depth in previous chapters, pervade the narrative sources of the First Crusade.

While a cursory glance at contemporary sources of the First Crusade reveals that the crusaders were all too aware of their regional differences, the narrators of the First Crusade insisted that the army was a unified people and used the word 'Frank' more than any other to talk about themselves as a united Christian people.[97] Unsurprisingly, given their origins in West Francia and more specifically locations close to the Capetian heartland, an area filled in the late eleventh century with monastic and Capetian Frankish memory, the language of Frankishness overwhelms authors such as Baudri of Dol, Guibert of Nogent, and Robert of Reims. Guibert of Nogent believed that the impetus for the crusade came from Urban's awareness that pagans beset Christendom in Iberia as well as in the East. Those who would rescue universal Christendom would be the Franks, to whom, Guibert assured the reader, Urban explicitly directed his call.[98] In Urban's speech at Clermont, as recorded by Robert of Reims, Urban followed his litany of Muslim depredations and his exhortation to remember their predecessors Charlemagne and Louis the Pious with this rhetorical question addressed directly to the Franks: 'On whom therefore is the labor of avenging these wrongs and of recovering this territory incumbent, if not upon you?'[99]

But chroniclers outside of northern Francia, including the Norman authors Ralph of Caen and the anonymous compiler of the *Gesta Francorum*, the Poitevin Peter Tudebode, the Provençal Pons of Balazun and his Auvergnat co-author Raymond d'Aguiliers, and the Italian author of the *Montecassino Chronicle*, all used similar language.[100] The two Norman authors fit well within the previously outlined understanding of Frankishness begun by Dudo. Indeed, the *Gesta Francorum*'s anonymous compiler does something telling at the beginning of his account; he attributes the origins of the First Crusade to 'a great stirring of heart throughout all the regions of the Gauls . . . [and so when Urban's] words had begun to be rumored abroad through all the duchies and counties of the Gauls, the Franks immediately [responded] . . . And now they removed themselves from their homes in Gaul.'[101] Like Guy of Amiens had done when talking about the armies of William of Normandy, the *Gesta* drew a distinction. The land is Gaul, populated collectively by Gauls. The crusaders, however, are Franks. Ralph of Caen does much the same. In his preface, Ralph has Bohemond and Tancred reminiscing on the armies of victorious Franks as they marched eastwards. Later, repelling an attack from the Byzantines, Ralph describes Tancred's army as Franks, even though we might now think of them as Southern Italian Normans.[102] Here, the Franks are a people not defined by geography, but rather a group of different peoples becoming one, becoming the *gentes Francorum*, taking the appellation 'Frank' by virtue of their actions—just as we have seen done in the *ARF*, Notker the Stammerer, Dudo of Saint-Quentin, William of Jumièges, Guy of Amiens, and the Oxford *Roland*.

---

[97] We must note again that *Franci* did not mean 'French' here. See Peter Knoch, *Studien zur Albert von Aachen: Der erste Kreuzzug in der deutschen Chronistik* (Stuttgart, 1966), 92–3, 97–8, 107; Bull, 'Overlapping and Competing Identities', 195–211; and Balard, '*Gesta Dei per Francos*', 473–84.

[98] Guibert, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, ed. Huygens, 107–9.

[99] 'Quibus igitur ad hoc ulciscendum, ad hoc eripiendum labor incumbit, nisi vobis, quibus prae ceteris gentibus contulit Deus insigne deus armorum, magnitudinem animorum, agilitatem corporum, virtutem humiliandi verticem capilli vobis resistentium?' Robert of Reims, *Historia*, 728. English tr. from *First Crusade*, ed. Peters, 27.

Despite the fact that the men of the southern Francia were no keen admirers of those from the north during the crusade, these southerners were, if anything, more insistent than their counterparts in thinking of the crusaders as a united army of

---

[100] The exception is 'Albert' of Aachen, who generally used *Galli* to describe the crusading army and *Franci* for those from East Francia. Much like the Norman authors outlined above, the West Franks were *Francigeni*. See Colin Morris, 'The Aims and Spirituality of the First Crusade as seen through the Eyes of Albert of Aachen', *Reading Medieval Studies,* 16 (1990), 101–2; Susan Edgington, 'The First Crusade: Reviewing the Evidence', in Jonathan Phillips (ed.), *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact* (Manchester, 1997), 64; and Balard, '*Gesta Dei per Francos*', 478. There are a couple of reasons, however, why 'Albert' may have used different language. He may have been trying to claim the term for the Lotharingians, refighting the ideological battle over the term that was initially waged in the 840s. Second, paradoxically, Aachen was not a particular locus of devotion to the Charlemagne legend in the early 12th cent., likely because the chapel and palace were more important to Louis the Pious than Charlemagne and it was remembered as such (note its absence from Fig. 1.1). Finally, most scholars assume that Albert was a canon at the chapel of St Mary's in Aachen. But what if our author was not named 'Albert' (an Anglicization of 'Adalbert') but rather was a canon of Adalbert's church in Aachen. The one time the author mentions St Mary's, it is with some distance and we think his name was 'Albert' only because the name was appended to a relatively early stemma of manuscripts (*c.*1200). From the outset, St Adalbert's house looked eastwards, towards Bohemia, and the house may well have been populated by men from those lands. If so, this might explain the author's reluctance to think of himself as sharing a relationship with the West Franks. On the name 'Albert/Adalbert' in the manuscripts and the mention at St Mary's, see respectively Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, ed. and tr. Susan B. Edgington (Oxford, 2007), pp. xxiii, 448. On Aachen, see Robert Jeuckens, *Stift und Pfarre St. Adalbert in Aachen* (Aachen, 1951); McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, 157–8; and Theo Riches, 'The Carolingian Capture of Aachen in 978 and its Historiographical Footprint', in Paul Fouracre and David Ganz (eds.), *Frankland: The Franks and the World of the Early Middle Ages* (Manchester, 2008), 207–8.

[101] 'facta est igitur motio ualida per uniuersas *Galliarum* regiones . . . Cumque iam hic sermo paulatim per uniuersas regiones ac *Galliarum* patrias coepisset crebrescere, *Franci* audientes talia protinus in dextra crucem suere scapula . . . Iamiamque *Galliae* suis remotae sunt domibus.' *Gesta Francorum*, ed. Hill, 1–2; emphasis added.

[102] Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, 603, 608.

Franks. For instance, the Poitevin Peter Tudebode used the term 'Franks' more often than the Norman author of the *Gesta*, and the Italian *Montecassino Chronicle* at least replicated the number of times the *Gesta* invoked the army's collective Frankish identity.[103] Pons and Raymond generally avoided using generic descriptive terms for the army while it passed through the Balkans. When the crusaders reached Nicaea, however, and the various crusading armies were finally united, the language of Frankishness emerged and the crusaders became an *exercitus Francorum*, composed of the *gentes Francorum*. For example, the co-authors have Godfrey of Bouillon urging Count Raymond of Saint-Gilles into battle for the glory of God and their *shared* descent from the Franks. At Antioch, during the combat against Kerbogha, the *gentes Francorum* fought to honor their shared heritage and prove, by Frankish victory, that God honored his covenant with his people.[104] The Franks once more held God's favor and the chosen people had reclaimed their special place in sacred history.

The chroniclers of the First Crusade shared a common intellectual tradition. Being a Frank was something you earned by being a warrior, allowing you to participate in a common heritage and a common future. This is why it is entirely understandable that Pons and Raymond could have speakers invoke a shared heritage as the *gentes Francorum* in order to spur them on to battle, why those who responded to Urban's call could be called Franks according to the Norman *Gesta Francorum*, and why Ralph of Caen compared Robert of Flanders and Hugh of Vermandois at the battle of Dorylaeum to Roland and Oliver.[105]

References to a common Frankish heritage among those who participated in the First Crusade could also be more implicit than explicit. The *Annales Augustani* described the First Crusade as an amazing and unheard-of expedition with participants from many and diverse provinces and *nationes*. Bernold of St Blasien wrote that crusaders came from all over Gaul, Germania, and Italia. Sigebert of Gembloux thought that (almost) all the Western peoples went—from Spain, Provence, Aquitaine, Brittany, Scotland, England, Normandy, Francia, Lotharingia, Burgundy, Germania, Lombardy, Apulia, and elsewhere.[106] In describing the crusaders, these early twelfth-century writers were also describing the inhabitants of Charlemagne's remembered empire as illustrated in Chapter 1, above. Fulcher of Chartres had the army of Franks who confront Kerbogha draw up their battle-lines; the Franks, Flemish, and Normans led the way, followed by the Alamanns and Lotharingians, followed by the Gasçons and Provençals. Similarly, Fulcher described the community of those on the First Crusade as diverse in languages but

---

[103] See the observations in Bull, 'Overlapping and Competing Identities', 197–8, esp. n.10 where Bull gives a few examples of Tudebode's changes. There has not been a good in-depth study of the *Montecassino Chronicle*, although Rubenstein, '*Gesta Francorum*', 181–2 has some thoughts. It can be found at *Montecassino Chronicle*, RHC Occ. 3: 172–229.

[104] Pons of Balazun and Raymond d'Aguiliers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, ed. John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill (Paris, 1969), 44–5, 88, 79–80, respectively. Note that this 'Provençal' understanding of the *gentes Francorum* parallels the 'Norman' understanding discussed above.

[105] Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, 627.

[106] *Annales Augustani*, MGH SS 3: 134; Bernold of St Blasien, *Chronicon*, MGH SS 5: 464; and Sigebert of Gembloux, *Chronicon*, MGH SS 6: 367.

'brothers in the love of God'. These men were Franks, Flemish, Frisians, Gauls, Allobroges, Lotharingians, Alamanns, Bavarians, Normans, English, Scots, Aquitanians, Italians, Dacians, Apulians, Iberians, Bretons, Greeks, and Armenians. But together they were Franks, who celebrated together as Nicaea and Antioch fell, as the lance was found, as Kerbogha was defeated, and as they traced their bloody steps into Jerusalem to reclaim the Holy Sepulcher. This is language all but lifted from the Oxford *Roland*.[107]

There was no one origin of the First Crusade. Too often we forget that. Each army that went east after 1095 had different currents washing over it. Even within those armies, it is quite likely that individuals had many different ideas inspiring them to set off on this expedition. And no two people were exactly the same. Bohemond did not join the First Crusade for the same reasons as Raymond of Saint-Gilles and neither joined for the same reasons as Peter the Hermit, Robert of Normandy, Anselm of Ribemont, Peter Tudebode, Bohemond of Taranto, Pons of Balazun, Emicho of Flonheim, or anyone else. Still, there is a reason that those who responded to the First Crusade came from within the borders of Charlemagne's historical empire and clustered around locations displaying a particular devotion to the Charlemagne legend in the ninth–eleventh centuries (compare Figures 1.1 and 5.1). There was something that united the crusaders, something that kept them on the same path, even as they constantly bickered about the crusade's direction and purpose.

Urban II offered a general narrative framework that would be familiar to all of his audiences, but a framework flexible enough to be modified in particular instances.[108] Urban could speak to the aristocracy about their Frankish heritage without ever using the word 'Frank' because, when Urban told his story, it wasn't new. Many of his audience members had heard it before in the Charlemagne and Last Emperor legends, in the history they believed they shared as descendents of the Franks. Regardless of whether they received the message from Urban himself, his legates, or the numerous itinerant preachers who fanned out across Europe, many of those who responded to the call 'dreamt' on the narrative themes they heard—ideas like '*populus Christi*', 'defense of the *ecclesia*', 'reconquest', 'Christendom', 'Constantinople', and 'Jerusalem'.[109] As we have seen in preceding chapters, all of the East was thought to be Christian land; not only Christ's patrimony but a Frankish protectorate under Charlemagne and sacred space to be retaken during the Last Days, when the world would once again be made Christian by a host of Franks marching eastwards under the banner of the Frankish Last Emperor.[110]

---

[107] Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, ed. Hagenmeyer, 255–6 (vs. Kerbogha), 202–3 (description of the army), and 306–7 (poem on Frankish capture of Jerusalem). Compare Fulcher's lists with the descriptions of Charlemagne's conquests and the battle against Baligant in the contemporary Oxford *Roland*. See above at nn. 34–5.

[108] e.g. the men of the Italian maritime city-states may not have engaged as well as their northern counterparts with the narrative of Frankish history that underlay this more general message. But that is the genius of a message containing a shibboleth: those who need to, get it.

[109] On 'dreaming' on Urban's message, see Flori, 'Une ou plusieurs "première croisade"?', 22.

[110] Urban II's 'theology of history', so convincingly described by Alfons Becker, might subtly echo this idea. The pure *ecclesia* was punished by Muslim invasions but was in the process of 'reconquest and

Now, at the end of this study, it should not surprise us that the participants in the First Crusade, even though they came from what we think of as such disparate regions, could rely on a common political culture, using it to harken back to older, eighth- and ninth-century conciliar models in order to govern the armies as they marched to Jerusalem.[111] It should not surprise us that the crusaders themselves and the narrators of this event could use *Franci* and *christiani* almost interchangeably. It should not surprise us if the crusaders and their later chroniclers saw the travelers as new Israelites, a chosen people, marching to reclaim the Holy Land from its profane invaders. None of these were new ideas. This was indeed 'old wine in new bottles', a vintage borrowed from the ninth-century Franks, filtered through the passage of time, and now repackaged in slightly different form by the interaction between speaker and audience in 1095–6.[112]

Expressed first in sources from the ninth century, this definition of the Franks as warriors, chosen by God to exercise His will, survived (often manifested in a conscious intellectual attachment to a Frankish Golden Age believed to have existed under Charlemagne) in the writings of men scattered across Charlemagne's old empire; men such as Notker the Stammerer of St Gall, Adso Dervensis, Benedict of Monte Soratte, Ademar of Chabannes, William of Jumièges, the anonymous author of the *Descriptio qualiter*, and Pseudo-Alcuin. But this understanding of Frankish identity also survived in the memories of the high and low aristocracy of those same regions, due to the dependence that aristocracy's piety owed to their close connection to the aforementioned religious, as well as the aristocracy's willful

---

restoration'. See Becker, *Papst Urban II.*, ii. 333–71. Constantinople mattered as much as Jerusalem in this scheme. Looked at this way, the modern historiographical debate about the First Crusade's ultimate goal—Constantinople or Jerusalem—might actually be a case of not seeing the forest for the trees. Jerusalem and Constantinople were not symbolically equivalent in the eyes of Urban and the crusaders but the ideas of aiding the Eastern empire and retaking the Holy Sepulcher interpenetrated one another and would have been hard to separate at the end of the 11th cent. On this debate, which has a vast bibliography, see the useful summary in Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'Erdmann and the Historiography of the Crusades, 1935–1995', in Luis García-Guijarro Ramos (ed.), *La Primera Cruzada novecientos años después: El concilo de Clermont y los orígenes del movimiento cruzado* (Madrid, 1997), 17–29.

[111] Koziol, 'Political Culture', 47, 71–5; and Christopher Tyerman, '*Principes et Populus*: Civil Society and the First Crusade', in Simon Barton and Peter Lineham (eds.), *Cross, Crescent and Conversion: Studies on Medieval Spain and Christendom in Memory of Richard Fletcher* (Leiden, 2008), 150–1.

[112] The phrase is from Tyerman, *God's War*, 57. Tyerman, however, is speaking Urban repackaging Gregory VII's ideas. On the crusaders as a new chosen people, see Paul Alphandéry, 'Les Citations bibliques chez les historiens de la Première Croisade', *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions,* 99 (1929), 139–57; Delaruelle, 'Essai sur la formation', 107–10; Johan Chydenius, *Medieval Institutions and the Old Testament* (Helsinki, 1965), 81–2; Rousset, *Les Origines*, 187–92; Joshua Prawer, 'Jerusalem in the Christian and Jewish Perspectives of the Early Middle Ages', in *Gli ebrei nell'alto medioevo: 30 marzo–5 aprile 1978*, 2 vols. (Spoleto, 1980), ii. 744; Anne Derbes, 'A Crusading Fresco Cycle at the Cathedral of Le Puy', *Art Bulletin,* 73 (1991), 561–76; Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent*, 100–1; and Riley-Smith, *First Crusade*, 111–12, 147–8; among others. On the crusade as constituting 'Christendom', see Jan van Laarhoven, '"Christianitas" et réforme grégorienne', *Studi Gregoriani,* 6 (1959–61), esp. 37–98; Paul Rousset, 'La Notion de Chrétienté aux XI^{e} et XII^{e} siècles', *Le Moyen Âge,* 69 (1963), 191–203; and Jan van Laarhoven, 'Chrétienté et croisade: Une tentative terminologique', *Cristianesimo nella storia,* 6 (1985), 27–43.

adherence to a common political culture that intellectually emphasized continuity with this imagined Frankish past.[113]

Social memory informs identity but it can also tell a community how to act in certain situations.[114] Ideas can make people do things. Being called a 'Frank' mattered in the early Middle Ages because, as a component of identity, that appellation governed a field of actions. In this particular instance, this 'case study' of the First Crusade, the invocation of Frankish identity became a call to sanctified violence. The narrative that the First Crusade proposed was powerful because it was framed in a language that both speaker and listener understood, even if in slightly different ways. That language, sometimes implicitly, but often explicitly, described the crusade's participants as the *populus christianus*, as protectors of the *ecclesia* all the way to the East. It called upon them as warriors, as God's chosen people who held a special place in sacred history, to fight against his enemies; and this narrative was told at the end of the eleventh century, at a particular moment when the Charlemagne legend had spread across Europe and shared elements with the Last Emperor legend. This matrix told all those who thought of themselves as Franks that their glory lay not only in the past. Many who thought of themselves as Franks, men like Nithard and William of Jumièges, may have thought that their people's special place had been lost in the late ninth century, evidenced by events like Fontenoy.[115] But the Franks always held out hope. They believed that they would have another chance.

It came at the end of the eleventh. The First Crusade was a moment of promise; both figure and fulfillment within sacred history; an opportunity to reclaim God's favor. The combination of late eleventh-century Frankish identity and a call to Christian holy war told those who still thought of themselves as Franks to once more take up their burden and march to the East against the enemies of Christ, reclaiming God's favor, putting on the glorious mantle their ancestors had worn and participating in the prophesied glory to come.

---

[113] On the flow of ideas between the aristocracy and their local religious houses, see Bull, *Knightly Piety*, 155–203.

[114] On social memory and action, see Walter Pohl, 'Memory, Identity and Power in Lombard Italy', in *Uses of the Past*, 11; and James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory* (Oxford, 1992). On the power of language to shape action, see François Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution*, tr. Elborg Forster (Cambridge, 1981), 1–79; and Keith Michael Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution: Essays on French Political Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1990), 5–6. For a dissenting view specifically relating to the First Crusade, see John France, 'Patronage and the Appeal of the First Crusade', in Jonathan Phillips (ed.), *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact* (Manchester, 1997), 5–20.

[115] Fontenoy was also remembered as catastrophic moment for the Franks by Hugh of Flavigny and was directly tied to the success of the First Crusade. Hugh recorded that a great light was seen in the northern sky before the final battle of the crusade at Jerusalem. Such a light had been seen before, he continues, before Fontenoy, before the removal of King Louis, at the coronation of Hugh Capet, and before the invasion of the Hungarians. The light portended great slaughter and a great historical rupture for the Franks. Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicon*, MGH SS 8: 481. Note, however, that Hugh recorded these other events earlier in his chronicle but said nothing of a divine light in those sections. He was, like our crusade chroniclers, reading history backwards. For more on how transformative the First Crusade was for the West, see Rubenstein, *First Crusade*, forthcoming.

APPENDIX 1:

Legend for Figure 1.1

MISCELLANEOUS TEXTS

1. Saint-Gall: late ninth century
   Notker the Stammerer, *Vita Karoli Magni*
2. Vienne: late ninth century
   Ado of Vienne, *Martyrologium*
3. Reichenau: tenth century
   Translatio sanguinis
4. Monte Soratte: mid-tenth century
   Benedict of Monte Soratte, *Chronicon*
5. Montier-en-Der: mid-tenth century
   Adso of Montier-en-Der, *De antichristo*
6. Novalesa: early eleventh century
   Chronicon
7. Saint-Cybard of Angoulême: early eleventh century
   Ademar of Chabannes, *Chronicon*
8. Niederaltaich: early eleventh century
   Annales
9. Saint-Sauveur of Charroux: eleventh century
   Privilegium and *Historia*
10. San Millán de Cogolla: eleventh century
    Nota Emilianense
11. The Hague: eleventh century
    Fragment de la Haye
12. Île-de-France/Paris: end of eleventh century
    Descriptio qualiter Karolus Magnus
13. Alba: late eleventh century
    Benzo of Alba, *Ad Heinricum*
14. Saint-Pierre of Chartres: late eleventh century
    Earliest MS of Pseudo-Alcuin
15. Saint-Pé: late eleventh century
    Charter mentioning Roland and Oliver as brothers
16. Saint-Aubin of Angers: late eleventh century
    Charter mentioning Roland and Oliver as brothers
17. Saint-Victor of Marseilles: late eleventh century
    Charter mentioning Roland and Oliver as brothers
18. Béziers: late eleventh century
    Charter mentioning Roland and Oliver as brothers
19. Reims: early twelfth century
    Robert of Reims, *Historia Iherosolimitana*

20. Civray: early twelfth century
    Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*
21. Apulia (?): early twelfth century
    Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum
22. Aura: early twelfth century
    Ekkehard of Aura, *Chronicon*
23. Caen: early twelfth century
    Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*
24. Saint-Pierre of Bourgueil (in Angers): early twelfth century
    Baldric of Bourgueil, *Historia Jerosolimitana*
25. Saint-Germer-de-Fly: early twelfth century
    Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*
26. Le Puy: early twelfth century
    Raymond d'Aguiliers, *Historia Francorum*
27. Balazun: early twelfth century
    Pons of Balazun, *Historia Francorum*

FALSE DIPLOMAS

28. Saint-Denis, Monastery: ninth century
29. Le Mans[1] (3): ninth century
30. Fulda, Monastery: ninth century
31. Reggio nell'Emilia (2): ninth and tenth century
32. Würzburg: tenth century
33. Kremsmünster, Monastery: tenth century
34. Concordia: tenth century
35. Worms: tenth century
36. Aquileia: tenth century
37. Bremen: tenth century
38. Santa Maria of Gerri, Monastery: tenth century
39. Hersfeld, Monastery (2): eleventh century
40. Montecassino, Monastery (4): eleventh century
41. St Emmeram of Regensberg, Monastery: eleventh century
42. Cormery, Monastery: eleventh century
43. Osnabrück (2): eleventh century
44. Lagrasse, Monastery: eleventh century
45. St Maximian of Trier, Monastery: eleventh century
46. Saint-Aignan of Orléans, Church: eleventh century
47. Novalesa. Monastery: eleventh century
48. Ravenna (2): eleventh century
49. Münster: eleventh century
50. Saint-Claude, Monastery: eleventh century
51. Psalmodi, Monastery: eleventh century
52. Saint-Michel of Cuxa, Monastery: eleventh century

---

[1] Unless otherwise noted, locations listed under 'false diplomas' and 'Einhard's *Vita Karoli'* refer to bishoprics.

53. St Mary's of Sesto, Monastery: eleventh century
54. Flavigny, Monastery: eleventh century
55. Saint-Yrieix-la-Perche, Monastery: eleventh century
56. San Salvatore of Rome, Church: eleventh century
57. Saint-Omer, Monastery: eleventh century
58. Tals: eleventh century
59. La Réole, Monastery: eleventh century
60. San Vincenzo al Volturno, Monastery: eleventh century
61. Saint-Polycarpe, Monastery: eleventh century

SPREAD OF EINHARD'S VITA KAROLI

62. Metz:[2] ninth century
63. Saint-Wandrille, Monastery: ninth century
64. Saint-Rémi of Reims, Monastery (2): late ninth century and late eleventh century
65. Saint-Amand, Monastery: late ninth century
66. Saint-Gall, Monastery (2): late ninth century and early tenth century
67. Saint-Médard of Soissons, Monastery: early tenth century
68. Saint-Germain of Auxerre, Monastery: early tenth century
69. Lorsch, Monastery (2): mid-tenth century and late tenth century
70. St Eucharius of Trier, Monastery: mid-tenth century
71. Saint-Denis, Monastery: late tenth century
72. Lobbes: late tenth century
73. Saint-Bertin, Monastery: early eleventh century
74. Fleury, Monastery: early eleventh century
75. Bonneval: early eleventh century
76. Santa Maria of Ripoll, Monastery: early eleventh century
77. San Paolo fuori le Mura, Monastery: early eleventh century
78. Saint-Omer, Monastery: early eleventh century
79. Cluny, Monastery (2): early eleventh century and end eleventh century
80. Saint-Cybard of Angoulême, Monastery (2): early eleventh century and end eleventh century
81. Saint-Martial of Limoges, Monastery: mid-eleventh century
82. Gembloux, Monastery: mid-eleventh century
83. Saint-Bénigne of Dijon, Monastery: mid-eleventh century
84. Saint Alban of Mainz, Monastery: mid-eleventh century
85. St Michael of Bamberg, Monastery: late eleventh century
86. St Peter of Perugia, Monastery: late eleventh century
87. Prüm, Monastery: late eleventh century
88. Egmond, Monastery: end eleventh century
89. Christ Church, Canterbury: end eleventh century
90. Saint-Pierre of Angoulême: end eleventh century
91. Fécamp, Monastery: end eleventh century

---

[2] For more information on the locations listed in this section, see Matthias M. Tischler, *Einharts Vita Karoli: Studien zur Entstehung, Überlieferung und Rezeption*, 2 vols. (Hanover, 2001), esp. i. 20–44.

92. Saint-Riquier, Monastery: end eleventh century
93. Jumièges, Monastery: end eleventh century
94. Prüfening: end eleventh century
95. Blaubeuren, Monastery: end eleventh century
96. Weingarten: end eleventh century
97. Ferrières, Monastery: end eleventh century

Bibliography

MANUSCRIPTS

Oxford. Queen's College MS 348. Miscellany.
Paris. Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 1711. Legendar.
Paris. Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 2013. Historical Miscellany.
Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France MS lat. 5997. Historical Miscellany.
Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France MS lat. 12710. Historical Miscellany.
Rouen. Bibliothèque Municipale Y11. Historical Miscellany.
Vatican. Vatican Library Chigiani F IV 75. Miscellany.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Abbo of Fleury, *Apologeticus ad Hugonem et Rodbertum reges Francorum*, PL 139: 461–72.

Actes des comtes de Flandre, 1071–1128, ed. Fernand Vercauteren (Brussels, 1938).

Ademar of Chabannes, *Chronicon*, ed. R. Landes and P. Bourgain, CCCM 129 (Turnhout, 1999).

Adomnan of Iona, *De Locis Sanctis*, ed. Denis Meehan, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae, 3 (Dublin, 1958).

Ado of Vienne, *Martyrologium*, PL 123: 201–420.

Adso of Montier-en-Der, *De ortu et tempore antichristi*, ed. Daniel Verhelst, CCCM 45 (Turnhout, 1976), 21–30.

Agobard of Lyons, *De Iudaicis superstitionibus et erroribus (ad Ludovicum)*, in *Opera omnia*, ed. L. van Acker, CCCM 52 (Turnhout, 1981), 197–221.

Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronicon*, MGH SS 23: 674–950.

Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, ed. and tr. Susan B. Edgington (Oxford, 2007).

Alcuin, *Ad Carolum regem*, MGH Epist. 4: 326–9.

—— *The Life of St. Willibrord*, in Thomas F. X. Noble and Thomas Head (eds.), *Soldiers of Christ: Saints and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (University Park, Pa., 1995), 191–211.

Angilbert, *De ecclesia Centulensis libellus*, MGH SS 15: 173–9.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, tr. Dorothy Whitelock, David C. Douglas, and Susie I. Tucker (London, 1961).

Annales Altahenses Maiores, ed. Edmund L. B. A. B. Oefele, MGH SRG 4 (Hanover, 1891).

Annales Augustani, MGH SS 3: 123–36.

Annales Elnonenses Minores, MGH SS 5: 17–20.

Annales Mettenses priores, ed. B. Von Simson, MGH SRG 10 (Hanover, 1905).

Annales Nordhumbranis, MGH SS 13: 154–6.

Annales Quedlinburgenses, MGH SS 3: 22–90.

Annales regni Francorum, ed. Friedrich Krauze, MGH SRG 6 (Hanover, 1895).

Ardo, *Vita Benedicti Anianensis et Indensis*, MGH SS 15: 198–220.

Astronomer, *Life of Louis the Pious*, tr. Allen Cabaniss (Syracuse, NY, 1961).

Augustine, *The City of God against the Pagans*, tr. R. W. Dyson (Cambridge, 1998).

Baudri of Dol, *Historia Jerosolimitana*, RHC Occ 4: 1–111.

Bede, *De locis sanctis*, ed. I. Fraipont, CCSL 175 (Turnhout, 1965), 251–80.

Benedict of St. Andrew, *Chronicon*, MGH SS 3: 696–719.

Benzo of Alba, *Ad Heinricum IV. imperatorem*, ed. Hans Seyffert, MGH SRG 65 (Hanover, 1996).

Bernard of Angers, *The Book of Sainte Foy*, ed. and tr. Pamela Sheingorn (Philadelphia, 1995).

Bernard the Monk, *A Journey to the Holy Places and Babylon*, in *Jerusalem Pilgrims Before the Crusades*, tr. John Wilkinson (Warminster, 2002), 261–9.

Bernold of St. Blasien, *Chronicon,* MGH SS 5: 400–67.

Bruno of Segni, *Vita sancti Adalberti*, MGH SS 4: 596–612.

Carolingian Chronicles, tr. Bernhard Walter Scholz (Ann Arbor, 1970).

Cartulaire de l’Abbaye de Saint-Corneille de Compiègne, ed. E.-E. Morel (Montdidier, 1904).

Cartulaire de l’Abbaye de Saint-Savin en Lavedan (v. 975–v. 1180), ed. Alphonse Meillon (Cauterets, 1920).

Cartulaire de l’Abbaye Cardinale de la Trinité de Vendome, ed. Ch. Métais (Paris, 1894), ii.

Cartulaire d’Aniane, in *Cartulaires des Abbayes d’Aniane et de Gellone,* ed. Abbé Cassan and E. Meynial (Montpellier, 1900), ii.

‘Cartulaire du prieuré de Saint-Pierre de la Réole’, ed. Ch. Grellet-Balguerie, *Archives historiques de la Gironde*, 5 (1863), 99–186.

Cartulaire de Sainte-Croix d’Orléans (814–1300), ed. Joseph Thillier (Paris, 1906).

The Cartulary of Flavigny, 717–1113, ed. Constance Brittain Bouchard (Cambridge, Mass., 1991).

The Cartulary of Montier-en-Der, 666–1129, ed. Constance Brittain Bouchard (Toronto, 2004).

Castets, Ferdinand, ‘*Iter Hierosolymitanum* ou Voyage de Charlemagne à Jérusalem et à Constantinople’, *Revue des Langues Romanes,* 36 (1892), 439–74.

Chanson de Roland, in *The Song of Roland: An Analytical Edition*, ed. Gerard J. Brault (University Park, Pa., 1978).

Chartes de l’abbaye de Charroux (IX^e–XVIII^e siècle), in *Chartes et documents pour servir a l’histoire de l’Abbaye de Charroux,* ed. D. P. de Monsabert, Archives historiques du Poitou, 39 (Poitiers, 1910), 86–126.

Christian of Stavelot, *Expositio in Matthaeum Evangelistum*, PL 106: 1261–1504.

Chronicon Moissiacense, MGH SS 1: 282–313.

Chronicon Novaliciense, MGH SS 7: 79–133.

Chronicon sancti Maxenti Pictavensis, in *Chroniques des églises d’Anjou*, ed. Paul Marchegay and Émile Mabille (Paris, 1869), 349–433.

Chronicon sancti Petri Vivi, ed. Robert-Henri Bautier and Monique Gilles (Paris, 1979).

Chronique de l’Abbaye de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon, in *Analecta Divionensia*, ed. l’Abbé E. Bougaud and Joseph Garnier (Dijon, 1875), 1–230.

La chronique de Morigny (1095–1152), ed. Léon Mirot (Paris, 1912).

Commemoratorium de Casis Dei vel Monasteriis, in *Itinera Hierosolymitana et Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae: Bellis Sacris Anteriura*, ed. Titus Tobler and Augustus Molinier, Publications de la Société de l’Orient Latin, 1 (Geneva, 1879), 301–5.

Concilium Vernense, ed. Wilifred Hartmann, MGH Concilia, 3 (Hanover, 1984), 36–44.

Conradi II. Diplomata, ed. H. Bresslau, MGH Dipl. Ger. 4 (Berlin, 1957).

Consuetudines Cluniacensium antiquiores cum redactionibus derivatis, ed. Kassius Hallinger, CCM 7/2 (Siegburg, 1983).

Descriptio qualiter Karolus Magnus clavum et coronam Domini a Constantinopoli Aquisgrani detulerit qualiterque Karolus Calvus hec ad Sanctum Dyonisium retulerit. In *Die Legende Karls des Grossen im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert*, ed. Gerhard Rauschen (Leipzig, 1890), 103–25.

Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae Ducum,* ed. Jules Lair (Caen, 1865).

Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *History of the Normans*, tr. Eric Christiansen (Woodbridge, 1998).

Early Latin Hymns, ed. A. S. Walpole (Cambridge, 1922).

Egeria, *Travels*, in *Egeria's Travels*, tr. John Wilkinson (Warminster, 1999), 107–64.

Einhard, *Vita Karoli*, ed. G. H. Pertz, MGH SRG 25 (Hanover, 1911).

—— *Vita Karoli* in *Charlemagne's Courtier: The Complete Einhard,* tr. Paul Edward Dutton (Peterborough, Ontario, 1998), 15–39.

Ekkehard of Aura, *Chronica: Recensio I,* in *Frutolfs und Ekkehards Chroniken und die Anonyme Kaiserchronik*, ed. Franz-Josef Schmale and Irene Schmale-Ott (Darmstadt, 1972), 124–205.

——*Hierosolymita,* RHC Occ 5: 1–40.

Eusebius, *The Life of Constantine*, tr. Averil Cameron and Stuart G. Hall (Oxford. 1999).

Ex Vita Posteriore sancti Udalrici Prioris Cellensis, MGH SS 12: 253–67.

'*Exhortatio ad proceres regni*', ed. E. Dümmler, *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschictskunde,* 1 (1876), 177–8.

The First Crusade: The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and Other Source Materials, tr. Edward Peters, 2nd edn. (Philadelphia, 1998).

Freculf of Lisieux, *Ad Iudith,* MGH Epist. 5: 319–20.

Frolow, A., *La Relique de la Vraie Croix: Recherches sur le développment d'un culte* (Paris, 1961).

Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana (1095–1127),* ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913).

——*A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem,* in *The First Crusade: The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and Other Source Materials,* tr. Edward Peters, 2nd edn. (Philadelphia, 1998), 47–101.

Fulk le Réchin, *Fragmentum Historiae Andegavensis,* in *Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou et des seigneurs d'Amboise*, ed. Louis Halphen and René Poupardin (Paris, 1913), 232–8.

Geoffrey Malaterra, *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae Comitis et Roberti Guiscardi Ducis fratris eius*, ed. Ernesto Pontieri, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, 5 (Bologna, 1928).

—— *The Deeds of Count Roger of Calabria and Sicily and of his Brother Duke Robert Guiscard*, tr. Kenneth Baxter Wolf (Ann Arbor, 2005).

Geoffrey of Vendôme, *Ad Odonem,* PL 157: 162–3.

Gerbert of Aurrillac, *Correspondance*, ed. P. Riché and J. P. Callu (Paris, 1993).

Gesta episcoporum Mettensium, MGH SS 10: 534–51.

Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum, ed. and tr. Rosalind Hill (London, 1962).

Gesta Lietberti, MGH SS 7: 489–97.

Les Grandes Chroniques de France, ed. Jules Viard, 10 vols. (Paris, 1923).

Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria martyrum*, ed. B. Krusch, MGH SRM 1 (Hanover, 1885).

Pope Gregory VII, *Epistolae Vagantes*, ed. H. E. J. Cowdrey (Oxford, 1972).

—— *Gregori VII Registrum,* ed. Erich Caspar, MGH Epist. sel. 2. (Berlin, 1920–3).

—— *The Register of Gregory VII 1073–1085: An English Translation*, tr. H. E. J. Cowdrey (Oxford, 2002).

Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, CCCM 127A (Turnhout, 1996).

—— *Gesta Dei per Francos*, tr. Robert Levine (Rochester, NY, 1997).

Guy of Amiens, *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio,* ed. and tr. Frank Barlow (Oxford, 1999).

Hagenmeyer, Heinrich, *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088–1100* (Innsbruck, 1901).

Haimo of Auxerre, *In Divi Pauli Epistolas Expositio*, PL 117: 361–938.

Heinrici II. et Arduini Diplomata, MGH Dipl. Ger. 3 (Berlin, 1957).

Heinrici III. Diplomata, ed. H. Bresslau and P. Kehr, MGH Dipl. Ger. 5 (Berlin, 1957).

Heinrici IV. Diplomata, ed. Dietrich von Gladiss and Alfred Gawlik, MGH Dipl. Ger. 6/1 (Hanover, 1941–78).

Historia Francorum Senonensis, MGH SS 9: 364–9.

Historia Francorum Senonensis: Fragmenta Fossatensis, MGH SS 9: 370–4.

Honorius Augustodunensis, *Gemma animae,* PL 172: 541–738.

Hubert, *Vita sanctae Gudilae,* MGH SS 15: 1200–3.

Hugh of Cluny, *Ad Philippum regum*, PL 159: 930–2.

Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicon,* MGH SS 8: 288–502.

Hugh of Fleury, *Historia Ecclesiastica,* MGH SS 9: 349–64.

—— *Vita sancti Sacerdotis,* PL 163: 975–1004.

Jerome, *Comentarii in Ezechielem,* ed. François Glorie, CCSL 75 (Turnhout, 1964).

—— *Commentarii in Isaiam*, ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 73–73A (Turnhout, 1963).

—— *To Eustochium,* in *Jerusalem Pilgrims Before the Crusades,* tr. John Wilkinson (Warminster, 2002), 79–91.

Jocundus, *Translatio sancti Servatii*, MGH SS 12: 88–126.

Karlamagnús Saga: The Saga of Charlemagne and his Heroes, tr. Constance B. Hieatt, Medieval Sources in Translation, 25 (Toronto, 1980).

Lambert of Hersfeld, *Libelli de institutione Herveldensis ecclesiae quae supersunt,* ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH SRG 38 (Hanover, 1894), 341–54.

—— *Vita Lulli Archiepiscopi Mogontiacensis*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH SRG 38 (Hanover, 1894), 305–40.

Liber de Constitutione: Institutione, Consecratione, Reliquiis Ornamentis et Privilegiis. Chartes et documents pour servir a l'histoire de l'Abbaye de Charroux, ed. D. P. de Monsabert, Archives historiques du Poitou, 39 (Poitiers, 1910), 1–85.

Liudprand of Cremona, *The Complete Works of Liudprand of Cremona*, tr. Paolo Squatriti (Washington, DC, 2007).

—— *Opera omnia,* ed. Paolo Chiesa, CCCM 156 (Turnhout, 1998).

Mabillon, Jean, *Vetera analecta sive collectio veterum aliquot operum et opusculorum omnis generis, carminum, epistolarum, diplomatum, epitaphiorum, &c.* (Paris, 1723).

Martin of Troppau, *Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum,* MGH SS 22: 377–475.

Les miracles de saint Benoit écrits par Adrevald, Aimoin, André, Raoul Tortaire, et Hugues de sainte Marie moines de Fleury, ed. E. de Certain (Paris, 1858).

Miracula sancti Genulphi episcopi, MGH SS 15: 1204–13.

The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation, tr. Dom Thomas Symons (London, 1953).

Montecassino Chronicle, RHC Occ. 3: 172–229.

Nithard, *Historiarum Libri III*, ed. E. Müller, MGH SRG 44 (Hanover, 1907).

Notker the Stammerer, *Gesa Karoli Magni*. In *Two Lives of Charlemagne*, tr. Lewis Thorpe (London, 1969), 93–172.

—— *Gesta Karoli Magni imperatoris,* ed. H. F. Haefle, MGH SRG NS 12 (Berlin, 1959).

Odo of Cluny, *Collationum libri tres*, PL 133: 517–638.

Ordines Coronationis Franciae: Texts and Ordines for the Coronation of Frankish and French Kings and Queens in the Middle Ages, ed. Richard Jackson (Philadelphia, 1995).

Origo civitatum Italiae seu Venetiarum, ed. Roberto Cessi, FISI 73 (Rome, 1933).

Papsturkunden in Florenz, ed. W. Wiederhold, Nachrichten von der Königlischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen (Göttingen, 1901).

Papsturkunden in Frankreich, ed. Johannes Ramackers, *et al.* NF 7, 9 (Göttingen, 1956–98).

Papsturkunden in Katalanien, ed. Paul Kehr, Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen (Berlin, 1926).

Paschasius Radbertus, *De corpore et sanguine Domini*, ed. Bedae Paulus, CCCM 16 (Turnhout, 1969).

Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Matheo*, ed. Bedae Paulus, CCCM 56–56B (Turnhout, 1984).

Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne, tr. Glyn S. Burgess (Edinburgh, 1998).

Peter Damian, *The Life of St. Romuald of Ravenna,* in Thomas Head (ed.), *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, tr. Henrietta Leyser (New York, 2000), 297–316.

Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, ed. John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill (Paris, 1977).

Piacenza Pilgrim, *Travels from Piacenza,* in *Jerusalem Pilgrimages Before the Crusades,* tr. John Wilkinson (Warminster, 2002), 79–84.

Pippini, Carlomanni, Caroli Magni Diplomata, ed. Engelbert Mühlbacher, MGH Dipl. Karol. 1 (Hanover, 1906).

Plutarch, *The Life of Pompey,* in *The Fall of the Roman Republic,* tr. Rex Warner (Baltimore, 1958), 158–242.

Poeta Saxo, *Annalium de gestis beati Caroli Magni libri quinque,* ed. Paul de Winterfeld, MGH Poetae Latini aevi Carolini, 4/1 (Berlin, 1899), 1–71.

Pons of Balazun and Raymond d'Aguiliers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem,* ed. John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill (Paris, 1969).

——*Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, tr. John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill (Philadelphia, 1968).

Prinz, Otto, 'Eine frühe abendländische Aktualisierung der lateinischen Übersetzung des Pseudo-Methodius', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters,* 41 (1985), 1–23.

Procopius, *On Buildings,* tr. H. B. Dewing and Glanville Downey (Cambridge, Mass., 1940).

Pseudo-Alcuin, *Vita Antichristi ad Carolum Magnum,* in *De ortu et tempore antichristi,* ed. Daniel Verhelst, CCCM 45 (Turnhout, 1976), 117–28.

Pseudo-Bede, *Account of the Holy Land*, tr. Aubrey Stewart, Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 24 (London, 1894), 37–69.

Pseudo-Methodius, *Sermo de regnum cantium,* in *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen,* ed. Ernst Sackur (Halle, 1898), 59–96.

Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi in expeditione Hierosolymitana,* RHC Occ 3: 587–716.

Ralph Glaber, *Historiarum libri quinque*, tr. John France (Oxford, 1989).

Recueil des actes de Philippe I^{er}, roi de France (1059–1108), ed. M. Prou (Paris, 1908).

Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire, ed. Maurice Prou and Alexandre Vidier (Paris, 1907).

Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon,* ed. Friedrich Kurze, MGH SRG 50 (Hanover, 1890).

Robert of Reims, *Historia Iherosolimitana,* RHC Occ 3: 717–882.

——*History of the First Crusade,* tr. Carol Sweetenham (Burlington, Vt., 2005).

Rupert of Deutz, *Carmina exulis de calamitatibus ecclesiae Leodiensis,* MGH LdL 3: 624–41.

——*De sancta trinitate et operibus eius,* ed. Hrabanus Haacke, CCCM 21–4 (Turnhout, 1971–2).

Second Thessalonians: Two Early Medieval Apocalyptic Commentaries, ed. and tr. Steven R. Cartwright and Kevin L. Hughes (Kalamazoo, Mich., 2001).

Pope Sergius IV, *Cum nos pretioso,* ed. Hans Martin Schaller, in Hubert Mordek (ed.), *Papsttum, Kirche und Recht im Mittelalter: Festschrift für Horst Fuhrmann zum 65. Geburtstag* (Tübingen, 1991), 150–3.

Sigebert of Gembloux, *Chronicon,* MGH SS 6: 300–74.

Suger, *Scriptum consecrationis ecclesiae sancti Dionysii*, ed. Françoise Gasparri, *Œuvres* (Paris, 1996), i. 2–52.

Synodum Helense, RHG 11: 514.

Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon,* ed. Robert Holtzmann, MGH SRG NS 9 (Berlin, 1935).

——*Chronicon,* in *Ottonian Germany: The Chronicon of Thietmar of Merseburg,* tr. David A. Warner (Manchester, 2001).

Thiofrid of Saint Willibrord, *Vita sancti Willibrordi,* MGH SS 23: 23–30.

A Thirteenth-Century Life of Charlemagne, tr. Robert Levine (New York, 1991).

Tiburtine Sibyl, *Explantio Somnii,* in *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen*, ed. Ernst Sackur (Halle, 1898), 177–87.

Traditiones et antiquitates Fuldenses, ed. Ernst Friedrich Johann Dronke (Osnabrück, 1966).

Translatio Sanguinis Domini, MGH SS 4: 446*–90.

Pope Urban II, *Epistolae,* PL 151: 283–552.

Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages, ed. Bernard McGinn (New York, 1979).

Vita Altmanni episcopi Pataviensis, MGH SS 12: 229–43.

Vita Gerardi abbatis Broniensis, MGH SS 15: 654–73.

Vita Karoli Magni, in *Die Legende Karls des Grossen im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert,* ed. Gerhard Rauschen (Leipzig, 1890), 17–93.

Vita Mathildis reginae antiquior, ed. Bernd Schütte, MGH SRG 66 (Hanover, 1994).

Vita Richardi Abbatis sancti Vitoni Virdunensis, MGH SS 11: 280–90.

Vita Theoderici abbatis Andaginensis, MGH SS 12: 36–57.

Vita s. Willelmo monachi Gellonensis, AASS 6 May: 811–20.

Vita sancti Lietberti Episcopus Cameracensis, AASS 23 June: 586–606.

Widukind of Corvey, *Rerum gestarum Saxonicarum*, ed. Paulus Hirsch and H.-E. Lohmann, MGH SRG 60 (Hanover, 1989).

William of Apulia, *La Geste de Robert Guiscard*, ed. Marguerite Mathieu, *Testi e monumenti*, 4 (Palermo, 1961).

William of Jumièges, *Gesta Normannorum Ducum,* ed. Elisabeth M. C. van Houts, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1992–5).

William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, ed. R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom (Oxford, 1998).

William of Poitiers, *Gesta Guillelmi*, ed. R. H. C. Davis and Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford, 1998).

Wulfstan of York, *Sermo ad Anglos,* in *The Homilies of Wulfstan,* ed. Dorothy Bethurum (Oxford, 1957), 267–75.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Aebischer, Paul, 'Les Trois Mentions plus anciennes du couple "Roland et Olivier"', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire,* 30 (1952), 657–75.

Airlie, Stuart, 'The World, the Text and the Carolingian: Royal, Aristocratic and Masculine Identities in Nithard's Histories', in Patrick Wormald and Janet L. Nelson (eds.), *Lay Intellectuals in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2007), 51–76.

Alberi, Mary, 'The Evolution of Alcuin's Concept of the Imperium Christianum', in Joyce Hill and Mary Swan (eds.), *The Community, the Family and the Saint: Patterns of Power in Early Medieval Europe* (Turnhout, 1998), 3–17.

Albert, Bat-Sheva, *Le Pèlerinage à l'époque carolingienne* (Brussels, 1999).

Albu, Emily, 'Imperial Geography and the Medieval Peutinger Map', *Imago Mundi,* 57 (2005), 136–49.

——'Rethinking the Peutinger Map', in Richard J. A. Talbert and Richard W. Unger (eds.), *Cartography in Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Fresh Perspectives, New Methods* (Leiden, 2008), 111–19.

Alexander, Jonathan J. G., '"Jerusalem the Golden": Image and Myth in the Middle Ages in Western Europe', in Bianca Kühnel (ed.), *The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art: Studies in Honor of Bezalel Narkiss on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday* (Jerusalem, 1998), 255–64.

Alexander, Paul J., *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition* (Berkeley, Calif., 1985).

——'Byzantium and the Migration of Literary Works and Motifs: The Legend of the Last Roman Emperor', *Religious and Political History and Thought in the Byzantine Empire*, 12 (London, 1978), 47–68a.

——'The Diffusion of Byzantine Apocalypses in the Medieval West and the Beginnings of Joachimism', in Ann Williams (ed.), *Prophecy and Millenarianism: Essays in Honour of Marjorie Reeves* (Harlow, 1980), 53–106.

——'The Medieval Legend of the Last Roman Emperor and its Messianic Origin', *Journal of Warburg and Courtald Institutes,* 41 (1978), 1–15.

Alphandéry, Paul, 'Les Citations bibliques chez les historiens de la Première Croisade', *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions,* 99 (1929), 139–57.

Alphandéry, Paul, and Alphonse Dupront, *La Chrétienté et l'idée de croisade* (Paris, 1954).

Althoff, Gerd, *Otto III* (Darmstadt, 1998).

Andressohn, John C., *The Ancestry and Life of Godfrey of Bouillon* (Bloomington, Ind., 1947).

Arduini, Maria Lodovica, 'Il problema Christianitas in Guiberto di Nogent', *Aevum,* 78 (2004), 379–410.

Arnold, Benjamin, 'Eschatological Imagination and the Program of Roman Imperial and Ecclesiastical Renewal at the End of the Tenth Century', in Richard Landes, Andrew Gow, and David C. van Meter (eds.), *The Apocalyptic Year 1000: Religious Expectation and Social Change, 950–1050* (Oxford, 2003), 271–87.

Auerbach, Erich, 'Figura', in *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature* (New York, 1959), 11–76.

Bachrach, Bernard S., 'The Pilgrimages of Fulk Nerra, Count of the Angevins, 987–1040', in Thomas F. X. Noble and John J. Contreni (eds.), *Religion, Culture, and Society in the Early Middle Ages: Studies in Honor of Richard E. Sullivan* (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1987), 205–17.

Baker, Keith Michael, *Inventing the French Revolution: Essays on the Political Culture of the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1990).

Balard, Michel, 'Gesta Dei per Francos: L'Usage du mot "Francs" dans les chroniques de la première Croisade', in Michel Rouche (ed.), *Clovis, histoire et mémoire* (Paris, 1997), 473–84.

Barroux, Robert, 'L'Abbé Suger et la vassalité du Vexin en 1124', *Le Moyen Âge,* 64 (1958), 1–26.

Bartlett, Robert, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950–1350* (London, 1993).

Bastert, Bernd (ed.), *Karl der Grosse in den europäischen Literaturen des Mittelalaters: Konstruktion eines Mythos* (Tübingen, 2004).

Bates, David, *Normandy Before 1066* (New York, 1982).

Baumgartner, Emmanuèle, Jean-Charles Payen, and Paul Le Rider (eds.), *La Chanson de Geste et le mythe carolingien: Mélanges René Louis publiés par ses collègues, ses amis et ses élèves à l'occasion de son 75e anniversaire* (Vézelay, 1982).

Bautier, Robert-Henri, 'Charroux', in *Lexicon des Mittelalters* (Münich, 1991), 1734–6.

——'Place de l'abbaye de Fleury-sur-Loire dans l'historiographie française du IXe au XIIe siècle', in René Louis (ed.), *Études Ligériennes d'histoire et d'archéologie médiévales:*

Mémoires et exposés présentés à la Semaine d'études médiévales de Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire du 3 au 10 juillet 1969 (Auxerre, 1975), 25–33.

Becker, Alfons, *Papst Urban II. (1088–1099),* 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1964–88).

——'Urbain II et l'Orient', in Francesco Babudri (ed.), *Il Concilio di Bari del 1098: Atti del convegno storico internazionale e celebrazioni del 9. centenario del concilio* (Bari, 1999), 123–44.

Becquet, Dom Jean, 'Deux prieurés de Charroux en Limousin: Rochechouart et Magnac-Laval', *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique du Limousin,* 123 (1995), 46–51.

Beech, George, 'Aquitainians and Flemings in the Refoundation of Bardney Abbey (Lincolnshire) in the Later Eleventh Century', *Haskins Society Journal: Studies in Medieval History,* 1 (1989), 73–90.

Bender, Karl-Heinz, 'La Genèse de l'image littéraire de Charlemagne, élu de Dieu, au XI^{e} siècle', *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona,* 31 (1967), 35–49.

——*König und Vasall: Untersuchungen zur Chanson de Geste des XII. Jahrhunderts* (Heidelberg, 1967).

Bédier, Joseph, *Légendes épiques: Recherches sur la formation des chansons de geste* (Paris, 1921).

Benz, Karl Josef, 'Eschatologie und Politik bei Gregor VII', *Studi Gregoriani,* 14 (1991), 1–20.

Bernhardt, John W., 'Concepts and Practice of Empire in Ottonian Germany (950–1024)', in Björn Weiler and Simon Maclean (eds.), *Representations of Power in Medieval Germany, 800–1500* (Turnhout, 2006), 141–63.

Beumann, Helmut, *Der deutsche König als 'Romanorum Rex'* (Wiesbaden, 1981).

———'Grad und Thron Karls des Grossen zu Aachen', in Wolfgang Braunfels and Percy Ernst Schramm (eds.), *Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, 5 vols. (Düsseldorf, 1967), 4:19–38.

Biddle, Martin, *The Tomb of Christ* (Stroud, 1999).

Bieberstein, Klaus, 'Der Gesandtenaustausch zwischen Karl dem Großen und Harun ar-Rasid und seine Bedeutung für die Kirchen Jerusalems', *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins,* 109 (1993), 152–73.

Blake, E. O., 'The Formation of the "Crusade Idea"', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* 20 (1970), 11–31.

Blanks, David R., 'Islam and the West in the Age of the Pilgrim', in Michael Frassetto (ed.), *The Year 1000: Religious and Social Response to the Turning of the First Millennium* (New York, 2002), 257–71.

Bohne, Jürgen, *Der Poeta Saxo in der historiographischen Tradition des 8.–10. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt, 1965).

Booker, Courtney M., *Past Convictions: The Penance of Louis the Pious and the Decline of the Carolingians* (Philadelphia, 2009).

Borgolte, Michael, *Der Gesandtenaustausch der Karolinger mit den Abbasiden und mit den Patriarchen von Jerusalem,* Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung, 25 (Münich, 1976).

Boshof, Egon, 'Karl der Kahle: Novus Karolus magnus?', in Franz-Reiner Erkens (ed.), *Karl der Grosse und das Erbe der Kulturen* (Berlin, 2001), 135–52.

Bousquet, J., 'La Fondation de Villeneuve d'Aveyron', *Annales du Midi,* 75 (1963), 538–42.

Boutet, Dominique, *Charlemagne et Arthur ou le roi imaginaire* (Paris, 1992).

Boyce, Burke, *The Emperor's Arrow* (Philadelphia, 1967).

Boynton, Susan, *Shaping a Monastic Identity: Liturgy and History at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000–1125* (New York, 2006).

Brandes, Wolfram, '*Tempora periculosa sunt.* Eschatologisches im Vorfeld der Kaiserkrönung Karls des Grossen', in Rainer Berndt Jr. (ed.), *Das Frankfurter Konzil von 794: Kristallisationspunkt karolingischer Kultur* (Mainz, 1997), 49–79.

Bredero, Adriaan H., *Christendom and Christianity in the Middle Ages: The Relations between Religion, Church, and Society*, tr. Reinder Bruinsman (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1994).

——'Jérusalem dans l'Occident médiéval', in Pierre Gallais and Yves-Jean Riou (eds.), *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet* (Poitiers, 1966), 259–71.

Bresslau, Harry, *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre für Deutschland und Italien* (Berlin, 1958).

Brown, Elizabeth A. R., and Michael W. Cothren, 'The Twelfth-Century Crusading Window of the Abbey of Saint-Denis: *Praeteritorum enim recordatio futurorum est exhibitio*', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtald Institutes,* 49 (1986), 1–40.

Brown, Peter, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, 1981).

Brown, Warren, 'The Idea of Empire in Carolingian Bavaria', in Björn Weiler and Simon Maclean (eds.), *Representations of Power in Medieval Germany, 800–1500* (Turnhout, 2006), 37–55.

Buc, Philippe, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton, 2001).

Bull, Marcus, 'The Capetian Monarchy and the Early Crusade Movement: Hugh of Vermandois and Louis VII', *Nottingham Medieval Studies,* 50 (1996), 25–46.

——'The French Aristocracy and the Future, c.1000–c. 1200', in J. A. Burrow and Ian P. Wei (eds.), *Medieval Futures: Attitudes to the Future in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2000), 83–100.

——*Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony, c.970–c.1130* (Oxford, 1993).

——'Overlapping and Competing Identities in the Frankish First Crusade', in *Concile de Clermont de 1095 et l'appel à Croisade: Actes du Colloque Universitaire International de Clermont-Ferrand (23–25 Juin 1995) organisé et publié avec le concours du Conseil Régional d'Auvergne* (Rome, 1997), 195–211.

——'The Roots of Lay Enthusiasm for the First Crusade', *History,* 78 (1993), 353–72.

——. 'Views of Muslims and of Jerusalem in Miracle Stories, c.1000–c.1200: Reflections on the Study of the First Crusaders Motivations', in Marcus Bull and Norman Housley (eds.), *The Experience of Crusading* (Cambridge, 2003), i. 13–38.

Bullough, Donald, 'Empire and Emperordom from Late Antiquity to 799', *Early Medieval Europe,* 12 (2003), 377–87.

Cabanot, Jean, 'Le Trésor des reliques de Saint-Sauveur de Charrroux, centre et reflet de la vie spirituelle de l'abbaye', *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest et des Musées de Poitiers,* 4th ser. 16 (1981), 103–23.

Cahn, Walter, 'Observations on the A of Charlemagne in the Treasure of the Abbey of Conques', *Gesta,* 45 (2006), 95–107.

Callahan, Daniel F., 'Ademar of Chabannes, Charlemagne, and the Pilgrimage to Jerusalem of 1033', in Michael Frassetto (ed.), *Medieval Monks and their World: Ideas and Realities: Studies in Honor of Richard E. Sullivan* (Leiden, 2006), 71–80.

——'Al-Hakim, Charlemagne, and the Destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem in the Writings of Ademar of Chabannes', in Matthew Gabriele and Jace Stuckey (eds.), *The Legend of Charlemagne in the Middle Ages: Power, Faith, and Crusade* (New York, 2008), 41–57.

——'The Cross, the Jews, and the Destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in the Writings of Ademar of Chabannes', in Michael Frassetto (ed.), *Christian Attitudes toward the Jews in the Middle Ages: A Casebook* (New York, 2007), 15–23.

——'Jerusalem in the Monastic Imaginations of the Early Eleventh Century', *Haskins Society Journal,* 6 (1994), 119–27.

——*The Making of a Millennial Pilgrim: Jerusalem and the Cross in the Life and Writings of Ademar of Chabannes*, forthcoming.

——'The Problem of "Filioque" and the Letter from the Pilgrim Monks of the Mount of Olives to Pope Leo III and Charlemagne: Is the Letter Another Forgery by Ademar of Chabannes?', *Revue Bénédictine,* 102 (1992), 75–134.

——'The Tau Cross in the Writings of Ademar of Chabannes', in Michael Frassetto (ed.), *The Year 1000: Religious and Social Response to the Turning of the First Millennium* (New York, 2002), 63–71.

Campbell, James, 'Observations on English Government from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* 5th ser. 25 (1975), 39–54.

Campbell, Mary B., '"The Object of One's Gaze": Landscape, Writing, and Early Medieval Pilgrimage', in Scott D. Westrem (ed.), *Discovering New Worlds: Essays on Medieval Exploration and Imagination* (New York, 1991), 3–15.

Carolus-Barré, Louis, 'Le Mi-Karesme, foire de Compiègne (1092–1792)', in *Études et documents sur l'Île-de-France et la Picardie au Moyen Âge* (Compiègne, 1994), 223–349.

Carozzi, Claude, *Apocalypse et salut dans le christianisme ancien et médiéval* (Paris, 1999).

Carruthers, Mary, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1990).

Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France: Chartres (Paris, 1890).

Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum antiquiorum saeculo XVI qui asservantur in Bibliotheca Nationali Parisiensi (Brussels, 1893).

Cavadini, John C., *The Last Christology of the West: Adoptionism in Spain and Gaul, 785–820* (Philadelphia, 1993).

Chapeau, Abbé Georges, 'Fondation de l'abbaye de Charroux: Étude sur les textes', *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest,* 3rd ser. 7 (1926), 471–508.

Chazan, Mireille, 'Les Lieux de la critique dans l'historiographie médiévale', in Daniel Pichot, Sophie Cassagnes-Brouquet, and Lionel Rousselot (eds.), *Religion et mentalités au Moyen Âge: Mélanges en l'honneur d'Hervé Martin* (Rennes, 2003), 25–37.

Chazelle, Celia Martin, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era: Theology and Art of Christ's Passion* (Cambridge, 2001).

Christe, Yves, 'Apocalypse and Last Judgment around the Year 1000', in Richard Landes, Andrew Gow, and David C. van Meter (eds.), *The Apocalyptic Year 1000: Religious Expectation and Social Change, 950–1050* (Oxford, 2003), 139–54.

——'Victoria—Imperium—Judicium: Un schème antique du pouvoir dans l'art paléochrétien et médiéval', *Rivista di archeologica cristiana,* 49 (1973), 87–109.

Il Chronicon di Benedetto: Monaco di S. Andrea del Soratte e il Libellus di Imperatoria Potestate in urbe Roma, ed. Giuseppe Zuchetti, FISI 55 (Rome, 1920).

Chydenius, Johan, *Medieval Institutions and the Old Testament* (Helsinki, 1965).

Clark, Elizabeth A., 'Claims on the Bones of Saint Stephen: The Partisans of Melania and Eudocia', *Church History,* 51 (1982), 141–56.

Cohn, Norman, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1970).

Cole, Penny J., *The Preaching of the Crusade to the Holy Land, 1095–1270* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991).

Coleman, Janet, *Ancient and Medieval Memories: Studies in the Reconstruction of the Past* (Cambridge, 1992).

Collins, Roger, *Charlemagne* (London, 1998).

Collins, Roger, 'Charlemagne and his Critics, 814–829', in Régine LeJan (ed.), *La Royauté et les élites dans l'Europe carolingienne (début IX^{e} siècle aux environs de 920)* (Villeneuve, 1998), 193–211.

——'Charlemagne's Imperial Coronation and the Annals of Lorsch', in Joanna Story (ed.), *Charlemagne: Empire and Society* (Manchester, 2005), 52–70.

——'The "Reviser" Revisited: Another Look at the Alternate Version of the *Annales regni Francorum*', in Alexander Callander Murray (ed.), *After Rome's Fall: Narrators and Sources of Early Medieval History (Essays Presented to Walter Goffart)* (Toronto, 1998), 191–213.

Collins, Samuel, 'Domus domini patet figura mysterii: Architectural Imagination and the Politics of Place in the Carolingian Ninth Century', Ph.D. diss. University of California, Berkeley, 2005.

Conant, Kenneth John, *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture, 800 to 1200* (Baltimore, 1959).

Constable, Giles, 'Monachisme et pèlerinage au Moyen Âge', *Revue Historique,* 258 (July–Sept. 1977), 3–27.

Cowdrey, H. E. J., 'Count Simon of Crépy's Monastic Conversion', in P. Guichard, M.-T. Lorcin, J.-M. Poisson, and M. Rubellin (eds.), *Papauté, monachisme et théories politiques: Études d'histoire médiévale offertes à Marcel Pacaut* (Lyon, 1994), 253–66.

——'The Gregorian Papacy, Byzantium, and the First Crusade', *Byzantinische Forschungen,* 13 (1988), 145–69.

——*Pope Gregory VII, 1073–1085* (Oxford, 1998).

——'Pope Gregory VII's "Crusading" Plans of 1074', in B. Z. Kedar, H. E. Mayer, and R. C. Smail (eds.), *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Jerusalem, 1982), 27–40.

——'Pope Urban II's Preaching of the First Crusade', in Thomas F. Madden (ed.), *The Crusades: Essential Readings* (Oxford, 2002), 16–29.

Cramer Vos, Marianne, 'Aspects démoniaques de quelques protagonistes rolandiens', in *Charlemagne et l'Épopée Romane: Actes du VII^{e} Congrès International de la Société Rencesvals* (Paris, 1978), i. 577–94.

Crosby, Sumner McKnight, and Pamela Z. Blum, *The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis from its Beginnings to the Death of Suger, 475–1151* (New Haven, Conn., 1987).

Cubitt, Catherine, 'Memory and Narrative in the Cult of early Anglo-Saxon Saints', in Yitzhak Hen and Matthew Innes (eds.), *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2000), 29–66.

Cuozzo, Errico, 'Les Évêques d'origine normande en Italie et en Sicile', in Pierre Bouet and François Neveux (eds.), *Les Évêques normands du XI^{e} siècle* (Caen, 1995), 67–78.

Cushing, Kathleen, *Reform and the Papacy in the Eleventh Century: Spirituality and Social Change* (Manchester, 2005).

Danielou, Jean, *From Shadows to Reality,* tr. Wulstan Hibberd (Westminster, Md., 1960).

Dauphin, Dom Hubert, *Le Bienheureux Richard: Abbé de Saint-Vanne de Verdun* (Paris, 1946).

Davis, R. H. C., *The Normans and their Myth* (London, 1976).

De Jong, Mayke, 'Charlemagne's Church', in Joanna Story (ed.), *Charlemagne: Empire and Society* (Manchester, 2005), 103–35.

——'The Empire as *Ecclesia*: Hrabanus Maurus and Biblical *Historia* for Rulers', in Yitzhak Hen and Matthew Innes (eds.), *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2000), 191–226.

——*The Penitential State: Authority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious, 814–840* (Cambridge, 2009).

de Lubac, Henri, *Exégèse médiévale: Les quatre sens de l'Écriture* (Paris, 1959).

de Waha, M., ‘La Lettre d’Alexis I Comnène à Robert le Frison: Une revision’, *Byzantion,* 47 (1977), 113–25.

Delaruelle, Étienne, ‘Essai sur la formation de l’idée de croisade’, in André Vauchez and Jean Richard (eds.), *L’Idée de croisade au Moyen Âge* (Turin, 1980), 1–127.

Demouy, Patrick, ‘L’Église de Reims et la croisade aux XI^{e}–XII^{e} siècles’, in Yvonne Bellenger and Danielle Quérel (eds.), *Les Champenois et la croisade: Actes des quatrièmes journées rémoises, 27–28 novembre 1987* (Paris, 1989), 19–38.

Derbes, Anne, ‘A Crusading Fresco Cycle at the Cathedral of Le Puy’, *Art Bulletin,* 73 (1991), 561–76.

——‘Crusading Ideology and the Frescoes of S. Maria in Cosmedin’, *Art Bulletin,* 77 (1995), 460–78.

Diebold, William J., ‘Nos quoque morem illius imitari cupientes: Charles the Bald’s Evocation and Imitation of Charlemagne’, *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte,* 75 (1993), 271–300.

Doig, Allan, *Liturgy and Architecture: From the Early Church to the Middle Ages* (Burlington, Vt., 2008).

Dolcini, Carlo, ‘Il falso diploma di Carlo Magno per la Chiesa di Ravenna (787)’, in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter* (Hanover, 1988), 159–66.

Douglas, David C., ‘The “Song of Roland” and the Norman Conquest of England’, *French Studies,* 14 (1960), 99–116.

du Pouget, Marc, ‘Le Légende carolingienne à Saint-Denis: La Donation de Charlemagne au retour de Roncevaux’, *Société des Sciences, Lettres, et Arts de Bayonne,* 135 (1979), 53–60.

——‘Recherches sur les chroniques latines de Saint-Denis: Édition critique et commentaire de la *Descriptio clavi et corone domini* et de deux séries de textes relatifs à la légende carolingienne’, *Positions des thèses soutenues par les élèves de la promotion de 1978 pour obtenir le diplôme d’Archiviste Paléolgraphe* (Paris, 1978), 41–6.

Duggan, Joseph J., ‘The Generation of the Episode of Baligant: Charlemagne’s Dream and the Normans at Mantzikert’, *Romance Philology,* 30 (1976/7), 59–82.

——‘Medieval Epics as Popular Historiography: Appropriation of the Historical Knowledge in the Vernacular Epic’, *Grundriss der romanischen Litteraturen des Mittelalters,* 11/1 (1986), 285–311.

Dunbabin, Jean, ‘Discovering a Past for the French Aristocracy’, in Paul Magdalino (ed.), *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe* (London, 1992), 1–14.

——‘What’s in a Name? Philip, King of France’, *Speculum,* 68 (1993), 949–68.

Dutton, Paul Edward, *Charlemagne’s Mustache and Other Cultural Clusters of a Dark Age* (New York, 2004).

——‘KAROLVS MAGNVS or KAROLVS FELIX? The Making of Charlemagne’s Reputation and Legend’, in Matthew Gabriele and Jace Stuckey (eds.), *The Legend of Charlemagne in the Middle Ages: Power, Faith, and Crusade* (New York, 2008), 23–37.

——*The Politics of Dreaming in the Carolingian Empire* (Lincoln, Neb., 1994).

Ebenbauer, Alfred, *Carmen Historicum: Untersuchungen zur historischen Dichtung im karolingischen Europa* (Vienna, 1978).

Ebersolt, Jean, *Orient et Occident: Recherches sur les influences et orientales en France pendant les Croisades* (Paris, 1929).

Edgington, Susan B., ‘Albert of Aachen and the *Chansons de Geste*’, in John France and William G. Zajac (eds.), *The Crusades and their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton* (Brookfield, Vt., 1998), 23–37.

Eggert, Wolfgang, ‘Zu Kaiser- und Reichsgedanken des Notker Balbulus’, *Philologus,* 115 (1971), 71–80.

Ehlers, Joachim, *Charlemagne: L’Européen entre la France et Allemagne* (Stuttgart, 2001).

Ehlers, Joachim, 'Karolingische Tradition und frühes Nationalbewusstsein in Frankreich', *Francia,* 4 (1976), 213–35.

Elbern, Victor H., 'Das Heilige Grab in der bildlichen und liturgischen Kunst', in Kaspar Elm and Cosimo Damiano Fonseca (eds.), *Militia Sancti Sepulchri: Idea e istituzioni* (Vatican City, 1998), 161–77.

Ellenblum, Ronnie, 'Were there Borders and Borderlines in the Middle Ages? The Example of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem', in David Abulafia and Nora Berend (eds.), *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices* (Burlington, Vt., 2002), 105–19.

Elsner, Jas, 'The *Itinerarium Burdigalense*: Politics and Salvation in the Geography of Constantine's Empire', *Journal of Roman Studies,* 90 (2000), 181–95.

Emden, Wolfgang van, *La Chanson de Roland* (London, 1995).

Erdmann, Carl, 'Die Aufrufe Gerberts und Sergius IV. für das heilige Land', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken,* 27 (1931–2), 1–21.

——'Endkaiserglaube und Kreuzzugsgedanke im 11. Jahrhundert', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte,* 51 (1932), 384–414.

——*The Origin of the Idea of Crusade,* tr. Marshall W. Baldwin and Walter Goffart (Princeton, 1977).

Erlande-Brandenburg, Alain, *Le Roi est mort: Étude sur les funérailles, les sépultres, et les tombeaux des rois de France jusqu'à la fin du XIII^{e} siècle* (Geneva, 1975).

Eygun, François, 'L'Abbaye de Charroux: Les grandes lignes de son histoire et de ses constructions', *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest et des Musées de Poitiers,* 4th ser. 10 (1969), 11–23.

Falkenstein, Ludwig, *Otto III. und Aachen* (Hanover, 1998).

Fanning, Steven, 'Bede, Imperium, and the Bretwaldas', *Speculum,* 66 (1991), 1–26.

——'Imperial Diplomacy between Francia and Byzantium: The Letter of Louis II to Basil I in 871', *Cithara,* 34 (1994), 3–17.

Farmer, Sharon, *Communities of Saint Martin: Legend and Ritual in Medieval Tours* (Ithaca, NY, 1991).

Farrier, Susan E., *The Medieval Charlemagne Legend: An Annotated Bibliography* (New York, 1993).

Fasoli, Gina, 'Carlo Magno nelle tradizioni storica-leggendarie Italiane', in Wolfgang Braunfels and Percy Ernst Schramm (eds.), *Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben,* 5 vols. (Düsseldorf, 1967), iv. 348–63.

Favreau, Robert, 'Le Concile de Charroux de 989', *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest et des Musées de Poitiers*, 5th ser. 3 (1989), 213–19.

Fentress, James, and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory* (Oxford, 1992).

Finke, Laurie A., and Martin B. Schichtman, *King Arthur and the Myth of History* (Gainesville, Fla., 2004).

Fleischman, Suzanne, 'On the Representation of History and Fiction in the Middle Ages', *History and Theory,* 22 (1983), 278–310.

Fliche, Augustin, *Le Règne de Philippe I^{er}, roi de France (1060–1108)* (Paris, 1912).

Flint, Valerie I. J., 'Space and Discipline in Early Medieval Europe', in Barbara A. Hanawalt and Michael Kobialka (eds.), *Medieval Practices of Space* (Minneapolis, 2000), 149–60.

Flori, Jean, 'De l'anonyme normand à Tudebode et aux *Gesta Francorum*: L'Impact de la propagande de Bohémond sur la critique textuelle des sources de la Première Croisade', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 102 (2007), 717–46.

——*La Guerre sainte: La Formation de l'idée de croisade dans l'Occident chrétien* (Paris, 2001).

——*L'Islam et la fin des temps: L'Interprétation prophétique des invasions musulmanes dans la chrétienté médiévale* (Paris, 2007).

——*Pierre l'Ermite et la première croisade* (Paris, 1999).

——'Une ou plusieurs "première croisade"? Le Message d'Urbain II et les plus anciens pogroms d'Occident', *Revue Historique,* 285 (1991), 3–27.

Folz, Robert, 'Aspects du culte liturgique de Saint Charlemagne en France', in Wolfgang Braunfels and Percy Ernst Schramm (eds.), *Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, 5 vols. (Düsseldorf, 1967), iv. 77–99.

——*The Concept of Empire in Western Europe from the Fifth to the Fourteenth Century*, tr. Sheila Ann Ogilvie (London, 1969).

——*The Coronation of Charlemagne, 25 December 800*, tr. J. E. Anderson (London, 1974).

——*Études sur le culte liturgique de Charlemagne dans les églises de l'Empire* (Paris, 1951).

——*Le Souvenir et la légende de Charlemagne dans l'empire germanique médiéval* (Paris, 1950).

Foucault, Michel, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison,* tr. Alan Sheridan (New York, 1977).

Fouracre, Paul, 'The Long Shadow of the Merovingians', in Joanna Story (ed.), *Charlemagne: Empire and Society* (Manchester, 2005), 5–21.

France, John, 'The Destruction of Jerusalem and the First Crusade', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* 47 (1996), 1–17.

——'Le Rôle de Jérusalem dans la piété du XI^{e} siècle', in Michel Balard and Alain Ducellier (eds.), *Le Partage du monde: Échange et colonisation dans la Méditerranée médiévale* (Paris, 1998), 151–61.

——'Les Origines de la première croisade: Un nouvel examen', in Michel Balard (ed.), *Autour de la Première Croisade: Actes Du Colloque de la "Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East" (Clermont-Ferrand, 22–25 Juin 1995)* (Paris, 1996), 43–56.

——'Patronage and the Appeal of the First Crusade', in Jonathan Phillips (ed.), *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact* (Manchester, 1997), 5–20.

Frappier, Jean, 'Réflexions sur les rapport des chansons de geste et de l'histoire', *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie,* 73 (1957), 1–19.

Frassetto, Michael, 'Heretics and Jews in the Early Eleventh Century: The Writings of Rodulfus Glaber and Ademar of Chabannes', in Michael Frassetto (ed.), *Christian Attitudes toward the Jews in the Middle Ages: A Casebook* (New York, 2007), 43–59.

Fulton, Rachel, *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800–1200* (New York, 2002).

Gaborit-Chopin, Danielle, 'Les Dessins d'Adémar de Chabannes', *Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques,* 3 (1967), 163–225.

Gabriele, Matthew, 'Against the Enemies of Christ: The Role of Count Emicho in the Anti-Jewish Violence of the First Crusade', in Michael Frassetto (ed.), *Christian Attitudes towards Jews in the Middle Ages: A Casebook* (New York, 2006), 84–111.

——'Asleep at the Wheel? Messianism, Apocalypticism and Charlemagne's Passivity in the Oxford *Chanson de Roland*', *Nottingham Medieval Studies,* 43 (2003), 46–72.

——'Otto III, Charlemagne, and Pentecost A.D. 1000: A Reconsideration Using Diplomatic Evidence', in Michael Frassetto (ed.), *The Year 1000: Religious and Social Response to the Turning of the First Millennium* (New York, 2002), 111–32.

——'The Provenance of the *Descriptio qualiter Karolus Magnus*: Remembering the Carolingians at the Court of King Philip I (1060–1108) before the First Crusade', *Viator,* 39 (2008), 93–117.

——'Review of *The Enthroned Corpse of Charlemagne*, by John F. Moffitt', *Studies in Iconography,* 30 (2009), 239–41.

Gaiffier, Baudoin de, 'La Légende de Charlemagne: Le Péché de l'empereur et son pardon', in *Recueil de travaux offerts à M. Clovis Brunel* (Paris, 1955), i. 490–503.

Ganshof, François-Louis, 'Robert le Frison et Alexis Comnène', *Byzantion,* 31 (1961), 57–74.

Ganz, David, 'Einhard's Charlemagne: The Characterisation of Greatness', in Joanna Story (ed.), *Charlemagne: Empire and Society* (Manchester, 2005), 38–51.

——'Humour as History in Notker's Gesta Karoli Magni', in Edward B. King, Jacqueline T. Schaefer, and William B. Wadley (eds.), *Monks, Nuns, and Friars in Mediaeval Society* (Sewanee, Tenn., 1989), 171–83.

Garipzanov, Ildar H., *The Symbolic Language of Authority in the Carolingian World (c.751–877)* (Leiden, 2008).

Garrison, Mary, 'The Franks as the New Israel? Education for an Identity from Pippin to Charlemagne', in Yitzhak Hen and Matthew Innes (eds.), *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2000), 114–61.

——'Divine Election for Nations: A Difficult Rhetoric for Medieval Scholars?', in Lars Boje Mortensen (ed.), *The Making of Christian Myths in the Periphery of Latin Christendom (c. 1000–1300)* (Copenhagen, 2006), 275–314.

Gauert, Adolf, 'Noch einmal Einhard und die letzten Merowinger', in Lutz Fenske, Werner Rösener, and Thomas Zotz (eds.), *Institutionen, Kultur und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter: Festschrift für Josef Fleckstein zu seinem 65. Geburtstag* (Sigmaringen, 1984), 59–72.

Geary, Patrick J. *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY, 1994).

——*The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe* (Princeton, 2002).

——*Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton, 1994).

Geith, Karl-Ernst, *Carolus Magnus: Studien zur Darstellung Karls des Grossen in der deutschen Literatur das 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts* (Münich, 1977).

Gieysztor, Alexander, 'The Genesis of the Crusades: The Encyclical of Sergius IV (1009–1012)', *Medievalia et Humanistica,* 5–6 (1948–50), 3–23, 3–34.

Gil, Juan, 'Los terrores del año 800', in *Actas del simposio para el estudio de los codices del 'Comentario al Apocalipsis' de Beato de Liebana* (Madrid, 1978), 215–47.

Gil, Moshe, *A History of Palestine: 634–1099,* tr. Ethel Broido (Cambridge, 1992).

Glenn, Jason, *Politics and History in the Tenth Century: The Work and World of Richer of Reims* (Cambridge, 2004).

Godman, Peter, *Poets and Emperors: Frankish Politics and Carolingian Poetry* (Oxford, 1987).

Goetz, Hans-Werner, 'The Concept of Time in the Historiography of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', in Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried, and Patrick J. Geary (eds.), *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography* (Cambridge, 2002), 139–65.

——'Gens: Terminology and Perception of the "Germanic" Peoples from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages', in Richard Corradini, Max Diesenberger, and Helmut Reimitz (eds.), *The Construction of Communities in the Early Middle Ages: Texts, Resources and Artefacts* (Leiden, 2003), 39–64.

——*Strukturen der spätkarolinischen Epoche im Spiegel der Vorstellungen eines Zeitgenössischen Mönchs: Eine Interpretation der 'Gesta Karoli' Notkers von Sankt Gallen* (Bonn, 1981).

Goez, Werner, *Translatio Imperii: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Geschichtsdenkens und der politischen Theorien im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit* (Tübingen, 1958).

Goldberg, Eric J., *Struggle for Empire: Kingship and Conflict under Louis the German, 817–876* (Ithaca, NY, 2006).

Görich, Knut, 'Otto III. öffnet das Karlsgrab in Aachen: Überlegungen zu Heiligenverehung, Heiligsprechung und Traditionsbildung', in Gerd Althoff and Ernst Schubert (eds.), *Herrschaftsrepräsentation im Ottonischen Sachsen* (Sigmaringen, 1998), 381–430.

Graboïs, Aryeh, 'Charlemagne, Rome and Jerusalem', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire,* 59 (1981), 792–809.

——*Le Pèlerin occidental en terre sainte au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1998).

——'Les Pèlerinages du XI^{e} siècle en Terre Sainte dans l'historiographie occidentale de l'époque', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique,* 101 (2006), 531–46.

Grafton, Anthony, April Shelford, and Nancy Siraisi, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992).

Grémont, Denis-Bernard, 'Le Culte de Marie-Madeleine à Fleury', in René Louis (ed.), *Études Ligériennes d'histoire et d'archéologie médiévales: Mémoires et exposés présentés à la Semaine d'études médiévales de Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire du 3 au 10 juillet 1969* (Auxerre, 1975), 203–12.

Griffith, Sidney, 'What has Constantinople to Do with Jerusalem? Palestine in the Ninth Century: Byzantine Orthodoxy and the World of Islam', in Leslie Brubaker (ed.), *Byzantium in the Ninth Century: Dead or Alive?* (Brookfield, Vt., 1998), 181–94.

Grosse, Rolf, 'Reliques du Christ et foires de Saint-Denis au XI^{e} siècle', *Revue d'Histoire de l'Église de France,* 87 (2001), 357–75.

——*Saint-Denis zwischen Adel und König: Die Zeit vor Suger (1055–1122)* (Stuttgart, 2002).

Groten, Manfred, 'Die Arengen der Urkunden Kaiser Heinrich IV. und König Philipps I. von Frankreich im Vergleich', *Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschichte, Siegel, und Wappenkunde,* 41 (1995), 49–72.

Guenée, Bernard, *Histoire et culture historique dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris, 1980).

Guyotjeannin, Olivier, 'Les Actes établis par la chancellerie royale sous Phillipe I^{er}, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes: Revue d'Érudition,* 147 (1989), 29–48.

——'Les Évêques dans l'entourage royal sous les premiers Capétians', in Michel Parisse and Xavier Barral I Altet (eds.), *Le Roi de France et son royaume autour de l'an mil: Actes du Colloque Hugues Capet 987–1987* (Paris, 1992), 91–8.

Hägermann, Dieter, 'Die Urkundenfälschungen auf Karl den Grossen: Eine Übersicht', in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter* (Hanover, 1988), 433–43.

Haidu, Peter, *The Sense of Violence: The Song of Roland and the Birth of the State* (Bloomington, Ind., 1993).

Hall, Thomas N., 'The Early Medieval Sermon', in Beverly Mayne Kienzle (ed.), *The Sermon* (Turnhout, 2000), 203–69.

Hamilton, Bernard, 'The Impact of Crusader Jerusalem on Western Christendom', *Catholic Historical Review,* 80 (1994), 695–713.

Hamilton, Sarah, *The Practice of Penance, 900–1050* (Rochester, NY, 2001).

Hanning, Robert W., 'Suger's Literary Style and Vision', in Paula Lieber Gerson (ed.), *Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis: A Symposium* (New York, 1986), 145–50.

Harris, Jonathan, *Byzantium and the Crusades* (London, 2003).

Hauck, Karl, 'Die Ottonen und Aachen, 876–936', in Wolfgang Braunfels and Percy Ernst Schramm (eds.), *Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, 5 vols. (Düsseldorf, 1967), iv. 39–53.

Head, Thomas, 'The Development of the Peace of God in Aquitaine (970–1005)', *Speculum,* 74 (1999), 656–86.

——*Hagiography and the Cult of the Saints: The Diocese of Orléans, 800–1200* (Cambridge, 1990).

Healy, Patrick, *The Chronicle of Hugh of Flavigny: Reform and the Investiture Contest in the Late Eleventh Century* (Burlington, Vt., 2006).

Heath, Robert G., *Crux Imperatorum Philosophia: Imperial Horizons of the Cluniac Confraternitas, 964–1109* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1976).

Heil, Johannes, '"Nos Nescientes de Hoc Velle Manere"—"We Wish to Remain Ignorant about This": Timeless End, or: Approaches to Reconceptualizing Eschatology after A.D. 800 (A.M. 6000)', *Traditio,* 55 (2000), 73–103.

Heisig, Karl, 'Die Geschictsmetaphysik des Rolandsliedes und ihre Vorgeschichte', *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie,* 55 (1935), 1–87.

Heitz, Carol, *Recherches sur les rapports entre architecture et liturgie à l'époque carolingienne* (Paris, 1963).

Hen, Yitzhak, 'The Annals of Metz and the Merovingian Past', in Yitzhak Hen and Matthew Innes (eds.), *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2000), 175–90.

——'Holy Land Pilgrims from Frankish Gaul', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire,* 76 (1998), 291–306.

Herrick, Samantha Kahn, *Imagining the Sacred Past: Hagiography and Power in Early Normandy* (Cambridge, Mass., 2007).

Hill, Joyce, 'Carolingian Perspectives on the Authority of Bede', in Scott DeGregorio (ed.), *Innovation and Tradition in the Writings of the Venerable Bede* (Morgantown, WV, 2006), 227–49.

Hoffmann, Heinrich, *Karl der Grosse im Bilde der Geschichtschreibung des frühes Mittelalters (800–1250)* (Berlin, 1919).

Holdenried, Anke, *The Sibyl and her Scribes: Manuscripts and Interpretation of the Latin Sibylla Tiburtina, c.1050–1500* (Burlington, Vt., 2006).

Holder, Arthur G., 'Allegory and History in Bede's Interpretation of Sacred Architecture', *American Benedictine Review,* 40 (1989), 115–31.

Hoofnagle, Wendy Marie, 'Charlemagne's Legacy and the Anglo-Norman *Imperium* in Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*', in Matthew Gabriele and Jace Stuckey (eds.), *The Legend of Charlemagne in the Middle Ages: Power, Faith, and Crusade* (New York, 2008), 77–94.

——'Creating Kings in Post-Conquest England: The Fate of Charlemagne in Anglo-Norman Society', Ph.D. diss. University of Connecticut, 2008.

Horrent, Jules, *Roncesvalles: Étude sur le fragment de cantar de gesta conservé à l'Archivo de Navarra (Pampelune)* (Paris, 1951).

Hughes, Andrew, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto, 1982).

Hughes, Kevin L., *Constructing Antichrist: Paul, Biblical Commentary, and the Development of Doctrine in the Early Middle Ages* (Washington, DC, 2005).

Hugo, Victor, *The Rhine: A Tour from Paris to Mayence by way of Aix-la-Chapelle with an Account of its Legends, Antiquities, and Important Historical Events,* tr. D. M. Aird (Boston, Mass., 1886).

Innes, Matthew, '"Immune from Heresy": Defining the Boundaries of Carolingian Christianity', in Paul Fouracre and David Ganz (eds.), *Frankland: The Franks and the World of the Early Middle Ages* (Manchester, 2008), 101–25.

——'Memory, Orality and Literacy in an Early Medieval Society', *Past and Present,* 158 (1998), 3–36.

Innes, Matthew, and Rosamond McKitterick, 'The Writing of History', in Rosamond McKitterick (ed.), *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1994), 193–220.

Jacobs, Andrew S., *Remains of the Jews: The Holy Land and Christian Empire in Late Antiquity* (Stanford, Calif., 2004).

Jensen, Janus Møller, 'Peregrenatio sive expeditio: Why the First Crusade was Not a Pilgrimage', *Al-Masāq,* 15 (2003), 119–37.

——'War, Penance and the First Crusade: Dealing with a "Tyrannical Construct"', in Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen, Kurt Villads Jensen, Janne Malkki, and Katja Ritari (eds.), *Medieval History Writing and Crusading Ideology* (Helsinki, 2005), 51–63.

Jestice, Phyllis G., 'A New Fashion in Imitating Christ: Changing Spiritual Perspectives around the Year 1000', in Michael Frassetto (ed.), *The Year 1000: Religious and Social Response to the Turning of the First Millennium* (New York, 2002), 165–85.

Jeuckens, Robert, *Stift und Pfarre St. Adalbert in Aachen* (Aachen, 1951).

Joranson, Einar, 'The Great German Pilgrimage of 1064–1065', in Louis J. Paetow (ed.), *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays* (Freeport, NY, 1928), 3–43.

——'The Problem of the Spurious Letter of Emperor Alexius to the Count of Flanders', *American Historical Review,* 55 (1949), 811–32.

Kaiser, Reinhold, *Bischofsherrschaft zwischen Königtum und Fürstenmacht: Studien zur bischöflichen Stadtherrschaft im westfränkisch-französischen Reich im frühen und hohen Mittelalter* (Bonn, 1981).

Kampers, F., *Die deutsche Kaiseridee in Prophetie und Sage* (Münich, 1896).

Kantorowicz, Ernst, 'The "King's Advent" and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina', *Selected Studies* (Locust Valley, NY, 1965), 37–75.

——*Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship* (Berkeley, Calif., 1946).

——'The Problem of Medieval World Unity', *Selected Studies* (Locust Valley, NY, 1965), 76–81.

Keller, Hagen, 'Die Ottonen und Karl der Grosse', *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins,* 104/105 (2002–3), 69–94.

Kerner, Max, *Karl der Grosse: Entschleierung eines Mythos* (Cologne, 2001).

Kerr, Julie, *Monastic Hospitality: The Benedictines in England, c.1070–c.1250* (Rochester, NY, 2007).

Kessler, Herbert L., and Johanna Zacharias, *Rome 1300: On the Path of the Pilgrim* (New Haven, Conn., 2000).

Kleinbauer, W. Eugene, 'Charlemagne's Palace Chapel at Aachen and its Copies', *Gesta,* 4 (1965), 2–11.

Kletter, Karen, 'The Uses of Josephus: Jewish History in Medieval Christian Tradition', Ph. D. diss. University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 2005).

Knoch, Peter, *Studien zur Albert von Aachen: Der erste Kreuzzug in der deutschen Chronistik* (Stuttgart, 1966).

Konrad, Robert, *De ortu et tempore Antichristi: Antichristvorstellung und Geschichtsbild des Abtes Adso von Montier-en-Der* (Kallmünz, 1964).

Kortekaas, G. A. A., 'The Transmission of the Text of Pseudo-Methodius in Cod. Paris. Lat. 13348', *Revue d'Histoire des Textes,* 18 (1988), 63–80.

Koziol, Geoffrey, *Begging Pardon and Favor: Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca, NY, 1992).

——'Is Robert I in Hell? The Diploma for Saint-Denis and the Mind of a Rebel King (Jan. 25, 923)', *Early Medieval Europe,* 14 (2006), 233–67.

Koziol, Geoffrey, 'Political Culture', in Marcus Bull (ed.), *France in the Central Middle Ages, 900–1200* (Oxford, 2003), 43–76.

Kramp, Mario (ed.), *Könige in Aachen: Geschichte und Mythos* (Mainz, 2000).

Krautheimer, Richard, 'Introduction to an "Iconography of Medieval Architecture"' (1942), in *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval, and Renaissance Art* (New York, 1969), 115–50.

Kunsemüller, Johannes, 'Die Chronik Benedikts von San Andrea', Ph.D. diss. Erlangen/Nürenberg, 1961.

Kühnel, Bianca, *From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem: Representations of the Holy City in Christian Art of the First Millennium* (Rome, 1987).

Lair, Jules, 'Mémoire sur deux chroniques latines composées au XII^{e} siècle à l'abbaye de Saint-Denis', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes,* 35 (1874), 543–80.

Landes, Richard, 'Lest the Millennium be Fulfilled: Apocalyptic Expectations and the Pattern of Western Chronography 100–800 CE', in Werner Verbeke, Daniel Verhelst, and Andries Welkenhuysen (eds.), *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1988), 137–211.

——'The Massacres of 1010: On the Origins of Popular Anti-Jewish Violence in Western Europe', in Jeremy Cohen (ed.), *From Witness to Witchcraft: Jews and Judaism in Medieval Christian Thought* (Wiesbaden, 1996), 79–112.

——*Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits of History: Ademar of Chabannes, 989–1034* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995).

Latowsky, Anne, 'Charlemagne as Pilgrim? Requests for Relics in the *Descriptio Qualiter* and *The Voyage of Charlemagne*', in Matthew Gabriele and Jace Stuckey (eds.), *The Legend of Charlemagne in the Middle Ages: Power, Faith, and Crusade* (New York, 2008), 151–67.

——'Foreign Embassies and Roman Universality in Einhard's Life of Charlemagne', *Florilegium,* 22 (2005), 25–57.

——'Imaginative Possession: Charlemagne and the East from Einhard to the *Voyage of Charlemagne*', Ph.D. diss. Romance Languages and Literature, University of Washington, 2004.

Lauranson-Rosaz, Christian, 'Peace from the Mountains: The Auvergnat Origins of the Peace of God', in Thomas Head and Richard Landes (eds.), *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religous Response in France around the Year 1000* (Ithaca, NY, 1992), 104–34.

Laureys, Marc, and Daniel Verhelst, 'Pseudo-Methodius, Revelationes: Textgeschichte und kritische Edition. Ein Leuven-Groninger Forschungsprojekt', in Werner Verbeke, Daniel Verhelst, and Andries Welkenhuysen (eds.), *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages* (Leuven, 1988), 112–36.

Le Patourel, John, *The Norman Empire* (Oxford, 1976).

Lejeune, Rita, 'Le Péché de Charlemagne et la *Chanson de Roland*', in *Homenaje ofrecido a Dámaso Alonso: Por sus amigos y discupulos con ocasion de su 60.^{o} aniversario* (Madrid, 1961), ii. 339–71.

——and Jacques Stiennon, *La Legende de Roland dans l'art du Moyen Age* (Brussels, 1966).

Lemarignier, Jean-François, *Le Gouvernement royal aux premiers temps capétians (987–1108)* (Paris, 1965).

Lettinck, Nico, 'Pour une édition critique de l'Historia Ecclesiastica de Hugues de Fleury', *Revue Bénédictine,* 91 (1981), 386–97.

Levillain, L., 'Essai sur les origines du Lendit', *Revue Historique,* 155 (1927), 241–76.

Lewis, Andrew W., *Royal Succession in Capetian France: Studies on Familial Order and the State* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981).

Leyerle, Blake, 'Landscape as Cartography in Early Christian Pilgrimage Narratives', *Journal of the American Academy of Religion,* 64 (1996), 119–43.

Lifshitz, Felice, 'Beyond Positivism and Genre: "Hagiographical" Texts as Historical Narrative', *Viator,* 25 (1994), 95–113.

——'La Normandie carolingienne: Essai sur la continuité avec utilisation de sources négligées', *Annales de Normandie,* 48 (1998), 505–24.

Limor, Ora, '"Holy Journey": Pilgrimage and Christian Sacred Landscape', in Ora Limor and Guy G. Strousma (eds.), *Christians and Christianity in the Holy Land: From the Origins to the Latin Kingdoms* (Turnhout, 2006), 321–53.

——'The Place of the End of Days: Eschatological Geography in Jerusalem', in Bianca Kühnel (ed.), *The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art: Studies in Honor of Bezalel Narkiss on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday* (Jerusalem, 1998), 13–22.

Linder, Amnon, 'Jews and Judaism in the Eyes of Christian Thinkers of the Middle Ages: The Destruction of Jerusalem in Medieval Christian Liturgy', in Jeremy Cohen (ed.), *From Witness to Witchcraft: Jews and Judaism in Medieval Christian Thought* (Wiesbaden, 1996), 113–23.

——'Ps. Ambrose's Anacephalaeosis: A Carolingian Treatise on the Destruction of Jerusalem', *Revue d'Histoire des Textes,* 22 (1992), 145–58.

Lobrichon, Guy, 'Le Dossier Magdalénien aux XI^{e}–XII^{e} siècles: Édition de trois pièces majeures', *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome: Moyen Age,* 104/1 (1992), 163–80.

Lŏsek, Fritz, '"Et bellum inire sunt coacti": The Great Pilgrimage of 1065', in Michael J. Herren, C. J. McDonough, and Ross J. Arthur (eds.), *Latin Culture in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Medieval Latin Studies* (Turnhout, 2002), 61–72.

Loud, Graham A., *The Age of Robert Guiscard: Southern Italy and the Norman Conquest* (Harlow, 2000).

Lozovsky, Natalia, 'Roman Geography and Ethnography in the Carolingian Empire', *Speculum,* 81 (2006), 325–64.

Lugge, Margaret, *'Gallia' und 'Francia' im Mittelalter: Untersuchungen über den Zusammenhang zwischen geographish-historischer Terminologie und politischen Denken vom 6.–15. Jahrhundert* (Bonn, 1960).

Lützelschwab, Ralph, 'Zwischen Heilsvermittlung und Ärgernis; Das *prepuitum Domini* im Mittelalter', *Pecia,* 8/11 (2005), 601–28.

McClendon, Charles B., *The Origins of Medieval Architecture: Building in Europe, A.D. 600–900* (New Haven, Conn., 2005).

MacCormack, Sabine, 'Change and Continuity in Late Antiquity: The Ceremony of Adventus', *Historia: Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte,* 21 (1972), 721–52.

McCormick, Michael, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce, A.D. 300–900* (Cambridge, 2001).

——*Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge, 1986).

McCrank, Lawrence J., 'Restoration and Reconquest in Medieval Catalonia: The Church and Principality of Tarragona, 971–1177', Ph.D. diss. University of Virginia, 1974.

McGinn, Bernard, *Antichrist: Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil* (New York, 1994).

——'The End of the World and the Beginning of Christendom', in Marcus Bull (ed.), *Apocalypse Theory and the Ends of the World* (Oxford, 1995), 58–89.

McGinn, Bernard, '*Iter Sancti Sepulchri*: The Piety of the First Crusaders', in Bede Karl Lackner and Kenneth Ray Philip (eds.), *The Walter Prescott Webb Memorial Lectures: Essays on Medieval Civilization* (Austin, Tex., 1978), 33–71.

McKitterick, Rosamond, *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge, 2008).

——'Constructing the Past in the Early Middle Ages: The Case of the Royal Frankish Annals', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser. 7 (1997), 101–29.

——*History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2004).

——'The Illusion of Royal Power in the Carolingian Annals', *English Historical Review,* 115 (2000), 1–20.

——*Perceptions of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, Ind., 2006).

——'Political Ideology in Carolingian Historiography', in Yitzhak Hen and Matthew Innes (eds.), *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2000), 162–74.

Maclean, Simon, *History and Politics in Late Carolingian and Ottonian Europe: The Chronicle of Regino of Prum and Adalbert of Magdeburg* (Manchester, 2009).

——*Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century: Charles the Fat and the End of the Carolingian Empire* (Cambridge, 2003).

Magdalino, Paul, 'Church, Empire and Christendom in c.600 and c.1075: The View from the Registers of Popes Gregory I and Gregory VII', in *Cristianita d'Occidente e cristianita d'Oriente (secoli VI–XI): 24–30 aprile 2003* (Spoleto, 2004), 1–30.

——*The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180* (Cambridge, 1993).

——'Prophecies on the Fall of Constantinople', in Angeliki E. Laiou (ed.), *Urbs Capta: The Fourth Crusade and its Consequences* (Paris, 2005), 41–53.

——'The Porphyrogenita and the Astrologers: A Commentary on Alexiad VI.7.1–7', in Charalambos Dendrinos, Jonathan Harris, Eirene Harvalia-Crook, and Judith Herrin (eds.), *Porphyrogenita: Essays on the History and Literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in Honour of Julian Chrysostomides* (Burlington, Vt., 2003), 15–31.

Mähl, Sibylle, 'Jerusalem im mittelalterlicher Sicht', *Die Welt als Geschichte,* 22 (1962), 11–26.

Maier, Christoph T., 'Konflikt und Kommunikation: Neues zum Kreuzzugsaufruf Urbans II.', in Dieter Bauer, Klaus Herbers, and Nikolas Jaspert (eds.), *Jerusalem in Hoch- und Spätmittelalter: Konflikte und Konfliktbewältigung-Vorstellungen und Vergegenwärtigungen* (Frankfurt, 2001), 13–30.

Maines, Clark, 'The Charlemagne Window at Chartres Cathedral: New Considerations on Text and Image', *Speculum,* 52 (1977), 801–23.

Mandach, André de, *Naissance et développement de la chanson de geste en Europe* (Geneva, 1961).

Markus, R. A., 'How on Earth Could Places Become Holy? Origins of the Chrisitian Idea of Holy Places', *Journal of Early Christian Studies,* 2 (1994), 257–71.

——'The Latin Fathers', in J. H. Burns (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought, c.350–c.1450* (Cambridge, 1988), 92–122.

Martini, Giusseppe, 'La memoria di Carlomagno e l'impero medioevale', *Rivista storica Italiana,* 68 (1956), 255–81.

Mastnak, Tomaž, *Crusading Peace: Christendom, the Muslim World, and Western Political Order* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002).

Matter, E. Ann, 'The Apocalypse in Early Medieval Exegesis', in Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn (eds.), *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY, 1992), 38–50.

Mayr-Harting, Henry, *Ottonian Book Illumination: An Historical Study* (New York, 1991).

Mégier, Elisabeth, 'Karl der Grosse, das römische Reich und die Kirche in franko-normannischer Sicht: der Standpunkt Hugos von Fleury', in Franz-Reiner Erkens (ed.), *Karl der Grosse und das Erbe der Kulturen* (Berlin, 2001), 221–33.

Menéndez-Pidal, Ramón, *La Chanson de Roland et la tradition épiques des Francs*, tr. Fr. Irénée-Marcel (Paris, 1960).

Meyer, Ann R., *Medieval Allegory and the Building of the New Jerusalem* (Woodbridge, 2003).

Meyer von Knonau, Gerold, *Jahrbücher des deutschen Reiches unter Heinrich IV. und Heinrich V.* (Leipzig, 1900).

Micheau, Françoise, 'Les Itinéraires maritimes et continentaux des pèlerinages vers Jérusalem', in *Occident et Orient au X^e^ siècle: Actes du IX^e^ congrès de la Société des Historiens Médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public (Dijon, 2–4 Juin 1978)* (Paris, 1979), 79–104.

Moffitt, John F., *The Enthroned Corpse of Charlemagne: The Lord-in-Majesty Theme in Early Medieval Art and Life* (Jefferson, NC, 2007).

Möhring, Hannes, 'Benzo von Alba und die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens', in Karl Borchardt and Enno Bunz (eds.), *Forschungen zur Reichs-, Papst- und Landesgeschichte: Peter Herde zum 65. Geburtstag von Freunden, Schülern und Kollegen dargebracht* (Stuttgart, 1998), 177–86.

——'Karl der Grosse und die Endkaiser-Weissagung: Der Sieger über den Islam kommt aus dem Westen', in Benjamin Z Kedar, Jonathan Riley-Smith, and Rudolf Hiestand (eds.), *Montjoie: Studies in Crusade History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer* (Brookfield, Vt., 1997), 1–19.

——*Der Weltkaiser der Endzeit: Entstehung, Wandel und Wirkung einer tausendjährigen Weissagung* (Stuttgart, 2000).

Molinier, Auguste, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Mazarine* (Paris, 1886).

Monsabert, D. P. de, *Chartes et documents pour servir a l'histoire de l'Abbaye de Charroux,* Archives historiques du Poitou, 39 (Poitiers, 1910).

Monteleone, Federica, *Il viaggio di Carlo Magno in Terra Santa: Un'esperienza di pellegrinaggio nella tradizione europea occidentale* (Fasano, 2003).

Moore, R. I., *The First European Revolution: c.970–1215* (Oxford, 2000).

Morris, Colin, 'The Aims and Spirituality of the First Crusade as Seen through the Eyes of Albert of Aachen', *Reading Medieval Studies,* 16 (1990), 99–117.

——'Memories of the Holy Places and Blessings from the East: Devotion to Jerusalem Before the Crusades', in R. N. Swanson (ed.), *The Holy Land, Holy Lands and Christian History* (Woodbridge, 2000), 90–109.

——*The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West: From the Beginning to 1600* (Oxford, 2005).

Morrissey, Robert, *Charlemagne and France: A Thousand Years of Mythology*, tr. Catherine Tihanyi (Notre Dame, Ind., 2003).

Morse, Ruth, *Truth and Convention in the Middle Ages: Rhetoric, Representation, and Reality* (Cambridge, 1991).

Muldoon, James, *Empire and Order: The Concept of Empire, 800–1800* (New York, 1999).

Mülljans, Hans (ed.), *Karl der Grosse und sein Schrein in Aachen* (Mönchengladbach, 1988).

Munro, Dana C., 'The Speech of Urban II at Clermont', *American Historical Review,* 11 (1906), 231–40.

Murray, Alan V., 'Questions of Nationality in the First Crusade', *Medieval History,* 1 (1991), 61–73.

Musca, Giosuè, *Carlo Magno ed Harun al Rashid* (Bari, 1963).

Musset, Lucien, *The Bayeux Tapestry*, tr. Richard Rex (Woodbridge, 2005).

Nelson, Janet L., 'Charlemagne and Empire', in Jennifer R. Davis and Michael McCormick (eds.), *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe: New Directions in Early Medieval Studies* (Burlington, Vt., 2008), 223–34.

Nelson, Janet L., *Charles the Bald* (London, 1992).

——'Frankish Identity in Charlemagne's Empire', in Ildar H. Garipzanov, Patrick J. Geary, and Przemyslaw Urbanczyk (eds.), *Franks, Northmen, and Slavs: Identities and State Formation in Early Medieval Europe* (Turnhout, 2008), 71–83.

——*The Frankish World, 750–900* (London, 1996).

——'History-Writing at the Courts of Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald', in Anton Scharer and Georg Scheibelreiter (eds.), *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter* (Vienna, 1994), 435–42.

——'Kingship and Empire', in J. H. Burns (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought, c.350–c.1450* (Cambridge, 1988), 211–51.

——'Kingship and Empire in the Carolingian World', in Rosamond McKitterick (ed.), *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1994), 52–87.

——'Public *Histories* and Private History in the Work of Nithard', *Speculum,* 60 (1985), 251–93.

Nichols, Stephen G., Jr., *Romanesque Signs: Early Medieval Narrative and Iconography* (New Haven, Conn., 1983).

Nicol, D. M., 'Byzantine Political Thought', in J. H. Burns (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought, c.350–c.1450* (Cambridge, 1988), 51–79.

Nirenberg, David, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1996).

Noble, Thomas F. X., 'Greatness Contested and Confirmed: The Raw Materials of the Charlemagne Legend', in Matthew Gabriele and Jace Stuckey (eds.), *The Legend of Charlemagne in the Middle Ages: Power, Faith, and Crusade* (New York, 2008), 3–21.

——'The Monastic Ideal as a Model for Empire: The Case of Louis the Pious', *Revue Bénédictine,* 86 (1976), 235–50.

——*The Republic of St. Peter: The Birth of the Papal State, 680–825* (Philadelphia, 1984).

Novick, Peter, *That Noble Dream: The 'Objectivity Question' and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, 1988).

O'Brien, Bruce R., *God's Peace and King's Peace: The Laws of Edward the Confessor* (Philadelphia, 1999).

Oexle, Otto Gerhard, 'Le Monastère de Charroux au IX^{e} siècle', *Le Moyen Âge,* 76 (1970), 193–204.

Otter, Monika, 'Functions of Fiction in Historical Writing', in Nancy Partner (ed.), *Writing Medieval History* (London, 2005), 109–30.

Ousterhout, Robert, 'Loca Sancta and the Architectural Response to Pilgrimage', in Robert Ousterhout (ed.), *The Blessings of Pilgrimage* (Chicago, 1990), 108–24.

Padberg, Lutz E. v., 'Zur Spannung von Gentilismus und christlichem Universalitätsideal im Reich Karls des Grossen', in Franz-Reiner Erkens (ed.), *Karl der Grosse und das Erbe der Kulturen* (Berlin, 2001), 36–53.

Pagden, Anthony, *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c.1500–c.1800* (New Haven, Conn., 1995).

Paris, Gaston, *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne,* 2nd edn. (Paris, 1905).

Parker, Elizabeth C., 'Architecture as Liturgical Setting', in Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter (eds.), *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church* (Kalamazoo, Mich., 2001), 273–326.

Partner, Nancy F., *Serious Entertainments: The Writing of History in Twelfth-Century England* (Chicago, 1977).

Pastan, Elizabeth, 'Charlemagne as Saint? Relics and the Choice of Window Subjects at Chartres Cathedral', in Matthew Gabriele and Jace Stuckey (eds.), *The Legend of Charlemagne in the Middle Ages: Power, Faith, and Crusade* (New York, 2008), 97–135.

Patzold, Steffen, 'Eine "loyale Palastrebellion" der "Reichseinheitspartei"? Zur "Divisio imperii" von 817 und zu den Ursachen des Aufstands gegen Ludwig der Frommen im Jahre 830', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien,* 40 (2006), 43–77.

Pauphilet, Albert, 'Sur *La Chanson de Roland*', *Romania,* 59 (1933), 161–98.

Piolin, Le R. P. Dom Paul, *Histoire de l'église du Mans* (Paris, 1856).

Plant, Richard, 'Architectural Developments in the Empire North of the Alps: The Patronage of the Imperial Court', in Nigel Hiscock (ed.), *The White Mantle of Churches: Architecture, Literature, and Art around the Millennium* (Turnhout, 2003), 29–56.

Pohl, Walter, 'Memory, Identity and Power in Lombard Italy', in Yitzhak Hen and Matthew Innes (eds.), *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2000), 9–28.

Poly, Jean-Pierre, 'Le Procès de l'an mil ou du bon usages des *leges* en temps de désarroi', in *La giustizia nell'alto Medioevo, secoli IX–XI: 11–17 aprile 1996* (Spoleto, 1997), 9–40.

Prawer, Joshua, 'Jerusalem in the Christian and Jewish Perspectives of the Early Middle Ages', in *Gli ebrei nell'alto medioevo: 30 marzo–5 aprile 1978* (Spoleto, 1980), ii. 739–95.

Pryor, John H., 'A View from the Masthead: The First Crusade from the Sea', *Crusades,* 7 (2008), 87–152.

——'Review of Norman Housley: Contesting the Crusades', *Journal of Religious History,* 33 (2009), 113–15.

Purkis, William J., *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c.1095–c.1187* (Rochester, NY, 2008).

Rabe, Susan A., *Faith, Art, and Politics at Saint-Riquier: The Symbolic Vision of Angilbert* (Philadelphia, 1995).

Reimitz, Helmut, 'The Art of Truth: Historiography and Identity in the Frankish World', in Richard Corradini (ed.), *Texts and Identities in the Early Middle Ages* (Vienna, 2006), 87–103.

——'Omnes Franci: Identifications and Identities of the Early Medieval Franks', in Ildar H. Garipzanov, Patrick J. Geary, and Przemyslaw Urbanczyk (eds.), *Franks, Northmen, and Slavs: Identities and State Formation in Early Medieval Europe* (Turnhout, 2008), 51–68.

Reischmann, Hans-Joachim, *Die Trivialisierung des Karlsbildes der Einhard-Vita in Notkers 'Gesta Karoli Magni'* (Constance, 1984).

Remensnyder, Amy G., *Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France* (Ithaca, NY, 1995).

——'Topographies of Memory: Center and Periphery in High Medieval France', in Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried, and Patrick J. Geary (eds.), *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography* (Cambridge, 2002), 193–214.

Renna, Thomas, *Jerusalem in Medieval Thought, 400–1300* (Lewiston, NY, 2002).

Reuter, Timothy, 'The Ottonians and Carolingian Tradition', in Janet L. Nelson (ed.), *Medieval Polities and Modern Mentalities* (Cambridge, 2006), 268–83.

——'*Regemque, quem in Francia pene perdidit, in patria magnifice recepit*: Ottonian Ruler Representation in Synchronic and Diachronic Comparison', in Janet L. Nelson (ed.), *Medieval Polities and Modern Mentalities* (Cambridge, 2006), 127–46.

Riant, Paul, 'Inventaire critique des lettres historiques de croisades', *Archives de l'Orient Latin,* 1 (1881), 1–89.

Richards, Mary P., 'Wulfstan and the Millennium', in Michael Frassetto (ed.), *The Year 1000: Religious and Social Response to the Turning of the First Millennium* (New York, 2002), 41–8.

Riché, Pierre, 'La Bible et la vie politique dans le haut Moyen Âge', in Pierre Riché and Guy Lobrichon (eds.), *Le Moyen Âge et la Bible* (Paris, 1984), 385–400.

Riches, Theo, 'The Carolingian Capture of Aachen in 978 and its Historiographical Footprint', in Paul Fouracre and David Ganz (eds.), *Frankland: The Franks and the World of the Early Middle Ages* (Manchester, 2008), 191–208.

Riley-Smith, Jonathan, *The Atlas of the Crusades* (New York, 1991).

——'Erdmann and the Historiography of the Crusades, 1935–1995', in Luis García-Guijjaro Ramos (ed.), *La Primera Cruzada novecientos años después: El concilio de Clermont y los orígenes del movimiento cruzado* (Madrid, 1997), 17–29.

——*The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (Philadelphia, 1986).

——*The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge, 1997).

——'Pilgims and Crusaders in Western Latin Sources', in Mary Whitby (ed.), *Byzantines and Crusaders in Non-Greek Sources, 1025–1204* (Oxford, 2007), 5–21.

Ringel, Ingrid Heike, 'Ipse transfert regna et mutat tempora: Beobachtungen zur Herkunft von Dan. 2,21 bei Urban II.', in Ernst-Dieter Hehl, Hubertus Seibert, and Franz Staab (eds.), *Deus qui mutat tempora: Menschen und Institutionen im Wandel des Mittelalters* (Sigmaringen, 1987), 137–56.

Robinson, I. S., 'Gregory VII and the Soldiers of Christ', *History*, 58 (1973), 161–92.

Robinson, P. R., 'The "Booklet", a Self-Contained Unit in Composite Manuscripts', in A. Gruys and J. P. Gumbert (eds.), *Codicologica*, Litterae Textuales, 3 (Leiden, 1980), 46–69.

Roubach, Sharon, 'The Hidden Apocalypse: Richard of Saint-Vanne and the Otherworld', *Journal of Medieval History,* 32 (2006), 302–14.

Rousset, Paul, 'La Notion de Chrétienté aux XI^{e} et XII^{e} siècles', *Le Moyen Âge,* 69 (1963), 191–203.

——*Les Origines et les caractéres de la Première Croisade* (New York, 1978).

Rubenstein, Jay, *The First Crusade and the End of Time*, forthcoming.

——'Godfrey of Bouillon versus Raymond of Saint-Gilles: How Carolingian Kingship Trumped Millennarianism at the End of the First Crusade', in Matthew Gabriele and Jace Stuckey (eds.), *The Legend of Charlemagne in the Middle Ages: Power, Faith, and Crusade* (New York, 2008), 59–75.

——*Guibert of Nogent: Portrait of a Medieval Mind* (New York, 2002).

——'How, or How Much, to Reevaluate Peter the Hermit?' in Susan Ridyard (ed.), *The Medieval Crusade* (Rochester, NY, 2004), 53–69.

——'What is the Gesta Francorum and Who was Peter Tudebode?', *Revue Mabillon,* 16 (2005), 179–204.

Runciman, Steven, 'Charlemagne and Palestine', *English Historical Review,* 50 (1935), 606–19.

——'The Pilgrimages to Palestine Before 1095', in Kenneth M. Setton and Marshall W. Baldwin (eds.), *A History of the Crusades* (Philadelphia, 1955), 68–78.

Schaller, Hans Martin, 'Zur Kreuzzugsenzyklika Papst Sergius' IV.', in Hubert Mordek (ed.), *Papsttum, Kirche und Recht im Mittelalter: Festschrift für Horst Fuhrmann zum 65. Geburtstag* (Tübingen, 1991), 135–53.

Schein, Sylvia, *Gateway to the Heavenly City: Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West (1099–1187)* (Burlington, Vt., 2005).

——'Jérusalem: Objectif originel de la Première Croisade?' in Michel Balard (ed.), *Autour de la Première Croisade: Actes du colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East (Clermont-Ferrand, 22–25 juin 1995)* (Paris, 1996), 119–26.

Schiffers, Heinrich, *Karls des Grossen Reliquienschatz und die Anfange der Aachenfahrt* (Aachen, 1951).

Schlatter, Frederic W., 'Interpreting the Mosaic of Santa Pudenziana', *Vigiliae Christianae,* 46 (1992), 276–95.

Schmid, Karl, 'Aachen und Jerusalem: Ein Beitrag zur historischen Personnenforschung der Karolingerzeit', in Karl Hauck (ed.), *Das Einhardkreuz* (Göttingen, 1974), 122–42.

Schneidmüller, Bernd, 'Adso von Montier-en-Der und die Frankenkönige', *Trierer Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst des Trierer Landes und seiner Nachbargebiete,* 40–1 (1977–8), 189–99.

——*Nomen Patriae: Die Entstehung Frankreichs in der politisch-geographischen Terminologie (10.–13. Jahrhundert)* (Sigmaringen, 1987).

Schott, Jeremy M., *Christianity, Empire, and the Making of Religion in Late Antiquity* (Philadelphia, 2008).

Schramm, Percy Ernst, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio: Studien zur Geschichte des römischen Erneuerungsgedankens vom Ende des karolingischen Reiches bis zum Investiturstreit,* 2 vols. (Berlin, 1929).

Schütte, Bernd, 'Karl der Grosse in der Geschichtsschreibung des hohen Mittelalters', in Bernd Bastert (ed.), *Karl der Grosse in den europäischen Literaturen des Mittelalaters: Konstruktion eines Mythos* (Tübingen, 2004), 223–45.

——'Karl der Grosse in der Historiographie der Ottonen- und Salierzeit', in Franz-Reiner Erkens (ed.), *Karl der Grosse und das Erbe der Kulturen* (Berlin, 2001), 246–56.

Schwartz, Gerhard, *Die Besetzung der Bistümer Reichsitaliens unter den sächsischen und salischen Kaisern: Mit den Listen der Bischöfe, 951–1122* (Berlin, 1913).

Schwering-Illert, Gisela, *Die ehemalige französische Abteikirche Saint-Sauveur in Charroux (Vienne) in 11. und 12. Jh.: Ein Vorschlag zur Rekonstruktion und Deutung der romanischen Bauteile,* Ph.D. diss. Bonn, Germany, 1963.

Screen, Elina, 'The Importance of the Emperor: Lothar I and the Frankish Civil War, 840–843', *Early Medieval Europe,* 12 (2003), 25–51.

Seidel, Linda, *Songs of Glory: The Romanesque Facades of Aquitaine* (Chicago, 1981).

Semmler, Josef, 'Karl der Grosse und das fränkische Mönchtum', in Wolfgang Braunfels and Percy Ernst Schramm (eds.), *Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben,* 5 vols. (Düsseldorf, 1965), ii. 255–89.

Sholod, Barton, 'Charlemagne: Symbolic Link between the Eighth and Eleventh Century Crusades', in *Studies in Honor of M. J. Bernadete* (New York, 1965), 33–46.

Shopkow, Leah, 'The Carolingian World of Dudo of Saint-Quentin', *Journal of Medieval History,* 15 (1989), 19–37.

——*History and Community: Norman Historical Writing in the 11th and 12th Centuries* (Washington, DC, 1997).

Siegrist, Theodor, *Herrscherbild und Weltsicht bei Notker Balbulus: Untersuchungen zu den Gesta Karoli* (Zürich, 1963).

Skubiszewski, Piotr 'Ecclesia, Christianitas, Regnum et Sacerdotium dans l'art des Xe–XIe s.: Idées et structures des images', *Cahiers des civilisation médiévale,* 28 (1985), 133–79.

Somerville, Robert, 'The Council of Clermont (1095) and Latin Christian Society', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae,* 12 (1974), 55–90.

——'The Council of Clermont and the First Crusade', *Studia Gratiana,* 20 (1976), 325–37.

Spiegel, Gabrielle M., *The Chronicle Tradition of Saint-Denis: A Survey* (Brookline, Mass., 1978).

——'The Cult of Saint-Denis and Capetian Kingship', *Journal of Medieval History,* 1 (1975), 43–69.

——*The Past as Text: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography* (Baltimore, 1997).

——*Romancing the Past: The Rise of Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993).

Stansbury, Mark, 'Early-Medieval Biblical Commentaries and their Readers', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien,* 33 (1999), 49–82.

Stein, Robert M., 'Literary Criticism and the Evidence for History', in Nancy Partner (ed.), *Writing Medieval History* (London, 2005), 67–87.

——*Reality Fictions: Romance, History, and Governmental Authority, 1025–1180* (Notre Dame, Ind., 2006).

Stock, Brian, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton, 1983).

Stones, Alison, 'The *Codex Calixtinus* and the Iconography of Charlemagne', in Karen Pratt (ed.), *Roland and Charlemagne in Europe: Essays on the Reception and Transformation of a Legend* (London, 1996), 169–203.

Story, Joanna, *Carolingian Connections: Anglo-Saxon England and Carolingian Francia, c.750–870* (Burlington, Vt., 2003).

——(ed.), *Charlemagne: Empire and Society* (Manchester, 2005).

——'Charlemagne's Reputation', in Joanna Story (ed.), *Charlemagne: Empire and Society* (Manchester, 2005), 1–4.

Stroumsa, Guy G., 'Mystical Jerusalems', in Lee I. Levine (ed.), *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (New York, 1999), 349–70.

Struve, Tilman, 'Kaisertum und Romgedanke in salischer Zeit', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters,* 44 (1988), 424–54.

Stuckey, Jace, 'Charlemagne: The Making of an Image, 1100–1300', Ph.D. diss. University of Florida, 2006.

Sullivan, Richard E., 'The Carolingian Age: Reflections on its Place in the History of the Middle Ages', *Speculum,* 64 (1989), 267–306.

——'What was Carolingian Monasticism? The Plan of St. Gall and the History of Monasticism', in Alexander Callander Murray (ed.), *After Rome's Fall: Narrators and their Sources of Early Medieval History* (Toronto, 1998), 251–87.

Sumption, Jonathan, *Pilgrimage: An Image of Mediaeval Religion* (Totowa, NJ, 1975).

Taviani-Carozzi, Huguette, *La Terreur du monde: Robert Guiscard et la conquète normande en Italie, mythe et histoire* (Paris, 1996).

Taylor, Claire, 'The Year 1000 and Those Who Labored', in Michael Frassetto (ed.), *The Year 1000: Religious and Social Response to the Turning of the First Millennium* (New York, 2002), 187–236.

Tessier, Georges, *Diplomatique royale française* (Paris, 1962).

Thomas, Hugh H., *The English and the Normans: Ethnic Hostility, Assimilation, and Identity, 1066–c.1220* (Oxford, 2003).

Tinnefeld, Franz, 'Formen und Wege des Kontakes zwischen Byzanz und dem Westen zur Zeit Karls des Grossen', in Franz-Reiner Erkens (ed.), *Karl der Grosse und das Erbe der Kulturen* (Berlin, 2001), 25–35.

Tischler, Matthias M., *Einharts Vita Karoli: Studien zur Entstehung, Überlieferung und Rezeption,* 2 vols. (Hannover, 2001).

——'Tatmensch oder Heidenapostel: Die Bilder Karls des Grossen bei Einhart und im Pseudo-Turpin', in Klaus Herbers (ed.), *Jakobus und Karl der Grosse: Von Einhards Karlsvita zum Pseudo-Turpin* (Tübingen, 2003), 1–37.

Tomassetti, Giuseppe, *La campagna Romana: Antica, medioevale e moderna,* 4 vols. (Rome, 1976).

Töpfer, Bernhard, 'The Cult of Relics and Pilgrimage in Burgundy and Aquitaine at the Time of the Monastic Reform', in Thomas Head and Richard Landes (eds.), *The Peace of*

God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000 (Ithaca, NY, 1992), 41–57.

Tyerman, Christopher, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588* (Chicago, 1988).

——*God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, Mass., 2006).

——'Principes et Populus: Civil Society and the First Crusade', in Simon Barton and Peter Lineham (eds.), *Cross, Crescent and Conversion: Studies on Medieval Spain and Christendom in Memory of Richard Fletcher* (Leiden, 2008), 127–51.

Tyssens, Madeleine, and Claude Thiry (eds.), *Charlemagne et l'épopée romane: Actes du VII^{e} Congrès International de la Société Rencesvals*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1978).

Van de Kieft, C., 'Deux diplômes faux de Charlemagne pour Saint-Denis, du XII^{e} siècle', *Le Moyen Âge,* 64 (1958), 401–36.

van Engen, John, *Rupert of Deutz* (Berkeley, Calif., 1983).

van Houts, Elisabeth M. C., 'Normandy and Byzantium in the Eleventh Century', *Byzantion,* 55 (1985), 544–59.

van Laarhoven, Jan, 'Chrétienté et croisade: Une tentative terminologique', *Cristianesimo nella storia,* 6 (1985), 27–43.

——'"Christianitas" et réforme grégorienne', *Studi Gregoriani,* 6 (1959–61), 1–98.

van Meter, David, 'Apocalyptic Moments and the Eschatological Rhetoric of Reform in the Early Eleventh Century: The Case of the Visionary of St. Vaast', in Richard Landes, Andrew Gow, and David C. van Meter (eds.), *The Apocalyptic Year 1000: Religious Expectation and Social Change, 950–1050* (Oxford, 2003), 311–25.

——'The Empire of the Year 6000: Eschatology and the Sanctification of Carolingian Politics', Ph.D. diss. Boston University, 1997.

Vance, Eugene, 'Semiotics and Power: Relics, Icons, and the "Voyage de Charlemagne à Jérusalem et à Constantinople"', *Romanic Review,* 79 (1988), 164–83.

Vasiliev, A., 'Medieval Ideas of the End of the World: West and East', *Byzantion,* 16 (1942–3), 462–502.

Verdon, Jean, *Travel in the Middle Ages,* tr. George Holoch (Notre Dame, Ind., 2003).

Verhelst, Daniel, 'Adso of Montier-en-Der and the Fear of the Year 1000', in Richard Landes, Andrew Gow, and David C. van Meter (eds.), *The Apocalyptic Year 1000: Religious Expectation and Social Change, 950–1050* (Oxford, 2003), 81–92.

——'La Préhistoire des conceptions d'Adson concernant l'Antichrist', *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale,* 40 (1973), 52–103.

Verlinden, Charles, *Robert I^{er} le Frison, comte de Flandre* (Paris, 1935).

Vieillard-Troïkouroff, May, 'La Chapelle du palais de Charles le Chauve à Compiègne', *Cahiers archéologiques,* 21 (1971), 89–108.

Vigneras, L.-A., 'L'Abbaye de Charroux et la légende du pèlerinage de Charlemagne', *Romanic Review,* 32 (1941), 121–8.

Vogel, Cyrille, 'Le Pèlerinage pénitentiel', *Revue des Sciences Religieuses,* 38 (1964), 113–53.

Waldman, Thomas G., 'Saint-Denis et les premiers Capétians', in Dominique Iogna-Prat and Jean-Charles Picard (eds.), *Religion et culture autour de l'an mil: Royaume capétien et Lotharingie* (Paris, 1990), 191–7.

Walz, Dorothea, 'Karl der Grosse: Ein verhinderter Seefahrer. Die Reichenauer Heiligbluterzählung aus dem zehnten Jahrhundert', in Franz-Reiner Erkens (ed.), *Karl der Grosse und das Erbe der Kulturen* (Berlin, 2001), 234–45.

Warner, David A., 'Ritual and Memory in the Ottonian *Recht*: The Ceremony of *Adventus*', *Speculum,* 76 (2001), 255–83.

——'Ideals and Action in the Reign of Otto III', *Journal of Medieval History,* 25 (1999), 1–18.

Webber, Nick, *The Evolution of Norman Identity, 911–1154* (Woodbridge, 2005).

Werner, Karl Ferdinand, '*Hludovicus Augustus*: Gouverner l'empire chrétien. Idées et réalités', in Peter Godman and Roger Collins (eds.), *Charlemagne's Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814–40)* (Oxford, 1990), 3–123.

——'Das Hochmittelalterliche Imperium im politischen Bewusstein Frankreichs (10.–12. Jahrhunderts)', *Historische Zeitschrift,* 200 (1965), 1–60.

——*Karl der Grosse oder Charlemagne? Von der Aktualität einer überholten Fragestellung* (Münich, 1995).

Whalen, Brett, *Dominion of God: Christendom and the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 2009).

Wharton, Annabel, *Refiguring the Post-Classical City: Dura Europe, Jerash, Jerusalem and Ravenna* (Cambridge, 1995).

White, Hayden, 'Commentary', *History of the Human Sciences,* 9 (1996), 123–38.

——'Historical Emplotment and the Problem of Truth in Historical Representation', *Figural Realism: Studies in the Mimesis Effect* (Baltimore, 1999), 27–42.

——'The Historical Text as Literary Artifact', *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore, 1978), 81–100.

——'Historicism, History, and the Figurative Imagination', *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore, 1978), 101–20.

——'The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality', *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore, 1987), 1–25.

Whitehead, Frederick, 'Charlemagne's Second Dream', in G. R. Mellor (ed.), *Société Rencesvals: Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference* (Salford, 1977), 64–72.

Wilken, Robert L., *The Land Called Holy: Palestine in Christian History and Thought* (New Haven, Conn., 1992).

Wilkinson, John, Joyce Hill, and W. F. Ryan, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099–1185* (London, 1988).

Willmes, Peter, *Der Herrscher-'Adventus' im Kloster des Frühmittelalters* (Münich, 1976).

Yates, Frances A., *The Art of Memory* (Chicago, 1966).

Zender, Matthias, 'Die Verehrung des hl. Karl im Gebiet des mittelalterlichen Reiches', in Wolfgang Braunfels and Percy Ernst Schramm (eds.), *Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, 5 vols. (Düsseldorf, 1967), iv. 100–12.

Index

Aachen:
  chapel of St Mary 20–1, 48 n. 33, 53, 58, 80, 121, 155 n. 100
  and European architecture 134
  and Frankish empire 103
  historiographical focus on 3 n. 11
  and Jerusalem 77
  Ottonian possession of 20
Abbo of Fleury 22
Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés 23, 132
Account of the Holy Land (Pseudo-Bede) 51
accumulation, logic of 24–5, 37
Adalbero, bishop of Laon 22, 135 n. 21
Adamnan of Iona 42 n. 3, 84
Adela of Vermandois 63
Ademar of Chabannes:
  and Charlemagne's power over the Holy Land 31, 39–40
  Holy Land pilgrimage of 88, 92 n. 78
  and Jerusalem 80 n. 26, 83
  and Last Emperor legend 119 n. 83, 120–3, *122*, 127
  and monastic foundation legends 24
  on relics 26, 27
Ado, archbishop of Vienne 23, 26, 131–2
Adoptionism heresy 102, 126
Adso, abbot of Montier-en-Der 92 n. 78, 110–11, 112, 119 nn.83,84, 144
  Pseudo-Alcuin's version of 123–5, 127
adventus ritual 45
Aebischer, Paul 139
Ælfric of Eynsham 143
Alberi, Mary 102 n. 17
Alberic, prince of the Romans 44
Albert of Aachen 7, 155 n. 100
Alcuin 34, 77 n. 14, 102, 125, 126
Aldred, bishop of Worcester 89
Alexander II, pope 47
Alexander III, pope 54 n. 56
Alexander, Paul 109
Alexandria 42
Alexius I Comnenus, Byzantine emperor 56, 113, 115 n. 65, 151
All Souls, feast of 106
Alphandéry, Paul 123 n. 95, 127 n. 113
Amatus, archbishop of Bordeaux 50
Ambrosius Autpertus 125
Amiens, bishops of 59
Andreas of Bergamo 23, 132
Angilbert, abbot of Saint-Riquier 27, 78
Anglo-Normans 106; *see also* Normans
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle 89
Anglo-Saxons 106, 135
Aniane, monastery of 25, 27
Annales Altahenses Maiores 37, 117–19, 127
Annales Augustani 156
Annales Mettenses Priores 16, 68, 118
Annales Nordhumbranis 31, 31–2 n. 96, 38, 119 n. 85
Annales Quedlinburgenses 30, 37
Annales regni Francorum, see *ARF (Annales regni Francorum)*
Annales (Saint-Amand) 38, 97
Annals of Fulda 69
Annals of Lorsch 35 n. 112
Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury 83, 153 n. 94
Anselm of Bésate 105, 113, 123 n. 94
apocalypticism, *see* eschatology; Last Emperor legend
ARF (Annales regni Francorum):
  and Frankish identity 130
  and Frankish power over the Holy Land 33–4, 35, 36, 37, 38–9
  and idea of Frankish Golden Age 16, 68
  and Last Emperor legend 117
  and logic of accumulation 24–5
  Reviser 68 n. 109
aristocratic naming 63
Arnulf, bishop of Orléans 79
Auerbach, Erich 115 n. 66
Augustine, Saint 74, 76–7
Avesgaud, bishop of Le Mans 88
Azan, legendary prefect of Jerusalem 38, 39

Baker, Keith 66, 70
Balard, Michel 141
Baldwin I, king of Jerusalem 140
Bamberg 81
Barroux, Robert 61 n. 83
Baudri of Dol 147, 154
Bayeux Embroidery 137
Becker, Alfons 157–8 n. 110
Bede 42 n. 3, 77, 84–5, 100–1
Beech, George 47, 51 n. 39
Bella Parisiacae urbis (Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés) 23, 132
Bender, Karl-Heinz 33
Benedict of Aniane 27, 46
Benedict of Monte Soratte 41–4
  background of 43–4
  on Byzantines 56
  and Frankish empire 98–9
  and Holy Land pilgrimage 90 n. 75
  and Last Emperor legend 114
  and memory-history dialectic 67, 69
  on Ottonians 20 n. 26

Benedict of Monte Soratte (*cont.*)
  overview of *Chronicon* 42–3
  on relics 26
Benedict of St Andrew, *see* Benedict of Monte Soratte
Benzo, bishop of Alba 53 n. 46, 112–15
Berengar, bishop of Elne 90
Bernard, bishop of Bologna 153
Bernard of Clairvaux 83 n. 39
Bernard the Monk 34, 42 n. 3, 84 n. 47, 85 n. 50
Bernold of St Blasien 156
Bertha of Holland 63
Beumann, Helmut 113 n. 57
Biddle, Martin 92 n. 80
Bieberstein, Klaus 34 n. 106
Blanks, David 43 n. 7
Bohemond of Taranto 114 n. 63
Bologna 80–1
Bouchard, Constance Brittain 112 n. 53
Boyce, Burke 1
Brandes, Wolfram 125
Bremen, bishopric of 24
Brown, Elizabeth A. R. 61 n. 83
Bruno of Segni 20
Bull, Marcus 79, 92 n. 79, 140–1
Byzantine Empire:
  and Charlemagne's journey to the East 35, 39, 42, 43, 56
  and First Crusade 56 n. 64, 147 n. 65, 151
  and First Crusade precursors 57 n. 66, 144
  and Frankish empire 98, 99, 103
  and Holy Land pilgrimage 86–7, 91
  and imperial expansion 33
  and Last Emperor legend 107, 109–10, 126
  and Ottonian legitimacy 21 n. 28

Cabanot, Jean 45 n. 16
Capetians, *see also specific rulers*
  and abbey of Saint-Denis 60
  and Frankish identity 22, 132, 134, 154
  and idea of Frankish Golden Age 21–2
  and Last Emperor legend 116 n. 72
Carloman, Charlemagne's uncle 43
Carolingians, *see also specific rulers*
  and abbey of Saint-Denis 60
  and Frankish empire 101–3
  and Frankish identity 22, 61, 130–2
  and Holy Land pilgrimage 91
  and idea of Frankish Golden Age 13, 15–19, 68
  and imperial authority 62–4
  and Last Emperor legend 122, 123, 125–6
  and Philip I 61, 62–4
  and Saint-Maur-les-Fossés 63 n. 92
  spirituality 76–7
Carruthers, Mary 5, 69
Cassiodorus 75
Charlemagne (historical):
  canonization of 2, 3, 54
  Holy Land contacts 33–4, 76
  life overview 9
  name of 1 n. 2
  tomb of 20, 21, 29, 53 n. 46, 120–1, 133
Charlemagne legend historiography 1–9; *see also specific sources*
  and authorial intention 69
  interdisciplinarity 2–4, 4–5, 7, 8
  map (9th-12th centuries) *14*, 160–3
  marginalization 2–3
  and memory-history dialectic 5–9, 66–9, 147–8
  source contextualization 4–6, 36–7
  source continuity 66–8
  source independence 65–6
  and word associations 69–70
Charlemagne Window, Chartres Cathedral 55, *55*
Charlemagne's journey to the East 41, 90 n. 75; *see also* Benedict of Monte Soratte; *Descriptio qualiter Karolus Magnus*; *Historia* (Charroux)
  and First Crusade 56–7, 65, 139–40
  and Frankish empire 98–100
  and imperial authority 62–4, 68
  and Last Emperor legend 64 n. 95, 69–70
  and memory-history dialectic 66–9
  miscellaneous texts on 65–6
  and relics 45–6, 51, 52–3, 54, 57, 62, 83–4
  and source contextualization 4
  source continuity 68–70
  source independence 65–6
Charles II "the Bald," king of West Francia; Roman Emperor:
  and abbey of Charroux 46, 51
  and abbey of Saint-Denis 61
  and abbey of Senlis 63 n. 93
  and Christ analogies 28 n. 73
  Descriptio qualiter Karolus Magnus on 53, 54, 62, 64
  and Einhard 17 n. 11
  and Frankish empire 103
  and idea of Frankish Golden Age 18
  and imperial authority 64
  and Last Emperor legend 112
  and Normans 135
  and Saint-Corneille of Compiègne 18, 53, 54, 58, 59
  and Saint-Maur-les-Fossés 63 n. 92
Charles III "the Fat," Roman Emperor 19, 36, 37, 103
Charles III "the Simple," king of West Francia 63 n. 92
Charroux, abbey of, see also *Historia* (Charroux)
  abbey church 48, *49*, 50, 81
  foundation legends 30, 45, 46, 47, 50, 51, 60, 61 n. 81

  and Frankish identity 61
  history of 46–8, 50
  and Philip I 47, 50, 60–2, 63
  Privilegium 27–8, 29, 30, 44, 50
  relics 27–8, 45–6, 48 n. 33, 50, 51, 83
Chartres Cathedral 55, *55*
Christ analogies:
  and Charlemagne's journey to the East 50–1
  and Frankish empire 99, 105
  and Last Emperor legend 115–16, 118
  and relics 28, 51
Christian of Stavelot 34
Chronicon (Ademar of Chabannes), *see* Ademar of Chabannes
Chronicon (Benedict of Monte Soratte), *see* Benedict of Monte Soratte
Chronicon (Martin of Troppau) 54
Chronicon (Moissiac) 27, 118
Chronicon (Novalesa) 26, 29, 120
Chronicon (Saint-Bénigne of Dijon) 31
Chronicon (Saint-Maixent of Poitiers) 24
Chronicon (Saint-Pierre-le-Vif of Sens) 65
Chronicon (Thietmar of Merseburg) 20, 120, 132–3
Clement II, pope 48
Cluny, abbey of 81–2, 106
Compiègne, *see* Saint-Corneille of Compiègne
Conrad II, Roman Emperor 21
Constantine, legendary Byzantine emperor 52, 64
Constantine, Roman emperor:
  and Frankish empire 100
  and idea of Frankish Golden Age 17, 30
  and imperial authority 64
  and Jerusalem 74–5, 77, 78
Constantinople 42, 158 n. 110; *see also* Byzantine Empire
Continuations of Fredegar 16
Cothren, Michael W. 61 n. 83
Council of Ver (844) 18
Cowdrey, H. E. J. 144 n. 60
Crusading Window, Saint-Denis 55–6, *57*

Dagobert I, king of the Franks 61
Davidic kingship:
  and Charlemagne's Holy Land contacts 34
  and First Crusade 140
  and Frankish empire 102
  and idea of Frankish Golden Age 18, 19
  and Jerusalem 75, 77
Davis, R. H. C. 137
de Jong, Mayke 17 n. 11, 69, 92 n. 79, 103, 115 n. 66
De locis sanctis (Bede) 84–5
de Lubac, Henri 74 n. 4, 77–8 n. 18
De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae Ducum (Dudo of Saint-Quentin) 135–6, 137, 155
De ortu et tempore Antichristi (Adso of Montier-en-Der) 110–11, 112, 119 n. 83, 123
De otiis imperialibus (Gervase of Tilbury) 51
Dei gesta per Francos (Guibert of Nogent) 129, 147, 148
Descriptio qualiter Karolus Magnus 41, 51–60
  and Charroux *Historia* 60–1, 64
  and Chartres Cathedral Charlemagne Window 55, *55*
  Christ analogies in 115–16
  content overview 52–3
  dating of 57–60
  and First Crusade 140
  and Frankish empire 98–100
  and imperial authority 62–4, 68
  influence of 54–5
  and Jerusalem 83–4
  and Last Emperor legend 114, 115–16, 127
  and memory-history dialectic 67–8
  and Philip I 61, 62–4, 68
  and Saint-Denis Crusading Window 55–6
  and sanctification of Charlemagne 29
Douglas, David 138, 139
dream visions 15–16, 17, 29, 53
du Pouget, Marc 61 n. 83
Dudo of Saint-Quentin 135–6, 137, 155
Dunbabin, Jean 63 n. 89
Dutton, Paul 16, 18, 19, 122

East Franks 133–4
ecclesia 101, 106, 157–8 n. 110, 159; *see also* *populus christianus*
Ehlers, Joachim 22 n. 36
Einhard:
  and Ademar of Chabannes 120
  and Charlemagne's journey to the East 42, 43, 56, 69
  and Charlemagne's power over the Holy Land 35–6, 37
  and Charlemagne's *magnus* appellation 13 n. 1
  and Frankish empire 103
  and idea of Frankish Golden Age 17, 19
  and logic of accumulation 24–5
  and sanctification of Charlemagne 29 n. 77
Ekkehard of Aura 140
Elias, patriarch of Jerusalem 37
Elsner, Jas 75
Ember Days 58
Emperor's Arrow, The (Boyce) 1
Erdmann, Carl 142
eschatology 107; *see also* Last Emperor legend
  and Christ analogies 115–16
  and conversion 117 n. 76
  and First Crusade precursors 141, 142 n. 45, 143 n. 49
  and Holy Land pilgrimage 85 n. 50
  and Jerusalem 74, 118–19

eschatology (*cont.*)
  millennial week concept 125 n. 107
Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea 74, 75, 100–1, 125 n. 107
Eustochium 76
Exhortatio ad proceres regni 113, 123
Explanatio somnii (Tiburtine Sibyl) 109, 113, 114, 124
Exposito psalmorum (Cassiodorus) 75

fact-fiction dialectic, *see* memory-history dialectic
Farmer, Sharon 25
Farrier, Susan E. 2
Fécamp, abbey of 135
Filioque controversy 39
First Crusade 139–59
  and Charlemagne's journey to the East 56–7, 65, 139–40
  and Frankish empire 140–1
  and Frankish identity 141, 154–9
  and Holy Land pilgrimage 89
  and Last Emperor legend 69–70, 123
  logistical issues 91 n. 76
  and memory-history dialectic 147–8
  precursors to 57 n. 66, 141–5, 153, 158 n. 112
  recruitment for 145, *146*, 147
  route for 87
  Urban II letters 151–4
  Urban II preaching travels 148, *149*, 150
  Urban II sermon 147–8
Flavigny, monastery of 26, 27
Fleury, abbey of 62, 65 n. 99, 82
Flori, Jean 37 n. 120, 140
Florus of Lyons 17–18
Folz, Robert 3, 28–9, 123 n. 94
Fontenoy, Battle of (841) 159
foundation legends 23–5, 29–30
  abbey of Charroux 30, 45, 46, 47, 50, 51, 60, 61 n. 81
France, John 142
Francigeni 136, 137, 155 n. 100
Frankish empire 97; *see also* Frankish identity
  and Bede 100–1
  and Capetians 22
  Carolingians on 101–3
  and Charlemagne's expansionary wars 30–3
  and Charlemagne's journey to the East 98–100
  and Christ analogies 99, 105
  and ecclesiastical reform 106
  and Eusebius of Caesarea 100
  extent of 102
  and First Crusade 140–1
  as *imperium Christianum* 101–2
  and Last Emperor legend 110–12, 126–8
  militant nature of 31, 127, 138, 139
  and Ottonians 103–5, *104*
  and papacy 106
  and territorial boundaries 104, 131
Frankish Golden Age, idea of; *see also* Charlemagne's journey to the East
  Capetian sources 21–2
  Carolingian sources 13, 15–19, 68
  and Charlemagne's journey to the East 67–8
  and Charlemagne's *magnus* appellation 13 n. 1, 31
  and criticisms of Charlemagne 15–16, 17
  and Frankish identity 22–3, 30
  and Holy Land 27, 33–40
  and imperial expansion 30–3
  and monastic foundation legends 23–5, 29–30
  and monastic patronage legends 25–6, 29–30
  Ottonian sources 20–1
  Salian sources 21
  and sanctification of Charlemagne 28–30, 121
  and sleeping emperor legend 122
Frankish identity 129–39; *see also* Frankish empire
  and abbey of Charroux 61
  and Capetians 22, 132, 134, 154
  and Carolingians 22, 61, 130–2
  and Eastern terminology 141
  and First Crusade 141, 154–9
  and idea of Frankish Golden Age 22–3, 30
  and inheritance struggles 133–4
  and Jerusalem 77
  and Last Emperor legend 134, 139
  layered nature of 23, 131, 136, 156–7
  and Normans 134–9
  and Ottonians 132–3
  and Salians 134
Fréculf, Bishop of Lisieux 18
Frederick I Barbarossa, Roman Emperor 2, 4, 41, 54
Fulcher of Chartres 147, 150 n. 74, 156–7
Fulcrad, abbot of Charroux 47, 48 n. 33, 50, 60–1
Fulk Nerra, count of Anjou 88, 90, 91, 150
Fulton, Rachel 45 n. 16, 82, 90, 92

Galli 138, 155 n. 100
Ganshof, François-Louis 151 n. 86
Ganz, David 13 n. 1, 24–5
Garrison, Mary 22, 130
Geary, Patrick 18
gens 20, 99, 102, 108, 130, 131; see also *populus christianus*
gens christianu, see *populus christianus*
gentes Francorum 155, 156
Geoffrey, abbot of Vendôme 83, 147
Geoffrey Malaterra 136
Gerberga, West Frankish queen 110
Gerri, monastery of 23
Gervase of Tilbury 51

Gesta episoporum Mettensium 16, 54
Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum 65, 147, 154–5, 156
Gesta Karoli Magni (Notker the Stammerer) 19, 23, 36–7, 103, 132, 138
Gesta Normannorum Ducum (William of Jumièges) 137
Ghent, abbey of 82
Gieysztor, Alexander 141–2
Gil, Juan 125
Glenn, Jason 134 n. 18
Glory of the Martyrs (Gregory of Tours) 77
Godfrey de Bouillon 139, 156
Grandes chroniques de France 54
Gregory I "the Great," pope 77, 79–80, 81, 102, 117 n. 76
Gregory of Tours 76, 77, 79–80
Gregory VII, pope:
  and Ember Days 58
  and First Crusade precursors 57 n. 66, 143–5, 153, 158 n. 112
  and Last Emperor legend 113
  and Simon of Crépy 59
Guenée, Bernard 7 n. 24
Guibert of Nogent 129, 147, 148, 154
Gunther, bishop of Bamberg 89
Guy, bishop of Amiens 138, 155

Hägermann, Dieter 26
hagiography 7, 8 n. 28, 29, 75
Haidu, Peter 2 n. 7
Haimo of Auxerre 77, 110, 111 n. 49, 125
al-Hakim, Fatimid caliph 141
Hariulf of Saint-Riquier 7
Harun al-Rashid, Abbasid caliph 33, 34, 35–6, 37, 42
Hastings, Battle of 138
Hauck, Karl 20 n. 24
Heil, Johannes 125, 126 n. 108
Heitz, Carol 78
Helena, Roman empress 53, 64, 74–5
Henry, bishop of Senlis 61 n. 83
Henry I, king of England 47–8
Henry of Huntingdon 106
Henry I, king of Francia 63 n. 89
Henry II, Roman Emperor 20 n. 25, 81, 104, 106
Henry III, Roman Emperor 21, 24, 113
Henry IV, Roman Emperor 21, 53 n. 46, 112–15, 144, 145
Henry V, Roman Emperor 105
Heraklius, Byzantine Emperor 76
Herbert IV, count of Vermandois 59–60
Heribert III, count of Vermandois 112
Hincmar, archbishop of Reims 18, 69, 131
Hippolytus of Sicily, *see* Pseudo-Hippolytus
Histoire Poétique de Charlemagne (Gaston Paris) 2
Historia (Charroux) 41, 44, 60–1
  on Charroux foundation legend 45–6
  Christ analogies in 50–1
  dating of 50
  and *Descriptio qualiter Karolus Magnus* 60–1, 64
  and Frankish empire 98, 99, 127
  and Holy Land pilgrimage 90 n. 75
  and memory-history dialectic 67
  popularity of 51
Historia Ecclesiastica (Hugh of Fleury) 54
Historia Francorum Senonensis 21–2, 133, 134 n. 18
Historia Scholastica (Peter Comestor) 41, 51
Histories (Nithard) 13, 15, 17, 68, 111, 137
Histories (Ralph Glaber) 88
Hoffmann, Heinrich 30
Holy Foreskin 45 n. 16, 48 n. 33; *see also* Holy Virtue
Holy Land, *see also* Charlemagne's journey to the East; Holy Land pilgrimage; Jerusalem
  Charlemagne's historical contacts with 33–4, 76
  Charlemagne's legendary dominion over 31, 33–4, 35–40, 97
  and collapsing of time 25 n. 55
  and relic gift legends 27
Holy Land pilgrimage 84–92
  Bede on 84–5
  and Charlemagne's journey to the East 90 n. 75
  death during 91–2
  episodic nature of 90, 92
  and First Crusade 89
  and Frankish empire 98
  and Holy Land as atemporal 85–6
  large-scale journeys 87–92
  and Last Judgment 85 n. 50
  and late Roman building program 75
  as penance 91, 92
  as popular phenomenon 89–90
  routes for 86–7
Holy Sepulcher, Church of the (Jerusalem):
  and anagogical reading of Jerusalem 75, 78
  and Charlemagne's journey to the East 42, 45, 69
  destruction of 141, 142, 143 n. 49
  and European architecture 48, 50 n. 35, 80–1
  and First Crusade 56 n. 66
  and pilgrimage 86
Holy Virtue 45, 48 n. 33, 50, 51, 67
Honorius Augustodunensis 115
Hrbanaus Maurus 69
Hubert, bishop of Senlis 63 n. 93
Hugh, abbot of Flavigny 147, 150, 159 n. 115
Hugh, archbishop of Lyons 150
Hugh Capet, king of Francia 21–2, 60 n. 76
Hugh of Fleury 7, 24, 37, 38 n. 123, 54
Hugh of Vermandois 150
Hugh, son of Charlemagne 46

Hugo, Victor 129
Hungarians, conversion of 33 n. 101, 87, 91

imperator Romanorum sive Graecorum 110
imperator title 97, 98–100, 103; *see also* Frankish empire; imperial authority
imperial authority, *see also* Frankish empire; *imperium Christianum*
  and Charlemagne's journey to the East 62–4, 68
  and Last Emperor legend 109, 110, 124
  and Normans 136
  Philip I's claims to 62–4, 68
imperium, see imperial authority
imperium Christianum 101–2
  Bede on 100–1
  Carolingians on 101
  and Charlemagne's expansion 33
  and ecclesiastical reform 106
  Eusebius of Caesarea on 100
  and First Crusade 157, 158
  and First Crusade precursors 144–5
  and Frankish identity 130, 136
  and Holy Land dominion legends 39
  and Jerusalem 77
  and Last Emperor legend 108, 110, 111, 112, 113, 117, 118 n. 78, 126–7
imperium Francorum, see Frankish empire; *imperium Christianum*
Innocent III, pope 51
interdisciplinarity 2–5, 7, 8
Investiture Contest 21
Isembert, bishop of Poitiers 88 n. 61

Jacobus de Voragine 51
Jarento, abbot of Saint-Bénigne 147 n. 67, 150
Jerome, Saint 74, 75–6, 118, 125 n. 107
Jerusalem, *see also* Holy Land; Holy Land pilgrimage; Holy Sepulcher, Church of the
  anagogical reading of 74, 75–7, 77–8 n. 18, 79, 83, 92
  destruction of 74, 79, 81
  downplayed importance of 73–4
  and eschatology 74, 118–19
  and European architecture 48, 50 n. 35, 80–1, 153 n. 92
  and First Crusade 56, 158 n. 110
  and Frankish empire 105
  and Frankish identity 77
  late Roman building program 74–5, 78, 79
  and liturgy 81–3
  monastery of St Mary Latin 34, 37, 86
  Mount of Olives 118–19
  Muslim possession of 76, 86
  and relics 27, 83–4
  and religious houses 77–8
Jerusalem, patriarch of 33, 34, 35
Jocundus of Maastricht 31
John Cassian 74 n. 4
John VIII, pope 46
Jordan, bishop of Limoges 88 n. 61
Josephus, Flavius 74 n. 3, 81
Jumièges, abbey of 135
Justinian I, Byzantine Emperor 75 n. 8

Kantorowicz, Ernst 126
Karlamagnús Saga 55
Keller, Hagen 20 n. 24
Kessler, Herbert 142
Koziol, Geoffrey 133 n. 16, 135
Krautheimer, Richard 80
Kunsemüller, Johannes 98 n. 3

Lambert of Hersfeld 21, 89
Lament on the Division of the Empire (Florus of Lyon) 17–18
Lancelin, count of Beaugency 81
Last Emperor legend 107–28
  and Ademar of Chabannes 119 n. 83, 120–3, *122*, 127
  Adso of Montier-en-Der on 110–11, 112, 119 n. 83
  Annales Altahenses maiores on 117–19, 127
  Benzo of Alba on 112–15
  and Carolingians 122, 123, 125–6
  and Charlemagne's journey to the East 64 n. 95, 69–70
  and Christ analogies 115–16, 118
  and *Descriptio qualiter Karolus Magnus* 114, 115–16, 127
  and First Crusade 69–70, 123
  and Frankish empire 110–12, 126–8
  and Frankish identity 134, 139
  Liudprand of Cremona on 109–10, 111, 112, 113
  and Oxford *Chanson de Roland* 116–17, 119, 120, 123
  Pseudo-Alcuin on 123–5, 127
  Pseudo-Methodius on 107–8, 113, 114, 117, 119 n. 84, 120, 125
  and relics 64 n. 95, 116, 119
  Tiburtine Sibyl on 109, 113, 114, 124
Last Judgment, *see* eschatology; Last Emperor legend
Latowsky, Anne 36 n. 116
Laureys, Marc 108 n. 39
Le Patourel, John 135
Le Réole, priory of 24
Legenda aurea (Jacobus de Voragine) 51
Lendit, feast of 53, 57–8
Leo III, pope 27
Leo IX, pope 47
Levillan, Léon 58, 62
Leyerle, Blake 85
Liber de Constitutione (Charroux) 61 n. 81
Liber de modernorum regum Francorum qui continent actus (Hugh of Fleury) 54
Lietbert, archbishop of Cambrai 88–9, 90

Life of Louis the Pious (Astronomer) 17, 24
Limoges 82
liturgy 81–3
Liudprand of Cremona 109–10, 111, 112, 113
Lothar I, Carolingian Emperor 18, 46, 103
Lotharingians 155 n. 100
Louis I "the Pious," Carolingian Emperor:
  and abbey of Charroux 46
  and criticisms of Charlemagne 15–16, 17
  and Frankish empire 103
  and Holy Land 34 n. 105
  and Last Emperor legend 125, 126
  and lay penance 92 n. 79
Louis II "the German," king of East Francia 18, 103
Louis II "the Younger," king of Italy; Roman Emperor 22, 131
Louis VI "the Fat," king of Francia 22, 62, 63 n. 90
Louis VII "the Young," king of Francia 22

McGinn, Bernard 117 n. 76
McKitterick, Rosamond 16, 17 n. 11, 66 n. 102, 68
magnus appellation 13 n. 1, 31
Maiolus, abbot of Cluny 81
Manasses II, archbishop of Reims 150
map of Charlemagne legend (9th-12th centuries) *14*, 160–3
Marianus Scotus 38 n. 125
Markus, R. A. 25 n. 55
Marmoutier, monastery of 153 n. 94
Martin of Braga, Saint 117 n. 76
Martin of Troppau 54
Meinwerk, bishop of Paderborn 81
memory-history dialectic 5–9, 66–9, 147–8
Merovingians 22, 68 n. 108
Meyer, Ann 80 n. 26
Le Mi-Karesme 59
Michael VII Doukas, Byzantine Emperor 145
millennial week concept 125 n. 107
Miracula sancti Genulphi episcopi 27 n. 69, 31
Möhring, Hannes 114 n. 64, 125, 140
Moissac, abbey of (Aquitaine) 142
Monastic Agreement of the English Nation 82
monasticism, *see* religious houses
Monte Gargano 42, 43
Monte Sorатte, monastery of 43–4; *see also* Benedict of Monte Soratte
Montecassino Chronicle 154–5, 156
Monteleone, Federica 4–5
Montier-en-Der, abbey of 103, 110, 112
Morris, Colin 34 n. 110, 35 n. 111
Morrissey, Robert 24
Mount of Olives 118–19; *see also* Mount of Olives, monastery of
Mount of Olives, monastery of 34, 39, 40, 86
Munro, Dana 148

narration, logic of 24, 25
al-Nasir, emir 144
Nelson, Janet 20, 130
Neuvy-Saint-Sépulchre 81
Nicaea, Second Council of 102
Nichols, Stephen 28 n. 73, 115
Niederaltaich annals, see *Annales Altahenses Maiores*
Nikephorus Phocas, Byzantine Emperor 110
Nithard 13, 15, 17, 68, 111, 137
Normans:
  and First Crusade 154–5
  and First Crusade precursors 145
  and Frankish empire 106
  and Frankish identity 134–9
Notker, bishop of Liège 81
Notker the Stammerer 19, 23, 36–7, 103, 132, 138
Novalesa, monastery of 26
Novick, Peter 69 n. 111

Odilo, abbot of Cluny 106
Odilo, Count (Rouerge) 89
Odo of Deuil, abbot of Saint-Denis 22, 54, 61
orbis terraum 105
Otto, bishop of Regensburg 89
Otto I, Roman Emperor 20, 110, 133
Otto II, Roman Emperor 110
Otto III, Roman Emperor:
  and Frankish empire 104, 105
  and Frankish identity 133
  and idea of Frankish Golden Age 20–1
  and Last Emperor legend 120–3
  and monastery of Monte Soratte 44 n. 12
  and sanctification of Charlemagne 29
Ottonians, *see also specific rulers*
  and Frankish empire 103–5, *104*
  and Frankish identity 132–3
  and idea of Frankish Golden Age 20–1
  and Jerusalem 78
  and Last Emperor legend 109–10, 110 n. 45
Ovid 17
Oxford *Chanson de Roland*:
  and Charlemagne's journey to the East 57, 65
  dating of 116 n. 73
  and Frankish empire 99
  on Frankish identity 138–9, 157
  and historiographical marginalization of Charlemagne 3 n. 9
  and imperial expansion 32–3
  and interdisciplinarity 7
  and Last Emperor legend 116–17, 119, 120, 123
  and memory-history dialectic 8 n. 28
  and sanctification of Charlemagne 29

papacy 46, 106; *see also specific popes*
Paris, Gaston 2, 3, 4
Paschal III, anti-pope 54 n. 56

Paschasius Radbertus 118
Pastan, Elizabeth 50 n. 38
Patrick, Saint 117 n. 76
Paul, Saint 74, 76–7
Paula 76
Peace of God councils 46, 47, 48
Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne 54–5
Pepin III "the Short," king of the Franks 43–4, 68
Peter Comestor 41, 51
Peter II, abbot of Charroux 50
Peter the Hermit 150
Peter Tudebode 65, 147, 154–5, 156
Peutinger map 102
Philip I, king of Francia 41
  and abbey of Charroux 47, 50, 60–2, 63
  and abbey of Saint-Denis 60, 61–2
  and abbey of Senlis 63 n. 93
  and Carolingians 61, 62–4
  and *Descriptio qualiter Karolus Magnus* 61, 62–4, 68
  and First Crusade 150
  and idea of Frankish Golden Age 22
  and Normans 136
  and Saint-Corneille of Compiègne 58–9, 62, 63
  and Saint-Pierre-le-Vif of Sens 65 n. 99
pilgrimage 42; *see also* Holy Land pilgrimage
  and abbey of Charroux 51
  changing definitions of 84 n. 45
  and Charlemagne's journey to the East 42
  completion of 99 n. 8
Plant, Richard 81
Pons of Balazun 154–5, 156
populus christianus, *see also ecclesia*; *imperium Christianum*
  and Carolingians 101, 102
  and ecclesiastical reform 106
  and First Crusade 153–4, 159
  and First Crusade precursors 144
  and *imperator* title 99
  and Last Emperor legend 112
Primat 54
Privilegium (Charroux) 27–8, 29, 30, 44, 50
Pryor, John 147 n. 65, 151 n. 85
Psalmodi, monastery of (Aquitaine) 24
Pseudo-Alcuin 123–5, 127
Pseudo-Alexius 152
Pseudo-Bede 51
Pseudo-Eucherius 84
Pseudo-Hegisippus 81
Pseudo-Hippolytus 109
Pseudo-Methodius 107–8, 110, 113, 114, 117, 119 n. 84, 120, 125
Pseudo-Turpin 4 n. 16, 8 n. 28
Purkis, William J. 83 n. 39, 85 n. 50

Radegund of Poitiers 77
Rainer, bishop of Florence 113
Ralph of Caen 140, 154–5, 156
Ralph Glaber 79, 83, 88
Ralph IV count of Valois 59
Ravenna, archbishopric of 23–4
Raymond, count of Saint-Gilles 150, 156
Raymond d'Aguiliers 154–5, 156
Regino of Prüm 31, 131–2
Reichenau, monastery of 15–16, 38, 39
Relatio de Legatione Constantinopoliana (Liudprand of Cremona) 109–10, 111, 112, 113
relics:
  abbey of Charroux 27–8, 45–6, 48 n. 33, 50, 51, 83
  abbey of Saint-Denis 54, 58 n. 68, 61 n. 83
  and Charlemagne's journey to the East 45–6, 51, 52–3, 54, 57, 62, 83–4
  and Christ analogies 28, 51
  and idea of Frankish Golden Age 26–8
  and imperial authority 62, 64
  and Jerusalem 27, 83–4
  and Last Emperor legend 64 n. 95, 116, 119
  monastery of Monte Soratte 43
  and pilgrimage 50, 51
  and power over the Holy Land 35, 38–9
  Saint-Corneille of Compiègne 58–9, 60
religious houses 23–30; *see also* relics; *specific institutions*
  ecclesiastical reform 106
  foundation legends 23–5, 29–30, 45, 46, 47, 50, 51, 60, 61 n. 81
  and Frankish identity 134
  and Jerusalem 77–8
  patronage legends 25–6, 29–30
  relic gift legends 26–8
Remensnyder, Amy G. 29, 45 n. 16, 48 n. 33, 51, 60, 67 n. 105, 116 n. 72
Reuter, Timothy 21 n. 28
Revelation, Book of, *see* eschatology
rex title 98, 99–100, 107 n. 35
  rex Francorum 110, 112, 136
  rex Romanorum 105, 109, 111, 113, 124
Rhetorimachia (Anselm of Bésate) 105
Richard, abbot of Saint-Vannes 83, 87–8
Richard I, duke of Normandy 136
Riley–Smith, Jonathan 92 n. 80, 140
Ringel, Ingrid 152 n. 89
Robert of Bellême 59 n. 72
Robert Guiscard 113, 114 n. 63, 136, 137
Robert I, count of Flanders 90, 151
Robert II Curthose, duke of Normandy 59, 88, 91, 150
Robert II "the Pious," king of Francia 22, 134 n. 18
Robert of Péronne 47, 61
Robert of Reims 65, 139–40, 147, 150 n. 74, 154
Roger, count of Limoges 27, 30, 46, 47, 50, 61 n. 81

Roger of Calabria 136
Roland, *see* Oxford *Chanson de Roland*
Rollo 135
Roman des rois (Primat) 54
Roman Empire, *see also* Frankish empire; *imperium Christianum*
  adventus ritual 45 n. 15
  and Charlemagne's journey to the East 43
  and Frankish empire 101, 103, 105
  and Frankish identity 77
  and idea of Frankish Golden Age 17, 20, 30, 32, 67
  and Last Emperor legend 109, 111, 124
  and memory-history dialectic 8 n. 28
  and Ottonian legitimacy 21 n. 28, 105
Rome as pilgrimage site 42
Rubenstein, Jay 65 n. 97
Runciman, Steven 35
Rupert of Deutz 118

St Mary, chapel of (Aachen) 20–1, 48 n. 33, 53, 58, 80, 121, 155 n. 100
St Mary Latin, monastery of (Jerusalem) 34, 37, 86
St Maurice, chapel of (Constance) 80
St Michael, chapel of (Fulda) 80
St Paul's Outside the Walls (Rome) 142
St Peter, church of (Limoges) 80 n. 26, 83
Saint-Amand, monastery of 38, 97
Saint-Bénigne of Dijon, monastery of 31
Saint-Corneille of Compiègne:
  and Charles the Bald 18, 53, 54, 58, 59
  and idea ofFrankish Golden Age 18
  and Normans 135
  and Philip I 58–9, 62, 63
  relics 58–9, 60
Saint-Denis, abbey of:
  Crusading Window 55–6, *57*
  and Philip I 60, 61–2
  relics 54, 58 n. 68
Saint-Gall, abbey of 82
Saint-Gilles, monastery of 153 n. 94
Saint-Martial of Limoges, monastery of 26
Saint-Maur-les-Fossés, monastery of 62, 63 n. 92
Saint-Maximian of Trier, abbey of 26
Saint-Philibert of Noirmoutier, monastery of 24
Saint-Pierre-le-Vif of Sens, monastery of 65
Saint-Polycarpe, abbey of (Aquitaine) 25–6
Saint-Riquier, abbey of 78, 80, 135
Saint-Saturninus of Tabernoles, monastery of 26
Saint-Sauveur, monastery of (Charroux), *see* Charroux, abbey of
Saint-Savin, Abbey of 24
Saint-Savin-sur-Gartempe, monastery of 46–7
Saint-Trinité of Vendôme, monastery of 81
Saint-Vannes, abbey of 83
Salians 21, 134
San Vincenzo al Volturno, monastery of 24
Sant'Antimo, monastery of (Tuscany) 24
Santiago de Compostella 51
Saxon Poet 23, 30, 37, 132, 135
Saxons 30, 132
Schaller, Hans Martin 142
Schein, Sylvia 56 n. 66, 74 n. 5
Schwering-Illert, Gisela 45 n. 16, 47 n. 23
Senlis 61 n. 83, 63
Sergius IV, pope 141–3, 153
Siegfried, archbishop of Mainz 89
Sigebert of Gembloux 38 n. 125
Sigefried, bishop of Bologna 153
Simon of Crépy, Saint 59–60
sleeping emperor legend 120–3
Somerville, Robert 150 nn.74,75
Spiegel, Gabrielle 6, 8
Stock, Brian 6 n. 21
Story, Joanna 31–2 n. 96
Strabo, Walahfrid 15
Suetonius 35
Suger, abbot of Saint-Denis 22, 61 n. 83
Sullivan, Richard 130 n. 3

Taviani-Carozzi, Huguette 114 n. 63
Tessier, George 47 n. 26
textual community 6 n. 21
Theodoric, abbot of Angers 89
Thietmar, Bishop of Merseburg 20, 120, 132–3
Thiofrid, abbot of Echternach 31–2
Tiburtine Sibyl 109, 113, 114, 124
time, collapsing of 25
Tischler, Matthias M. 37 n. 122
translatio imperii 30
Translatio sancti Servatii 38
Translatio sanguinis (Reichenau) 38–9
truth vs. fiction, *see* memory-history dialectic
Tyerman, Christopher 153 n. 95, 158 n. 112

Udalric of Celle 87, 92 n. 78
Ulrich, bishop of Orléans 88
Urban II, pope 47, 50, 56, 58, 137 n. 28, 145, 157; *see also* First Crusade
Urbs beata Ierusalem 82
Ursio, bishop of Senlis 63 n. 93

van de Kieft, C. 61 n. 83
Vance, Eugene 133 n. 17
Venice, city of 26
Verden, bishopric of 24
Verdon, Jean 87
Verhelst, Daniel 108 n. 39, 123, 125, 127 n. 113
Vigneras, L.-A. 50
Vikings, and abbey of Charroux 46, 48
Villeneuve d'Aveyron 81
Virgil 8 n. 28, 17
Visio Karoli 53
Visio Karoli Magni 18, 19, 29
Vision of the Poor Woman of Laon 16

Vita Antichristi ad Carolum Magnum (Pseudo-Alcuin) 123–5, 127
Vita Gerardi abbatis Broniensis 31, 38
Vita Karoli (Einhard), *see* Einhard
Vita Karoli Magni 54
Vita s. Willelmo monachi Gellonensis 7, 28, 116
Vita sanctae Gudilae 31
Vita sancti Sacerdotis episcopis Lemovicensis (Hugh of Fleury) 54
Vita sancti Willibrordi 38
Vogel, Cyrille 91
von Ranke, Leopold 69 n. 111
Voyage de Charlemagne 4

Wala 103
Werner, Karl-Ferdinand 106 n. 30
West Franks:
  and Albert of Aachen 155 n. 100
  and Frankish empire 105–6
  and Frankish identity 132
  and Last Emperor legend 110 n. 45
White, Hayden 5
Widukind of Corvey 30
Widukind, Saxon leader 30
William, bishop of Utrecht 89
William I "Longsword," duke of Normandy 136
William I "the Conqueror," king of England 59, 138
William IV, count of Angoulême 91
William of Apulia 137
William of Gellone, Saint 7, 28, 116
William of Jumièges 137
William of Poitiers 136
William V, duke of Aquitaine 47
word associations 69–70
Wulfstan of York 143

Zacharias, Johanna 142