

# THE 'KAROLINUS' OF EGIDIUS PARIISIENSIS

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The *Karolinus* of Egidius Parisiensis, a twelfth/thirteenth-century poem in five books on the life and virtues of Charlemagne, has attracted the interest of a host of scholars, among them, M. J. J. Brial, Gaston Paris, Joseph Bédier, Paul Lehmann, Gaston Duchet-Suchaux, R. B. C. Huygens, and Paul Beichner. Only excerpts, however, have been printed, even though complete publication has been noted as an urgent desideratum. The full text both of the poem proper and of closely related annexes found in the manuscripts is presented hereunder, together with a study of the author and his work.

Egidius Parisiensis<sup>1</sup> has not always been properly identified. C. E. Du Boulay and Casimir Oudin<sup>2</sup> thought he was the same man as Gilo Parisiensis,

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<sup>1</sup> Concerning Egidius Parisiensis see, in addition to the works cited *infra* in notes 2 and 6, the following: Jacques Lelong, *Bibliothèque historique de la France* 2 (Paris 1669) p. 106 no. 16264 and p. 149 no. 16786; Polycarp Leyser, *Historia poetarum et poematum medii aevi* (Halle 1721) 736-37, 750, 991-92; Christopher Saxius, *Onomasticon literarium siue nomenclator historico-criticus* 2 (Utrecht 1777) 280; Amaury Duval, in *Histoire littéraire de la France* 17 (Paris 1832) 39-40, 65-69; J. A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca latina mediae et infimae aetatis* (Florence 1858) 1.22; Ludovic Lalanne, *Dictionnaire historique de la France* 1 (Paris 1877) 915; Ch. Petit-Dutaillis, *Étude sur la vie et le règne de Louis VIII (1187-1226)* (Bibl. de l'École des Hautes Études; Paris 1894) 12 n. 1, 13; A. Potthast, *Bibliotheca historica medii aevi; Wegweiser durch die Geschichtswerke des europäischen Mittelalters bis 1500* (Berlin 1896; repr. Graz 1957) 1.18; Gustav Gröber, *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie* 2.1 (Strassburg 1902) 376, 406; A. Molinier, *Les sources de l'histoire de France* (Manuels de bibliographie historique 3; Paris 1903) 3.7-8 no. 2224; U. Chevalier, *Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen âge: Bio-bibliographie* 1 (Paris 1905) 1789; G. Paris, *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne* (Paris 1905) 106-107; H.-F. Delaborde, 'Note sur le Carolinus de Gilles de Paris,' *Mélanges Chatelain* (Paris 1910) 195-203; Paul Lehmann, 'Das literarische Bild Karls des Grossen,' in *Sb. Akad. Munich* (1934) 41-45 and a revised reprint in Lehmann's *Erforschung des Mittelalters* 1 (Stuttgart 1959) 186-89; Hans Rall, *Zeitgeschichtliche Züge im Vergangenheitsbild mittelalterlicher, namentlich mittellateinischer Schriftsteller* (Historische Studien 322; Berlin 1937) 237-38; Wilhelm Berges, *Die Fürstenspiegel des hohen und späten Mittelalters* (MGH, Schriften des Reichsinstituts für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde 2; Leipzig 1938) 296-97; Gaston Duchet-Suchaux, 'Le Carolinus de Gilles de Paris,' *École nationale des Chartes, Positions des thèses* (1949) 53-56; R. B. C. Huygens, 'Zur dritten Romreise des Egidius von Paris,' *Hommages à Max Niedermann* (Collection Latomus 23; Brussels 1956) 179-83; F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages* (Oxford 1934, 1957<sup>2</sup>) 2.35 n. 2, 36 n. 2, 343; A. Potthast (revised), *Repertorium fontium historiae medii aevi* edd. Walther Holtzmann et al., 2 (Rome 1967) 135; Paul Beichner in his edition of Petrus Riga's *Aurora* (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1965) 1.xxi-xxiv. The *Karolinus* is listed in the Bollandists' *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* no. 1605 and in Hans Walther, *Carmina medii aevi posterioris Latina* 1 (Göttingen 1959) nos. 9313, 9492, 14649, 14713. See also *infra* pp. 220-222.

<sup>2</sup> Bulaeus (Du Boulay), *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis* 2 (Paris 1665) 738. C. Oudin,

author of an early twelfth-century poem on the First Crusade.<sup>3</sup> Polycarp Leyser,<sup>4</sup> on the other hand, perhaps wrongly, distinguished the author of the *Karolinus* from an Egidius of Paris who effected two redactions of Petrus Riga's *Aurora*.<sup>5</sup> As late as 1850, Edelstand du Méril<sup>6</sup> attributed Egidius Parisiensis' poem on Charlemagne to the well known medical poet Egidius Corboliensis.<sup>7</sup>

What is known about Egidius<sup>8</sup> Parisiensis derives from apparently four sources: the *Karolinus* itself, Egidius' additions to the *Aurora*, a bull of Pope Celestine III, and a seemingly relevant remark in the *Philippis* of Guillelmus Armoricus (Brito).

In the *Karolinus*, Egidius<sup>9</sup> indicates that he was thirty-six years of age not long after being received at Rome by Pope Celestine (1191-98). A bull of Celestine's concerning Egidius was drawn up after their interview and can be dated 1 April 1196.<sup>10</sup> Thus, Egidius must have been born circa 1160. He

*Commentarius de scriptoribus ecclesiae antiquis* 2 (Leipzig 1722) 1723-24 [= PL 212.15-18], discusses Egidius Parisiensis.

<sup>3</sup> On Gilo Parisiensis see esp.: M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* 3 (Munich 1931) 668-70; Raby, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 2.81-82. Gilo's historical poem, *Historia gestorum uiae nostri temporis Hierosolymitanae* (cf. Walther, *op. cit.* [*supra* n. 1] 1 no. 5788, 7459) may be found in PL 155.943-94.

<sup>4</sup> Leyser, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 750. The identification of the *Karolinus*-poet and the *Aurora*-redactor reposes on fragile evidence. It is, however, accepted by A. Duval, author of the two relevant chapters in Vol. 7 (1832) of the *Histoire littéraire de la France* and by Paul Beichner, C.S.C., editor of the recent *editio princeps* of the *Aurora* (for both scholars see *supra*, n. 1), and is assumed in all that here follows. If Leyser was right after all and the poet of the *Karolinus* was not the redactor of the *Aurora*, modifications are required in my account of Egidius Parisiensis. This writer, though the *Karolinus* was largely composed prior to 1200, may have seemed to Max Manitius too late for the third volume of his *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, but Manitius (pp. 821-25) does deal with an 'Aegidius Diakon in Paris' in relation to the *Aurora*.

<sup>5</sup> Concerning Petrus Riga see *infra* at n. 28 and (p. 318) on *Captatio* 24.

<sup>6</sup> Edelstand du Méril, *Mélanges archéologiques et littéraires* (Paris 1850) 312.

<sup>7</sup> Concerning Egidius Corboliensis see *infra* (p. 319) on *Captatio* 25-28. A medieval prologue to the *Aurora* makes a point of distinguishing the two Egidii: 'Quidam magister, Aegidius nomine, Parisiensis natione, non ille qui physicus fuit' (ed. B. Hauréau, *Notices et extraits* 6 [1893] 296). F. A. Wright and T. A. Sinclair, *A History of Later Latin Literature* (London 1931) 265, distinguish Egidius Parisiensis from Egidius Romanus but entitle the *Karolinus* incorrectly as *Instructio Puerilis*, calling its author an 'educational writer.'

<sup>8</sup> Egidius, and not Aegidius, is the correct spelling of the name. Not only does the genitive *Egidii* appear in the opening title of both extant manuscripts of the *Karolinus*, but in introductory text C, verses 1-4, the poet says that his name consists (in the nominative) of seven letters.

<sup>9</sup> *Karolinus* (hereafter abbreviated *Kar.*) 5.304-10, 339.

<sup>10</sup> See the text of the bull *infra* pp. 201-202.

points to Paris as his *alumpna*,<sup>11</sup> calls himself *Parisiensis alumpnus*,<sup>12</sup> and includes himself in his verses on famous men of that city.<sup>13</sup> In the same set of verses he refers to Guillelmus Armoricus<sup>14</sup> as having been a fellow-student.<sup>15</sup> Egidius<sup>16</sup> admires the other's abilities, but the two men took opposed positions on the divorce of Philip Augustus: Guillelmus did not rebuke the king and in fact aided his negotiations with the papacy in this matter; Egidius, hostile to the divorce, decried Guillelmus' efforts. While Egidius himself shows no enthusiasm for travelling to Rome,<sup>17</sup> he mentions three trips he made there in connection with official business, two during the pontificate of Pope Clement III (1187-1191) and the third, already (at n. 9) alluded to, during that of Celestine III. The first two journeys were undertaken 'quedam aduersantia contra' (*Kar.* 5.305); on the third, Egidius was 'nostri certans certamina iusta decani' (*Kar.* 5.310). The gloss in Paris B.N. lat. 6191 on *decani* reads 'S. Marcelli.' Pope Celestine's bull likewise shows that Egidius represented the canons of St. Marcellus, Paris,<sup>18</sup> when the election of a certain Rainaldus as dean of the chapter needed confirmation. The text of the bull follows:<sup>19</sup>

Celestinus episcopus seruus seruorum dei uenerabilibus fratribus Senonensi archiepiscopo et episcopo Parisiensi<sup>20</sup> salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Cum dilectus filius Magister Egidius Parisiensis nostro se conspectui presentasset, uestras et dilectorum filiorum canonicorum ecclesie beati Marcelli Parisiensis nobis litteras assignauit, ex quarum tenore didicimus quod cum eadem ecclesia Decano fuisset diutius uiduata, ipsi canonici dilectum filium Rainaldum, cui satis laudabile testimonium perhibetur, in suum Decanum concorditer elegerunt. cumque eundem tibi, frater episcope, presentassent, a te fuit in sede pacifice collocatus et postmodum eum curasti [iuxta gradum] dignitatis ipsius in presbyterum ordinare. nos igitur, quod per te et predictos canonicos de ipso Rai. factum est ratum habentes, decanatum ipsum eidem R. auctoritate apostolica duximus confirmandum. quoniam autem Magister Philippus canonicus Parisiensis huius facti aliquando extitit co[n]tradictor, presentium uobis auctoritate mandamus quatenus, ei de cetero super hoc silentium in[i]iungent[es], si quid inter ipsum

<sup>11</sup> Text C, verse 10.

<sup>12</sup> Verse 5 of the poem cited *infra* at n. 30: 'Ille prior Remis, hic Parisiensis alumpnus,' where 'ille prior' is Petrus Riga.

<sup>13</sup> *Captatio* (hereafter abbreviated *Capt.*) 81-100.

<sup>14</sup> Concerning him see *infra* on *Kar.* 5.173-303.

<sup>15</sup> *Capt.* 64.

<sup>16</sup> See *Kar.* 1.41-52, 5.173-303, *Capt.* 60-66.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *Kar.* 5.179-80, 330-32.

<sup>18</sup> On this church see L. H. Cottineau, *Répertoire topo-bibliographique des abbayes et prieurés* (Mâcon 1935-1970) 1.2214.

<sup>19</sup> Ed. Huygens, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 182-83, from Archives de France L 235 (16). Mr. Huygens kindly sent me his photograph of the manuscript of the bull after he published his article.

<sup>20</sup> Michael, archbishop of Sens (1194-1199), and Maurice, bishop of Paris (1160-1196). See Huygens, *op. cit.* 183 n.

capitulum et eundem Philippum superfuerit questionis, audi[at]is] que [duxerint prop]onenda et causam ipsam appellatione remota fine canonico terminetis, facientes quod [decreueritis] per censuram ecclesiasticam appellatione postposita firmiter obseruari, nullis litteris obstantibus [rerum uer]itate tacita a sede apostolica impetratis. quod si ambo hiis exequendis nequueritis [interesse, tu] frater archiepiscopo ea nichilominus exequaris. datum Laterani Kal. Aprilis Pontificatus nostri anno quinto.<sup>21</sup>

Guillelmus Armoricus (Brito), in his *Philippis* 12.886-87, probably had in mind Galterus de Insulis<sup>22</sup> and Egidius Parisiensis when, in reference to Philip's achievements, he wrote: 'O si Galterus illo uel Egidius esset/Tempore, quam claro niteant tua bella cothurno.'<sup>23</sup> From these verses at the end of the *Philippis* it would seem that Egidius died before the completion of that poem (1223/1224).<sup>24</sup> A passage towards the end of the *Karolinus* (5.351-54) suggests that Egidius may have devoted his later years, in abandonment of the arts, to a pursuit of religious and spiritual objectives.

### HIS WRITINGS

Of his writings Egidius speaks in an introductory text to the *Karolinus*,<sup>25</sup> mentioning there four endeavors of his in verse and three in prose: light verse,<sup>26</sup> satires, the life of a saint, and 'Gallica gesta,' a phrase which seems to refer to the *Karolinus*;<sup>27</sup> in prose 'quedam moralia,' a work on the technique of writing letters, and a work on the art of poetry. Apart from the *Gallica gesta*,

<sup>21</sup> That is, 1 April 1196.

<sup>22</sup> The celebrated twelfth-century poet, whose principal work was the *Alexandreis* (ed. F. A. Mueldener [Leipzig 1863]), about the deeds of Alexander the Great. On Galterus see esp. Heinrich Christensen, *Das Alexandertlied Walters von Châtillon* (Halle 1905); Manitius, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 3) 3.920-936; Raby, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 2.72-80, 190-204; J. Hellegouarc'h, 'Un poète latin du xii<sup>e</sup> siècle: Gautier de Lille, dit Gautier de Châtillon,' *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé*, 4th ser., 1967, 95-115. I am currently finishing my work on a critical edition of the *Alexandreis*.

<sup>23</sup> *Philippis* 12.887-88; ed. H. F. Delaborde, *Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton* 2 (Société de l'histoire de France; Paris 1885) 382.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Molinier, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 7: Egidius 'mourut avant 1224, date de la dédicace de la Philippide à Louis VIII,' and Berges, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 296; cf. also M. J. J. Brial, *Recueil des historiens des Gaules* 17 (1878) 289.

<sup>25</sup> Text C, verses 1-10. Cf. *infra*, note on *Kar.* 5.377-85.

<sup>26</sup> Like other poets Egidius indulged in light verse which has since been lost or remains unidentified. Petrus Blesensis, Guibertus de Nouigento, Fulcoius Beluacensis, Marbodius Redonensis, and Gilo Parisiensis, all, as young men, composed such *nugae*.

<sup>27</sup> Egidius writes of his efforts in verse also in *Kar.* 5.377-85; see note *ad loc.* In *Capt.* 11-12 he again speaks of his *Gallica gesta*: 'fateor scripsisse libellum/ Francorum laudes et Gallica gesta canentem.' He calls his *Karolinus* a *libellus* also in *Kar.* 5.418, *Epil.* 2 and *Capt.* 157, 162, 168, 178, 202.

nothing of the items listed survives, or, at least, has been identified. Neither in the *Karolinus* nor in any one of its accompanying texts does Egidius speak of further verse composition, that required by his two redactions of Petrus Riga's *Aurora* (composed by Petrus between 1170 and 1200).<sup>28</sup> Included here are the sizable interpolations *De penis inferni* and *De mysterio agni*.<sup>29</sup> In a short series of verses added to the *Aurora*, Egidius contrasts himself with Petrus Riga, calling himself in them, as apparently nowhere else, a deacon ('leuita').<sup>30</sup>

Scire cupis, lector, quis codicis istius auctor.

Audi quid breuiter dicat ad ista liber.

Petrus et Egidius me conscripsere, sed ille

Auctor, corrector ultimus iste fuit.

Ille prior Remis, hic Parisiensis alumpnus,

Hic leuita gradu, presbyter ille fuit;

Simplex clericus hic, sacri ordinis ille professor;

Ambo graues annis, hic uir, ille senex.

Egidius worked on the *Karolinus* during his nearly six months' stay at Rome in 1195-96.<sup>31</sup> The poem was presented to Prince Louis VIII of France on 3 September 1200.<sup>32</sup> But the *Captatio beniuolentiae* — strangely placed in the manuscripts after the poem itself — must have been added later, since the *Captatio* speaks of the *Karolinus* as already presented to the prince.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>28</sup> For the date, Beichner, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 1.xvii. In a dedicatory verse-letter to Odo, bishop of Paris, which belongs to Egidius' second redaction of the *Aurora* (see Beichner, *op. cit.* 1.14 n. 10), Egidius speaks of his reasons for revising this poem. The letter is found in Beichner, *op. cit.* 1.14-16. The most pertinent lines are verses 17-28, 31-32:

Vulnificabat eum defectio magna libellum,  
 Cui neque que decuit ianua prima fuit.  
 Post faciens saltum, de paschali nichil agno  
 Dixit, in hoc languens deficiensque loco:  
 Forsan materia est nimis ardua uisa canenti,  
 Forsitan et fessus respuit auctor honus.  
 Quocirca, a sociis crebro multumque rogatus  
 Istum defectum tollere uelle, tuli.  
 Insuper, in libris Thobie, Iudith, et Hester,  
 Et Machabeorum mystica multa dedi;  
 Post toto ueteris suppleui corpore legis,  
 Vt magis aduerti quicquid abesset ibi. . . .  
 Deinde Euangelico quicquid quasi fessus omisit  
 Maxima supplendi cura laborque fuit.

<sup>29</sup> Concerning Egidius' revisions of the *Aurora* see Beichner, *op. cit. passim*, esp. 1.xiv, xvii, xx, xxi, xxiii-xxiv, 8, 12-18, 99-100, [1], [7-8], [32-33]; 2.460, [48].

<sup>30</sup> The verses below are edited *ibid.* 1.11. Cf. *supra*, n. 4.

<sup>31</sup> *Kar.* 5.304-14. Cf. also Huygens, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 179, 182.

<sup>32</sup> *Capt.* 177-219. Cf. also *Kar.* 4.372. The *Karolinus* was finished in 1200, probably before the treaty of Le Goulet (22 May): see on *Kar.* 5.126-30 *infra*.

<sup>33</sup> See *Capt.* 177-219.

## THE 'KAROLINUS'

The *Karolinus* is the work of a pedagogue who wants to instruct the future King of France, Louis VIII, by providing him with a manual of history, wants to instill in the young man a strong sense of national pride by glorifying the early Franks and their descendants, and wishes to form his character on the example of Charlemagne.<sup>34</sup> The Charlemagne whom Egidius offers is pious, powerful, and serenely majestic;<sup>35</sup> in fact, this emperor represents the cardinal virtues of antiquity. Just as Vergil glorified Aeneas, ancestor of Augustus, so Egidius glorifies Charlemagne, reputed ancestor of Louis VIII. For the Capetians constantly strove to be regarded as the legitimate heirs of Charlemagne, and Louis VIII was thought to have descended from Charlemagne on both sides.<sup>36</sup>

The *Karolinus* was also a means for censuring Louis' father, King Philip Augustus, particularly for having divorced Ingeborg<sup>37</sup> and for exiling clergymen who opposed his conduct in this matter.<sup>38</sup> Egidius also feels that the monarch is not sufficiently gentle, moderate, tolerant, and accessible.<sup>39</sup> Perhaps there is an implication that he did not measure up to the qualities of Charlemagne, but nothing of this is expressed, and indeed, at one point (*Kar.* 5.53), Egidius even calls Philip a 'specimen boni rectoris.' Among Charlemagne's forebears the poet deals especially with Charles Martel and Pepin the Short (1.304-499); among his early successors, with Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald (4.132-315).

The poem proper consists of a prologue, five books — each preceded by a fourteen-verse argument ('Tenor') — and an epilogue. This last, an appendix in fifteen lines, is important for the history of the poem. Such is also true of what follows the epilogue — the *Captatio*, in part a sort of *De viris illustribus Parisiensibus*. Preceding this complex structure in verse are three introductory pieces, here called texts A, B, and C; of these, only the third, in verse, appears to have been composed by Egidius. Matching these three

<sup>34</sup> Cf. *Kar.* first section-title of Bk. 5; 5.419-423.

<sup>35</sup> Duchet-Suchaux, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 55.

<sup>36</sup> The Capetians, feeling insecure about their succession, tried to convey the notion that they were closely connected to their glorious predecessors, the Carolingian dynasty: cf. Alfred Leroux, 'La royauté française et le saint empire romain au moyen âge,' *Revue historique* 49 (1892) 252; Delaborde, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 195; Berges, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 296; Duchet-Suchaux, *op. cit.* 55. — Louis VIII's reputed double descent from Charlemagne: through Adela of Champagne, wife of Louis VII, the prince's grandfather; and through his mother, Isabella of Hainault, descended from Charles of Lorraine.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. *Kar.* 1.43-46, 5.152-53.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. *Capt.* 189-91.

<sup>39</sup> *Kar.* 5.75-82.

elements occurs, after the *Captatio*, a further series of supplementary pieces, these all in prose (texts D-K; F-K appear only in one of the two manuscripts). Egidius himself seems to be primarily responsible for this group of added texts.

Here follows a summary of the three introductory pieces (texts A, B, and C), the Prologue, the five books of the *Karolinus* (less the five 'Tenores'), the Epilogue, and the *Captatio*:

#### SUMMARY OF CONTENTS

TEXT A. [An *accessus ad auctorem*.<sup>40</sup>] The aim of the work is to arouse zeal for virtue and to teach virtue by example. The first four books show Charlemagne illustrating the four cardinal virtues — *prudentia* (Bk. 1), *iustitia* (Bk. 2), *fortitudo* (Bk. 3), *temperantia* (Bk. 4); the fifth book, representing *utilitas*, is said to show who should and who should not be imitated and how whoever wants to imitate Charlemagne may acquire the four cardinal virtues. Each of the first four books begins with the first letter of the virtue represented in the book; the fifth book begins with A, as if from the source of right teaching, and ends with O, the rotundity of which letter stands for perfect justice. Each of the virtues is the wheel of a symbolic Elijah's chariot of contemplation, its horse the 'Amor bene uiuendi,' its rider, the reader of the work. The author of the poem followed, not the false inventions of the *mithmi* (as the *mimi* are called here) but chronicles, which alone have the truth. Since the final book discusses the creation of the *Karolinus*, we do not wish to say about the author more than he wrote. He perhaps wants what he recalls about himself to be sufficient. But we may briefly go over the content. [A resumé of the *Karolinus* follows.] In the chronicles Charlemagne is said not to have been involved in any wars after becoming emperor. Then, he only built churches and looked after the poor.

TEXT B. Definitions of the four cardinal virtues and brief explanations as to how they apply to Charlemagne. In the fifth book the author's purpose is fully revealed. He indicates there what is done by or against these virtues.

TEXT C. Verses about the author. He wrote as many works as there are letters in his name, i.e. seven items of which four are verse and three are prose. His verse consists of light composition, satires, a saint's life, deeds of Gaul; his prose consists of pieces on morality and guides for composing poems and letters. He drew up a tree-like diagram outside the body of the *Karolinus* to show clearly persons mentioned in the poem.

PROLOGUE. The letter at the beginning of each of the first four books hints at the particular cardinal virtue of the respective book. The fifth book begins with alpha and ends with omega, and *a* and *o* are the endings of the respective virtues.

BOOK I. Egidius invokes Christ's help in composing the poem (lines 24-52). He attacks the divorce of Philip Augustus, is annoyed with the role of Guillelmus

<sup>40</sup> On this minor literary genre, see E. A. Quain, 'The Medieval *Accessus ad Auctores*,' *Traditio* 3 (1945) 215-64; R. B. C. Huygens, 'Accessus ad Auctores,' *Latomus* 12 (1953) 296-311 and (ed.) *Accessus ad Auctores* . . . (Leiden 1970).

Armoricus in the negotiations with the papacy over the divorce, and is sympathetic toward the divorced queen (31-52). He hopes that the *Karolinus* will inspire Louis, when he is older, to great deeds for the glory of the French and for his own fame (53-106). Louis is only ten years old now, but Egidius is shaping him for the future (110-16). Egidius writes in a bare, simple style with little charm and without poetic figures (117-22). Louis' tutor should examine the poem first, in secret, and make any necessary corrections before the poem is presented to the boy (132-47).

Pepin the Short, his wife, and their two sons Karloman and Charlemagne were crowned by Pope Stephen when he took refuge in France and after his vision at the monastery of St. Denis (148-303). Pepin the Short came to power after Childeric, king in name only, was deposed (304-55). The family line of Pepin the Short is discussed: it is noted that Pepin Major, of Trojan blood, begot Charles Martel, victor over the pagans but evil in taking over church properties and tithes for his soldiers, whence the vision of St. Eucherius. God punished Martel by making his son, Pepin the Short, a man of tiny stature (356-458). Pepin, however, restored to the church some of the properties that had been removed by his father (459-64). Pepin subjugated Aquitania and fought against the Italian king Aistulf, who was holding feudal territory belonging to the papacy; Pepin settled hostilities raging between Tassilo, duke of Bavaria, and Grifo, king of Austrasia (465-93).

After the death of Pepin the Short, Charlemagne was crowned in Noyon and Karloman in Soissons (500-06). Two years later Karloman died, and all his power went to Charlemagne (507-11). He forced Hunold, who wanted to become king of Aquitania, into flight (512-36). After Hunold sought the protection of Lupus, king of Gascony, Lupus surrendered Hunold, himself, and his country to Charlemagne, who treated both men with kindness (537-49). Thus, both Lupus and Charlemagne displayed the virtue of prudence (550-57).

Book II. Charlemagne's sense of justice is evident from his victories over Desiderius of Italy, over the Saxons, the Spanish, Slavs, Suevi, Capuans, Beneventans, Bavarians, Narbonne, the Russians, Norwegians, Geloni, Avars, and Huns, also the Frisians and English (1-198, 260-352, 401-40). It is true that his rear troops were caught in a trap by the Basques, and Roland among other prominent persons was killed (353-400): Roland's horn and the rock which he split with his weapon are still shown; his body rests at Blaye as do the bodies of Oliver and Alda, who died of grief; and (according to rumor) the body of Eutropius (i.e. Turpin), archbishop of Reims, is in the Blaye area. Leaden plates on the tombs reveal with their inscriptions each of these people. A digression (199-240) tells of the early Franks, who helped the Romans crush the Alans. The Franks thus both aroused admiration for their ferocity and refused to pay again tribute to the Romans. Toward the end of the book, the birth of Louis the Pious is mentioned (403-8).

Book III, on Charlemagne's fortitude, begins with an account of his rise to emperor. Pope Leo fled to Charlemagne after a mob attacked him; Charlemagne restored him, and Leo, grateful, found an opportunity to reward Charlemagne when the Empire came under the rule of a woman (Irene) and was therefore as if vacant (1-63). So, Leo crowned Charlemagne in St. Peter's and restored glory to the Romans (64-86).

Charlemagne granted forgiveness to Tassilo, who had been acting with guile. As in the case of Charlemagne, conquering one's own wrath is an act of bravery, for surely Tassilo deserved to die (87-152). As a result of Charlemagne's conquests, the Frankish territory doubled; and Charlemagne had far-flung spheres of influence: the Scottish and Irish kings declared themselves his servants; King Alfonso of Galicia acted as Charlemagne's man; King Aaron of Egypt sent Charlemagne gifts, including a remarkable clock (161-272).

Charlemagne himself liked to display generosity with gifts (272-74). He helped the poor, assisted imprisoned Christians in the East (281-96). He learned foreign languages (297-301). He had his sons instructed in letters, also in hunting, riding, and warfare (302-07). He had his daughters instructed in how to spin wool (308-14). He buried honorably his mother Bertrada (326-29). Charlemagne was very pious. While praying he would abandon his great sense of humor, and in his religious contemplations he would range over many theological themes (330-91). His palace was open to all, and he expedited justice by excluding the long delays to which the wicked would resort in order to avoid justice (392-415).

Book IV, concerned with Charlemagne's moderation, tells that he was moderate in his dining habits except when state occasions required luxurious display (1-20). He kept away buffoons and *mithmi*, with their corrupting praises (21-28). Books were read at his table. Usually they were deeds of holy fathers or chronicles of kings, but he particularly liked Augustine's *De civitate Dei* (29-36). Charlemagne, *panarethos* ('all virtuous'), was moderate in his use of clothes and was pleasant to persons of all ranks, was slow to take vengeance (61-64, 97-111). He did not succumb to female charms but was chaste and faithful to his legitimate wife alone (65-67). Yet, in addition to three boys and six daughters, including Gisla, Rottrudis, and Berga — Egidius says he did not read the names of the other three girls — all born of legitimate wives, he had a pair of illegitimate twins, Hugo and Drogo (70-86).

Louis the Pious showed tolerance toward his sons, who waged incessant warfare (133-44). He felt great love for the clergy, although he attacked their luxurious ways (145-60). For forty days after his strength failed, he lived on the Body and Blood of Christ (164-68). Drogo, bishop of Metz, was present at his death (173-84).

Charles the Bald was like Charlemagne in morals but greater in piety (185-86). One day, as St. Egidius was saying Mass, a document was wafted down from heaven; the document declared that on account of the saint's prayers, Charles was forgiven a sin which he had not declared to anyone (198-301). After Charles became emperor, he died of poisoning (302-15).

To name Charlemagne's achievements, he was the first of the Franks to have imperial power; to be in charge of the entire world; to prevail in fame, brave deeds, and religious faith; and to be loved as much as he was dreaded (316-37). God so arranged his life that while he was in a lower status he waged war; when he mounted higher, he had peace; and dying, he was able to receive correction for his life (338-41). Charlemagne died at Aix before reaching the age of eighty, after which there is pain and grief. He had been emperor for fourteen years (345-59).

In working on the *Karolinus* Egidius spent basically two years, the first in writing and the second in correcting. Then he made further changes and after completing the work, suppressed it until now, A.D. 1200 (366-72). Egidius had been an admirer of Charlemagne and had often pondered the emperor's deeds

(379-81). Then he came upon a book of history which enabled him to write about his hero (385-89).<sup>41</sup> Egidius preferred to compose in verse rather than in prose since prose writing about Charlemagne already existed and verse is both more pleasing to the ear than prose and is better retained in the memory (390-93). The poet does not aim at a lengthy tract on Charlemagne but to give a truthful notion of the man, so that one may not believe henceforth the lying *mithmi* (403-24).

Book V. Prince Louis, your father wisely wants you to be able to read, as it will be important for you to read secret communications that come to you (1-16). And by reading books a ruler learns how to imitate the deeds of good people, how to govern his subjects well, how to please God, and how to be superior to his own advisers (17-30). Since your father wishes that you learn the liberal arts to attain virtue, learn it through the acts of Charlemagne (31-46). He toiled for immortal glory: perpetual fame is important. God grant the French another Charlemagne! Yet, in view of modern times, one must not complain that Philip's rule is excessive (47-56). Acre was wrested from the pagans while Philip was in the Holy Land (60-62). Of late, he has taken possessions from the English and he will be wise to hold on to them (69-74). His reign would be better if he were more moderate and approachable and less eager to fulfill his whims (75-85). If he were to improve, the nobles who turned against him would return to his sway (85-91). Indeed France has suffered with strife and heavy taxes (110-14). But in other lands the rulers are even more burdensome. The reign of King Richard of England has been grim, and German royal power has been bad (115-17).

The present warfare precedes peace, even as the turbulence before death ushers in rest (120-21). And now that Richard is slain, King John is on the point of making peace by arranging a marriage between Blanche of Castille and Prince Louis (124-30). May King Philip only abandon illicit love, and may his deserted wife return to her rightful wedlock (152-72). And may you, William [the Breton],<sup>42</sup> cease your journeys to the pope (173-303). You will not stop until you are dead. Rome devours its inhabitants, and by long association with the city, you have become one of them. You will become an eternal resident of the city, at rest in the Lateran church. Why don't you give up the sweat of travel and advise the king in a more salutary way? Egidius' affection for you dictates these complaints. But in the future leave Rome to the Romans and do not go there for a disreputable cause.

Egidius himself travelled twice to Rome for official business during the pontificate of Pope Clement; and a third time, during the pontificate of Pope Celestine, he was at Rome to fight on behalf of his dean (304-10). This third visit lasted nearly six months and gave Egidius opportunity to work on his poem, for writing it soothed his anxious cares (311-17). The poem was finished in Paris, and after it was temporarily suppressed, the poet decided to send it to Louis as a gift (318-21). There are still flaws in it, but the brevity of the work should remove tedium from the reader (322-24). Egidius has to admit that he has not engaged in heavy study for a long time and that travelling to Rome took away

<sup>41</sup> This was no doubt a book containing Einhard's biography of Charlemagne, Egidius' chief source. See *infra* at n. 60.

<sup>42</sup> Otherwise known as Guillelmus Armoricus (Brito).

much time in which he could have listened to scholars (325-33). Anyway, now aged thirty-six, he plans to do more useful things: he bids farewell to secular knowledge, in order to engage in theology (334-354). As a boy, he wrote light verse against the female sex; later he wrote satires (377-382). The third work will be for you, Louis, one at which you need not be ashamed (384-85). Let Egidius not be thought a *mithmus* (402-3). Do not, Louis, let the *Karolinus* become public (403-4).

May our Paris take pride in having produced that poet of modest skill, Egidius (412-13). May his work show the wonderful deeds of Charlemagne, the glory of the French kings, and the lofty lineage of Prince Louis. Follow, Louis, the noble examples of the past (413-25).

ÉPILOGUE. Five books are in the *Karolinus*, with a total of 2,232 verses; the prologue consists of ten verses and the total of the verses in the arguments comes to 70. There remain the *Captatio* and the names of popes and kings.

CAPTATIO. Louis, when you take over the kingdom, may law revive and our age blossom and flower (1-4). Egidius is a poet of modest ability, who has written for you verses on Gallic deeds (5-12). Since calumny claims that Paris has no scholars, Egidius now points out such men as Egidius [Corboliensis]; Ansellus, bishop of Meaux; Stephanus, bishop of Noyon; Guillelmus [Armoricus] (15-77). Let no one insult Paris, city of many scholars and fertile mother of poets (78-80).

Egidius does not regard himself as a poet of great skill. He has not cared to study the depths of philosophy, and a child can tell that his verses are drawn from a poor vein (81-95). He has written, however, for Louis and for the glory of the French nation, and he has shown how close has been the bond between the Church and the French kingdom (96-107).

The poem has really been beyond Egidius' ability, and he has been hindered by the brevity of earlier writers: matters known now only by writing could have been learned from seeing them and should have been recorded more fully. Antiquity reported only what it wanted to report and contemptuously omitted many things as if well known, with the result that much information has been lost (117-34).

Egidius has avoided the falsehoods of the *mithmi* and mass opinion (135-36). Surely established documents, rather than reports vague and trifling, should be followed (137-39). But if one does favor written sources, he must realize that only a summary of Charlemagne's deeds is transmitted (139-41). Thus Egidius has had to deal only briefly with the king's martial accomplishments and to emphasize the moral side of the man, which, anyway, was a more congenial subject. It seemed base to follow fiction or to contrive details (146-50).

The first four books begin with the initial of the pertinent virtue (163-64). The last book begins with a letter which concluded one of the virtues (*fortitudo*) and, as a perfect letter, brings the entire work to a perfect completion (165-68). The first four books should be read in sequence; the last book may be read after any of the four (174-75).

Egidius wrote his poem at the time when the Church had stopped functioning in France on account of Philip Augustus' divorce and when prelates and clergy were expelled from the kingdom (181-91). But now the interdict has been removed on the week following the presentation of the *Karolinus*, which took place 3 September 1200 for the 13th birthday of Prince Louis (195-219). Unless Louis

orders otherwise, Egidius shall never publish this book but consign it to the flames (220-23).

The above summary does not include a number of matters of interest in the *Karolinus*, such as the geographical description of Charlemagne's empire,<sup>43</sup> expressions of pride in the Franks,<sup>44</sup> and biting allusions to the English as drunkards and furnished with tails.<sup>45</sup>

Egidius' main subject, Charlemagne, excited indeed the medieval imagination:<sup>46</sup> 'Solent gesta Caroli, Rolandi, et Oliuieri referri ad animandum audientes' — so says a thirteenth-century sermon.<sup>47</sup> The emperor was seen as the heroic champion of Christ and great defender of Christianity against Islam. From the eleventh century it was believed that he had led a crusade to Jerusalem.<sup>48</sup> It was also widely believed that Charlemagne never really died but was asleep and awaiting the proper hour to return.<sup>49</sup> Prophecies of a second Charlemagne, who would become emperor, conquer the world, and travel to the Holy Sepulchre were current from the fourteenth into the sixteenth centuries.<sup>50</sup> Charlemagne was even canonized, through the efforts of Frederick Barbarossa, in 1165.<sup>51</sup>

#### SOURCES

In the *Karolinus* it is remarkable that a poet glorifying Charlemagne could resist almost entirely the powerful legends about his hero<sup>52</sup> and adhere, in the

<sup>43</sup> *Kar.* 3.161-245.

<sup>44</sup> See e.g. 1.82, 218-24; 5.419-20.

<sup>45</sup> *Kar.* 2.430, 440.

<sup>46</sup> Among the many works on the influence of Charlemagne may be mentioned: G. Rauschen, *Die Legende Karls des Grossen im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert* (Publikationen der Gesellschaft für rheinische Geschichtskunde 7; Leipzig 1890); Heinrich Hoffmann, *Karl der Grosse im Bilde der Geschichtsschreibung des frühen Mittelalters (800-1250)* (Historische Studien 137; Berlin 1919); Lehmann (*cit. supra* n. 1) in his 1934 paper and its revised 1959 re-issue; Robert Folz, *Le souvenir et la légende de Charlemagne dans l'empire germanique médiéval* (Paris 1950); the papers of F. L. Ganshof, F. Prinz et al., in W. Braunfels (ed.), *Karl der Grosse: Werk und Wirkung* (Aachen 1965); *Karl der Grosse, 4: Das Nachleben*, edd. W. Braunfels and P. E. Schramm (Düsseldorf 1967).

<sup>47</sup> Cited from B. N. lat. 12419 by Hauréau, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 7) 2 (1891) 99; cf. also *ibid.* 6 (1893) 263.

<sup>48</sup> See Norman Cohen, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: A History of Popular Religious and Social Movements in Europe from the Eleventh to the Sixteenth Century* (Fairlawn, New Jersey, 1957) 55.

<sup>49</sup> See Cohen, *loc. cit.*

<sup>50</sup> See Cohen, *op. cit.* 97.

<sup>51</sup> On the canonization and the *Vita S. Karoli* see Rauschen, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 46) esp. 3, 129-37; Folz, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 46) 214-21; and cf. BHL nos. 1603-04.

<sup>52</sup> Egidius does include the Roland legend (2.353-400).

interests of truth, to more solid historical sources.<sup>53</sup> Egidius strives to be factual, an unusual aim in a poet, and implies that he prefers written sources to oral accounts<sup>54</sup> but is distressed that only a summary treatment of Charlemagne has been available to him.<sup>55</sup> He is contemptuous of the *mimi*, or *mithmi*,<sup>56</sup> and claims that Charlemagne had hostility toward them.<sup>57</sup>

Egidius mentions his use of chronicles but is not more specific,<sup>58</sup> and it is difficult to isolate all of the poet's historical sources: much of the information in Fredegarius, the *Liber historiae Francorum*, the *Annales regni Francorum* and *Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi*<sup>59</sup> was reproduced in later chronicles so that it is not evident whether Egidius used this material at first hand or as later transmitted. Similarly, it is not clear whether he used the *Chanson de Roland* or some chronicle(s) that told of Roland or simply drew upon his memory of popular tradition. Anyhow, the *Vita Karoli* of Einhard<sup>60</sup> was certainly Egidius' main source,<sup>61</sup> on Charlemagne an excellent one, as Ganshof says: 'son témoignage paraît très sûr et constitue une source de tout premier ordre pour l'histoire carolingienne.'<sup>62</sup> The *Vita Hludowici imperatoris* of Theganus provided the basis for the death scene of Louis the Pious.

My notes to the text of the *Karolinus* will propose a variety of sources, not only, where appropriate, for the substance of Egidius' account, but often for details of diction, suggesting his use of the more popular classical poets and of the *Alexandreis* of Galterus de Insulis.<sup>63</sup> Of course, Egidius' observations

<sup>53</sup> Of great interest is Egidius' view of historical sources: see *Capt.* 118-150 and see summary of *Capt. supra*.

<sup>54</sup> *Capt.* 137-39.

<sup>55</sup> *Capt.* 140-41.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. *Kar.* 4.413, 5.402-03, *Capt.* 134-35.

<sup>57</sup> *Kar.* 4.21-28. Cf. Alcuinus' enmity toward *histriones*: see *infra*, the note on 4.21-28.

<sup>58</sup> *Kar.* 4.220.

<sup>59</sup> Editions of these and other works mentioned in the paragraph will be named as the works are cited in the notes on the text.

<sup>60</sup> On Einhard see particularly: Fridericus Schmidt, *De Eginhardo Suetonii imitatore* (Bayreuth 1880); Manitius, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 3) 1 (1911) 639-46; O. Holder-Egger, 'Zur Ueberlieferung von Einhards Vita Karoli Magni,' *Neues Archiv* 37 (1911-1912) 393-414; F. L. Ganshof, 'Notes critiques sur Eginhard, biographe de Charlemagne,' *Revue belge* 3 (1924) 725-58; Margarethe Wevers, *Einhards Vita Karoli Magni in der mittelalterlichen Geschichtsschreibung und Heldensage* (Marburg 1929) — on pp. 60-64 she lists sixty-six medieval works that are indebted to Einhard but omits the *Karolinus*; Siegmund Hellmann, 'Einhards literarische Stellung,' *Historische Vierteljahrschrift* 27 (1932) 40-110, reprinted in Hellmann's *Ausgewählte Abhandlungen*, ed. H. Beumann (Darmstadt 1961) 159-229; Arthur Kleinclausz, *Einhard* (Annales de l'Université de Lyon, lettres, ser. 3, fasc. 12; Paris 1941) esp. 67-87; Folz, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 46) 4-10.

<sup>61</sup> Egidius used none of the anecdotes in Notker Balbulus' *Gesta Karoli Magni imperatoris*, ed. H. F. Haefele (MGH, SS. rerum Germanicarum, noua ser. 12; Berlin 1959).

<sup>62</sup> *Op. cit.* (*supra* n. 60) 758.

<sup>63</sup> On this Galterus see *supra* n. 22.

about contemporary events, such as the divorce of Philip Augustus and the consequent interdict, the strife with the English and the peace settlement of 1200, as well as his comments about famous Parisians in the *Captatio*, come from his own knowledge and are of prime historical value.

Just as he was conscientious about trying to avoid fabulous accounts, so Egidius did not hesitate to admit his own error, shared with other writers, in putting St. Egidius in the time of Charlemagne instead of in the time of Charles the Bald (*Kar.* 4.217-219).<sup>64</sup> Egidius certainly can be inaccurate in the *Karolinus*. Thus, he is wrong about the age of Louis VIII in 1.110 and the age of Charlemagne in 1.152 and 4.361-62; he is wrong in calling Plectrudis, rather than Alpaida, the mother of Charles Martel (1.253), and in claiming that Grimoald was succeeded by Martel as palace mayor under Dagobert III (1.370-71); furthermore, he is wrong in thinking that Charlemagne had only five sons (1.310) and that Louis was the first of them (4.133-34). Charlemagne did not conquer the English as Egidius, like Pseudo-Turpinus, makes out (2.436), and Gerbert's predecessor as archbishop of Reims was Arnulfus, not Leuthericus (text K). One might also point out the inaccurate spellings, *Abroditi* (2.193), *Winthokindus* (2.195), *Gisia* (4.72), *Berga* (4.73), and *Horsmidas* (text D). Of course, some of Egidius' flaws derive from his sources: thus Einhard, followed by Egidius (*Kar.* 1.506-7), declares that Karloman ruled three years, not two; and the spelling *Berga* (4.73) already appeared in Hugo Floriacensis.

#### STYLE

Egidius characterizes his own literary style in the *Karolinus* by saying that it is simple (*Kar.* 1.22, 119-20), of little charm (1.118), of bare sense without poetic figures (1.118-19). One would have to admit that Egidius' self-criticism seems justified, that he is often graceless and, furthermore, diffuse. In the *De penis inferni*, attached to the *Aurora*, he says<sup>65</sup> of himself as a writer 'prolixus ego . . . petitur semita lata michi.'

As Duchet-Suchaux<sup>66</sup> noted, 'La morphologie et la syntaxe de Gilles de Paris n'offerent que peu d'originalité.' There is indeed little that is striking in his constructions, though one might notice (2.286) 'Causa quod intraret terram.' Duchet-Suchaux's statement<sup>67</sup> 'La versification est régulière' requires some modification, since apart from occasional lengthening at caesuras and the shortening of final *o* in gerunds (both are common medieval practices), there are these irregularities in quantity:

<sup>64</sup> See my notes *infra* on the *Karolinus* verses cited throughout this paragraph.

<sup>65</sup> Ed. Beichner, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 1.16-17.

<sup>66</sup> Duchet-Suchaux, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 55.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

uestigō (1.20), Illūs (1.224), prēesse (1.473, 515, 5.29), Saxonēs (2.179, 269), Vasconēs (2. 355), Frisonēs (2.418, 419), Aurelianīs (4.231), prēeunte (4.342), prēssēt (4.206), cānonis (1.339), cānone (1.415, 3.352), mōnarcha (1.512, 4.358), cōmēs (2.367), sīmul (2.429), mōnarchi (4.124), delībūtio (4.307); the first *i* in semianimis is made consonantal (1.261).

The following words are not listed in dictionaries of classical or medieval Latin:

inuitiosum (text B, line 2), compariare (text C, verse 2), precontemplor (1.3), preconstitui (1.133), necessariue (1.399), maiorescere (1.448), preconiectaret (2.310), incongrediens (2.333), adorsio (3.7), impreuentus (3.96), diffidiare (3.135), topographis (3.181), fenestrales (3.266), precontulit (3.336), dionans (3.378), indistractus (4.11), obseruamine (4.21), pregrata (4.377), Verbipotens (5.407), Precommendat (*Epil.* 12), Exemplificatio (*Capt.* 19 tit.), inambitum (*Capt.* 86), condimine (*Capt.* 114 and elsewhere), preconsultare (*Capt.* 160).

Egidius shows a fondness for 'pre-' words, of which he has great variety:

cf. precontemplor (1.3), preconstitui (1.133), prepossessa (1.234; prepossessis 2.12), predeuotus (1.241), prelatio (1.389), preiudicat (2.56), preplacuit (2.166; preplacitas 4.17), preconiectaret (2.310), predefuncti (3.18), preregnata (3.167), predilectique (3.247), precontulit (3.336), pregrata (4.377), predocuere (5.103), Precommendat (*Epil.* 12), preconsultare (*Capt.* 160), Pretitulans (*Capt.* 164).

### THE MANUSCRIPTS

The *Karolinus* is preserved in two manuscripts, Paris B.N. lat. 6191 (here P) and London B.M. Add. 22399 (L). The Paris codex<sup>68</sup> has 56 vellum leaves (preliminary leaves A, I-VII and main text fols. 1-48). The script of the verses is of the early thirteenth century.<sup>68a</sup> Seven of the preliminary leaves, A-vi, contain such miscellanea, copied in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century hands,

<sup>68</sup> On P see *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae* 4 (Paris 1744) 213 and C. Samaran and R. Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste* 2 (Paris 1962) 323 with plate xxiv (reproducing portions of fols. 18<sup>v</sup> and 19<sup>r</sup>). — L is described in *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum 1854-1860* (London 1875) 642. On the manuscripts of the *Karolinus* see also: Philippus Labbeus, *Nova bibliotheca MS. librorum* (Paris 1653) 56-57; Oudin, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 2) 2.1723; Duval, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 40; L. Lalanne, 'Nom donné à la Marne par un poète du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle,' *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 6 (= Tome 1, ser. 2; 1844/5) 171-72; Delaborde, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 195-202, who gives (opp. p. 196) a reproduction of fol. vii<sup>v</sup> in P; Lehmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 42 (Sb.), 186 (*Erforschung*); Duchet-Suchaux, *op. cit.* 53; Huygens, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 178-83. Concerning MS L see *infra* pp. 215-221 and n. 85.

<sup>68a</sup> Samaran and Marichal, *loc. cit.*, assign a closer dating, '1200 - vers 1203,' but this reposes on unproved and in part unlikely assumptions.

as a passage on equal and unequal numbers (fol. A) and notes on the Mass (v<sup>r</sup>). Fol. v<sup>r</sup> contains an introduction<sup>69</sup> to the *Karolinus* which is a veritable *accessus*, in a hand of the first half of the thirteenth century. The writer of the *accessus* discusses extensively the contents of the *Karolinus* but never names Egidius or says anything substantial about him. Speaking of him in the third person, the *accessus* remarks that since the poet mentions himself in the final book of the *Karolinus*, 'nolumus alia de ipso editore confingere quam ea que posuit' (lines 260-261). It is likely that this prose writer knew nothing, apart from the poem, about Egidius. On fol. v<sup>r</sup> are drawings representing the four cardinal virtues as women.<sup>70</sup> Each figure supports a circular frame, within which is a definition of the virtue and a brief argument of the corresponding book; these four statements relate to Bks. 1-4 respectively. A similar but smaller frame, unsupported, occupies space left at the middle of the page and contains a short account of Bk. 5.<sup>71</sup> A circle at the foot of the page encloses a sketch of the poet offering his book to the future King Louis VIII: the poet, apparently kneeling, holds his book open before the seated prince. On the book is the dactylic pentameter inscription 'Hoc opus Egidii Parisiensis habe.' At the right and left of this circle are two sets of verses<sup>72</sup> that trace the literary activity of Egidius. Elsewhere (fol. 1<sup>v</sup>), an historiated initial depicts Charlemagne, sword in hand.

Among the pen-trials on the preliminary leaves, Samaran and Marichal<sup>73</sup> see in the entry (fol. v<sup>r</sup>), *Jehan de Chastilon, conte de Blois*, a mention (as owner) of the Jean de Châtillon who became count of Blois in 1248 and died in 1279.<sup>74</sup> The codex belonged in the seventeenth century to Pierre Séguier<sup>75</sup> and to Colbert.<sup>76</sup>

A gloss accompanies the *Karolinus* and *Captatio* in manuscript P. The style of writing of the gloss is different from that of the poem, yet one cannot be sure that the scribe, using a different pen, did not employ a different style for his *notulae*. The gloss is often of great help in interpreting the text. The *Captatio* ends on fol. 43<sup>r</sup>, and on 43<sup>v</sup>-48<sup>r</sup>, are supplementary materials originally

<sup>69</sup> This material is my text A.

<sup>70</sup> Delaborde (see *supra* n. 68) gives a photographic reproduction of the page.

<sup>71</sup> This verbal material is brought together as my text B.

<sup>72</sup> These verses are my text C.

<sup>73</sup> Samaran and Marichal *loc. cit.* (*supra* n. 68).

<sup>74</sup> Lalanne, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 172 n., publishes from the codex a short poem, in the hand of Jean, 'A son bon amy Pierre d'Archengier.'

<sup>75</sup> Pierre Séguier became chancellor of France in 1635 and died in 1672; see *Nouvelle biographie générale* 43 (Paris 1864) 691-696. See the statements of Du Chesne and Labbeus *infra* n. 85.

<sup>76</sup> Samaran and Marichal, *loc. cit.* (*supra* n. 68).

prepared by Egidius himself.<sup>77</sup> The first of these, extending to fol. 44<sup>v</sup>, presents a list of popes from St. Peter, preceded by a prefatory text.<sup>78</sup> Originally the list stopped with Honorius III (1216-27), but later hands continued it to Nicholas IV (1288-92).<sup>78a</sup> On fol. 45<sup>r</sup> is an introductory passage on the history of the Franks,<sup>79</sup> followed by a table extending to 46<sup>r</sup>. This table lists the judges of Israel from Moses, the kings of Israel, of the Chaldaeans, Persians, Greeks; the Roman emperors through Charlemagne as far as Charles the Fat. On fol. 46<sup>v</sup> a gate is represented, flanked by two columns supporting an arch. From the gate, in the center of the page, develops a genealogical tree of the French kings. A column of text appears at either side of the tree and summarizes early French history:<sup>80</sup> the tree continues to fol. 48<sup>v</sup>, and the accompanying text there concludes: 'Ludouicus, Ludouici filius christianissimus, regnauit annis xliii. Philippus fortunatissimus.<sup>81</sup> Ludouicus puer.'<sup>81a</sup> It is evident, therefore, that the textual annexes were inserted after 1216, the year of Honorius' accession, and (apart from the later additions) before 1223, the year of Louis VIII's accession.<sup>82</sup>

The London text of the *Karolinus* and its associated pieces (L) is of the early thirteenth century and thus contemporary with P. The codex as a whole consists of 121 vellum leaves and contains, besides the *Karolinus*, Egidius Corboliensis' *Liber de uirtutibus et laudibus compositorum medicaminum* and *Instituta de indiciis urinarum*.<sup>83</sup> Fol 1<sup>v</sup> has a printed notice, in French, describing the codex. Fol. 3 has drawings and texts corresponding to those on

<sup>77</sup> Text C, verses 11-17, and Epil. 13-15 make it clear that Egidius himself prepared the lists of popes (apart from the continuation) and other rulers, and no doubt the concomitant prefaces and historical summary is by him.

<sup>78</sup> This prefatory matter is my text D.

<sup>78a</sup> Hand b continued the list to Clement IV, Hand c to Adrian IV, Hand d to Nicholas III, and Hand e to Nicholas IV.

<sup>79</sup> This introductory passage is my text E.

<sup>80</sup> I print in my notes on the *Karolinus* and as texts F-I, portions of the summary which are relevant to the poem. I add as text K a passage that seems more interesting than the rest of the rather stock summary.

<sup>81</sup> Delaborde, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 202, sees in *fortunatissimus* a reference to Philip Augustus' victory at Bouvines (1214), but in 1214, Louis would have been aged twenty-eight years and hardly a *puer*.

<sup>81a</sup> The list of English royalty, which includes William the Conqueror, on the left side of fol. 48<sup>v</sup>, terminates with 'Iohannes tercius rex, Gaufridus comes Britoñ, Arturus puer.' Arthur, count of Brittany, died in 1203.

<sup>82</sup> In 1223 Louis would have been thirty-seven years old — not a *puer*.

<sup>83</sup> Perhaps confusion between Egidius Parisiensis and Egidius Corboliensis — both men may have been regarded as one (see *supra*, at n. 7) — was responsible for joining their works together.

fol. vii<sup>v</sup> of P except that text C appears on fol. 41<sup>v</sup> of L.<sup>83a</sup> On fols. 4<sup>v</sup>-5<sup>v</sup> is the *accessus* (text A), in a longer form than in P. The conclusion of the *accessus* 'inde ad exponendam litteram transeamus' indicates that some kind of commentary was to follow, but there are no glosses in L as there are in P. The *Karolinus* and *Captatio* occupy fols. 6<sup>r</sup>-42<sup>r</sup>. On fol. 42<sup>r</sup> occurs the prefatory text for the list of popes. The list itself, on 42<sup>v</sup>-43<sup>r</sup>, the work of a single hand (unlike the P list), ends with Innocent III (1198-1216). On 43<sup>v</sup>-44<sup>r</sup> is the prefatory text for the list of other rulers, and the list stands on 44<sup>r</sup>-44<sup>v</sup>. The last rulers recorded are 'Karolus Caluus Ludouici pii iunior imperator post Ludouicum. Karolus, qui acquisiuit ex fratre, nepos imperator post Karolum Caluum.' Unlike P, L does not have a genealogical table of the French kings with remarks on French history.

L was part of a larger codex which in 1514, in the Abbey Library of St. Victor, Paris, bore the shelfmark MM 18 (the codex is listed in the St. Victor catalogue handwritten by Claude de Grandrue<sup>84</sup>). The codex was stolen from there between 1610 and 1640 and was owned in the seventeenth century by a French physician, J. Mentel.<sup>85</sup> Later it belonged to the Abbé de Tersan, and

<sup>83a</sup> The drawings in L are more carefully detailed than in P. There are other differences too. In L all four virtues are crowned; in P the upper two, Prudentia and Iusticia, are crowned while the lower two wear simple flat-topped hats. More of Egidius is shown in L, where, not as in P, he appears tonsured and bearded. In L Louis (labelled *Ludouicus*) is enthroned and holds a sceptre topped with a fleur-de-lis; in P the prince (labelled *Lud.*) sits on a bench.

<sup>84</sup> M. Gilbert Ouy, who is devising a catalogue of the manuscripts that had belonged to St. Victor, Paris, kindly informed me by letters of 26 March 1957 and 29 May 1957 about the early history of the codex. The Grandrue catalogue, which M. Ouy consulted for me, was prepared in 1514 and is now B. N. lat. 14767-68.

<sup>85</sup> Huygens, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 179, states that, so far as he knew, L was first mentioned by Paul Clemen. To be sure, Clemen, *Die Porträt Darstellungen Karls des Grossen* (Aachen 1890) 97 n. 8, speaks of the London text as 'eine unbekannte Hs.' But Grandrue had already listed the codex, and already in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there were references to L as owned by Mentel. M. A. Dominicy, *Ansberti familia rediua* (Paris 1648) 152, gives excerpts from the *Karolinus* with the remark 'Communicauit humanissime C. uir Mantellus (!) regius medicinae professor.' A. Du Chesne, *Historiae Francorum scriptores* 5 (Paris 1649) 323, mentions both P and L: 'Cuius operis duo MS Codices Parisiis reperiuntur: Alter quidem in instructissima Petri Seguerii, Franciae cancellarii illustrissimi, bibliotheca: alter uero in illa, eaque selecta, quae est Iacobi Mentelii, uiri Patricii et Doctoris Medici Parisiensis.' The codex of Mentel is likewise noticed in Labbeus, *loc. cit.* (*supra* n. 68), in a manner reminiscent of Du Chesne: 'Carolinus . . . Ex codd. Mss. Illustrissimi Franciae Cancellarii Petri Seguerii, Iacob: Mentelli Doctoris Medici Parisiensis, et aliorum; Nos fragmenta quedam iam edidimus.' Labbeus does not clarify his 'aliorum.' See n. 116 *infra* on Labbeus' publication of excerpts. L is also mentioned by Oudin, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 2) 2.1723, and by F. Salmon in an introductory letter to F. Schmincke in *Monimenta Hassiaca* 1 (Kassel 1747), but Salmon refers to the verses quoted by Dominicy.

when his library was dispersed in 1819,<sup>86</sup> as a notice at the end of the codex shows, was sold to someone whose initials were N. G. (?; the second initial is uncertain and might be a D or P). It was apparently he who divided the codex into parts, the first of which, containing letters of Hildebertus, was sold in 1858 to the Imperial (now National) Library of Paris, where it bears the shelfmark lat. 11382.<sup>87</sup> The second part, containing the *Karolinus*, was sold in the same year<sup>87a</sup> to the British Museum.<sup>88</sup>

That P was the original dedication-text presented to the future King Louis VIII is the opinion of Amaury Duval,<sup>89</sup> H. F. Delaborde,<sup>90</sup> Paul Lehmann,<sup>91</sup> Gaston Duchet-Suchaux,<sup>92</sup> Wilhelm Berges,<sup>93</sup> Samaran and Marichal.<sup>94</sup> Delaborde claims that the primitive text of P, that is, the *Karolinus* stopping with 5.434 (fols. 1-40 = 5 quires of 8 leaves), was first presented to Louis and that later a quire was added at the beginning and another at the end.<sup>95</sup> Duchet-

<sup>86</sup> On this sale see L. Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* 2 (Paris 1874) 285.

<sup>87</sup> See Delisle, 'Inventaire des manuscrits conservés à la Bibliothèque Impériale sous les Nos. 8823-11503 du fonds latin,' BECH 24 (1862/63) 232.

<sup>87a</sup> Fol. 2 of the London MS has a note saying that the book was purchased 12 June 1858.

<sup>88</sup> A copy of L was made in Paris by Marquard Gude (1635-1689): cf. Oudin, *loc. cit.* (*supra* n. 85): 'alium operis huius MS. codicem habuit Parisiis Jacobus Mentelius, quem transcripsit Marquardus Gudius manu sua, dum Parisiis haereret.' J. A. Fabricius, *loc. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) bought Gude's copy: 'Hunc [sc. Carolinum] proxime spero, luci daturus est V. C. Hermannus Sminke in noua, quam parat, Eginhardi editione, cum illo enim lubens communicauit codicem MS. quem mihi redemeram ex sectione Gudiana.' According to Mary Jane Miller, of the British Museum Department of Printed Books, in a letter to me (9 July 1969), the *Karolinus* occurs in *Catalogus insignium ac praestantissimorum codicum MStorum . . . quos dum uiueret colligere licuit . . . Marquardo Gudio* (Kiel 1709) 53 as *Manuscripta Latina Biographica in quarto no. 320: 'Carolinus Aegidii Parisiensis . . . Ex Bibliotheca Jacobi Mentelii manu Dn. Marquardi Gudii.'* Hermann Schminke did not use the *Karolinus* in his edition of Einhard (Utrecht 1711). Paul Lehmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 42 (*Sb.*), 186 (*Erforschung*), thought that the Gude copy should be found in the University Library of Copenhagen. In reply to a query about the Gude manuscript, Tue Gad of Det Kgl. Bibliotek, Copenhagen, informed me (letter of 30 November 1957) that no manuscript of a Carolinus or a Karolinus by Aegidius or Egidius is catalogued as forming part of either the old collections of the Royal Library or the collections of the University Library transferred to the Royal Library. The *Karolinus* is likewise not listed in F. Koehler and G. Milchsack, *Die Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel 4: Die Gudischen Handschriften* (Wolfenbüttel 1913). Gude's copy must, therefore, be presumed lost or destroyed.

<sup>89</sup> Duval, in *Hist. litt.* (*cit. supra* n. 1) 17.40.

<sup>90</sup> Delaborde, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 201-02.

<sup>91</sup> Lehmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 42 (*Sb.*), 186 (*Erforschung*).

<sup>92</sup> Duchet-Suchaux, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 53.

<sup>93</sup> Berges, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 296.

<sup>94</sup> Samaran and Marichal, *loc. cit.* (*supra* n. 68).

<sup>95</sup> Delaborde, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 201-02.

Suchaux maintains that manuscript P itself was presented on 3 September 1200 to Louis and that the *Captatio* and historical annexes were added after 1216 by Egidius.<sup>96</sup> Duchet-Suchaux concludes further that L is a direct copy of P.<sup>97</sup> R. B. C. Huygens broke with his predecessors and decided that P could not be the original manuscript and that L was not a copy of P but that both P and L were versions of the archetype.<sup>98</sup> Huygens points out that the historical annexes argue against P having been the dedication-text; and that P and L are both versions of the archetype is evident, above all, from the number of verses per book contained in P and L respectively and standing in disagreement with the statements given in the arguments.<sup>99</sup> The argument (*Tenor*) to Book 1 says that this book contains 550 lines (P has in fact 557, L 551),<sup>100</sup> Book 3 is reported to contain 414 (P and L both have 415); Book 5, according to the argument, should have 434 lines (P has 435, L has 433); the number of verses reported in the arguments would, as Huygens sees it,<sup>101</sup> represent the original text.

The fact is that stichometric notices in manuscripts do not always agree with the relevant texts,<sup>102</sup> and Egidius, who is sometimes inaccurate in his *Karolinus* (also in instances in which numbers are concerned),<sup>103</sup> might simply have been careless in his line-count: for P, he is wrong in two out of three cases, only by a single line. Still, the stichometric information of the arguments

<sup>96</sup> Duchet-Suchaux, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 53.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.* 53: 'L est une copie de P.'

<sup>98</sup> Huygens, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 181.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.* 180-181.

<sup>100</sup> Huygens, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) wrongly claims 556 verses for Book 1 in P.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.* 181.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. M. L. Colker, 'Stichometry That Does Not Tally,' *Scriptorium* 16 (1962) 85-89.

I can now refer to two more cases, not mentioned in this article, in which the verse count of the author does not agree with what the manuscript tradition actually preserves. In his edition of the *Ecbasis cuiusdam captiui* (University of North Carolina Studies in the Germanic Languages and Literatures 46; Chapel Hill, N. C. 1964), E. H. Zeydel declares (p. 17) 'Frequently line 1224: *Versus milleni centeni septuageni* has perplexed scholars.' Zeydel (*ibid.*) thinks that the solution is found by subtracting lines 852-905, which he regards as an interpolation, from 1224, without counting the rest of the epilogue, lines 1225-29. He voices the same views in 'Betrachtungen über die "Ecbasis captivi,"' *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch* 2 (Cologne 1965) 110. Another instance of the phenomenon is present in the *Forma discendi* of Hugo Spechtshart von Reutlingen, who gives as the count of his verses 740 ('Dic septingentos versus quater addito denos'), but the only complete text, in Basel University MS AX. 136, has 779 verses; see S. H. Steinberg, 'The Forma Scribendi of Hugo Spechtshart,' *The Library* 21 (1941) 264-78, who supposes (p. 270) that glosses or variant readings are responsible for the large verse-count in the Basel codex. Egidius produced a line count for his first redaction of the *Aurora* and then a new line count for his second redaction: see Beichner, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 1.17.

<sup>103</sup> See *supra* p. 212.

may correspond to an early form, if not the first form, of the text. The poet says he spent one year in composing the poem and one year in correcting it, and then made still further changes:<sup>104</sup> he must have worked from 1195/1196, when he was in Rome,<sup>105</sup> to some time in 1200.<sup>106</sup> Thus several drafts would have been made. The fact that L's list of popes ends with Innocent III (1198-1216), rather than with Honorius III (1216-27), as does that in P, may indicate that L preserves an earlier redaction of the *Karolinus*. Certainly it would seem awkward, though it is not impossible, for Egidius to have taken back his codex after it had been given to Prince Louis, to have inserted his annexes, and then to have it re-presented. But chiefly, there is no cogent evidence that P was the actual presentation-text. Probably scholars were misled by the drawing on fol. vii<sup>v</sup> which shows Egidius offering his work to Louis. Yet the same motif appears in L (on fol. 3<sup>r</sup>), and furthermore, there are instances in manuscripts of authors depicted as presenting their works with even a chronological disparity between the time of the author and that of the manuscript.<sup>107</sup> Anyway, the verses in P cannot be the autograph of Egidius, for there are several variant readings present in the hand of the scribe. Also, one should think that if a scribe worked closely under Egidius' supervision to prepare a presentation copy for a royal prince of France, such a scribe would have consulted Egidius about problems in decipherment, with the result that no variants would appear.

Huygens is correct in regarding L as not a copy of P. There can hardly be doubt about the correctness of one of the L readings — *poscentis* against P's *legentis* (4.32). On the other hand, L is, in general, textually inferior to P, as Delaborde and Duchet-Suchaux recognize.<sup>108</sup>

#### EARLIER (FRAGMENTARY) PUBLICATION AND APPRECIATION

Surely, as a twelfth-century impression of Charlemagne and for its comments on contemporary persons and events, Egidius' verses are of great importance.

<sup>104</sup> See *Kar.* 4.366-72. Cf. also 5.313-20.

<sup>105</sup> *Kar.* 5.304-17. The bull which must have been drawn up at the close of Egidius' business in Rome can be dated 1 April 1196. See *supra* at n. 21.

<sup>106</sup> *Capt.* 202-19; cf. *Kar.* 5.314. See n. 32 *supra*.

<sup>107</sup> An outstanding example is the Lambeth Palace copy (MS 200, fols. 60-113) of the *De uirginitate* by Aldhelmus, in which there is a picture of the author (ca. 640-709) presenting his work. To be sure, H. J. Todd, in his catalogue of the Lambeth manuscripts (London 1812), reproducing the picture as his frontispiece, dates (p. 25) the MS in the eighth century; but M. R. James and C. Jenkins, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace* (Cambridge 1932) 316, and N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain* (Royal Historical Soc. Guides and Handbooks 3; 2nd ed., London 1964) 193, say that the manuscript is of the tenth century.

<sup>108</sup> Delaborde, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 195, declares that L is a 'manuscrit moins important que celui de Paris.' See also n. 97 *supra*.

Only a complete and accurate publication of the poem — urgently needed, as Paul Lehmann said —<sup>109</sup> will make it possible to judge its literary and historical merits and faults. The absence of such an edition has led to false notions of the poem: thus Folz,<sup>110</sup> even in 1950, could say: 'Les 4 premiers livres de ce miroir de princes mettent en parallèle les faits et les qualités de Philippe Auguste avec la vie de Charlemagne,' when, in fact, among the four books Philip is mentioned only in the introductory section of Book 1, and there without any reference to Charlemagne.

It would be difficult to evaluate the *Karolinus* from the bits that have been published, often carelessly. A variety of writers have excerpted from the *Karolinus* and its accompanying texts to suit their particular needs and interests. Thus, Paul Lehmann<sup>111</sup> has some passages on the life of Charlemagne; C. E. DuBoulay (Bulaeus),<sup>112</sup> concerned with the cultural history of Paris in his account of the University of Paris, prints verses 8-75 of the *Captatio*; M. J. J. Brial,<sup>113</sup> interested in the period of Philip Augustus, publishes Bk. 5 and the *Captatio*; and Francisque Michel,<sup>114</sup> investigating the story of Roland, reproduces *Kar.* 2.353-400. Other major excerptors are A. Du Chesne,<sup>115</sup>

<sup>109</sup> See n. 141 *infra*.

<sup>110</sup> Folz, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 46) 278.

<sup>111</sup> Lehmann, *Sb. (cit. supra* n. 1) 43, 45, 52-54, 62-66, offers *Capt.* 134-35 (quae mimica — uulgi), *Kar.* 4.106-17, the incipit of the *Kar.*, the first and last lines of Bks. 1 and 2, first line of Bk. 3, last line of Bk. 4, first line of Bk. 5, *Capt.* 223, Prol. with its heading and explicit, 3.279-415, 4.1-132, *Capt.* 161-76; the prose *accessus* (text A, P version), which Lehmann seems to attribute to Egidius; text C; the marginal headings of P that accompany the excerpts he publishes; tenors of Bks. 1-5 with their headings; incipits of Bks. 1-5. Only in time for the revision of his paper (cf. n. 1 *supra*) did he become aware of L, which he nonetheless did not use (cf. *Erforschung* 186 n. 6). In *Erforschung* (*cit. supra* n. 1) 188, 189, 194-201, he prints *Capt.* 134-35 (quae mimica — uulgi), 4.106-117, the incipit of the *Kar.*, Prol. with its heading and explicit, the section-titles 'De Horologio' and 'De magnanimitate et largitate Karoli' at 3.246 and 3.272, 3.279-415, incipit of Bk. 4, tenor of Bk. 4, 4.1-132 (— duorum). Apart from the two section-titles, Lehmann does not print the relevant marginal headings of P in *Erforschung*.

<sup>112</sup> Du Boulay, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 2) 2.526-527, who drew on L as well as P: cf. *infra*, appar. crit. on *Capt.* 22, 34, 40, 62.

<sup>113</sup> Brial, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 24) 288-301, publishes from P (cf. p. 288): 5 tenor 1-8, 5.304-321, 411-413 (At tu —), text C 9-10, 5.338-339, then all of Bk. 5 (but not Epil.) and *Captatio* with its title. Brial's original 1817 edition was re-issued in the reprinting of *Recueil des historiens* tom. 17, in 1878, under the direction of L. Delisle. Potthast, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) xliii, says of the reprint 'einen Wiederdruck . . . mit peinlichster Sorgfalt ausgeführt wurde.'

<sup>114</sup> Michel, *La Chanson de Roland ou de Roncevaux du xii<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris 1837) 243-44, prints 2.353-400, with the section-heading, and the main title of the work. Michel used L (cf. p. 244): cf. *infra*, appar. crit. on 2.353, 355, 388, 393, 394.

<sup>115</sup> Du Chesne, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 85) 323-24, presents 5.304-08, 339-40, *Capt.* 8-76. He notices both P and L (see n. 85 *supra*) and certainly makes use of L: cf. *infra*, appar. crit. on *Capt.* 22, 34, 40, 62.

Philippus Labbeus,<sup>116</sup> Amaury Duval,<sup>117</sup> Tiny excerpts are quoted by J. Picard,<sup>118</sup> Marcus Antonius Dominicy,<sup>119</sup> Polycarp Leyser,<sup>120</sup> C. Oudin,<sup>121</sup> Du Cange,<sup>122</sup> J. A. Fabricius,<sup>123</sup> G. Waitz,<sup>124</sup> Gaston Paris,<sup>125</sup> Leo Bellanger,<sup>126</sup> Leon Gautier,<sup>127</sup> A. Pannenberg,<sup>128</sup> H. F. Delaborde,<sup>129</sup> J. Bédier,<sup>130</sup> L. Lalanne,<sup>131</sup>

<sup>116</sup> Labbeus, *Abrégé royal de l'alliance chronologique* 2 (Paris 1651) 631-36, has 1.53-79, 2.105-12, 3.64-68, 4.148-60, 4.228-32, 5.105-109. Labbeus later mentions (cf. n. 85 *supra*) his use of P and L.

<sup>117</sup> Duval, in *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 17.39-42, 44-63, 65, publishes from P: *Kar.* 5.339, 374-82, 304-308; 4.363-72; 'Hoc opus Aegidii [sic in Duval] Parisiensis habe' (title of the picture of the presentation); 5.318-21; 1.62; *Capt.* 11-12 (Fateor — cœnentem); 1.9-12, 27-30, 47-50, 151-52 (adhuc — agebat), 184-91; 'Aquitaniae detentorem' of heading at 1.512; 1.527-36, 556-57 (illum — duxit); 2.7-14, 45-48 (peruia — uitas), 90-96 (ipse — illis), 105-12 (illum — aede), 113-23, 177-81, 283-91 (tunc — casus), 366-76, 386-92 (et soror — armis), 405-8 (e quibus — adeptus), 409-10, 417-20; 3.12-23, 44-48, 67-73, 137-41 (Tapsilo — ueniam), 246-49, 253-54, 264-67, 279-82 (Ecclesiarum — mundi), 297-309, 331-37 (Nocte — assistens), 392-400; 4.4-6 (sextam — uolentes), 18, 25-26 (nebulones — arcebat), 34-36, 51-76, 102-9, 148-57 (Librum — poni), 187-88, 319-21 (Semper — efficitur), 351-54, 361-62, 411-12 (Et quis — tulit); 5 tenor 1-5, 220-26 (sed — pudendum), 300-03 (prono — recti), 304 (Haec — Romulea), 411-13 (At tu — poetam); *Capt.* 134-39 (Que mytmica — fixos), 13-18; *Capt.* main title; 5 tenor 9-12, 47-48, 58-59 (longe — regia), 75-76/77 (Verum — Plus modicum scilicet si tam sufferret adiri), 78-85 (Quam — fallor), 152-54 (Rex — fama), 160-63, 173-75 (Et quid — illuc), 185-91 (quare — cleri); *Capt.* 22-23 (in sacris — historiis), 24 (in — sequentem), 26-27 (solo — Nominis), 23-24 (Petrum intepuisse dolemus in diuinis alta sequentem). *Hist. litt.* 16 (1892) 190-92 quotes *Capt.* 26-28, beginning at *solo* and omitting *gerendus — mei*.

<sup>118</sup> Picard, in St. Bernard's *Opera* (Antwerp 1609) 2252, cites *Capt.* 22 (*melico* for *metrico*) suggests that Picard used L) and (col. 2246) cites 4.198-203.

<sup>119</sup> Dominicii, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 85) 152-153, quotes 1.351-56, 364-72, with the acknowledgment (p. 152) 'Communicauit humanissime C. uir Mantellus regius Medicinæ professor.'

<sup>120</sup> Leyser, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 992, quotes *Capt.* 25-27, probably from Du Chesne (see n. 115), whose edition is mentioned.

<sup>121</sup> Oudin, *loc. cit.* (*supra* n. 2), prints Prol. 1-2, 1 tenor 1-4. Cf. n. 85 *supra*.

<sup>122</sup> Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis* 5 (1885) 291, s. v. *martus* (*martellus*), gives 1.426-32, without naming his source for the text.

<sup>123</sup> Fabricius, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 20, reproduces, probably from a printed source, *Capt.* 28-31.

<sup>124</sup> Waitz, 'Kleine Beiträge zur frankischen Geschichte,' *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte* 3 (1863) 149, cites from Du Cange (cf. *supra* n. 122) *Kar.* 1.426-32, in discussing the name Martel.

<sup>125</sup> Paris, *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne* (Paris 1905) 295, prints from P (cf. 295 n. 6) 2.436-38; and on p. 257 n. 1 Paris produces, also from P, 'tamen ante redactis sub iuga Narbone populis' (2.402-403). Already in the 1865 edition of his book, Paris (p. 106), quoting *Kar.* 1.9-12, preferred *melicis* (106 n. 7) to Duval's *melitis* (cf. n. 117 *supra*) in *Kar.* 1.12.

<sup>126</sup> Bellanger, *De magistro Gualthero ab Insulis dicto de Castellione* (Angers 1877) 30-31, reprints from Brial small passages.

<sup>127</sup> Gautier, *Les épopées françaises* 3 (Paris 1880) 570 n. 8, offers 2.367-74, 375 (*Marcia — fudit*), 376, and the section-heading at 2.353-356 (with V\* instead of *Quarta*): see p. 226 *infra*.

Wilhelm Berges,<sup>132</sup> R. B. C. Huygens,<sup>133</sup> M. L. Colker,<sup>134</sup> and Paul Beichner.<sup>135</sup>

Among the scholars who have expressed a judgment about the quality of the *Karolinus*, Lalanne<sup>136</sup> is strongly adverse: 'l'œuvre est complètement nulle au point de vue littéraire.' And Beichner,<sup>137</sup> referring to Egidius' redactions of the *Aurora*, deplores Egidius' work as that of an awkward meddler.

Most authorities concerned with the *Karolinus* think well of it, however. Egidius' contemporary Guillelmus Armoricus<sup>138</sup> seems to have acknowledged him as a great poet on a par with Galterus de Insulis: 'O si Galterus illo uel Egidius esset / Tempore, quam claro niteant tua bella cothurno.' M. J. J. Brial<sup>139</sup> notices the forthrightness of Egidius in revealing the weaknesses of Philip Augustus: 'non tantum Philippi Augusti laudes auctor in eo exsequitur, sed quaedam reprehensione digna . . . ab aliis dissimulata scriptoribus reteggit.' August Potthast<sup>140</sup> recognizes the *Karolinus* as 'Wichtig für die Literaturgeschichte.' Paul Lehmann's appreciation of the work, though not always untempered, is the most enthusiastic.

<sup>128</sup> Pannenberg, *Zur Kritik der Philipis* (Aurich 1880) 21-22, gives several short extracts from Brial.

<sup>129</sup> Delaborde, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 196-201, 201 nn. 1 and 2, excerpts: Prol., text A (Set ad hec omnia premittitur totali — spiritualibus bonis), text C, *Capt.* 11-12 (libellum — canentem), 'Hoc opus Egidii Parisiensis habe,' Epil., *Capt.* 202-11, 178, 199-200 (ubi — resolut), *Capt.* title (stops before *et*), 4.363-72, Epil. 9-10 (carmen — est), text E (Famosas autem — personas; et forte usque ad Karolum — supponemus), text K. Cf. n. 95 *supra*. Delaborde appears to have worked entirely from P.

<sup>130</sup> Bédier, *Les légendes épiques* 3 (Paris 1929) 378, gives *Kar.* 2.367-75 (— fident), 376-80 (— Oliuerus), 386-88 (et soror — oppressit). Bédier apparently drew from the excerpts in Michel and Gautier (see *supra* nn. 114, 127), who are named just before his own extracts.

<sup>131</sup> Lalanne, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 68) 169 nn. 1 and 2, 170, 172-73, 172 nn. 1 and 3, publishes 1.12, 47; 2.117-18 (— neptes), text A (pro eo quod hec historia — traditur insistentes); 3.164-216 (cum Gallia — quiete); 3.184 (gloss on *Launia*), 3.186 (gloss on *Belgica*), 3.180 (gloss on *Neustria*). Lalanne does not mention L and is only concerned with the readings of P.

<sup>132</sup> Berges, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 296, gives the main incipit, first line of Prol., first line of Bk. 1.

<sup>133</sup> Huygens, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1), who worked with both P and L (p. 181 n. 1), cites (pp. 179, 179 n. 1, 180-82): 5.304-14 (— mensibus); text C, verses 1-4; 1 tenor 13-14, 2 tenor 13-14, 3 tenor 13-14, 4 tenor 13-14, 5 tenor 13-14, Epil. 3-8; 5.429 (Si sapis), 430-33 (— officio).

<sup>134</sup> Colker, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 102) 87-88, quotes a few lines of the *Karolinus* from Huygens.

<sup>135</sup> Beichner, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 1.xxi, gives 5.338-39 and *Capt.* 23-24 (et quem — sequentem), apparently according to the 1878 reprint of Brial (cf. Beichner 1.xxi n. 17): cf. n. 113 *supra*.

<sup>136</sup> Lalanne, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 68) 169.

<sup>137</sup> Beichner, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1), repeatedly speaks adversely of Egidius as a reviser of Petrus Riga: see 1.xx, xxiii-xxiv, [1], [32-33]; 2.[48].

<sup>138</sup> See n. 23 *supra*.

<sup>139</sup> Brial, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 24) 288.

<sup>140</sup> Potthast, *Bibliotheca historica*, *loc. cit.* (*supra* n. 1); cf. *Rep. font.*, *loc. cit.* (*ibid*).

Die Publikation [he writes] ist dringend zu wünschen . . . da der Carolinus nicht nur die umfangreichste, sondern trotz unleugbarer Mängel die künstlerisch beste der lateinischen Geschichtsdichtungen von Karl dem Grossen ist, die das ganze Mittelalter vom 8-15. Jahrhundert hervorgebracht hat. . .';<sup>141</sup> 'Ein Kunstwerk ist der Carolinus . . .';<sup>142</sup> Alles in allem ist das Karlsepos und das Karlsbild des Aegidius von Paris wenn auch nicht das erfindungsreiche Leistung, so doch, abgesehen von Einhard, der anspruchsvollste und geschmackvollste, bei allem Lob von der historischen Wahrheit sich am wenigsten entfernende Versuch, Karl ein würdiges Denkmal zu setzen . . .,<sup>143</sup> Pädagogische und politische Tendenzen hat das Epos ohne Zweifel. Jedoch haben sie den begabten Dichter nicht verhindert, ein farbenprächtiges Geschichts- und Charakterbild Karls des Grossen zu entwerfen . . . ist es zu verdanken, dass die Klugheit, Gerechtigkeit, der Mut und die Mässigung nicht banal exemplifiziert und gewaltsam zum Ausbau einer königlichen Tugendlehre benutzt werden . . .,<sup>144</sup> Aegidius ist versgewandt, in der Rhetorik beschlagen, jedoch nicht ein ursprünglicher Dichter mit Temperament.<sup>145</sup>

Duchet-Suchaux<sup>146</sup> declares 'Le *Carolinus* est un œuvre qui assure à son auteur une place honorable parmi les poètes du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle.'

Gaston Duchet-Suchaux merits credit for having produced the first complete edition, though unprinted, of the *Karolinus*. Duchet-Suchaux's thesis<sup>147</sup> for L'École des Chartes offers an introduction discussing briefly the life of Egidius, the style and sources of the *Karolinus*, and the manuscripts of the work; following the introduction are text, apparatus, notes, glossary of unusual words,<sup>148</sup> index of names, and bibliography. In his work Duchet-Suchaux regards codex L as a direct copy, though a careless one, of P.<sup>149</sup> As my ap-

<sup>141</sup> Lehmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 42 (*Sb.*), 187 (*Erforschung*).

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.* 43 (*Sb.*) 187 (*Erforschung*).

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.* 45 (*Sb.*) 189 (*Erforschung*).

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.* 43 (*Sb.*) 187 (*Erforschung*).

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.* 44 (*Sb.*) 188 (*Erforschung*).

<sup>146</sup> Duchet-Suchaux, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 55.

<sup>147</sup> *Le Carolinus de Gilles de Paris: Étude et édition*. A summary of the thesis is printed in *École des Chartes, Positions des thèses* (1949) 53-56. Duchet-Suchaux indicated to R. B. C. Huygens no interest in revising his thesis for publication but sent the thesis to Huygens, who was himself intending to edit the *Karolinus*. When Huygens learned that I had already started an edition of the poem, he very kindly ceased his work and microfilmed for me, with the author's permission, Duchet-Suchaux's thesis. I indicated by letter my intentions to Duchet-Suchaux, who graciously replied (letter of 29 November 1954) by wishing me good luck on the new edition of the *Karolinus*.

<sup>148</sup> Duchet-Suchaux, typed thesis pp. 148-150, includes in his glossary of unusual words many that are far from uncommon, e.g. *anxius*, *attentus*, *balista*, *lanx*, *natus*. He errs (p. 149) in not identifying *Laudunum* as the city of Laon but as 'substantif fabriqué sur *laus laudis* et synonyme de ce mot.'

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.* 19.

paratus will show, he and I have read differently a great many words of the manuscripts. He also normalized, by his own declaration,<sup>150</sup> much authentic medieval orthography. Sometimes, his apparatus is faulty. Thus he reports wrongly these variants in L:

1.74 *non: enim* L (really *nunc* L), 3.77 *reatu: nutu* L (really *reatu* L), 3.321 *operosaque* L (really *operosa* L), 3.350 *lutoso* L (really *uicioso* L), 4.32 *poscentis: lectoris poscentis* L (really *poscentis* L), 5.229 *ubi: uerbi* L (really *ubi* L), 5.255 *non: si* L (really *non* L); occasionally he omits mention of readings in L at variance with P: e.g. 1.123 *Que*, 1.494 *regnabit*, 2.33 *obsunt*, 2.194 *examine*, 2.316 *adorsi*, 3 tenor 1 *marie*, 3.133 *redigendum*, 3.300 *Solliciteque; Capt.* 103 *est om.*

He limited his apparatus to readings of the manuscripts without indicating what earlier scholars had read. His brief notes, usually about a half-dozen per book, comment upon historical points but do not include Egidius' imitations of earlier poets. He did not publish the glosses in P. Nonetheless, some of his notes were found helpful, particularly those on the *Captatio*. Wherever I have used the thesis, I have aimed to give him acknowledgment.

#### THE PRESENT EDITION

In the Latin text which follows I adhere to the orthography of the Paris manuscript as closely as possible. But the following spelling peculiarities in L deserve notice:

Use of the aspirate in *othomegam* (Prol. 5), *poethe* (1.54), *poetham* (5.413), *partha* (2 tenor 2), *sechuris* (2.89), *chamene* (*Capt.* 7); gemination of consonants in *uitta* (1.63, 310), *uittam* (1.64, 424; 2.108; 4 tenor 11), *uitte* (1.230, 423; 3.291, 313, 329, 384), *pappe* (1.193; 2.113), *pappam* (1.195), *pappa* (1.331), *sesse* (1.263), *mittis* (1.459), *mitti* (2.155), *littes* (4.3); *n* for *m* in *nanque* (1.130; 3.78), *Senper* (1.157), *prontu* (1.200), *Menbrorum* (1.213), *menbris* (4.40, 103), *menbra* (4.164), *decunbens* (1.257), *trionphos* (1.396), *lunbis* (1.451; 4.133), *inpete* (1.512), *quanuis* (2.109), *attenptarunt* (2.187), *plunbo* (2.398), *cinbala* (3.263), *conpage* (3.1), *conmercia* (3.114), *conmuni* (3.159), *communes* (4.101), *annis* (3.219), *anni* (3.200), *ponpe* (4.160), *conpleuit* (4.197), *tenporis* (4.198), *Q VANDIV* (4.357), *nan quando* (5.187), *anbitione* (5.375), *inanbitum* (*Capt.* 86), *Enbolismalis* (*Capt.* 212); intrusion of *p* in *DETEMPTOREM* (1.515), *perhempni* (2.128); confusion between *o* and *u* in *Lungum* (1.257), *fecondum* (1.488), *Facondi* (2.344), *nundum* (4.280, 296; 5.49); confusion over the use of *u* after *g* or *q*: *sequntur* (1.202), *sequtum* (3.163; 5.62), *propinquum* (4.286), *loquti* (4.404), *longue* (1.399; 3.269, 412) — notice also *oblica* for *obliqua* (5.194); use of *x* for *s* in *preceptx* (2.63) and in *plex* instead of *plebs* (3.187).

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.* 27.

In my apparatus Paris B. N. lat. 6191 is designated as P and London B. M. Add. 22399, as L, just as in the edition of Duchet-Suchaux. P<sup>1</sup> and L<sup>1</sup> mark readings in which the first hand is correcting itself. Letters in pointed brackets do not denote scribal omissions but cases where letters can no longer be seen in the manuscript because of a material defect, such as a hole, or the closeness of the binding: indeed, close binding has affected a fair number of words in texts C and K of the Paris codex. 'Gloss' and 'glossed' without further identification refer to the glosses in the Paris codex. 'Lehmann' without the name of publication means that a reading is found in both the 1934 Munich *Sitzungsbericht* and in his *Erforschung*.<sup>151</sup> Almost each statement about Charlemagne in the Latin text could have been documented in my notes by nearly endless secondary sources. Normally, however, it seemed sufficient to cite only one of the standard histories concerning the emperor, Louis Halphen's *Charlemagne et l'empire carolingien* (Paris 1947).

I am grateful to the authorities of the Bibliothèque Nationale and the British Museum for permitting the publication of the *Karolinus* from their respective manuscripts and for providing me with excellent photographs of the texts.

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#### SECTION-TITLES OF THE 'KAROLINUS' AND 'CAPTATIO'

(as they appear in the margins of MS P; variants, in capitals, are given in the critical apparatus, pp. 242ff.)

- (I 1) Propositio
  - (24) Inuocatio
  - (35) Alia Intentio In Scribendo
  - (41) Alia Intentio
  - (53) Allocutio Eius Ad Quem Scribit In Bene Agendis Et Persuasio In Bene Agendis
  - (107) Contra Inuidum
  - (110) Obiectio Et Responsio
  - (117) Item Obiectio Et Responsio
  - (132) Ad Tutorem Vt Etiam Sit Tutor Libri
  - (148) Narratio. Capitulum Primum: De Coronatione Karoli Magni Cum Adhuc Esset Septennis

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<sup>151</sup> See n. 1 *supra*.

- (304) Capitulum Secundum: De Antecessoribus Karoli, Vbi Preostenditur Quomodo Pipinus Breuis Regnum Obtinuit
- (356) Prima Pars Capituli, Vbi Agitur De Pipino Maiori
- (391) Secunda Pars Capituli, Vbi Agitur De Karolo Tudite, Gallice Martel
- (465) Tercia Pars Capituli, Vbi Agitur De Pipino Breui
- (500) Capitulum Tercium: De Secunda Coronatione Karoli Post Mortem Patris
- (512) Ab Hoc Loco Agitur De Probitatibus Karoli Et Prius Contra Hunoldum, Aquitanie Detentorem
- (II 1) Capitulum Quartum: De Bellis Karoli, Vbi Premittitur De Legatione Adriani Pape Ad Karolum
- (28) Prima Pars Capituli: De Bello Contra Desiderium, Regem Italie
- (173) Secunda Pars Capituli: De Bello Contra Saxones Et Inicio Francorum
- (279) Tercia Pars Capituli: De Bello Contra Hispanos
- (353) Quarta Pars: De Dolo Vasconum, In Quo Bello Rollandus Miles Optimus Obiit
- (401) Quinta Pars: De Subiugatione Narbonensium Et De Ortu Ludouici Pii
- (409) Sexta Pars: De Bellis Contra Diuersos Populos Et Prius Contra Beneuentanos Et Capuanos
- (417) De Bello Contra Frisones
- (431) De Bello Contra Russos
- (432) Contra Noreugos
- (434) Contra Gelonos
- (435) Contra Hunos
- (436) Contra Anglicos
- (III 1) Capitulum Quintum: De Sublimatione Karoli In Imperatorem Per Leonem Papam, Qui Adriano Successit
- (87) De Legatione Tapsilonis, Vbi Ostenditur Quanta Vsus Est Karolus Fortitudine Animi In Parcendo Ipsi Tapsiloni, Et Est Capitulum Sextum De Virtutibus
- (162) De Magnitudine Domini Karoli, Vbi Describuntur Tres Gallie
- (181) De Austria, Que Et Franconia Dicitur
- (183) De Neustria, Que Et Francia Dicta Est
- (246) De Horologio Quod Aaron, Rex Egipti, Misit Karolo
- (272) De Magnanimitate Et Largitate Karoli
- (279) Mores Egregii Imperatoris
- (283) De Visitatione Pauperum Et Pietate Karoli
- (297) Quod Diversa Ydiomata Addiscebat
- (302) Quod Litteris Vacabat, In Quibus Filios Suos Instrui Faciebat

- (308) Quod Filias Suas Exercicio Manuum Occupari Volebat  
 (315) De Bertrada, Matre Karoli, Quam Honestè Tenuit Et Postea Sepeliuit  
 (330) Quomodo Karolus Se Gerebat In Audiendis Diuinis  
 (338) Contemplatio Karoli  
 (392) Quomodo Placitabatur
- (IV 1) Quando Et Quomodo Epulabatur  
 (9) De Equalitate Clericis Et Militibus Obseruata  
 (11) De Modo Et Numero Ferculorum Et Potus  
 (21) Quod Histriones Arcebat  
 (29) Quod Legi Faciebat Ad Mensam  
 (37) Quomodo Se Gerebat Post Comestionem  
 (45) De Modificatione Sompni  
 (49) Quid Agebat Post Dormitionem  
 (51) De Continencia Karoli  
 (97) De Moderancia Cultus  
 (105) Item De Moribus Karoli  
 (126) Contra Hoc Quod Iulius Cesar Triumphauit De Gallis, Et Karolus  
 Dominium Obtinuit De Romanis  
 (133) Capitulum Septimum: De Successoribus Karoli, Et Primum De  
 Ludouico Pio, Cuius Ortus Superius Commemoratus Est  
 (185) Subdiuisio Capituli: De Karolo Caluo  
 (198) De Miraculo Sancti Egidii  
 (316) Repetitio De Karolo Et Commendatio Eius  
 (345) Capitulum Octauum: De Morte Karoli  
 (355) Capitulum Nonum: De Assignatione Temporis Quando Et Quamdiu  
 Karolus Fuit  
 (373) Exclamatio Ad Karolum  
 (403) Capitulum Decimum: Recapitulatio Omnium Precedentium
- (V 1) Capitulum Primum: Prouocatio Ludouici Pueri Ad Amorem Virtutis  
 Per Exemplum Karoli  
 (47) Capitulum Secundum: Exoptatio De Bono Rege Habendo In Francia  
 Et Mentio De Moderno  
 (173) Capitulum Tercium: Correptio Amici Et Consilium Eius  
 (304) Capitulum Quartum: De Editione Libelli Et Causa Edendi  
 (399) Capitulum Quintum: Exhortatio Ad Susceptorem Operis Sui  
 (426) Capitulum Sextum: Apostrophatio Ad Librum Et Finis Ipsius  
 (Captatio 19-20) Exemplificatio De Parisiensibus Litteratis  
 (35-37) Exemplificatio De Parisiensibus Ad Dignitates Assumptis  
 (101-3) Quomodo Innuitur In Libro Affinitas Regni Cum Ecclesia Romana

## INTODUCTORY TEXTS

&lt;A&gt;

[f. vii<sup>r</sup> P, 4<sup>v</sup>-5<sup>v</sup> L.]

Laude dignum est et satis appetendum de illustribus factis<sup>1</sup> iugem<sup>2</sup> habere memoriam et condere ea in pectore sacrum,<sup>3</sup> ex quibus elicitor uirtutis studium et bene uiuendi familiare reperitur exemplum. Ad hec autem facilius consequenda proponitur liber qui scriptus est de gestis gloriosi illius regis et quondam augusti<sup>4</sup> Karoli Magni, cuius occasione materie idem liber quasi totus immoratur in prosecutione uirtutum et multa necessaria tradit ad omnem Christiane milicie statum. Vbi qui scripsit, intendit lectorem suum et maxime illustrem puerum Ludouicum, cui specialiter opus suum<sup>5</sup> attribuit et illud sicut titulo sic et instructioni eius subiacere decernit;<sup>6</sup> intendit, inquam, eum uelud quodam<sup>7</sup> contemplationis amminiculo<sup>8</sup> longe ab ista terrena et polluta habitacione sursum<sup>9</sup> erigere et tamquam<sup>10</sup> in celestibus cum celibem<sup>11</sup> et plus quam humanam uitam agentibus collocare.

In cuius rei similitudinem<sup>11a</sup> conuenienter assumitur quod de Helya propheta factum legitur, qui in celum curru igneo raptus et in paradysum Ade translatus fuisse reperitur. Per hunc autem curru Helye<sup>12</sup> currus contemplationis solet intelligi, et in illo<sup>13</sup> curru quatuor rote quatuor cardinales uirtutes,<sup>14</sup> prudentia iusticia temperancia et fortitudo, possunt non inmerito assignari; sine quibus uirtutibus quia in congregacione hominum non bene uiuitur, ideo politice, id<sup>15</sup> est<sup>16</sup> urbane, alio satis usitato uocabulo nuncupantur.

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Text A is not likely by Egidius: cf. lines 61-65. 7 Ludouicum: Louis VIII lived 1187-1226, reigned 1223-1226. 13-14 Cf. 4 Reg. 2.11. 13-56 The symbolic treatment of a chariot is met elsewhere. St. Jerome, *Ep.* 52.13 (CSEL 54.437), associates (as does Egidius) the four cardinal virtues with the vehicle: 'Vis scire quales Dominus quaerat ornatus? Habeto prudentiam, iustitiam, temperantiam, fortitudinem. His coeli plagis includere, haec te quadriga uelut aurigam Christi ad metam concitum ferat.' Sedulius Scottus, *Carm.* 43.5-6 (ed. L. Traube, MGH, PLAC 3.1 [1886] 208) calls Bertha, daughter of Lothar I, a 'speciosa quadriga / Iustitiaeque rotis scandens super aethera stella.' Cf. also Hugo de Folieto, *Liber de rota uerae religionis* (ed. C. de Clercq, *Archivum L(atinitatis) M(edii) A(evi)* 29 [1959] 219-28 and ALMA 30 [1960] 15-37); Petrus Riga, *Aurora*, Euang. Prol. 7-14 (ed. P. Beichner [Notre Dame Publications in Mediaeval Studies 19; Notre Dame, Indiana 1965] 2.421); Egidius Corboliensis, *De compositis medicaminibus* 4.13-15 (in his *Carmina medica*, ed. L. Choulant [Leipzig 1826] 145). As late as the 15th century, Nicolaus de Ausmo, in his *Quadriga spiritualis* (Iesi 1475), used the symbol. The above examples of the chariot symbol are not among the several presented by E. R. Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Bern 1961) 130 and 130 n. 1.

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SIGLA: L = B.M. Add. 22399 P = B.N. lat. 6191 D-S = Duchet-Suchaux Lehm. = Lehmann

1 sanctis D-S · 2 ingentem D-S · 3 sacro Lehm. (Sb.), sacra D-S · 4 <au>gusti L · 5 opus suum: suum opus L · 6 et illud — decernit om. L · 7 quondam P, quo[n]-dam Lehm. (Sb.) · 8 curriculo D-S · 9 cursum L · 10 cu<sup>a</sup> L · 11 celibenis · D-S 12 curru Helye: helye curru L · 13 hoc L · 14 uirtutes scilicet L · 15 et D-S · 16 est om. D-S

De his autem in singulis huius libri partitionibus aliquid dicitur et quomodo Karolus  
 20 eas in usu habuerit ex his que gessit adaptatur. De contemplatione etiam, cui ille  
 uirtutes deseruiunt, in fine tercii libri quedam satis scienda tamquam ad salutem ne-  
 cessaria proponuntur. Vnde in signum quatuor predictarum rotarum siue in figuram  
 quatuor uirtutum, quatuor<sup>16a</sup> illarum iniciales littere *P*, *I*, *T*, et *F* quatuor huius libri  
 partitionibus prefiguntur. Superiori autem fabrice currus, in qua se recipit<sup>17</sup> qui uehi-  
 25 tur,<sup>17a</sup> quintus liber assimilatur, in quo, uelut in quodam<sup>18</sup> ipsius editoris gremio, lec-  
 toris utilitas reclinatur. Illud currus superedificium ad quatuor rotas et inferiorem fa-  
 bricam alterius est forme, et ille ultimus liber ad quatuor precedentes alterius est materie.  
 Illud superedificium in quadam apertura et capacitate quasi ad recipiendum uectorem  
 construitur, et in illo<sup>19</sup> ultimo libro tamquam ad instruendum lectorem tota editoris  
 intentio<sup>20</sup> aperitur. Recepto itaque ibi lectore, cui innitendum<sup>21</sup> sit et cui non, editor  
 30 ipse<sup>22</sup> ostendit per personas quas ponit, dum quid ad has uirtutes habendas et quid  
 contra has sit, per eos ad quos uel contra quos ibi loquitur, satis liquide innotescit.  
 Necessarium uero fuit hunc librum sequi post alios ut ostendo in quatuor libris quomodo  
 Karolus eas<sup>23</sup> habuerat, postea etiam subderetur quomodo et eas qui Karoli emula-  
 35 tor<sup>24</sup> esse uoluerit apprehendat. Quod melius fieri non potuit quam ostendendo mores  
 hominum, qui prope uel longe sunt a natura seu<sup>25</sup> proprietate uirtutum.

Summa autem loquendi de istis per quedam capitula colligitur, de quibus illa ultima  
 partitio compilatur. Liber autem ille, quia<sup>26</sup> per hoc quasi<sup>27</sup> duplicem finem facit, in-  
 tentionis scilicet que<sup>28</sup> aperitur<sup>29</sup> et totius operis quod consummatur, ideo a duabus  
 40 finalibus litteris predictarum uirtutum, scilicet *a* et *o*, progressum<sup>30</sup> habet, nam ab  
 altera, scilicet *a*, inchoat et in altera, scilicet *o*, finitur. Quod etiam ideo fit<sup>31</sup> ut prin-  
 cipium sumptum<sup>32</sup> a principio<sup>33</sup> abecedarii<sup>34</sup> tamquam a capite recte doctrine,<sup>35</sup> ten-  
 dendo<sup>36</sup> in rotundam figuram, quasi finem faciat in perfectione iusticie, sed ad hec  
 omnia premittitur<sup>37</sup> totali libro breuis<sup>38</sup> prologus et in prologo iotha littera, que minima  
 est in alfabeto, prescribitur ad<sup>39</sup> innuendum quod non nisi beneficio humilitatis proficit  
 45 homo uel promouetur in<sup>40</sup> his aut<sup>41</sup> aliis spiritualibus bonis. Cum ergo huiusmodi com-  
 moditas in libro comparetur, nihil debet interuenire offenciculi quominus recipi debeat  
 seu<sup>42</sup> memorie commendari.

Nemini enim<sup>43</sup> in mirum ueniat uel ob hoc amaro animo fiat quod homo mediocriter  
 intelligens et qui in altioribus non studuit hunc<sup>44</sup> scripserit, tamquam preiudicium  
 50 factum sit peritioribus, quibus<sup>45</sup> forte uidebitur cedendum fuisse in hac parte negocii

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43-44 On *i* as the tiniest letter cf. in a medieval poem about the alphabet, published by  
 H. Omont in BECh 42 (1881) 432: 'Spreta figura mihi est etiam sed mira potestas.' The  
 Expositio comments on the line (p. 438): 'id est quia omnibus litteris minorem figuram  
 habet.'

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16a uirtutum quatuor *om. Lehm. (Sb.)* · 17 excipit *L* · 17a uehitur = uehitur ·  
 18 quondam *D-S*, quodam mentis *L* · 19 illo scilicet *L* · 20 inuentio *D-S* · 21 in-  
 nitendus *L*, innitandum *D-S* · 22 editor ipse *om. L* · 23 eas uirtutes *L* · 24 emulato  
*L* · 25 uel *L* · 26 qui *L D-S* · 27 quod *L D-S* · 28 que: // *P Lehm. (Sb.)* ·  
 29 // // // itur *P Lehm. (Sb.)* · 30 progr // // *P* · 31 sit *D-S* · 32 // // // tum *P* // // // um *Lehm.*  
*(Sb.)* · 33 principio tamquam (tamquam *exp.*) *L* · 34 aberedarii *L*, abecedaris *D-S* ·  
 35 doctri<ne> *L* · 36 <ten>dendo *L* · 37 premittit<ur> *L* · 38 unus *D-S* · 39  
*ordo in L*: l.p. q.m.e. in al.ad · 40 in: et *D-S* · 41 autem *L* · 42 uel *L* · 43 item  
*D-S* · 44 hoc *D-S* · 45 factus quibus *L* · 46 pro *L* · 47 hoc merito *L* · 48 hoc  
*Lehm. (Sb.)* · 49 *ordo in L*: in a.q.s.r. (*corr. L<sup>1</sup>*) · 50 simillimum *D-S*

ut qui scientior esset, potius ipse quam alius scriberet et per<sup>46</sup> hoc<sup>47</sup> scientie testimonio premineret. Non ideo in huius<sup>48</sup> operis editorem cachinnandum est uel ipsi operi detrahendum quoniam in aliis rebus quasi simile<sup>49 50</sup> contingere sepe uidemus<sup>51</sup> ut ex mediocri censu pulchriora quis construat, plura etiam sui<sup>52</sup> monumenta<sup>53</sup> deserat quam<sup>54</sup> qui pluribus diuiciis habundabat. Porro ut residuum prosequamur predictae  
55 allusionis facte de curru, quia pauper fuit qui composuit, ideo non nisi unus equus<sup>55</sup> adiungitur huic curru. Ille autem est<sup>56</sup> amor bene uiuendi, quod ideo dici potest quoniam qui amat bene uiuere, hunc etiam librum libenter<sup>57</sup> uolet audire. Eo autem plus trahet quo plus eum in usum noticiamque perducat.

60 Sed hoc iam dicto in fauorem seu excusacionem eius a quo liber est editus, ab his ad alia transeamus. Quod autem in aliis libris queri solet, quis est qui scripserit, quid cui ubi<sup>58</sup> quando et quare scripserit, cum de his omnibus ultimis liber prosequatur,<sup>59</sup> nolimus<sup>60</sup> alia de ipso editore<sup>61</sup> confingere quam ea que posuit.<sup>62</sup> Cum forte sine maiore<sup>63</sup> boatu idem<sup>64</sup> sufficere uoluerit que<sup>65</sup> de se<sup>66</sup> ipso meminit, icirco<sup>67</sup> huiusmodi<sup>68</sup> supersedemus,  
65 et de omnibus circa hec<sup>69</sup> querendis titulum tantum quis est assignabimus.

Materiam tamen de qua agitur, quomodo in aliis libris fieri solet quorum tenor extrinsecus prelibatur, pro eo quod hec historia<sup>70</sup> et magis ignota est et magis in mithmicis<sup>71</sup> adinventionibus falsitate respersa, ueritati tantum,<sup>71a</sup> que<sup>72</sup> in cronicis traditur, insistentes, sub quodam uerborum compendio percurramus, et sic demum<sup>73</sup> clarius  
70 uisuri in littera, hanc etiam lucernam ad intelligenciam tituli prefigemus.<sup>74</sup>

... [Codex L] Icirco supersedemus huiusmodi, materiamque tantummodo prelibamus. Agitur enim de ea in libro ordine artificiali, dicendo prius que posterius facta sunt et posterius que prius, et hoc maxime patet ubi agitur de exordio regni Francorum occasione belli Saxonici, a quo exordio ualde remotus fuit ipse Karolus cum sextus  
75 decimus in successione regum extiterit. Ipse autem non de regibus illis directe, de regio tamen semine his patribus prodiit: Pater siquidem eius Pipinus breuis, Karoli Tudite, quem Gallice Martel dicimus, fuit filius. Karolus autem Tudites Pipinum maiorem patrem habuit. Pipinus autem maior Ansegisifilium; et Ansegisifilus / [I. 5<sup>r</sup> L] Erchennoaldum; Erchennoaldus autem Ansbertum senatorem, matrem uero Bitildem, que soror  
80 fuit Dagoberti magni et filia Clotharii regis. Qui Clotarius patre Chilperico, auo Clothario, proauo Clodoueo primo rege Christiano, abauo Childerico, atauo Meroueo, tritauo Clodione, a Pharamundo patre Clodionis primo Francorum rege octauus regnantium fuit. Generatione autem regum in hoc Clothario subdiuisa, omnes illi qui de ipso per

68 On the author's attitude toward 'mimi,' cf. 4 tenor 2, 4.21-28, and *Captatio* 133-36.

78 Instead of Ansegifil, the name of Pepin II's father seems to have been Anseghisel (or a similar spelling): cf. *Liber historiae Francorum* 46 (ed. B. Krusch, MGH, SS. rer. Merov. 2 [1888] 320); Fredegarius Cont. 3 (ed. J. M. W[allace]-H[adrill] *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar with its Continuations* [Nelson's Medieval Classics; London 1960] 83). See on text A 92 *infra*.

51 *ordo in L*: s.u.c. · 52 *sui om. L* · 53 *mouimenta D-S* · 54 *quam his L* · 55 *eques Lehm. (Sb.)* · 56 *est om. L* · 57 *libenter om. L* · 58 *ubi et L* · 59 *prosequitur L* · 60 *uolumus L* · 61 *editore om. L* · 62 *quam — posuit om. L* · 63 *maiori L* · 64 *idem om. L* · 65 *quod L D-S* · 66 *se om. L (ss. L<sup>1</sup>)* · 67 *Ex hoc loco P et L maxime inter se distant, et textum P solum nunc offero; uide notam 74 et textum L inferius* · 68 *huiusmodi materiam D-S* · 69 *hoc D-S* · 70 *historia om. P (ss. P<sup>1</sup>)* · 71 *michinicus (!) sic Lehm. (Sb.)* · 71a *tamen Lalanne* · 72 *quantum D-S* · 73 *demum om. P (ss. P<sup>1</sup>)*, *dominum D-S* · 74 *Hic terminatur prosa in P et D-S; textum L ex illo loco 'icirco huiusmodi supersedemus' (supra lin. 64) pono*

Bitildam filiam descenderunt ab Erchennoaldo usque ad Pipinum breuem consules  
 85 aule regie fuerunt, habentes tum<sup>75</sup> temporis idem officium apud reges quam coepiscopi  
 apud episcopos. Nam sicut episcopi condam scilicet spiritualibus uocabant et coepiscopi  
 eorum temporalia procurabant, ita reges dandis iudiciis ex<sup>76</sup> expediendis iusticiis et  
 bellis prosequendis dediti erant; consules uero, redditus eorum colligentes, tam illis  
 90 quam suis necessaria distribuebant. Horum autem consulum Erchennoaldus cum filio  
 suo Ansegisifilo primus officium habuit sub Clodoueo secundo, cui idem Erchenoaldus  
 sanctam Baltildem, quam enutrierat, in coniugio dedit. Pipinus autem maior, Ansegisi-  
 fili filius, consul fuit in Austria siue Franconia sub Childerico rege, Clodouei secundi  
 filio, et Grimoldus quidam, filius illius Pipini, consul fuit sub Childeberto Neustrie siue  
 Francie rege, filio Theoderici regis, qui frater fuerat Childerici. Porro post Grimoldum  
 95 frater eius Karolus Tudites consul fuit sub Dagoberto iuniore, Childeberti filio, et postea  
 Pipinus breuis sub Theoderico, Dagoberti filio.

Quo Theoderico mortuo sine liberis, Daniel quidam, cognomento Hildricus, qui alias  
 eodem Theoderico adhuc puero regnum inuaserat sed per Karolum Tuditem ab eo cum  
 complice suo Rainfredo amotus fuerat, iterum eo mortuo et iam mortuo Karolo<sup>77</sup> Tudite,  
 100 regnum inuasit et obtinuit Pipino breui existente consule quemadmodum fuerat sub  
 Theoderico. Cum autem idem Hildricus remissus esset et nullam regni sollicitudinem  
 gereret sed tantum in ocio et quiete corpore requiesceret, Pipinus breuis Romanum  
 pontificem nomine Zacariam per litteras suas interpellauit quis deberet esse rex, et res-  
 ponsum est a pontifice illum debere esse regem qui bene gereret rem publicam. Quibus  
 105 uerbis inducti Franci proceres Hildricum amouerunt eo quod inutilis esset, et Pipinum,

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85 consules aule regie: i.e. mayors of the palace. 89-90 On Erchenoald (palace mayor ca. 641-57) and St. Baltildis, see Fredeg. Cont. (80 W-H) and *Vita S. Balthildis* 2 and 3 (ed. Krusch, *op. cit.*, 483-85). On St. Baltildis cf. BHL 905-911. The son of Erchenoald who became palace mayor in 675 was Leudesius: cf. *Lib. hist. Fr.* 45 (318 Krusch). As to who was the first palace mayor, Lewis Sergeant, *The Franks* (New York 1898) 195, remarks 'It cannot be said with certainty who was the first Frank Mayor of the Palace, or under what circumstances he was appointed.' Cf. 'Landricus maior domus primus constituitur' in a list of Frankish rulers edited by G. H. Pertz, MGH SS. 2 (1829) 311. 92 Notice also in the table of Frankish rulers, prepared by Egidius, on fol. 47<sup>v</sup> of MS P: 'Erchenoaldus — Ansegifilus — Pippinus Maior.' Anseghisel is normally reported as a son of Arnulf of Metz, not of Erchenoald; see the genealogical texts published by G. H. Pertz, MGH SS. 2 (1829) pp. 309, 312, 314; Rigordus, *De gestis Philippi Augusti*, ed. H. F. Delaborde, *Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton* 1 (Paris 1882) 60; F. L. Ganshof, in W. Braunfels (ed.), *Karl der Grosse: Werk und Wirkung* (Aachen 1965) 12; E. Hlawitschka, 'Die Vorfahren Karls des Grossen,' in *Karl der Grosse*, 1, ed. H. Beumann (Düsseldorf 1966) table opposite p. 73. See also on 78 *supra*. 97 Childeric III, son of Chilperic II, who reigned ca. 742-ca. 752 and was deposed by Pepin the Short, is confused with Chilperic II (Daniel), who became king in 715, was deposed by Martel in 717, when Clotaire IV was made king. After the death of Clotaire IV, Chilperic II was restored to power but died the same year (720). Thierry IV thereupon (720) became king. *Karolinus* 1.374-393 makes the same error as the *Accessus* here; cf. also the confusion in the table of Frankish rulers, prepared by Egidius, on fol. 47<sup>v</sup> of MS P: 'Hildricus inuasor regnavit post Dag. Theodericus filius Dagoberti . . . Iterum Hildricus . . .' A side-note includes 'Hild. iterum regnum inuasor tenuit donec Pipinum per Zachariam papam' (the rest is cut off by binding). See on 1.375.

quia strenuus erat, in regem erexerunt. Porro cum esset rex Pipinus, Stephanus papa, qui Zacarie successerat, attendens quod Pipinus per Romanum pontificem regnum obtinuisset, contra Aistulfum regem Ytalie, qui Romanam ecclesiam infestabat, opem Pipini deprecari uenit et exauditus est. Nam Pipinus Italiam intrauit. Aistulphum  
 110 pro pace habenda cum Ecclesia L obsides dare coegit. Quo rediente Aistulfus totum irritum fecit, sed non multo post, cum esset in uenatione, subito igne celitus misso percussus interiit. Cum autem papa ille adhuc in Galliis esset, uolens placere Pipino et considerans quod nouus esset in regno, immo quia Dominus sic disponebat, qui Karolo eam gloriam preparabat, apud Sanctum Dyonisium concilium congregauit, ubi Pipinum cum uxore sua Bertrada et duobus filiis eiusdem nominis, nisi quod alter Magnus cognominabatur, regniis ornamentis insigniuit,isque regnum, interposito anathemate ne quis iniuriaretur eis, in perpetuum eorumque posteris confirmauit. Post hec Pipino aliquandiu regnante et deinde mortuo, duo filii eius rursus coronati sunt, regnumque sibi diuiserunt, sed alter eorum post biennium mortuus est. Cuius uxor cum filiis suis,  
 120 quod exulem se fingens et Karolo regis Ytalici discordiam excitare uolens, ad Desiderium, qui tunc regnabat in Ytalia, se transtulit et cum eo remansit. Karolus inuenta portione fratris sui sine heredibus monarchiam regni solus obtinuit. Qui tunc Hunoldum quendam Aquitaniam occupare uolentem bello expetiit, et fugatum Vasconiam intrare compulit. Quem a duce Vasconie nomine Lupo recepit, qui et reddidit illum, Magnum  
 125 offendere timens, et potestati Magni simul se dedit. Magnus Hunoldo pro bono pacis pepercit, terramque quam occupauerat sibi retinuit.

De his agitur in primo libro hoc ordine quod prius coronationem Karoli per Stephanum papam ponit, deinde assignando quare illi regnum confirmari oportuit, prosequitur de Hildrico,<sup>78</sup> quomodo regnum amisit et Pipinus illud accepit. Subiungitur, quasi ad exemplificandum, de maioribus Karoli quod reges non fuerunt; de Pipino maiori, a quo Pipini breuis, qui ille Pipinus et cuius officii fuerit; postea de Karolo Tudite,<sup>79</sup> filio eius, ubi illud non subicitur quod decimas ecclesiis abstulit, unde et dampnatus fuit. Sic redit ad agendum de Pipino, qui in reconpensationem huius offense patris ecclesias regalibus prediis ditauit, uolens auferre decimas militibus ne scandala ex eo orirentur et ipse a regno, in quo nouus erat, extraheretur. Deinde alias prohibitates Pipini contra Aistulfum, de quo intermiserat, et bella contra Alanos facta breuiter tangit, et sic ad sanctam coronationem filiorum transit post mortem patris; tunc de fratre mortuo, de monarchia regni habita, et de Hunoldo capto subiungit, et ibi terminatur liber primus.

Residuum est historie quod Karolus, postquam contra Hunoldum preualuit, ad petitionem Adriani pape Ytaliam intrauit, et Desiderium regem Aistulphi<sup>80</sup> more Romanam Ecclesiam infestantem apud Papiam cepit et exiliauit. Deinde ad expugnandos Saxones, qui pagani erant, transiit, quos et bello confecit et Christiane fidei acquisiuit. / [f. 5<sup>v</sup> L.]

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109 Pepin conquered the Lombard king in 755. 110 The number of hostages is given as forty, not fifty, in *Annales regni Francorum* and *Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi* an. 755 (ed. F. Kurze, MGH, In usum scholarum [1895] 14-15). 112 Fredeg. Cont. 39.(108-9-WH) 109 reports: 'Aistulfus rex Langobardorum, dum uenationem in quadam siluam exerceret, diuino iudicio de equo quo sedebat super quandam arborem proiectus, uitam et regnum crudeliter dignam mortem ammisit.' Cf. *Annal. reg. Fr.* and *Annal. q. d. Einh.* an. 756 (14-15 Kurze). Aistulf reigned over the Lombards 744-56. 115 Charlemagne's brother was Karloman. 136 Contra Alanos: perhaps a slip for 'contra Aquitanos': cf. the poem 1.465-79.

Vbi cum adhuc in procinctu esset, uenit ad eum quidam dux Nauarrorum Christianus fieri uolens, magis<sup>81</sup> autem quibusdam parentibus suis, quibus offensus fuerat, per  
 145 Karolum nocere intendens, cum quo Karolus filium suum Ludouicum Aquitanie regno prefectum ad expugnandum Hyspaniam misit, quo non proficiente eo quod dux ille cum amicis suis in reddito suo componeret, Karolus subsequens est et dominium terre obtinuit. Sed cum ille rediret, in Pyreneo colle dolosos Vascones expertus est, qui ex  
 150 tremitati exercitus eius in angusto uiarum insidias tetenderunt, et ab altis scopulis desuper imminentes, illos inferius positos sagittis suis et missilibus confoderunt. In quo bello Rollandus et Oliuerus milites optimi cum multis aliis interfecti sunt. Post hec rex Karolus, Basconia egressus ad expugnandos Narbonenses, iter habuit, et inde per Gottiam Prouinciam et Aragoniam, quas omnes subiugauit, transitum faciens, Capuanos et Beneuentanos bello edomuit. Deinde Siciliam Vngariam et Daciam peruagans, eas  
 155 tributarias fecit. Deinde Romam rediens inuenit Leonem papam de sede sua expulsum et a Romanis pene interemptum, quem in loco suo restituit et de hostibus ultionem sumpsit. Transit in Italiam, ubi Pipinum, filium suum, regem prefecerat. Quo mortuo Bernardum, filium illius, loco patris statuit, et quinque filias ex illo relictas apud se retinuit et more patris exhibuit. Inde Romam a Leone papa reuocatus, in ecclesia  
 160 beati Petri imperatoriam adeptus est dignitatem, ubi proximo post aduentum suum legatos Tapsilonis ducis Baioarie in dolo missos suscepit uolentes ab eo extorquere per pollicitationem fidei securitatem de non infestando Tapsilone nec uolentes fidem facere quod ei fidelis aut pacificus existeret, perquirentes ut esset astrictus Tapsiloni et non Tapsilo ei. Quorum dolum ut deprehendit, reppulit eos, et Tapsiloni mox ut Gallos  
 165 suos redisset bellum futurum indixit, sed Tapsilo ei cum diademate<sup>82</sup> quod usurpauerat supplex ad<sup>83</sup> pedes occurrit. Ad pedes eius corruit et impetrauit ueniam. Deinde Danis<sup>84</sup> Sueuis Norueguis Frisonibus Hunis et Dacis citerioribus bellum intulit. Sed et

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143-152 The writer confuses Frankish campaigns in Spain. The campaign of 778 was undertaken by Charlemagne after more or less sincere encouragement from Solaiman ibn al-Arabi, governor of Barcelona, who was rebelling against the emir Abd ar-Rahman. It was during 778 that the disaster of Roncesvalles took place and Roland perished. See *Annal. reg. Fr.* and *Annal. q. d. Einh.* ann. 777-778 (48-51 Kurze); Einhardus, *Vita Karoli* 9; Louis Halphen, *Charlemagne et l'empire carolingien* (Paris 1947). 143-145 Louis could not have engaged in the 778 war, for that was the year of his birth (see on 2.404-8 *infra*). In 797, however, Charlemagne sent Louis the Pious to fight in Spain: see *Annal. reg. Fr.* and *Annal. q. d. Einh.* an. 797 (101-103 Kurze). At one point in 797, Louis accompanied a Saracen prince Abdella to Spain, under Charlemagne's direction: cf. *Annal. reg. Fr.* an. 799 (102 Kurze). 154 Siciliam: Charlemagne received emissaries from Sicily: cf. *Annal. reg. Fr.* and *Annal. q. d. Einh.* ann. 797, 799 (100-101, 108-109 Kurze). *Einh. Vita K.* 15 in his list of Charlemagne's conquests, does not include Sicily but says 'Italiam totam . . . perdomuit.'

155 It was at Paderborn, in 799, that Charlemagne received the nearly blinded Pope Leo and restored him to power. See *Annal. reg. Fr.* and *Annal. q. d. Einh.* an. 799 (106-107 Kurze); *Versus de Carolo Magno et Leone papa* 426-36 (ed. E. Dümmler, MGH, PLAC 1 [1880] 377). In the following year Charlemagne visited Rome to stabilize the Church. See *Annal. reg. Fr.* and *Annal. q. d. Einh.* an. 800 (110-112 Kurze); *Einh. Vita K.* 28. These sources do not mention any punishment of Pope Leo's foes. 157-158 Pepin was king of Italy 781-810, Bernard ruled it 813-818.

Anglos cum ulterioribus insulis triumphauit. De omnibus his prosequitur secundus liber et terminatur in bellis enumeratis.

- 170 Agit autem tertius de sublimatione eius in imperium et de gratia quam habuit cum uniuersis regibus et populis, nichil postea adiungendo de bellis, quamquam forte eorum aliqua post abitum imperium consummauit, ad minus contra Tapsilonem et Bauarios suos, sed non legitur in cronicis post susceptionem imperii aliquibus implicitus fuisse, forte quia cito consummauit, nisi tantummodo ecclesias edificasse, pauperes sustentasse, et ecclesiastica negotia ordinasse, de quibus adhuc quidam liber existit, multis distinctus capitulis, quem abbas quidam compilauit. Sed quia alterius negotii est et ad historiam prosequendam non pertinet, in hoc opere tenor eius omittitur, et ea que historiam tangunt uel moralia sunt tantummodo, inseruntur. Qu<orum> materia usque in quartum librum extenditur.
- 180 Diffusus est enim tractatus de moribus, et his magis prosequendis quam aliis, qui hec edidit, operam dedit. Deinde ennumeratis uirtutibus et moribus bonis,<sup>85</sup> in quibus rex ille consenuit, de morte agitur quam Aquisgrani LXXV uitte sue annum agens<sup>86</sup> incurrit. Quem proceres sui, ut in cronicis legitur, Aquisgrani in ecclesia sancte Marie, quam construxerat, sepelierunt conditum aromatibus et super tumbam eius arcum aureum  
185 exerunt. Et hec est materia quarti libri, paucis appositis de duobus posteris eius, Ludouico scilicet Pio et Karolo Caluo, ut sicut supra ostensum fuerat de quibus maioribus prodiit, ita in fine ostenderetur quos posteros in regno reliquit.

Que autem fit materia quinti libri, cum in quatuor precedentibus tota series hystorie contineatur, cum ad locum illum uenerimus, melius tanquam loco suo proprio explicabitur. Post hec inspiciamus titulum et inde ad exponendam litteram transeamus.

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**172-173** Charlemagne settled his hostilities with Tassilo and the Bavarians in 787-88; in 800, Charlemagne became emperor. Once again the writer errs. **173-175** The writer may have had in mind Einhard, who deals with Charlemagne's military exploits in the first part of his work and then devotes the remainder of it to other aspects of Charlemagne's life. It is not clear to what books the writer refers, nor even whether the 'de quibus' is meant to modify all the phrases from 'ecclesias edificasse' or simply 'ecclesiastica negotia ordinasse.' **182** According to *Annal. reg. Fr.* an 814 (140 Kurze), Charlemagne was seventy-one at his death, and *Einh. Vita K.* 30 reports that he was seventy-two. *Karolimus* 4.361-62 claims that Charlemagne was seventy-five. **184** On the tomb and arch see *Einh. Vita K.* 31. **190** According to codex L's statement here, one should expect a commentary to follow text A, which is really an accessus. But the only glosses are found in codex P.

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85 bouis L · 86 agens om. L (mg. add. L<sup>1</sup>)

<B>

[f. vii<sup>v</sup> P, 3<sup>r</sup> L]

#### PRUDENCIA

Prudencia est in bene disponendis siue propriis siue alienis negociis. Hec in primo libro in Karolo fuisse monstratur cum in inicio regni sui Hunoldum sibi inuitiosum et

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Text B: This section is possibly by Egidius. In both MSS the account of each of the four virtues is inscribed within a circular frame supported by a female personifying the virtue. In a fifth circular frame at the middle of the page stands 'Ostenso — terminatur.' See

a duce Vasconie redditum perdere noluit sed honori reddentis detulit. Amorem seruati  
 5 enim dixit<sup>1</sup> 'Pater meus cecidit uos flagellis,<sup>2</sup> ego cedam scorpionibus,' consilio in-  
 sipientium scissionem regni sui sustinuit.<sup>2a</sup> Ille quidem crudelitatem pollicitatus<sup>3</sup> est.  
 Iste autem benignitatem ostendit.

#### Iusticia

Iusticia est que unicuique reddit quod suum est. Hec in secundo libro in Karolo  
 designatur, qui prelia Domini decertauit, unde et honorem Dei et salutem hominum  
 procreauit. Bella siquidem eius<sup>4</sup> ideo uirtuti iusticie ascribuntur, quoniam omnia ea<sup>5</sup>  
 5 agenda suscepit intuitu iusticie uel contra Christianos apostatas ut esset ultor Ecclesie  
 uel contra paganos intuitu catholice fidei exaltande. Et hoc ita factum est ut quasi  
 de eo dictum fuerit 'Iustus meus ex fide uiuit.'

#### Fortitudo

Fortitudo est que pusillanimitatem et tempestatem spiritus tollit, pro qua dictum est  
 'Melior est qui uincit<sup>6</sup> iram quam qui capit ciuitatem,'<sup>6</sup> hec sicut in tercio<sup>7</sup> libro docetur.  
 Preter eam quam habuit Karolus in corpore, ita fuit in eius mente quod ipse animo  
 suo, ut nulla surrepperent turpia, fortiter imperauit, et ipse animus tam fortiter se  
 5 gessit quod omnium aliorum animos exuperando in admirationem ipsius Karoli traxit  
 et in gratiam acquisiuit, et hoc quod dicitur, ibi plenius inuenitur.

#### Temperancia

Temperancia iuxta Senecam eadem est que et continencia, et hec multiplex est: in  
 cibo et potu ne sit homo superfluus, in uerbo ne sit garrulus, in gestu ne sit dissolutus,  
 in conuersatione ne sit incongruus. De his et similibus in quarto libro agitur, quomodo  
 hec omnia Karolus habuit, ut ita in quibus sit temperancia uirtus, exemplo ipsius Karoli  
 5 ostendatur. Porro ita id fit quod de historia nichil omittitur, et hec omnia in suis locis  
 proponuntur.

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*supra*, Introd., at nn. 70, 83a. Among the personifications of the virtues in medieval art one may note, e.g., apart from the broad range of examples in the Prudentius manuscripts, those found in Count Vivian's Bible and in the Sacramentary of Raganaldus of Marmoutier, both of the mid-ninth century (see John Beckwith, *Early Mediaeval Art* [London 1964] pls. 47, 51). Cf. also Archer Woodford, 'Mediaeval Iconography of the Virtues: A Poetic Portraiture,' *Speculum* 28 (1953) 521-24.

Prudencia 5 For the quotation see 3 Reg. 12.11, 14; 2 Par. 10.11, 14. The split among the Jews, here referred to, took place in the time of Jeroboam (3 Reg. 12 and 2 Par. 10).

Iusticia 6 Hebr. 10.38 (cf. Rom. 1.17 and Gal. 3.11).

Fortitudo 2 Cf. Prov. 16.32.

Temperancia Cf. Martinus Bracarensis, *Formula vitae honestae* [at one time attributed to Seneca] 4 (ed. C. W. Barlow [Papers and Monographs of American Acad. in Rome 12; New Haven 1950] 242-43). In the heading for ch. 4 in Martinus Bracarensis, part of the manuscript tradition reads 'De temperantia quae et continentia dicitur' (see *ibid.* 242 in the apparatus).

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1 dixit et L · 2 flagellis P · 3 pollicitus L · 4 eius om. L (ss. L<sup>1</sup>) · 5 omnia ea: ea omnia L · 6 vincit-ciuitem: dominatur animo suo expugnatore urbium L · 7 inuit (= quarto) P sustinuit: finiuit L

Ostenso in quatuor libris quomodo in his quatuor uirtutibus se gessit<sup>8</sup> Karolus,<sup>9</sup> sine quibus non bene uiuitur, in quinto libro, quid ad has et<sup>10</sup> quid contra has fiat ostenditur<sup>11</sup> per personas uel ad quas uel contra quas ibi loquitur, ubi tota intentio scribentis<sup>12</sup> aperitur, que scilicet uersatur circa quedam que illic quasi in sex capitulis assignantur.

5 Ideo liber ille, quia finem operis facit,<sup>13</sup> a finalibus litteris incipit et terminatur.

8 gesserit *Brial* · 9 Carolus *Brial* · 10 uel *Brial* · 11 ostendit *Brial* · 12 scrip-  
toris *Brial* · 13 facit et *L*

<C>

[f. vii<sup>v</sup> P, 41<sup>v</sup> L]

Qui canit hec, elementa suum signantia nomen  
In totidem studuit compariare libris.  
Quattuor ex illis metrico modulamine pergunt;  
Tres alii gaudent liberiore prosa.

5 Comica descripti metricæ satyrasque simulque  
Cum sancti uita Gallica gesta docent.

Qui tenere prosam, quedam moralia tradunt  
Et dictatoris uersificique modum.

Scribere que possent olim prodesse futuris

10 Parisius docuit uatis alumpna sui.

Hic tibi premonstro quod quasdam in corpore libri

Personas positas, quas cetera scire uolenti  
Scire necesse fuit, quadam restabat haberi  
Arboris in serie, studioque icirco satégi.

15 Si super adieci quas non in corpore libri

Inuenies, sed eo quod notio plena geratur  
Et bene descriptis concordent tempora rebus,  
Si placet et merui, gratum scribentis habeto  
Munus, et artificem studii laudare memento.

Text C: These verses — 11-19 are in the first person — are no doubt by Egidius him-  
self. 1-4 would indicate that the poet spelled his name *Egidius*, not *Aegidius*. 3-8  
None of the works mentioned seems to have survived, apart from the 'Gallica gesta' of line  
6 (cf. *Captatio* 11-12), apparently identical with the *Karolinus*, which not only deals with  
Charlemagne but also with his ancestors and descendants. Cf. 5.379-85 *infra*. 10 Egidius  
calls himself 'Parisiensis alumpnus' in his verses about himself and Petrus Riga (1.11.5  
Beichner). 11-14 The writer speaks of the lists of popes and other rulers, placed at the  
end of the poem.

*Versus 1-10 post uersus 11-19 in L* · 1 Qui om. (*spat. uac.*) *L* · 5 satyrisque *Lehm.*  
(*Sb.*) · 8 Et: In *Delaborde* · 9 que: qui *L* · 10 uotis *Delaborde*. *Pro uersu 11 leguntur*  
*duo uersus in L*: Hic demum adicio propter quod et ipse retentum / Sepius inspicias quod  
quasdam in corpore libri · 11-19 *quasi disticha elegiaca imprimi Lehmann* · 11 corpor<e  
libri> *P* · 12 <uolenti> *P*, uolunt *Lehm.* (*Sb.*) · 13 resta<bat haberi> *P* · 14 serie:  
specie *Delaborde*, fine *Lehm.* (*Sb.*); studioque: Studio qui *Lehm.* (*Sb.*); icirc<o satégi> *P* ·  
15 corpor<e libri> *P* · 16 ple<na geratur> *P* · 17 tempor<a rebus> *P* · 18 merui:  
/// *Lehm.* (*Sb.*); scriben<tis habeto> *P*, scribentis hab/// *Lehm.* (*Sb.*) · 19 laud<are  
memento> *P*

## TEXTS APPENDED TO THE 'KAROLINUS'

&lt;D&gt;

[f. 43<sup>v</sup> P, 42<sup>r</sup> L]

Romanorum pontificum hic imprimis seriem posituri, tamquam dignitati eorum deferentes, ideo eam suscepimus describendam ut inuento Damaso papa in ipsa descriptione, circa tempora eius regnum Francorum scias inicium habuisse. Nam Valentiniano Magno, qui, sicut legitur, primus Francis nomen imposuit, contemporaneus inuenitur fuisse beatus Ambrosius,<sup>1</sup> qui etiam eiusdem Valentiniani iussu Mediolanensium ordinatus fuit episcopus. Beatus autem Ambrosius tempore Damasi fuit, quando et Ieronimus, qui eodem Damaso iubente libros sacre scripture de Hebreo transtulit et in usum Ecclesie ordinauit. Porro circa assignationem Horsmide<sup>2</sup> pape uel Simachi predecessoris sui requiras tempora Clodouei, primi Francorum regis Christiani. Nam de 10 Horsmida papa<sup>3</sup> legitur quod ad Anastasium suo tempore imperantem miserit ut eum ab errore suo corripere cum ab hereticis deprauatus esset. Ille autem Anastasius per ipsius pape legatum hoc<sup>4</sup> ei remandauit<sup>5</sup> 'Nos iubere uolumus non iuberi,' et cum sancto pape non acquiesceret sed magis in sua heresi perduraret, non multo post ictu fulminis extinctus est. Hic autem Anastasius cum adhuc catholicus esset et audiret Clodoueu 15 in Gallis strenue se gerentem, missa ei apud Turonim trabea consulari Romanis cum fascibus insigniuit et Romane rei publice consulem et augustum fore declarauit. Pro quibus beneficiis a Deo sibi collatis idem Clodoueus, / [f. 42<sup>v</sup> L] Domino gratias agens, cum Parisius esset reuersus, ecclesiam ibi que nunc sancte Genouefe<sup>6</sup> dicitur, in honore apostolorum Petri et Pauli edificauit, et eam sancte apostolice Romane scilicet Ecclesie 20 spirituali iure deuinxit. His itaque et similibus, que in cronicis plenius inueniuntur, ut perpendi possit sub quibus pontificibus Romanis regnum Francorum esse cepit uel sub quibus magis uiguit, utpote sub Leone tercio, qui Karolum Magnum ad imperium promouit; sub Paschali primo, qui Ludouicum,<sup>7</sup> Karoli filium, honore patrio sublimauit; sub Iohanne octauo, qui Karolum Caluum augustum similiter<sup>8</sup> fecit, ob hoc seriem 25 ipsorum pontificum diffinimus<sup>9</sup> positis nominibus in hunc modum.

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D: 2 Dasamus I was pope 366-384. 4-5 See on 2.200-216 *infra*. Valentinian I ruled 364-75. 8-9 St. Hormisdas was pope 514-23, succeeding Symmachus, who had been pope 498-514. Clovis I was king 481-511. 9-16 Cf. *Lib. hist. Fr.* 17 (271 Krusch); Gregorius Turonensis, *Hist. Fr.* 2.38 (88-89 Krusch). *Liber pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne 1.269-270. 17-20 Cf. *Lib. hist. Fr.* 17, 19, 27 (267, 273, 285 Krusch); *Vita S. Chrothildis* 14 (*ibid.* 348); Gregorius Turonensis, *Hist. Fr.* 4.1 (135 Krusch). 22-24 Leo III was pope 795-816. Paschal I, pope 817-24, raised Louis the Pious to imperial power in 814; John VIII, pope 872-82, created Charles the Bald emperor in 875. 24-25 Concerning the list of popes that follows see the descriptions of MSS LP in my Introduction.

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D: 1 anbrosius L · 2 sic PL · 3 sic P, orsmida L · 4 hoc om. L · 5 ei remandauit: remandauit ei L · 6 Geneuefe L · 7 Ludouicum pueri L · 8 augustum similiter: similiter augustum L · 9 definimus L

&lt;E&gt;

[f. 45<sup>r</sup> P 43<sup>v</sup> L]

Subdimus de Sicambria<sup>1</sup> ciuitate, de qua Franci primitus exierunt, quod olim a quibusdam exulibus Troianis in finibus Pannoniarum non longe a Meotide pallude fundata est et a tempore iudicum qui fuerunt in Israel incoata circa tempora uel proximo post tempora Sansonis,<sup>2</sup> ut creditur, qui quintus decimus a Moyse ultimus iudex in Israel  
 5 fuisse legitur, ante quem tempore scilicet<sup>3</sup> Abdon, tercio anno quo iudicabat Israel, Troia destructa est nec multo post a reliquiis ipsius Troie Sicambria est instituta, durauitque Sicambria quasi annis MDXL et amplius, a tempore Sansonis, ut dictum est, usque ad tempora Valentiniani Magni, quarti imperatoris a Constantino maiore, quem baptizauit<sup>4</sup> sanctus Siluester. Sub quo Valentiniano ipsa Sicambria destructa est de-  
 10 sertaque ab incolis suis contra eundem imperatorem tunc temporis ad pugnandum egressis. Famosas autem principum regum et Romanorum imperatorum personas, de quibus expressum habetur in scriptis, quanto tempore durauerunt, seriatim ab ipsa fundatione Sicambrie<sup>5</sup> usque ad tempus Valentiniani, sub quo destructa est, et forte usque ad Karolum Magnum, de quo agimus, hic supponemus adicientes aliquos de genere suo  
 15 qui post ipsum imperium tenuerunt, uolentes in tot hominum successionebus posse perpendi quam multo tempore ciuitas illa durauerit et a quam longinquo genus siue origo Francorum esse ceperit, quam remotus etiam ab illo principio et quam nobis proximus Karolus fuerit, simulque aperte noscatur / [f. 44<sup>r</sup> L] quot et quanti Francorum reges ante ipsum fuerunt quales etiam et qui de eadem prosapia successerunt et qui  
 20 imperatores simul et reges et qui tantummodo reges extiterunt, qui postea regno priuati sunt et qui alii uel unde in regni dominium excreuerunt. Quod autem a principio diximus Sansonem<sup>6</sup> uidelicet quintum decimum fuisse<sup>7</sup> a Moyse, patet<sup>7a</sup> per ipsos iudices quos constat hoc ordine successionis<sup>8</sup> populum Domini iudicasse.

&lt;F&gt;

[f. 46<sup>v</sup> P]

Post excidium Troie, cum ibi regnasset Antenor et postea quidam Friga nomine substitutus esset in regnum, eo regnante quidam de Troia egressi sunt, qui per altum mare Thanais fluminis ingressi hostia, in fines Pannonie siue Vngarie nauigio deuen-

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1 Cf. 1.361, 2.200-25. 5-6 The Trojan War was supposed to have occurred in the time of Abdom or Abdon: cf. Isidorus, *Etym.* 5.39.12; Fredeg. 2.4 (45 Krusch); and note Rigordus, ed. Delaborde p. 63: 'Tercio decimo anno Abdon, iudicis Israel, qui duodecimus fuit a Iosue, capta est Troia.' 6 On the alleged Trojan connection with the Franks see esp. Fredeg. 2.4-6, 3.2 (45-46 Krusch) and see *infra* on 1.361. 8-9 On the baptism of *Liber pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne 1.170. 23 Concerning the list of rulers that follows see the descriptions of MSS LP in my Introduction.

F: 1 See on text E *supra*. On King Friga, cf. Fredeg. 2.4 (45 Krusch).

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E: 1 sicābria P, sicanbria L · 2 sanxonis L · 3 tempore scilicet: scilicet tempore L · 4 bactizauit L · 5 sicābrie PL · 6 sanxonem L · 7a Moyse patet: patet a moyse L · 8 successionis om. L

F: *deest* L

runt, ubi edificauerunt ciuitatem nomine Sicambriam. In qua duos duces populo preesse  
 5 constituerunt, Torgotum scilicet et Francionem. A quo Francione Sicambri, ut quibus-  
 dam placet, Franci postea uocati sunt. Durauit autem Sicambria a fundatione sua,  
 que fuit proximo post excidium Troie usque ad tempora Valentiniani Magni quasi annis  
 MD et amplius, et tunc destructa est, sicut legitur in cronicis.

<G>

[f. 46<sup>v</sup> P]

Legitur quod Valentinianus Magnus, quartus imperator a Constantino, quem bapti-  
 zauit sanctus Siluester tempore quo Romanum tenebat imperium, quosdam populos  
 Alanos nomine Romano imperio rebelles agressus est ad expugnandum. Qui receperunt  
 se in Meotide palude propter firmitatem loci. Imperator autem, eos usque illuc insecutus,  
 5 cum difficultate locorum ad eos attingere non posset, Sicambros non longe positos sibi  
 in auxilium euocauit, indulgens eis decem annorum tributa si eum contra Alanos uirili-  
 ter adiuuarent. Qua promissione Sicambri animati, cum essent periti locorum, eosdem  
 Alanos facile proturbauerunt a palude. Imperator itaque, eorum ammiratus uirtutem,  
 eos a ferocitate Francos quasi Ferancos appellauit. Forte et si quondam a Francione  
 10 duce nomen istud habuerant, non tamen ita notum nec ita usitatum fuit donec Romani  
 imperatoris auctoritate impositum magis innotuit.

Tempore huius Marcomiri expleto iam decennio ex quo Sicambri auxilium tulerant  
 Valentiniano contra Alanos, misit imperator qui consueta ab eis exigerent tributa.  
 Illi autem responderunt proprio sanguinis precio se absolutos esse nec illud amplius esse  
 15 soluturos. Ad hec indignatus augustus contra eos instruxit exercitum. At illa relicta  
 urbe, eductis omnibus suis, Marcomiro et Genebaldo ducibus eorum declinauerunt a  
 facie imperatoris, et intrantes Germaniam, plurima Germanorum oppida occupauerunt  
 et tam ex Germanis quam aliis populis in odium et abiectiorem Romane seruitutis  
 20 infinitos homines suo consorcio ascuerunt. Vnde non multo post in tantam excreuere  
 gentem ut omnibus essent formidini et terrori nec postea esset qui iure belli posset eos  
 redigere sub iugo tributi, et ita non tantum Franci, id est 'feroces,' inuenti sunt, sed  
 eximendo se et suos a iugo Romano Franci, id est 'liberi,' quod et in uulgari eorum  
 sonat, sua probitate effecti sunt.

<H>

[f. 47<sup>r</sup> P]

Clodoueus primo XV annis paganus fuit et postea aliis XV Christianus. Qui dum  
 adhuc gentilis die quadam cum Alemannis confligeret et de uictoria desperaret, cepit

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F: 4 About Sicambria see on 2.200-225. 5 Cf. Fredeg. 2.6 (46 Krusch): 'Electum a se  
 utique regem nomen Torquoto per quod gens Turquorum nomen accepit.' 5-6 Con-  
 cerning attempted derivations of 'Franci,' see on 2.200-216 *supra*. On Francio see 2.216.  
 6-8 Cf. Fredeg. 2.6 (46 Krusch); *Liber. hist. Fr.* 1 (*ibid.* 241-242).

G: See 2.200-225, text F *supra*. 2 See on text E.

H: In 496 Clovis became Christian. Concerning his victory over the Alemanni and his becom-  
 ing Christian see Fredeg. 3.21 (101 Krusch), Gregorius Turonensis, *Hist. Fr.* 2.30-31 (75-78  
 Krusch). 10-11 About the defeat of Alaric and the Arian Goths in 507 see 1.520-26.

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G *deest L*

H *deest L*

inuocare Christum promittens se Christianum fore si uictoriam obtineret. Tunc Ale-  
mannis subito uersis in fugam quod Domino promiserat fideliter adimpleuit, et a sancto  
5 Remigio Remorum episcopo baptismum suscepit, ubi gentis sue tamquam apostolus,  
iam sanctus plurimos ad fidem propria exhortatione conuertit. Nec multo post Aquit-  
taniam, que est tercia Galliarum, uiriliter debellauit, et fugatis inde Gottis, qui Arriani  
erant, eam meliori regula religionis fideique repleuit.

&lt;I&gt;

[f. 48<sup>r</sup> P]

Karolus Magnus Rex et Imperator: Regnauit annis XXXIII et imperauit annis  
XIII.<sup>1</sup>

&lt;K&gt;

[f. 48<sup>v</sup> P]

Pater huius Hugo cognominatus est Chapeth eo quod puer<is> ipse puer capas suas  
ludo auferre soleb<at>. Hic postquam regnauerat anno uno, filium su<um> Rober-  
tum, qui clericus erat, Remis coronari fe<cit> et regnauit cum eo annis XII. Porro  
d<um> regnaret, Gerbertum philosophum, filii sui magis<trum>, Remis iussit ordinari  
5 episcopum, amoto dom<no> Leutherico,<sup>1</sup> quem eo quod esset de genere Lotharii  
<re>gis habebat odiosum; sed postea per Romanum pon<tificem> amotus est Ger-  
bertus et domnus Lethericus<sup>2</sup> resti<tutus>. Gerbertus Romam peregrinans translatus  
et Rauennam et f<actus> archiepiscopus. Postea decedente Romano<sup>3</sup> pontif<ice>  
Rome est in papam electus, qui et Siluester <secundus<sup>4</sup> dictus> est. Idem est cuius  
marmora in latere basilice <Con>stantiniane, quod<sup>5</sup> et propriis oculis aliquotiens  
10 u<idi>, nescio in cuius rei pronosticum quandoque sudare <et> quasi flere dicuntur.<sup>6</sup>

1-2 On the derivations of the name Capet see F. Lot, *Études sur le règne de Hugues Capet et la fin du X<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Bibl. de l'Éc. des Hautes Études 147; Paris 1903) 320. Hugh Capet ruled 987-96. 4 On Gerbertus as teacher of Robert II see *Liber pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne 2.263 and cf. *Gallia Christiana* 9 (Paris 1758) 62. 5 Arnulfus, not Leuthericus, was archbishop 988-991, succeeded by Gerbertus in 991, and then restored and functioning again as bishop in 995-1021, after Gerbertus withdrew from this position. Lothair ruled 954-986. 7-9 Gerbertus became archbishop of Ravenna in 998. He became pope in 999 as Sylvester II but died in 1003. Cf. *Liber pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, 2.263: 'Sepulcrumque est in episcopio Lateranensi . . . Sepulchrum ipsius tam ex tumultu ossium quam ex sudore presagium est morituri pape, sicut in eodem sepulcro est litteris exaratum.' See Duchesne, *ibid.* 2.263 nn. 4, 5. Cf. also Iohannes Diaconus, *Liber de ecclesia Lateranensi* (PL 194.1552): 'In eadem quoque porticu iacet Gerbertus Remorum archiepiscopus, qui papa effectus Syluester est appellatus, cuius saepe sepulcrum etiam in serenissimo aere, cum non sit in humido loco, aquarum guttas (quod satis est hominibus admirandum) uisibiliter emanat.'

I: deest L · 1 fort. XIII P

K: deest L · 1 lenthérico Delaborde · 2 lenthericus Delaborde · 3 Romano: Delaborde · 4 tertius Delaborde · 5 que Delaborde · 6 dinoscitur Delaborde

De hoc autem quod<sup>7</sup> primo Remensis, p<ostea> Rauennensis, ad ultimum Romanus pontif<ex> fuit, habetur illud uersificum:<sup>8</sup>

Transit ab R. Gerbertus <in R,> post papa uigens <R.>

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11 Cf. *Gallia Christiana* 9 (Paris 1751) 62: 'Scandit ab R Gerbertus in R, post papa regens R.'; A. Wilmart, 'Le florilège de Saint-Gatien,' *Revue bénédictine* 48 (1936) 30 (no. 164): 'Venit ab r Girbertus ad r post papa uigens r. / Remis Rauennam peperit Rauenaque Romam.' According to Wilmart, *ibid.* 10, the manuscript of the florilegium (Tours, Bibl. munic. 890) was written between 1150 and 1180.

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7 que *Delaborde* · 8 uersiculum *Delaborde*

INCIPIT KAROLINVS EGIDII  
SCRIPTVS AD INSTRVCTIONEM ILLVSTRIS PVERI LVDOVICI,  
FRANCORVM REGIS FILII

Prologus

Interius siquam uideatur habere medullam,  
Hoc iam premissis adiciatur opus.  
Quatuor inuenies uirtutum in nomine primos  
Quatuor hic apices pretitulare libros,  
5 Alpha quod est finale trium finemque otomegam  
Vnius extremum conseruisse librum.  
Quisque liber, prefixa sibi quam littera signat,  
Materiam retinet et docet esse suam.  
Deinde quid intendam finaliter ultimus infert,  
10 In quo finalis littera finit opus.

Explicit Prologus

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Prologue: cf. text A 21-23 and *Captatio* 163-71. · 2 Cf. Ov. *Tristia* 5.1.2. · 3-4 Book 1, representing Charlemagne's *prudencia*, begins with P; Book 2 on his *iustitia*, begins with I; Book 3, on his *fortitudo*, begins with F; Book 4, on his *Temperantia*, begins with T. The *tenor*, or summary, of each book begins with the same letter as the respective book. · 5-10 That is, *Prudencia*, *Iustitia*, and *Temperantia* each end with a; *Fortitudo* ends with o. And the first word of the *tenor* of this book, begins with a; the last word of Book 5 ends with o. On alpha and omega in medieval literature, see F. Chatillon, 'Arbiter omnipotens et le symbolisme de l'alpha et de l'omega,' *Revue du moyen âge latin* 11 (1955) 5-46, 319-57. · 5 otomegam: a hybrid formation — the letter o + Grk. *to* + Grk. *mega*, the combination treated as a Latin feminine of the 1st declension. Cf. Eberhardus Bethuniensis, *Graecismus* 8.211 (ed. J. Wrobel [Breslau 1887] 43) and *A Volume of Vocabularies*, ed. Thomas Wright (Liverpool 1882) 117. · 8 Gloss: 'ut ubi liber a p incipit, plus inueniatur quam pertinet ad prudenciam, ubi incipit ab i, plus sit quam pertinet ad iusticiam, et sic de ceteris.' · 9 infert: glossed 'post premissa.'

## TENOR PRIMI LIBRI

- Primus apostolici studio declarat honoris  
 Septennem Karolum gessisse insignia regis.  
 Subdit ut ante pater rex est de consule factus,  
 Hildricus subsedit iners in claustra retrusus.
- 5 Prosequitur quibus ex patribus contraxerit ortum.  
 Tuditem describit auum proauumque Pipinum  
 Maiorem patremque redit ponendo supremum.  
 Hos omnes breuiter per singula facta recenset.  
 Rursus eum meminit regni diadema tulisse
- 10 Post obitum patris et decedentis adauctum  
 Imperio fratris Hunoldoque hoste potitum.  
 Huic fini laudanda subest prudentia uirtus.  
 Porro quingentos que prima libri reperitur  
 Et decies quinos numerat distinctio uersus.

Tenor Lib. I: 1-2 Cf. Galterus Insulanus, *Alexandreis* (hereafter Galt. *Alex.*) 1 argum. 1-2 (ed. F. A. Mueldener [Leipzig 1863] p. 3). 8 Cf. *Ov. Her.* 9.105. 9-10 Cf. 1.503. 13-14 On the stichometric note, cf. *supra*, *Introd.*, at n. 100.

## INCIPIT PRIMUS LIBER

- Principis egregii que toto gessit in orbe  
 Prelia, Francorum pugiles experta manipplos,  
 Et meritis animo dum precontemplor honores,  
 Non satis exculto tantarum pondera laudum
- 5 Conor adire stilo. cupiens utcunque licebit,  
 Pro modulo sensus siquo procedere possum,  
 Viribus infirmis hoc nunc conamine toto  
 Prosequar officium, quod uis intendit amoris,  
 De Karolo, clari preclara prole Pipini,
- 10 Cuius apud populos uenerabile nomen in omni

Lib. I: 1 Principis: glossed 'Karoli.' 1-2 Cf. 1.11-12, 2.432-33, *Captatio* 101; Verg. *A.* 1.457; Galt. *Alex.* 1.1-2 (5 M[ueldener]); Alanus, *Anticlaudianus* 6.36 (ed. R. Bossuat [Textes philosophiques du moyen âge 1; Paris 1955]142). 2 Cf. 2.25, 205; Galt. *Alex.* 1.62 (7 M). 7 Cf. 3.320; Galt. *Alex.* 3.161, 10.370 (59, 235 M). 9 Cf. 1.58; Verg. *A.* 12.347; Galt. *Alex.* 1.328 (17 M). Pepin the Short ruled ca. 751-68. 10-11 Cf. *Ov. A.A.* 3.407, *T.* 1.8.15; Lucan 9.202; Galt. *Alex.* 6.318 (137 M).

*Haec inscriptio operis PL EIGIDII Lehm.* · *Prol.* 3 in *om.* *Delaborde* · 4 preticulare *Lehm.* (*Erforschung*) · 5 Otomegan *Lehm.* · 9 ultimum *Lehm.* · *Tenoris tit.* SE-  
 QVITVR TENOR SIVE CONTINENTIA PRIMI LIBRI *L* · *Tenor* 2 Septennem *L*;  
 Carolum *Oudin* (= *Migne*) · 4 Hyldricus *L*, Hilduicus *Oudin* (= *Migne*); reclusus *Oudin*  
 (= *Migne*) · 10 adauctum *L* · 11 hoste *om.* *D-S* · 14 quinos: quinque *L*  
*Liber I* · 2 manipulos *D-S* · 8 Prosequor *D-S*

- Ore satis claret, et decantata per orbem  
 Gesta solent melicis aures sopire uellis.  
 Hic quoniam motus ea nunc innata uoluntas,  
 Rebus in immensis humili ceruice laborem
- 15 Ingredior pulcrumque premens in carmina uotum.  
 Et si militia calami fruor, haut tamen illos  
 Insector titulos quos usque in nostra uetustas  
 Tempora promeruit. longe ipse minore boatu  
 Hec uexilla mouens, exiles temporis huius
- 20 Emulor aut potius sequor et uestigo Camenas,  
 Non quasi celsa petens motis demissius alis,  
 Sed leuibis uerbis in simplicitate loquendi  
 Nobilis illius adiens preconia regis.
- Tu patris eterni sapientia, Christe, tuorum
- 25 Sensifici flatus infusor cordibus, a quo  
 Et sapere est et posse loqui, tu pectus adauge,  
 Tu fauces perfunde meas, et uiscera reple.  
 Te fautore uelim timidis insistere ceptis.  
 Te duce progressum posco te dante supremam
- 30 Addere posse manum iusteque accedere mete,  
 Si sancto moueor meditamine, si sine fame  
 Ambitione sequor illum uirtutis odorem  
 Tradere lectori cum religionis amore  
 Quem multum miror uenerorque in rege fideli,
- 35 Si bene sollicitor ut que de principe sancto  
 Prosequor historie positus tantummodo ueris,  
 Dum trado quam magna bonis est gratia celi,  
 Quam claris apponit eos attollere gestis,  
 Regis in his que sint fame mandanda perenni
- 40 Et pueri uotis sint incentiua moderni,

11 Cf. Galt. *Alex.* 2.145 (34 M). 11-12 Cf. 1.1-2; Verg. *A.* 8.554, 12.608; Ov. *M.* 5.481.  
 12 Cf. Galt. *Alex.* 5.485-86 (121 M). 13 Cf. *ibid.* 6 argum. 8.9 and 6.356 (123, 138 M).  
 15 Cf. 1.47-48, 2.289, 5.83. 16 Cf. 'stili officio' in Boethius, *Consol.* 1 P. 1 and Notker,  
*Gesta Karoli Magni* 1.21 (ed. Hans Haefele, MGH, SS. rer. Germ. n.s. 12 [1959] 27).  
 19-20 Cf. Hor. *Carm.* 4.9.8. 21 Cf. Verg. *G.* 1.142, 2.210, *A.* 5.508, 7.362, 9.564, 8.691,  
 9.81. 27 Cf. Ezech. 28.16. 28 Cf. Verg. *A.* 1.37; *Catonis, Dist.* 1.9.2; Galt. *Alex.* 9.552  
 (216 M). 29-30 Cf. 5.319, *Captatio* (hereafter *Capt.*) 158-59; Verg. *A.* 7.572-73; Ov.  
*A.A.* 3.226, *Rem.* 113-14, *M.* 8.200-1; Galt. *Alex.* 7.96 (152 M). 35 sancto: One may  
 think of the effort of Frederick I in 1166 to have Charlemagne canonized (see BHL 1603,  
 1604), but Egidius uses 'sanctus' in the sense of 'holy' or 'revered' and mentions in this  
 way Louis VIII and his mother (1.60-61). 39 Regis: glossed 'Philippi.' Philip Au-  
 gustus reigned 1180-1223. 40 pueri: glossed 'Ludouici' Louis VIII, son of Philip Au-  
 gustus (see on 1.61-62 *infra*).

12 melitis *Dual* · 13 Hic quoniam: Hoc quantum *D-S* · 16-18 *om. L* · 19 Hec —  
 huius: Temporis istius teneras ab arundine miles *L* · 20 uestigio *D-S* · 21-22 *om. L* ·  
 21 potens *D-S* · 23 illius: inferius *L* · 24 Tu: Ab *L* · 27 profunde *D-S* · 31 me-  
 dicamine *L*; PRIMA CAUSA SCRIBENDI *mg. L* · 32 odorem: amore *L* · 35 *Tit. om.*  
*D-S* · 36 positus: patronis *D-S*

- Si simul amplector ut in his correptus amicus  
 Corrigat offensas in eo quod forte fauori  
 Non facit aut fame, nec enim regina iugali  
 Vexanda est titulo; potius, dum affligitur, omnes  
 45 Compatiamur ei meque ille hortante reductus  
 Non ultra foueat sed plangat scandala regni.  
 Hactenus hec. nisi quod nequeo non prodere uotum,  
 Quod tacito sub corde premo, solique minores  
 Consimili merore gemunt, ubi muta potestas  
 50 Ecclesie uoluit hunc dissimulare reatum,  
 Verbi siue operis michi nullum pondus habenti  
 Tutius extiterat digito clausisse labellum.  
 Hic iam suscepti titulo donande laboris,  
 Obsequium modici non aspernare poete.  
 55 O quantum teneri pendere possumus eui,  
 Dulcibus iniiciis olim radiosa future  
 Ecclesie lampas immensaque gloria regni,  
 O facie preclare puer sed et indole clara,  
 Olim, si qua pie constant oracula menti,  
 60 Declarande magis quam dulcis, et unica sancte  
 Illius Elisabeth soboles et sancta fuisti

41-50 Cf. 5.152-303, *Capt.* 177-201. In 1193 Philip Augustus both married and divorced Ingeborg, daughter of Valdemar I of Denmark. In 1196 Philip married Agnes, daughter of the duke of Meran. Pope Innocent III, in January 1200, laid the dominions of the French king under interdict (the form of the interdict may be seen in PL 214.xcvii n. 60). Philip agreed to recognize the validity of his marriage to Ingeborg, and in September 1200 the interdict was removed. See, above all, Rigordus, ed. Delaborde, pp. 124-25, 147-48, and E. B. Krehbiel, *The Interdict: Its History and Operation with Especial Attention to the Time of Pope Innocent III, 1198-1216* (Washington 1909) esp. 110-25. See also H. Géraud, 'Ingeburge de Danemark, reine de France 1193-1236,' BECh 1, ser. 2 (1844) 3-27, 93-118; R. Davidsohn, *Philipp II, Augustus von Frankreich, und Ingeborg* (Stuttgart 1888); A. Cartellieri, *Philipp II August, König von Frankreich* 4.1 (Leipzig 1921) 24-33, 55-63; A. Lévis-Mirepoix, *Philippe Auguste et les trois femmes* (Paris 1957) 180-200; Auguste Bailly, *Les grands Capétiens 1180-1328* (Paris 1952) 58-62. 41 amicus: glossed 'magister Willelmus.' On Guillelmus Armoricus, whom the French monarch used in his divorce negotiations with the papacy, see 5.173-303 and *Capt.* 63. 43 regina: glossed 'Ingob(erga).' 47 Cf. 4.403, *Capt.* 220; Hor. *Serm.* 1.4.63; Galt. *Alex.* praef. (2 M). As to the second part of the verse cf. 4.300; Ov. *M.* 2.447; Galt. *Alex.* 1.63 (7 M). 47-48 Cf. 1.15; Verg. *A.* 4.332, 10.464-65; Galt. *Alex.* 9.152 (201 M). 49-50 There was no unanimity among ecclesiastics about complying with the sentence. The archbishops of Reims, Chartres, Orléans, Meaux, Auxerre, Noyon, Beauvais, among other clergy and religious, did not obey the interdict. Cf. *Gesta papae Innocentii III* 52 (PL 214. xcvii-xcviii), 57 (*ibid.* ciii); Papa Innocentius III, *Ep.* 3.20 (*ibid.* 898-99); Rigordus, ed. Delaborde p. 125; see Krehbiel, *op. cit.* 116. 52 Cf. Verg. *E.* 2.34; Juv. 1.160, 3.185. 58 Cf. 1.9; Galt. *Alex.* 2.21, 7.320 (29, 161 M). 59 Cf. *Capt.* 1; Ov. *M.* 1.392, 15.145. 61-62 Louis VIII was born 5 September 1187, the son of King Philip Augustus and his queen Isabella of Hainault. Louis ruled 1223-26.

41 ITEM ALIA INTENTIO *L.*, tit. om. D-S · 47 hec: hoc Duval Lalanne D-S; nisi: in Duval · 48 premo: gemo *L.* · 52 libellum *L.* · 53-55 Tit. om. D-S

- Portio magnifici lumbis decisa Philippi,  
 Cui Deus in signum quam sis, si uita supersit,  
 Mundus, et apponens hominum transcendere uitam,  
 65 Angelice uite uicinior ipse futurus,  
 Huius adoptandi tituli quasi pignus et arram  
 Angelicam speciem iam nunc concessit habendam.  
 Felices oculi quibus expectatio fiet  
 Temporis illius cum tu maiusculus euo  
 70 Hic aciem figens post patrum exempla tuorum  
 Ibis et ingentes animo rapieris ad ausus.  
 Tunc, queso — nec enim te sub florente iuuenta  
 Conspiciam uel quando uirum iam corpore factus  
 Preualido reddes: ea non michi tempora spero —  
 75 Sed tunc monstratis regum, Ludouice, priorum  
 Vtere pignoribus. sit degenerare pudori.  
 Et noli factis pollere minoribus. urge  
 Te potius paribus meritis et laude sequaci.  
 Horum exempla ferens etiam maiora facessas.  
 80 Sic tibi conueniet bene respondentibus actis  
 Regia maiestas, sic insopita uigebit  
 Gloria Francorum, sic in preconia magni  
 Nominis exhibis, sic formidabile regnum  
 Et clarum facture genus, sic semper amande  
 85 Et memorande bonis, sic regni a tempore longo  
 Flos potior dicende tui. quid plura monerem?  
 Hoc in te ueneror et uenor et emulor hoc. tu  
 O toto collecte michi sub pectore uotum.  
 Hunc zelum mirare meum, quo traduce regni  
 90 Intueare decus, regum magnalia discas,  
 Et gentem tractare scias, habeasque paratos  
 Ad pugnas et ad arma duces, et ubique locorum  
 Amplifices uires et debita iura resumias.  
 Hoc mea perquirat et ad hoc tibi seruit harundo.  
 95 Que si insufficiens meritique minoris habetur,  
 De nostris utinam, quorum maiore boatu  
 Res peragi posset, aliquos afflasset honesto

63 Cf. 5.337; Verg. *G.* 3.10; Hor. *Epod.* 1.5. 64 Cf. Galt. *Alex.* 3.490 (72 M).

66 Cf. Fortunatus, *Vita S. Martini* 1.67 (ed. F. Leo, MGH, AA. 4.1 [1881] 297) 'arra et pignus amoris.' 72 Cf. 4.102; Verg. *A.* 7.162, 8.160; Hor. *A.P.* 115; Galt. *Alex.* 5.501 (122 M). 76 Cf. 2.11, 244, 4.187, 5.48; Verg. *A.* 4.13; Ov. *M.* 11.315; Galt. *Alex.* 1.47 (7 M). 78 Cf. Verg. *A.* 10.365. 82-83 Cf. 4.210. 88 Cf. Galt. *Alex.* 3.157 (59 M). 89 Cf. 3.92. 96 nostris: glossed 'scilicet Parisiensibus.' 97 Cf. 1.229.

63 quam: quod *Labbeus* · 66 adoptandi: ad optandi *Labbeus* · 72 Nunc *Labbeus*; nec enim: necnon *D-S* · 73 uir *D-S* · 74 non: nunc *L Labbeus* · 77 piollere (*i exp.*) *L* · 86 moneremus *D-S* · 91 habensque *D-S* · 96 utinam quorum: quorum utinam *L* (*corr. L<sup>1</sup>*)

- Scribendi uoto sua sufficiencia sensus  
 Rebus in eximiis et non ignaua libido.
- 100 Quod quia non fit, ubi propriam, puer inclite, laudem  
 Non sequor, immo tuam plus emulor, utere scripto  
 Quo tibi seruitur postquam tibi copia fiet  
 Vt bona dinoscas et agas discretus adultam  
 Factus in etatem quam de te predico. facto
- 105 Tunc absolue fidem, tunc me exerrasse uideri  
 Ne paciare, precor, cassumque tulisse laborem.  
 Hec ego dum memoro longe digressus in istis  
 Forsitan inuenies ubi dentem infigere possis,  
 Liuor edax, rabido numquam saciande cachinno.
- 110 Forte superuacuum duces uoluisse decennem  
 Affari puerum minus agnitionis habentem,  
 Ignarum prorsus quidue hic sentire uelimue  
 Dicere, sed certe presentem attendo, futurum  
 Alloquor et formo, redimens in tempore tempus
- 115 Qualiter immissis accrescat gloria uotis,  
 Et meus hic tendit in publica commoda zelus.  
 Forte etiam ridenda geres quod carmina cudo  
 Sub nudo sensu tenui condita lepore  
 Que sine scematibus uerborum simplice pergunt
- 120 Iunctura faciliq; patent conscripta tenore.  
 Improbe si nescis, nolo promittere magnum  
 Artificem. uerbis ea posset inesse uenustas  
 Quod mea non essent. fas est ea prodere quis sum  
 Qui loquor et quo sunt formata referre palatum.
- 125 Quod si me uersusque meos, temerarie iudex,  
 Non ideo lacerare sines, attende priores  
 Scribendi causas et me perferre memento.  
 Vel certe officium non abnuo, carpere cum sit  
 Supplicium, funeste, tuum, michi gloria carpi,
- 130 Magnum namque facis, dum me uis carpere, Liuor,  
 Teque utinam dignus essem qui summa laccessis.  
 Tu tamen eximio studii monstrator ephebo,  
 Cui preconstitui quod se gerat eius honori

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99 Cf. Ov. *M.* 6.458. 100 Cf. *Capt.* 9, 137; *Stat. Th.* 8.744, 10.793. 108 Cf. *Juv.* 9.134. 109 Cf. 1.130, 5.396; *Ov. Am.* 1.15.1, *Rem.* 389; *Lucan* 1.288. 110 Louis would actually have been older in 1200: see on 1.61-62 *supra*. 114 Cf. 5.336; *Ephes.* 5.16, *Colos.* 4.5. 115 Cf. 3.161-62. 118 Cf. *Cicero, De orat.* 2.227 and *Brutus* 177 'lepore conditor.' 120 Cf. *Hor. A.P.* 47-48, 242. 121 Cf. *Lucan* 8.557. 123 Cf. *ibid.* 10.194-95. 129-30 Cf. 1.109; *Ov. M.* 2.781. 132 One cannot tell what teacher (unnamed in the verses) of Louis is addressed.

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100 fit: sit *L* · 105 tunc me exerrasse: me tunc errasse *L* · 107 *Tit. om. D-S* · 110 *Tit. om. D-S* · 113 attento *L* · 117 quod: que *D-S*; *tit. om. D-S* · 119 Que: *Quia D-S* · 122 uetustas *L* · 123 Quod: Que *L D-S* · 132-133 ETIAM SIT: SIT ETIAM *L*

- Hoc opus, hic aliquid ausu ne fiat inepto,  
 135 Hec prior examen sub iudiciale receptes  
 Et prior arcano percurras singula uisu,  
 Namque ea plus lime, si non sit forte labori,  
 Supponenda uolo quam suscipienda fauori,  
 In quibus ad ueniam credo prodesse quod incus  
 140 Artificem quod opus incudem uerba loquentem  
 Eructant ruditate rudi cognata parenti.  
 Quod si non pollent incultis edita uerbis,  
 At sapor interior uiget et res approbat usus,  
 Cui docilis breuitas extra deseruit ad aures.  
 145 Hanc amet ille puer, qui si mea uerbula curet,  
 Maiorum meritis sese exercere suorum  
 Et ueterum poterit seriem cognoscere rerum.  
 Iam bene diuino promissa et reddita nutu  
 Francorum regno sed nondum gloria regni  
 150 Intellecta satis. adeo tener ille Pipini  
 Martigene Karolus et adhuc gestandus in ulnis  
 Tempus inexpletum pueri septennis agebat.  
 Iam bene proficiens et iam emergentibus actis  
 Indolis eximie poterat facieque uenusta.  
 155 Qui subiit spondere ducem cum celitus omnis  
 Arridens specimen uirtutis et omnis in illum  
 Semper in augmentum concurrens gratia, qualem  
 Et quantum hunc toti rectorem imponeret orbi  
 Pluribus apposuit certisque ostendere signis.  
 160 Quippe bonus, bona semper amans, rerum ille creator,  
 Cui uelle et posse est in rebus ut omnia fiant  
 Ad libitum nutumque suum, qui cuncta priusquam  
 Eueniant prescit, quem rerum ubicumque geruntur  
 Nulla latent, et seu transactum siue futurum est,  
 165 Omnia sunt illi presentia, condere curat  
 Prouentus faciles ad opem laudemque bonorum,  
 Quodque magis mirum est, magis extollenda potestas

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137 lime: glossed 'id est corr(ectio)nis.' Cf. 5.322; Hor. *A.P.* 291. 139-40 Cf. Hor. *A.P.* 441; Galt. *Alex.* praef. (2 M). 143 usus: glossed 'utilitas.' Cf. Ov. *Her.* 2.85; Einh. *Vita K.* 3 (6 H-E, 7 G-M): 'rerum exitus adprobauit.' 144 Cf. 5.418; Hor. *A.P.* 335-36. 151 Cf. Ov. *Am.* 3.4.39, *F.* 1.199; Sil. Ital. 16.532. 152 When Charlemagne was anointed by Pope Stephen II in 754, the prince would have been twelve, not seven, years old: cf. Einh. *Vita K.* 30-31 (35-36 Holder-Egger, 32 Garrod and Mowat), where Charlemagne at the time of death in 814 is reported to have been seventy-two years old. Certainly 'gestandus in ulnis' (1.151) is an exaggeration. 159 Cf. Verg. *G.* 1.351.

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134 hic: hoc *D-S* · 135 Hec: Hoc *D-S* · 141 rudi: rudet *L* · 147-150 NARRATIO. CAPITVLVM PRIMVM DE PRIMA CORONATIONE KAROLI MAGNI PER STEPHANVM PAPAM CVM ADESSET KAROLVS SEPTENNIS *L* · 149 nundum *D-S* · 150 tenet *L*; SEPTENNIS: PVER *D-S* · 157 agmentum *L* · 159 imposuit *D-S* · 163 pfectit *D-S*; quem: et *L*

- Vt bona proueniant etiam de non bene gestis  
 Ordinatus, occultisque facit contingere causas
- 170 Qualiter in Karolo, quem prima ab origine mundi  
 Elegit, gratis hunc exercebat amorem.  
 Preter uirtutes et opes et nomen et orbis  
 Totius regimen quod ei concessit habendum,  
 Ostendit satagens ut magno auctore coronam
- 175 Susciperet regni, nec quolibet auspice patrum  
 Seu prelatorum sed, qui tunc temporis almus  
 Tunc et summus erat, Stephano tunc presule sancte  
 Romane sedis celebrata decenter ab illo  
 Mansurum deinceps et firmum robur haberet
- 180 Dilecti pueri promotio. sed nec adire  
 Presulis officium aut cum magni mole paratus,  
 Vt modo contingit siquis suspirat ad illud  
 Imperiale decus, multum perferre laboris,  
 Tunc neque montanas transire niues neque Romam
- 185 Ire necesse fuit, sed sicut oportuit arctis  
 Et grauibus causis que turbauere quietem  
 Ecclesieque statum, regis sine sumptibus ullis  
 Regificum facturum opus, progressus ab urbe,  
 Huc sese impexit et uenit presul ad illum.
- 190 O satis in rebus mirum et sublime supernum  
 Consilium, miranda sui decreta statuti,  
 Nam cum simpliciter sub iniquo iudice cleri  
 Pressuram aut certe sancti dispendia pape  
 Noluerit seuoque fauens hac parte tyranno
- 195 Non fuerit, tamen huc papam transire suoque  
 Sic uoluit Dominus ut deferretur amico.  
 Iam satius capio, iam plus attendo quod omne  
 Quod fit habet causam que interuenit et sine causa  
 Nil unquam fieri contingit. cur ita dici
- 200 Debeat, 'in promptu ratio est'? et sepe geruntur  
 Multa modo simili, que dum eueniunt, aliorum  
 Dispositor Deus est et ab his diuersa secuntur  
 Que merito, postquam utilitas finisque repertus  
 Pro quibus eueniunt, referuntur ad illa, sueque
- 205 Vt cause subsunt, nec eas, natura suprema  
 Quas posuit, leges aliquo transcendere possunt,  
 Sed pro quo quantum et quando uel quomodo mandat  
 Omnipotens fiunt: ita nunc ita iugiter ipse.

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177-251 On Pope Stephen's trip to France in 753-54 to seek aid against Aistulf, see: *Liber pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne (Bibl. des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome; Paris repr. 1955) 1.441-44, 447; Fredeg. Cont. 36 (104 W-H); *Annal. reg. Fr.* and *Annal. q. d. Einh.* an. 753 (10-11 Kurze). See also C. Rodenberg, *Pippin, Karlmann und Papst Stephen II* (Berlin 1923) 5-14. Stephen II was pope 752-57. 192 Cf. Ov. *M.* 13.190; *Catonis Dist.* 2.14.2.

- Tunc etiam uoluit contingere quando per illud  
 210 Temporis exul, ad hoc Francorum clima profectus,  
 Ille pater Stephanus nullam grassante tyranno  
 Pertulit indemni lesuram in corpore, nullum  
 Membrorum amisit, non est uel captus iniquis  
 Extinctusue odiis sed tantum exire coactus.
- 215 Finibus est pulsus Laciis Francisque receptus,  
 In quo diuersis duo commoda grata procurans:  
 Vt sibi fecit opem, sic Francis gessit honorem  
 Ostendens. et adhuc quociens Romana laborat  
 Maiestas, ita fit ad Francos, ipsa recursum
- 220 Exigit et reperit quod religione fideque  
 Preualet et sancto prepollet Francia regno,  
 Et minus est toti quam Francis credula mundo,  
 Ad quos se transfert, et in hoc probat esse fideles  
 Illius ecclesie confessio. tunc quoque plene est
- 225 Et satis ostensum, cum confidentius ad nos  
 Aufugeret Stephanus in religione tuenda,  
 Catholicisque uiris Francorum excellere regnum.  
 Qui cum precipuo fidei de dogmate famam  
 Quam meruit ferret, superoque afflatus amore,
- 230 Tam merito uite quam sedis honore uigeret,  
 Summus in orbe parens et summus in urbe sacerdos  
 Esset, non ideo minus aut metuentius, immo  
 Amplius et grauius, Romane predia circa  
 Ecclesie Lacias sibi prepossessa per horas
- 235 Passus erat Licii iam sepe grauamina regis,  
 Papatusque sui feodis uiolenter ademptis,  
 Pulsus apostatici contra attemptata tyranni  
 Venerat a Francis regnumque tenente Pipino  
 Quesiturus opem, clerumque adiunxerat illi
- 240 Curia tota suum. quorum letissimus hospes  
 Primus in occurso predeuotusque receptor  
 Ille bonus rex, ille breuis sed corpore maior.  
 Ipse suo magne magnus conamine mentis  
 Magnopere studuit quo debuit ore sereno
- 245 Colligere eximios sancto cum presule patres,  
 Quos, ut opus fuit his et salua poposcit honestas,  
 Percipere e fisco cuncta expedientia cunctis  
 Fecit et exhibuit letum studiosus honorem,  
 Sedulus assistens et circumspector agendis
- 250 Congaudens seseque exponens omnibus una,

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220 quod; glossed 'id est hoc.' 229 Cf. 1.98; Verg. A. 6.50. 240-42 Pepin the Short received the pope graciously near Châlons, where the pope arrived 6 January 754. 244 Cf. Hor. Carm. 1.37.26, Maximian 1.90, Galt. Alex. 2.188 (36 M).

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214 tantum: tamen D-S · 215 latiis L · 219 fit: sit D-S · 237 attentamenta (menta exp.) L · 239 Quesiturus: Quod siturus D-S · 248 letum: dignum L

- Tempus et ipse gerens aliquot sollempne diebus.  
 Nec mora, cum subiti contraxit semina morbi  
 Iamque in se membris patientibus amplius eger  
 Redditus est stratis et cepit papa grauari,  
 255 Hospes apud monachos castro quod nomine sancti  
 Dicitur hic sacram iuxta Dyonisios edem,  
 Longum decumbens languendo diucius usu  
 Frustratus uocis, demum quasi morte propinqua,  
 Cum uix spiraret substrato stramine pannis,  
 260 Ad terram datus est ac pene nouissima passus,  
 Quo dum semianimis premeretur agone, repente  
 Incolumis factus uirtute leuamine morbi  
 Celitus ostensa, mox sese in delubra ferri  
 Martiris expetiit. illic diuinitus eius  
 265 Visio proposita est iussitque altare leuari.  
 Illud ut accepit in iussu martiris, ipsi  
 Et sociis sacrare uolens, quo deinde leuato  
 Augusti quarta, nonarum luce coire  
 Concilium fecit, ad quod cum coniuge regem  
 270 Et cum suscepta de coniuge prole uocauit.  
 Tunc missam incipiens, quam consecrauit ad aram,  
 Regificos cultus aptauit utrique parenti,  
 Cum quibus impresso natorum crinibus auro  
 Inter utrumque duos crismauit uertice fratres  
 275 Nominis eiusdem, nisi quod de fratribus alter  
 Dinoscendus erat Karolus cognomine Magni,  
 Forte prior natu uel quod surgentior esset  
 Corporis ex habitu meritis cognominis omen.  
 Qui bene magnus erat quia sicut corpore supra  
 280 Illius etatis primeue debita magnus,  
 Sic animo maiorque fuit uirtute futurus.  
 Iam tunc magnus erat cognomine, deinde futurus  
 Magnus diuiciis et fama magnus et actis.  
 Preter quod sollempne satis cognomen, alius  
 285 Gratia que nulli plus affuit addidit usum

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252-95 See Fredeg. Cont. 36 (104 W-H); *Annal. reg. Fr. and Annal. q. d. Einh. an. 754* (12-13 Kurze); *Liber pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne 1.48; *De unctioe Pippini regis* (ed. G. Waitz, MGH SS. 15 [1887] 1); *Reuelatio quae ostensa est sancto papae Stephano et memoria de consecratione altaris sanctorum Petri et Pauli* (ed. Waitz, *ibid.* 2-3; cf. BHL 2176); *Historia regum Francorum monasterii s. Dionysii* 16 (ed. G. Waitz, MGH SS. 9 [1851] 399); Hugo Floriacensis, *Historia ecclesiastica*, excerpts ed. G. Waitz, *ibid.* 360; *De sanctitate meritorum et gloria miraculorum beati Karoli* 2 (ed. G. Rauschen [cit. supra, Introd., n. 46])  
 255-56 i.e. at the monastery of St. Denis. 266 martiris: St. Denis. 267 sociis: Sts. Rusticus and Eleutherius. 273 Cf. *Ov. Her.* 15.75; *Galt. Alex.* 1.25 (6 M). 274-78 Charlemagne was born in 742, Karloman in 751.

- Nominis et Karolum fecere karismata nomen.  
 Huic Karolo cum fratre suo post funera patris  
 Opposito presul anathemate sceptrā tenere  
 Regia fortuneque patris succedere sanxit,  
 290 Sub pena prohibens ne quis qui sanguinis heres  
 Non foret illius presumeret esse uel illis  
 Vel successuris de regni iure molestus  
 Sed tantum his remaneret honos iccirco regendi.  
 In titulum regni promouit eos quia patri  
 295 Sic habitum natis uoluit sancire futurum.  
 Sed quid erat patri qui iam regnabat agendum,  
 Illud ut et natis, quia rex aliunde creatus  
 Sceptrā recens tulerat et adhuc erat illa potestas  
 Incipiens nec firma satis traductio regni.  
 300 Qualiter externis ius contigit illud habendi,  
 Qualiter amisit qui prefuit, altius harum  
 Sunt longe querenda retro primordia rerum,  
 Que satis incumbit hic cognoscenda relinqui.  
 Rege sub Hildrico, qui regno indebitus heres  
 305 Post Theodericum Dagoberti iura remisse  
 Regia tractabat uir inutilis, et nisi uictum  
 Dispensante aliquo, tollebat commoda regni  
 Nulla sui, solo rex nomine, sceptrā ne tali  
 Deberent seruire uiro, cui deside luxu  
 310 Vita petebatur et regni nulla gerebat  
 Pondera, consultus Zacharias papa Pipino,  
 Tunc prefecture culmen sublime tenenti,  
 Scripserat hunc tantum regem debere uocari  
 Qui bene se gereret resque in commune gerendas,  
 315 Publica qui sciret bona dispensare, preesse  
 Cui minus esset amor et plus prodesse uoluntas.  
 Hec responsa ferens huic consona carta loquele  
 Pontificalis erat. que cum uenisset in aures  
 Pagina magnatum, secreto mentio mota  
 320 De regno nutante fuit, per collaterales

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286 See on 4.287-91 *infra*. 287-93 See *Reuelatio*, *loc. cit.* (*supra* on 1.252-295) and *Historia... monasterii s. Dionysii*, *loc. cit.* (*ibid.*). 287 Pepin, father of Charlemagne, died in 768. 301-36 See *Annal. reg. Fr.* and *Annal. q. d. Einh.* ann. 749-50 (8-11 Kurze); *Fredeg. Cont.* 33 (102 Wallace-Hadrill); *Einh. Vita K.* 1-2 (2-4 H-E, 5-6 G-M); *Notker, Gesta Karoli* 1.10 (12-13 Haefele). See on text A 97. 305-6 Cf. 1.504, 2.306. 305 Theodericum: glossed 'fil(ium).' Thierry IV, after an interregnum, reigned 720-37; Dagobert III, father of Thierry IV, reigned 711-15. 307 Cf. 1.305-6; 2.306; 3.393; 5.278, 285; *Ov. F.* 3.622. 309 Cf. 3.313; *Claud.* 8.217-18. 312 Cf. 5.10-11; *Lucan* 3.709. 320 Cf. 1.379.

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286 Karolum: uel karolo ss. *Pl*<sup>1</sup>, karolo *L* · 289 fortune que *L* · 291 illis: ipsis *L* · 293 remanent *L* · 297 et: est *L* · 300 externis ius: externius *L* (*corr. L*<sup>1</sup>) · 305 Theodericum *D-S* · 306 *VBI om. D-S* · 307 *QVOMOD<O> L* · 308 *OBTIN<VIT> L* 311 *zacarias L* · 314 *gereret: regeret L; egerendas L* · 317 *carta: quarta L* · 318 *cum uenisset: conuenisset L* · 320 *nutanti (i ex e?) L*

- Latus effusa est, et plebis in ora cucurrit  
 Cognitio rerum. tunc prorupere tumultu  
 Clamoso uoces, intensaque uota petebant:  
 Consiliis instare bonis, curare corone  
 325 Emendare decus, regnique auertere probrum.  
 Mouerat hoc omnes quod primitus esse dolori  
 Ceperat occulto dum nondum audacia creuit  
 Dicendi; sed iam securi obnixius illud  
 Orabant, et iam insulso reuerencia regi  
 330 Non erat. iccirco sacra de sede receptis  
 Inducti uerbis, facti uelud auspice papa  
 (Prestita principibus qu<e> sacramenta remit<tit>),  
 Immo Dei nutu dictante in cordibus, uno  
 Omnes assensu, quem publica fama priori  
 335 Laude extollebat, regem erexere Pipinum  
 Hildrico proceres in claustra monastica truso.  
 O magna ad geminos mire uariatio sortis  
 Quod tonsoratum sub religionis amictu  
 In statione gregis inuisi canonis istum  
 340 Ordo professorem de rege acceperit, et sic  
 Infimus e summo nichil ex aliquo sit iniquis  
 Effectus meritis, ille autem strenuus aule  
 Consul et yconomus, claris quibus institit actis,  
 Creuerit in regem de conditione clientis,  
 345 In dominum summique gradus euectus ad arcem.  
 Sors ea facta uiris: unde alter corrui illuc  
 Ascendit reliquis, fortuneque axe uoluto,  
 'Euolo sublimis' potuit proferre Pipinus,  
 Sentire Hildricus 'descendo et uertor in imis.'  
 350 Dignus ab indigno fascies tulit ille Pipinus,  
 Qui licet ut moduli bipedalis homunculus esset,  
 Mente gigas et ui fuit auctior ille Pipinus,  
 Nomen idem sortitus auo, qui in Plectrude sponsa

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321 Cf. Verg. A. 11.296-97. 325 Verg. A. 4.106. 327 Cf. Ov. M. 8.82; Galt. *Alex.* 1.228, 6.104 (13, 129 M). 329 regi: glossed 'Hild(rico).' Cf. Galt. *Alex.* 1.178, 238 (11, 14 M). 333 Cf. 3.353-54; Lucan 5.318; Galt. *Alex.* 1.48, 4.547, 8.158 (7, 98, 179 M). 333-34 Cf. Galt. *Alex.* 1.244 (14 M). 334-35 Cf. 4.119; Galt. *Alex.* 1.485 (23 M). 336 Cf. 2.106. 337 Cf. Galt. *Alex.* 6.459 (142 M). 338 Cf. Galt. *Alex.* 6.42 (126 M). 346 alter: glossed 'Hil(dricus).' 347 reliquis: glossed 'Pi(pinus).' 350-51 Cf. 1.483-84. On the supposed short stature of Pepin see G. Paris, *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne* (Paris 1865) 223-26; see also *Idem*, 'La légende de Pépin "Le Bref,"' *Mélanges Julien Havet* (Paris 1895) 604-16. 352 Cf. Galt. *Alex.* 1.197 (12 M). 353 Cf. 2.166-67; Galt. *Alex.* 1.203, 3.451, 7.325, 9.15 (12, 70, 161, 195 M). 353-55 Pepin II reigned 679-714. Charles Martel was the son of

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323 Clamorum *L* · 325 regnique: et regni *L* · 326 hoc: hec *L* · 327 nundum *D-S* · 328 obnoxius *L* · 331 facti: fixi *D-S* · 332 om. *PL D-S* (*mg. add. P<sup>1</sup>*) · 333 noctu (*c exp.*) *L* · 337 magna: quanta *L* · 339 gregis: regis *D-S* · 342 aule: ante *D-S* · 343 yconomicus *D-S* · 353 idem: id est *L* *Dominicy*

- Progenitis aliis, aliunde ex Manzere ramo  
 355 Tudite Karoli pater extitit, huius et ille.  
 Verum auus ille, pater Tudite, post Ebroni  
 Prepositi sera compressam morte tyrannim,  
 In uice Wulfaldi dominari cepit, adherens  
 Regibus Austrasiis et eorum curopalates,  
 360 Ipse sed oblique Francorum e sanguine regum,  
 Quos regno genuit sanguis Troianus, eorum  
 Egressus lumbis tanteque propaginis heres,  
 Postquam regnarat Clotarius alter, ab illo  
 Quintus et octauus a primo rege fideli,  
 365 Ipse Ansegifilo natus genitore, sui que  
 Temporis attingens in quarto limite regem  
 Non eque sed ut inferior, quo patre Grimoldus  
 Frater Drogonis, regali prefuit aule  
 Sub Childeberto fraterna in regna recepto.  
 370 Post quem rex Francis Dagobertus iunior, ad se  
 Tuditem assumens, sub se prefecit in aula.  
 Sed nisi per lustrum cum non regnaret et esset

Pepin II by Alpaïda, while Drogo and Grimoald were Pepin's sons by Plectrudis: see *Lib. hist. Fr.* 48-49 (323-24 Krusch); Fredeg. Cont. 5-6 (85-86 W-H). Gloss in B. M. 21109 on Einh. *Vita K.* 2 (4 n. Holder-Egger) reads 'Qui cum haberet uxorem Plectrudem, ex pellice Alpaïde genuit eundem Karolum Tuditem dictum.' The table of Frankish rulers on fol. 47<sup>v</sup> of MS P has 'Plectrudis: Drogo, Grimoldus' and 'Pippinus Maior: Karolus Tudites, concubina.' Cf. Hlawitschka, *op. cit.* (*supra* on text A 92) 73-75. **354** Manzer: cf. Deut. 23.2; Sedul., *Carmen paschale* 5.256; and see Samuel Singer, *Sprichwörter des Mittelalters* 1 (Bern 1944) 152. **355** Huius: glossed 'Pipinus.' ille: glossed 'Tudites.' Charles Martel ruled 714-41. **356-58** Cf. *Lib. hist. Fr.* 46-47 (319-21 Krusch); Fredeg. Cont. 3-4 (83-84 W-H). **356** auus: glossed 'Pippinus.' **361** Cf. 2.216, 3.176; my texts E, F. On the supposed Trojan origin of the Franks see Fredeg. 2.4-8 and 3.2 (45-47, 93 W-H); *Lib. hist. Fr.* 1-2 (241-243 Krusch); *Historia Daretis Frigii de origine Francorum* (ed. Krusch, [*cit. supra* on text A 78] 194-200). See also Wallace-Hadrill, *op. cit.* (*supra* on text A 78) pp. xi-xii, where Fredegarius is credited with the earliest reference to the Trojan origin of the Franks. **363** alter: glossed 'Clotarius alter id est secundus.' **364** The first Christian king of the Franks was Clovis I, who ruled 481-511. **365** See on text A 78, 92. **367-68** See on 1.353-55 *supra*. On Grimoald see *Lib. hist. Fr.* 49-50 (323-325 Krusch) and Fredeg. Cont. 6-7 (85-87 W-H). Grimoald was killed in 714. **369** Childebert III, king 695-711, succeeded his brother Clovis III: cf. *Lib. hist. Fr.* 49 (323 Krusch) and Fredeg. Cont. 6 (85 W-H). **367** inferior: glossed 'pluralitate graduum.' **370** Cf. 1.305. quem: glossed 'Grimoldum.' Dagobertus iunior: Dagobert III, king 711-714. **370-71** The *Lib. hist. Fr.* 50-51 (324-25 Krusch) and Fredeg. Cont. 7-9 (86-88 W-H) do not mention Charles as a palace mayor under Dagobert but say only that in this post Grimoald was succeeded by Theudoald, who in turn was succeeded by Ragamfred. **372** regnaret: glossed 'Dagobertus.'

354 māzere *L* · 355 Caroli *Dominicy*; huius: eius *L Dominicy* · 356 VBI: SE-CVNDI *D-S* · 357 cumpressam *L* · 368 droconis *L Dominicy* · 370 Post quem: Postquam *L Dominicy*

- Paruus adhuc heres cedente in fata tiranno,  
 Post illum est Daniel quidam regnare suborsus,  
 375 Inuasor solii regnique aliunde petitor,  
 Hildrici cognomen habens, cui prelia mouit  
 Hostica Tudites et conspirantia fregit  
 Arma Rainfredi nec marte quiescere duxit  
 Donec in effugium pulsus nutaret uterque  
 380 Et Theodericus in regna paterna ueniret.  
 Ille reformati nactus moderamina regni.  
 Deinde aliquot tempus cum decurisset in annos  
 Et iam Tudites Karolus decessit, eidem  
 Substituit natum, et patrio prefecit honori,  
 385 Prepositusque fuit sub eo regnante Pipinus.  
 Rege sub hec sine prole diem claudente supremum,  
 Iam non arcenti Karolo, qui debita fatis  
 Soluerat, Hildricus regni rehabenda recepit  
 Iura, nec elisa est eius prelatio donec  
 390 Romani per pontificis rescripta Pipinus  
 Prepotuit. uerum Tudites, aulicus ante  
 Sub Theoderico pretor, non ciuica solum

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**374-81** See text A 97. On Chilperic II see Fredeg. Cont. 9-10 (88-89 W-H); *Lib. hist. Fr.* 52-53 (325-328 Krusch). **375** *Lib. hist. Fr.* 52 (326 Krusch) says that after Dagobert died, 'Franci nimirum Danielem quondam clericum . . . eum in regnum stabiliunt atque Chilpericum nuncupant'; Fredeg. Cont. 9 (88 W-H) declares that after Dagobert's death 'Franci uero Chilpericum quendam regem constituerunt.' This Chilperic II was a son of Childeric II: see Krusch, *op. cit.*, 326 n. 1, and Wallace-Hadrill, *op. cit.*, 88 n. 1; Ragamfred was palace mayor under Chilperic. **377-80** On Martel's opposition to Chilperic II and Ragamfred see *Lib. hist. Fr.* 53 (326-28 Krusch); Fredeg. Cont. 9-11 (88-89 W-H). **380** Cf. 1.305. Thierry IV, king 720-737. Cf. *Lib. hist. Fr.* 53 (328 Krusch): 'Theudericum, Cala monasterio enutritum, filium Dagoberto iunioris, regem super se statuunt.' **381** Cf. 1.435; 3.36; Galt. *Alex.* 2.333 (41 M). Ille: glossed 'Theodericus.' **382** Cf. Galt. *Alex.* 7.308 (161 M). **383** eidem: glossed 'Tuditi.' Charles Martel died in 741. **384** Substituit: glossed 'Theodericus.' natum: glossed 'Pipinum,' i.e. Pepin the Short, who ruled 751/2-68. Actually, Martel outlived Thierry (see on 1.380 *supra*); Pepin held power while Childeric III was nominally king. **385** eo: glossed 'Theoderico.' **386** Cf. 3.46, 325-326; Galt. *Alex.* 7.10 (149 M). Rege: glossed 'Theoderico.' **387-88** Cf. 1.507, 3.147, 4.351; cf. Lucan 8.415; cf. Galt. *Alex.* 4.216 (85 M). See on 1.383 *supra*. **389-91** Pope Zacharias supported Pepin III as 'rex': cf. *Annal. reg. Fr.* and *Annal. q. d. Einh.* ann. 749-50 (8-11 Kurze); Fredeg. Cont. 33 (102 W-H); *Einh. Vita K.* 1-3 (2-5 H-E, 5-7 G-M), but the *Vita* (cap. 1) declares that Childeric was deposed 'iussu Stephani,' i.e. pope Stephan II. **391-93** Charles Martel continued in power even after the death of Thierry, until his own death (741). For Martel's victory over the Saracens at Poitiers in 732, cf. Fredeg. Cont. 13, 20 (90-91, 93-95 W-H); *Einh. Vita K.* 2 (6 H-E, 4 G-M).

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379 pulsum *D-S*; utrique *D-S* · 380 Theodericus *D-S* · 382 aliquod *D-S*; cum: dum *L* · 386 hec: hoc *D-S* · 387 satis *D-S* · 391 **VBI**: **SECVNDI** *D-S* · 392 Theoderico *D-S*; spretor *L*

- Hildrici uires ut frangeret induit arma,  
 Sed paganorum formido et malleus ingens  
 395 Dum uixit, uictor adeo de gente nefanda  
 Retulit insignes numeroso Marte triumphos  
 Quod bis triginta ter centum et milia quinque  
 Vno cesa die sub eo cecidisse leguntur,  
 Tuncque necessariue longa experientia martis  
 400 In toto decimas atque ecclesiastica regno  
 Predia in expensas assumi fecit equestres,  
 Que tunc a licito predone rapina teneri  
 Cepit, et heu facinus, ex illo tempore miles  
 Cleri iura fuit ad percipienda receptus,  
 405 In cuius manibus rerum possessio postquam  
 Tempore iam longo fuit inueterata, priores  
 Ad dominos non est permissa redire potestas,  
 Sed malus inualuit et adhuc non desiit usus.  
 Nunc quoque, milicia decimis utente retentis,  
 410 Vulneris illius manet incurata cicatrix,  
 Ecclesia nimium dampnosa hac sorte minuta  
 Ex sibi subtractis et pauperiore relicta.  
 Hec uero enormis Karoli presumptio, tantam  
 Lapsus in offensam, tam detestabilis error,  
 415 Tam graue commissum, prout misse in canone sanctus

393 Cf. Verg. A. 2.170; Galt. *Alex.* 7.378 (163 M). Cf. Verg. A. 9.180, 11.6; Ov. *Am.* 2.18.2, *M.* 11.382 and elsewhere; Lucan 1.126; Galt. *Alex.* 1.195, 4 argum. 8 (12, 75 M).  
 394-98 Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Longobardorum* 6.46 (ed. G. Waitz, MGH, In usum scholarum [1878] 233), reports that 365,000 Saracens were slain. 394 Cf. 1.431-32; Galt. *Alex.* 7.175 (155 M). Cf. Ierem. 50.23; Galterus frequently refers to Alexander as 'malleus': 2.539, 5.28, 7.424, 8.338 (49, 104, 165, 186 M). See Rudolph Arbesmann, 'The 'Malleus' Metaphor in Medieval Characterization,' *Traditio* 3 (1945) 389-92. 396 Cf. Ov. *P.* 2.1.63; Juv. 8.107. 399-415 Cf. Hugo Floriacensis, ed. Waitz p. 350. See *infra* on 1.415-429. On the effort to secularize the Church in the time of Martel, see L. Bréhier and R. Aigrain, *Grégoire le Grand, les états barbares, et la conquête arabe* in A. Fliche and V. Martin, *Histoire de l'Église* 5 (1947) 361-62. 399 Cf. Galt. *Alex.* 2.8 (29 M). 402 Gloss: 'Liquet quia ecclesia permisit.' 415-29 Cf. the vision of Bishop Eucherius of Lyons (died ca. 455) about the damnation of Martel, in *Capitularia regum Francorum*, ed. S. Baluze 2 (Paris 1780) 108-9. The table of French kings on f. 48<sup>r</sup> of MS P includes a note on the vision of S. Eucherius: 'Sanctus Eucherius, Aurelianensis episcopus. Iste sanctus, peregre profectus apud sanctum Dionysium, dum ibi missam cantaret, draco horribilis exiit de ecclesia, perterritis omnibus qui aderant, et mox in canone misse sanctus, raptus in spiritu, uidit Karolum Tuditem torqueri in inferno in corpore et anima, dicente sibi angelo, a quo ducebatur, hoc esse factum communi sanctorum iudicio de illo solo ante diem iudicii quod de nullo alio contigisset et quod non solum pena pro peccatis suis sustinebat sed pro peccatis omnium illorum qui peccata sua redimerant elemosinis.' The works of Eucherius are ed. C. Wotke, CSEL 31 (1894). Concerning this saint see esp. *Acta sanctorum*, Feb. III (Antwerp 1658) 208-19; *Acta sanctorum Ord. S. Benedicti*, edd. L. d'Achery and J. Mabillon, 3.1 (Paris 1672) 594-

- Eucherius didicit, cui uisio facta deorsum  
 Reddidit eterni conspectu iudicis ipsum  
 Actorem reprobum, et facti dampnauit iniqui  
 Iste ducis miseri denigrans tempora casus,  
 420 Et famam obfuscans de tot que fortiter egit  
 Conspicueque penes homines, suffecit in illo  
 Omne fugare decus omnemque extinguere laudem  
 Et penes excelsum uite priuare talento,  
 Quicquid debuerat ad uitam profere, quicquid  
 425 Fecerat ipse boni cumulo absorbente malorum;  
 Et quia contusor tantus contusus et ipse  
 Deinde fuit, qui cum Christi contunderet hostes,  
 Ecclesiam tutudit, nunc carcere tunditur idem  
 Penali, merito a 'tundi' seu 'tundere' uerbo  
 430 Nota magis laico sermone uocabula sumpsit  
 Dictus Tudites uulgari malleus ore,  
 Ille sui simul et contusi malleus orbis.  
 Qui licet extiterit tantis excessibus actor,  
 Non fuit ut tanta deberet posse, uel usus  
 435 Maiestate ducis uel regni culmen adeptus,  
 Non nisi regali tantum prefectus in aula.  
 Non eius patri nisi prefectura Pipino  
 Contigit, at sero licuit regnare nepoti,  
 Idque duos inter potuit referre Pipinos  
 440 Quod fuit alter auus nec rex. fuit auctior idem  
 Corpore. multo infra remanens et parua reperta est,  
 Non pigmea tamen, regis statura nepotis,  
 Que nati quasi pena fuit pro patre scelesto  
 Natureque malum genitiuo a semine traxit,  
 445 Labrusce increscens ut curti uiminis esset  
 Palmes et exilis, sed cum de sede maligna  
 Fertiliore loco cultoris gratia summi  
 Transplantauit eum, tunc maiorescere cepit  
 Et fructus proferre bonos, primo maledictus,  
 450 Tamquam in siluestris labrusce corpore, diri  
 In lumbis Karoli. nec enim uirtutibus eius

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600; A. Mellier, *De uita et scriptis sancti Eucherii Lugdunensis episcopi* (Paris 1878); A. Gouilloud, *Saint Eucher* (Lyons 1881); L. Cristiani (ed.), *Eucherius' Du mépris du monde* (Paris 1950) 9-29. On Martel's punishment in Hell cf. also Willelmus Malmesbiriensis, *De gestis regum Anglorum* 204, ed. William Stubbs, 1 (Rolls Series; London 1887) 255-56 and see J. A. Herbert, *British Museum Catalogue of Romances* 3 (London 1910) 384. 420 Cf. Verg. A. 5.302; Lucan 4.718; Galt. *Alex.* 4.357-58 (90 M). 423 Cf. 4.353-54, 5.252-53; Matth. 25.28. 425 Cf. Boethius, *Consol.* 1 P. 4: 'nostris malis cumulus accedit.' 431-32 Cf. 1.394. 434-38 Cf. 1.381, 555, 2.324-25. Though Pepin the Short was the first palace mayor to become king both in name and authority, his immediate predecessors as palace mayors had in effect royal power. 441-44 See on 1.350-51 *supra*. 451 Karoli: glossed 'Tuditis.'

- In regnum excreuit, immo si regius heres  
 Esset, eo forsán priuari posset honore  
 Patris ob offensam, uerum diuina uoluntas  
 455 Hec fuit iccirco, nisi fallor, ut in quibus ille  
 Ecclesie predo spoliis offendit ademptis,  
 Regnanti nato foret emendare potestas  
 Libertate sui qua tunc frueretur, et ipse  
 Vt pius, ut fidei deuotus uernula mitis,  
 460 Vt princeps et non patrio de more tyrannus,  
 De patris ablatis, quantum extorquere decenter  
 Permissum est cedique sibi reuerencia fecit,  
 Sic ut non fierent in regno scandala, quedam  
 Reddere dampnato contritus patre satagit.  
 465 Hunc quoque terrificis inuasa Aquitania bellis  
 Martigenam sensit, nam Claromonte cremato  
 Lemouicas adiens pertransiit usque Cadurcum.  
 Inde reuertenti capta sunt urbe subacti  
 Francigenis Bitures, primoque auctore Pipino  
 470 Compulsi in dominos Francos agnoscere reges,  
 Regis ad hec hostis Aquitani iure ducatus  
 Amplificare suos sub eodem tempore fines.  
 Contendens et regna super bracata preesse  
 Anxius exerti meruit mucronis in ira  
 475 Fulmineum sentire uirum, ui captus ab illo  
 Petragora, qua se dederat Waifarum, in urbe.  
 Cuius ut offenso concessa est copia regi,  
 Vt semel hunc tenuit, tentum iugulauit in ipsis  
 Petragore uicis corpusque extorre reliquit.  
 480 Et prius obsessus Italis Aistulfus in horis  
 Propter apostolice detentos partibus illis  
 Ecclesie feodos, expertus marte feroci

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465-99 Cf. 1.9. 465-79 Cf. 3.167-68; Fredeg. Cont. 41-52 (109-120 W-H); *Annal. reg. Fr.* and *Annal. q.d. Einh.* ann. 760-68 (18-27 Kurze), *Einh. Vita K.* 3 (5 H-E, 7 G-M). The Aquitanian War lasted from 760 to 768. 467 Lemouicas: i.e. Limoges. Cadurcum: i.e. Cahors. 469 Bitures: people of Bourges: *Bituriges* is the usual spelling. 474 Cf. *Sil. Ital.* 7.344; *Galt. Alex.* 5.160-161 (109 M). 475 Cf. 2.37-38, 91, 336; *Verg. A.* 9.812; *Sil. Ital.* 9.393, 17.548; *Stat. Th.* 2.571, 4.94; *Claud.* 26.138. 476 Petragora: (i.e. Périgueux) glossed 'proprium nomen.' Gloss: 'dederat id est contulerat uel receperat.' 478-79 Fredeg. Cont. 52 (120 W-H) says 'ut adserunt, consilio regis factum fuisset, Waiofarus princeps Aquitanie a suis interfectus est.' 478 Cf. *Judic.* 12.6. 479 Cf. *Ov. Am.* 3.9.6, *M.* 5.136; *Galt. Alex.* 2.168 (35 M). 480-484 Cf. 1.210-40, 2.11. See *Liber pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, 1.441-44, 451-53; Fredeg. Cont. 36-38 (104-108 W-H); *Annal. reg. Fr.* and *Annal. q. d. Einh.* ann. 755-56 (12-15 Kurze); *Einh. Vita K.* 6 (8 H-E, 8-9 G-M). This offensive against Aistulf took place in 756. He was king of the Lombards 744-56.

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465-467 ITEM SVBDIVISIO VBI REDIT AD AGENDVM DE PIPINO BREVI L;  
 VBI: SECVNDI D-S · 466 cremato: relicto L · 469 actore L · 471 hec: hoc D-S  
 474 exerci D-S · 480 italicis D-S

- Quam pugnax esset et fortis homuncio dextre,  
 Horruit ingentes nani armipotentis ad iras.  
 485 Gallica tunc subitos Italis testudo tremores  
 Mouit ab exiguo producens cornua trunco.  
 Dux quoque Bawarie Germana Tapsilo natus,  
 Illud conspicui fecundum culmen honoris  
 Nactus per domini uictricia bella Pipini,  
 490 Et rex Austrasiis fraterno robore frater  
 Impositus Gripho, quem mox sine gratibus hostem  
 Reddidit, inter eos exortum cisma probarunt.  
 Hic fractus bello, donatus fascibus ille.  
 Qualis in exigui regnabat corpore uirtus,  
 495 Qui sibi deseruit, cum terminus institit eui,  
 Diuisim in regno geminos succedere fratres,  
 Quos prius ille prior crismarat papa coronam  
 Circueundo comis, illisque et utrisque parentum  
 Sceptrum tenere dedit et regnum sanxit habendum.  
 500 Urbibus hi gemini geminis, quarum sonat uni  
 Vt 'noua' nomen 'humus,' alia est quasi dicta 'suauis  
 Sessio,' primicias regni iurisque recepti

**483-84** See 1.350-52. **485** Gloss: 'Innuat unde impropertur Lombardis quod ipsi meticolosi sunt contra limacem, nam Pipinum, quando equitabat, extra clipeum uix apparentem propter paruitatem corporis uilificabant et quasi limacem in concha sua latentem reputabant, et quando eum gladium uel lanceam exere conspiciabant, eum cornua sua proferre dicebant, sed ea limaca fuit que eos in fugam compulit.' There was a medieval proverb 'Limax in suo conclau cornupeta sibi uidetur': cf. J. Havet, 'Les proverbes d'Aristote en hexamètres latins,' *Revue de philologie* 11 (1887) 123-24; C. Selmer, 'An Unpublished Latin Collection of Pseudo-Aristotelian Paroimiai,' *Speculum* 15 (1940) 92 n. 2; Gerbertus *Ep.* 32, ed. J. Havet (Paris 1889) 30 and 30 n. 2, and ed. F. Weigle (MGH, Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit 2 [1966] 58 with n. 16; Gunzo, *Epistola ad Augienses* 11 (ed. Karl Manitius, MGH, Die deutschen Geschichtsquellen des Mittelalters 2 [1958] 42); see also Max Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* 2 (Munich 1923) 810 (note for p. 535) and L. M. C. Randall, 'The Snail in Gothic Marginal Warfare,' *Speculum* 37 (1962) 358-67, esp. 361-62. **487-93** Cf. Fredeg. Cont. 32, 35 (101-103 W-H); *Annal. reg. Fr.* ann. 747-748 and *Annal. q. d. Einh.* an. 741 (6-9, 3 Kurze). Grifo, a rebellious brother of Pepin III, seized the duchy of Bavaria in 748. Pepin marched against Grifo, captured and freed him, and restored Tassilo as duke of Bavaria. **488-89** Cf. Galt. *Alex.* 8.122 (23 M). **493** Hic: glossed 'Gripho.' ille: glossed 'Tapsilo.' **494** Cf. Stat. *Th.* 1.417; Galt. *Alex.* 1.44-45 (6 M). **495-96** Cf. Fredeg. Cont. 53-54 (120-121 W-H); *Einh. Vita K.* 3 (5-6 H-E, 7 G-M). Pepin III died in September 768. **495** Cf. Verg. *G.* 4.206; Stat. *Th.* 3.555; Galt. *Alex.* 6.497-498 (144 M). **497-98** See 1.152-303 on Pope Stephen II confirming with unction the royal power of Pepin, Charles and Karloman in 754. **499** Cf. 3.68, 155; 4.150, 248; *Ov. P.* 1.8.22; Galt. *Alex.* 1.206 (13 M). **500-3** Cf. Fredeg. Cont. 54 (121 W-H); *Annal. reg. Fr.* and *Annal. q. d. Einh.* an. 768 (28-29 Kurze). In October 768 Charles was elevated to royal power at Noyon, and Karloman at Soissons.

- Post obitum patris rursus diadema tulerunt,  
 luris uterque sui parjata insignia tractans,  
 505 Neuter ut inferior esset sed uterque diarcus;  
 Moxque 'noua' promotus 'humo,' ditione bienni  
 Postquam functus erat, nature debita soluit.  
 Cuius in Italiam natis comitantibus uxor  
 Ad Desiderium compulsa tyrannide nulla  
 510 Exilio quasi tutele solacia poscens  
 Transiit, et cessit regnum totaliter uni.  
 Tunc Magnus monarca manens primo impete belli  
 Assilit Hunoldum, qui cum Waifarum obisset,  
 Ambitione pari post hunc molitus et ipse est  
 515 Extolli in populis et prima preesse potestas,  
 Tercia quos breuibis inscribit Gallia pannis.  
 Hinc audax factus in bella, sibique retentis  
 Que potuit castris, uel ui uel fraude tenendam  
 Terram affectabat et rex Aquitanus haberi,  
 520 Cuius ab antiquo primus Clodoueus honoris  
 Abstulerat titulum cum rex Alaricus illi,  
 Facto congressu fractus uirtute minori,  
 Gessit, eoque fuge se committente, fugaci  
 Obtinuit uictor uictos cum principe Gotthos,  
 525 Tuncque triumphatis sublato nomine regis  
 Transiit ad nostros maiestas regia Francos.  
 Sub Karolo fortasse memor conceperat illud  
 Hunoldus reuocare sibi, sed uota sinister  
 Intulit intuitus et adegit ceca cupido.  
 530 Propterea successus abest, nec gratia turpes  
 Ausus prosequitur sed deficit, et male ceptis  
 Infelix ruit ambitio, nam marte minorem  
 Strenuus assequitur collectis uiribus ultor

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503 Cf. 1 tenor 9. 504 Cf. 1.305-6. 506-11 See *Annal. reg. Fr.* and *Annal. q. d. Einh.* an. 771 (32-33 Kurze); *Einh. Vita K.* 3 (6 H-E, 7 G-M). 506-7 Actually, Karloman ruled from October 768 to December 771. 507 Cf. 1.387-88. 509 Desiderius was king of the Lombards 756-74. 511 Cf. *Verg. A.* 3.333-34. 512-40 Cf. *Annal. reg. Fr.* and *Annal. q. d. Einh.* an. 769 (28-31 Kurze); *Einh. Vita K.* 5 (7 H-E, 8 G-M). The war against Hunold took place in 769. 512 Cf. *Ov. M.* 8.359; *Galt. Alex.* 9.253 (204 M). 514 hunc: glossed 'Waifarum.' 516 refers to Gallia Bracata, i.e. Transalpine Gaul. 520-26 Cf. *Fredeg.* 2.58, 3.24 (82-83, 102 Krusch); *Lib. hist. Fr.* 17 (269-70 Krusch); *Gregorius Turonensis, Historia Francorum* 2.30-31 (ed. B. Krusch, MGH, SS. rer. Merov. 1.1 [1937] 75-78). Clovis, near Poitiers (507), defeated Alaric: the Goths were driven into flight and Alaric was slain. Cf. my texts D, H. 523 Cf. *Galt. Alex.* 9.283 (205 M). 529 Cf. *Ov. M.* 3.620; *Lucan* 1.87; *Juv.* 10.351. 533 Cf. *Lucan* 10.309; *Galt. Alex.* 8.479, 9 argum. 1 (191, 193 M).

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511 regnum totaliter: totaliter regnum *L* (corr. *L*<sup>1</sup>) · 512 AGITVR: INCIPIT *L* · 512 impetu *D-S* · 513 waiferus *L* · 517 factus: fratres *L* · 524 gottos *L* · 526 maiesta *D-S*

- Bellipotens Karolus atque intardatus agendis  
 535 Anticipat, tandemque inito certamine uictum  
 Cogit in effugium congressu turbidus hostem,  
 Quem profugum recipit mittitque in uincla receptum  
 A duce Vasconie, nec eum tantummodo reddidit,  
 Sed sese terramque suam sub preside Magno  
 540 Dux Lupus imperio iurique emancipat eius.  
 Nec fuit hec culpanda uiri sententia sollers,  
 Non ideo pauidi quod regi bella minanti  
 Non sese obiceret aut quod tutoris egentem  
 Hunc non protegeret. nec enim, cum iniurius esset,  
 545 Tutor ei prestandus erat, temereque foueret  
 Aduersus regem quem regni agnosceret hostem.  
 Ergo quod regis in iura et uota recessit,  
 Et quod duxit eum dampnandum seque tuendum  
 Reddere, prudenter et si non fortiter egit.  
 550 Rex uero seruare uolens tradentis honorem  
 Neue suis intra ipsa sui primordia regni  
 Seuus haberetur, ita demeriturus amorem  
 Consilio prudente cauens utrisque benignus  
 Detulit, et reputans pro sufficiente quod esset  
 555 Votorum compos et ius telluris adeptus,  
 Hos sibi deuotos illum prudenter amicum  
 Fecit cui, potuit cum perdere, parcere duxit.

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534 For 'Bellipotens,' cf. *Capt.* 130; Verg. *A.* 11.8; Stat. *Th.* 3.292, 577, 8.384, 9.832; Claud. 7.144. 535 Cf. 2.174; 1 Reg. 4.2, 2 Reg. 10.13 and elsewhere in the Bible; Ov. *M.* 10.177; Galt. *Alex.* 8.513 (192 M). 540 Lupus: glossed 'proprium nomen.' Cf. Galt. *Alex.* 1.194 (12 M). 541 Cf. Galt. *Alex.* 4.113 (81 M). 547 Cf. 2.434; Hor. *Ep.* 2.2.174. 553 Gloss: 'utris et duci et suis.' 555 Cf. 1.435; Ov. *A.A.* 1.486; Hor. *A.P.* 76; Sil. Ital. 17.540. 557 Cf. 3.105, 4.142; Ov. *Am.* 1.2.50.

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539 suam *om. L (mg. add. L<sup>1</sup>)* · 540 eius sese (*sese eras. P*) · 541 uiri: lupi *L* ·  
 548 dapnandum *P*

#### TENOR SECUNDI LIBRI

- Intuitu iuris pape mediante rogatu  
 Bella peracta canit et parta trophea secundus.  
 Deicit Italiae regem ponitque triumphum  
 Saxonici martis, ubi sumpta occasio rebus  
 5 Longius exequitur Franci primordia regni;

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Tenor 2 Cf. Verg. *A.* 4.14; Ov. *Her.* 16.242; Hor. *C.* 2.9.19-20. 5 Cf. Ov. *Her.* 16.57, *M.* 5.190; Lucan 10.177; Stat. *Th.* 1.4.

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*Tenoris tit.* TENOR: CONTINENCIA *L* · 1 rogatum *Lehm. (Sb.)* · 4 ubi: tibi *Lehm. (Sb.)*

- Hispanas acies infert et fraude preemptos  
 Vasconie proceres, Rollandi flebile funus,  
 Et comitum meminit lugubria fata suorum;  
 Liberat hinc regem, Ludouici interserit ortum,  
 10 Deinde in diuersas perstringit prelia gentes,  
 In quibus extremos habet ultimus angulus Anglos.  
 Quam iustus fuerit memoratur in omnibus istis.  
 C semel et semel X breuior quam portio prima  
 Dat quadraginta quadringentosque secunda.

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6 Cf. Verg. *A.* 10.364; Lucan 3.454, 498.    7 Cf. Galt. *Alex.* 4 argum. 1 (75 M).  
 8 Cf. Ov. *M.* 6.570.    11 Cf. Verg. *G.* 1.30.

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7 rolandi *L* · 8 meminit: memorat *L* · 12 memoriatus *D-S* · 12, 11 *ordo in L (corr. L<sup>1</sup>)* · 13 *X*: ex *L*

#### INCIPIT SECUNDUS LIBER

- Improba magnifico postquam uictore quieuit  
 Hunoldi feritas, postquam sub iura redactis  
 Urbibus illustri est firmata potencia regi  
 Et iam illi ueterum iuxta moderamina patrum  
 5 Contigit ut decuit super aduersantia colla  
 Integra maiestas et plena resumptio regni,  
 Ecce a Romano legatus presule Petrus  
 In Desiderium uires implorat opemque  
 Ecclesie prebere Dei, quam nominis usus  
 10 Antifراسي uera minimeque optabilis ille  
 Filius Aistulfi, patriis non degener actis,  
 In prepossessis uastabat apostata nequam  
 Presidiis et more patris uexare suisque  
 Presumebat atrox feodis priuare tyrannus.  
 15 Hec ubi proposuit a sancta sede profectus  
 Vir cui papalis legatio credita cause  
 Romanique simul commissa negocia cleri  
 Ad regem fuerant, coram maioribus aule

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1-116 Cf. *Annal. reg. Fr. and Annal. q. d. Einh. ann. 773-774* (34-40 Kurze); *Einh. Vita K.* 6 (8-9 H-E, 8-9 G-M). On the annexation of the Lombard kingdom (773-74) see Halphen, *Charlemagne* 100-19. Desiderius was king 756-74.    2 Cf. 2.402-3; Galt. *Alex.* 3.27 (54 M).  
 8 Desiderium: glossed 'proprium nomen.'    10 Here is a play on the name Desiderius.  
 11 Cf. 1.76, 480-84.    13 Gloss: 'Presidiis id est firmitatibus.' patris: glossed 'Aistulfi.'

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*Liber II* 2 *VBI*: *SECUNDI D-S* · 4 *uetera D-S* · 11 *aistulphi L, Astulphi Duval* · 13 *uexare: uastare L*

- Ipsius et regis conspectibus ore rotundo  
 20 Singula composite tangens, et iam Itala contra  
 Regna poposcit opem, placide sermone recepto  
 Presulis assurgit mandato Magnus et intra  
 Temporis exiguum castrenses colligit alas,  
 Romanis factururus opem. tunc agmine raptō  
 25 Cynisias superat pugil ecclesiasticus Alpes,  
 Et penetrans Lacium longa obsidione superbam  
 Expugnat Papiam (Tycinum dixere priores,  
 Nunc Papiam dicunt). Ibi tamquam in uertice regni  
 Italici, Karolo circumducente feroces  
 30 Francorum cuneos, bello deposcitur urbis  
 Rex Desiderius, contra quem dimicat armis  
 Armipotens Magnus. nec multo structa paratu  
 Menia nec fosse nec brachia fluminis obstant  
 Quo minus appropiet muris circumque tonantes  
 35 Expandat cuneos in bella et premia prede,  
 Prouocet hostiles turmas, clausisque timorem  
 Ciuibus incutiat. sic martia fulminat intus  
 Et renuit cessare manus uestigia suorum.  
 Adiuuat ira duces claris exercita factis.  
 40 Crudescit probitas crescitque in sanguine strages.  
 Nec suffert nimium Francos experta ferocis  
 Assaultum populi nec sufficit Itala uirtus,  
 Nam propius factis congressibus excipit illos  
 Armorum rabies, intentaque cominus arma  
 45 Non satis euitant, sed peruia pectora fiunt  
 Ensibus, ulterius ruptis toracibus haste  
 Attingunt, que per nature archana uagantur  
 Et miseris exhausta bibunt per uiscera uitas.  
 Et quis terribiles nisi cum formidine pulsus

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19 Cf. Ov. A.A. 3.140; Hor. A.P. 323. 22 Cf. Galt. *Alex.* 1.384-85 (19 M). 23 Cf. Galt. *Alex.* 2.442, 6.321 (46, 137 M). 24 Cf. 2.283-84; Verg. A. 12.450; Lucan 1.228, 3.299, 4.33; Galt. *Alex.* 1.285, 2.141, 8.336, 9.52 (15, 34, 106, 197 M). 25 Cf. 1.2; Galt. *Alex.* 1.62 (7 M). Cynisias . . . Alpes: i.e. Mt. Cenis. 27-28 Cf. Verg. A. 3.693; Galt. *Alex.* 2.70 (31 M). 29-30 Cf. 2.34-35; Galt. *Alex.* 1.310 (16 M). 32 Cf. Verg. A. 2.425, 6.500, 6.839, 9.717, 11.483; Ov. F. 2.481, 5.559; Stat. Th. 7.78; Galt. *Alex.* 2.436, 10.90 (45, 224 M). 34-35 Cf. 2.29-30; Ov. M. 1.187; Hor. *Serm.* 2.3.223; Galt. *Alex.* 1.310 (16 M). 37-38 Cf. 1.475; Verg. G. 4.560-61, A. 4.579-80, 9.441-42, and 12. 654; Ov. Am. 2.2.64; Lucan 6.239; Stat. Th. 6.750-51, 10.271-72; Galt. *Alex.* 1.348, 2.397, 10.94-95 (18, 44, 224 M). 39 Cf. Verg. A. 10.284, 458; Lucan 6.434-35; Galt. *Alex.* 3.31-32 (54 M). 42 Cf. Lucan 3.50-51; Galt. *Alex.* 2.479 (47 M). 44 Cf. Lucan 1.666. 45-46 Cf. Verg. A. 12.540-41. 46 Cf. Verg. A. 10.337. 47 Cf. Verg. A. 11.803-4; Galt. *Alex.* 3.21-22 (53-54 M). 48 Cf. Verg. A. 11.803-4; Stat. *Ach.* 1.432-33. 49-50 Cf. Verg. A. 3.317-18; Ov. M. 4.142.

- 50 Exciperet? quis non animose occurrere genti  
Aut sufferre ictus et se ingessisse timeret?  
Sunt tamen ex illis qui colluctantia prebent  
Pectora pugnaces animoque in bella feruntur  
Et cessisse negant; adeo certare tuenda
- 55 Pro patria pulcreque uolunt se dedere morti.  
Verum ubi milicie potior preiudicat usus,  
Non planis consuetus agris discursus equorum,  
Non que illi norunt iaculari tela nec enses  
Falcati dominis nec sumpta ancilia prosunt.
- 60 Qui melius sapiunt, dum tantum euadere possint,  
Iam non turpe putant secedere retro, bonumque  
Tutius esse fuge quam uelle resistere discunt.  
Dum uero fugitur, post terga fugacia preceps  
Perdere lucra fuge non sustinet et fugientes
- 65 Gallica congressu premit asperiore iuuentus.  
Cum fuga iam ualuit seque intra menia clausos  
Excipiunt et iam e uallo prodire refutant,  
Vibrantur gladii, iaciuntur iesa, sagitte  
Densate ceu grandio uolant, quique eminus astat
- 70 Funditor intorquet rapido cum turbine glandes.  
Queritur in testis pinguedine pastus et intra  
Tecta ministerio baliste immittitur ignis,  
Et super eductas celsa in fastigia crebris  
Ictibus inclinat depulsas machina turres.
- 75 Nec minus ad fossas coniectis uepribus intus  
Terraque et saxis, et si qua aliunde supersit  
Materia, implendas uertendaque menia fundo  
Vectibus aut grauium succusso dente lignonum  
Fossorum pubes operoso accincta labori
- 80 Sub testudineis fertur secura latebris,  
Que dum nil metuens, iunctis umbonibus instat  
Tuta sagittiferis desursum arcentibus ictus.

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52-53 Cf. *Ov. M.* 6.242-43, 12.331. 53 Cf. *Verg. A.* 2.337, 511, 655; *Galt. Alex.* 9.102, 130, 174 (199, 200, 201 M). 55 Cf. *Verg. G.* 4.89-90; *Ov. Her.* 14.125. 56 Cf. *Galt. Alex.* 1.191 (12 M). 58-59 Cf. *Verg. A.* 7.732; *Ov. M.* 1.717, 4.727. 61-62 Cf. *Lucan* 3.371, 6.819-20; *Galt. Alex.* 1.278 (15 M). 63 Cf. *Ov. M.* 1.541, *Galt. Alex.* 2.216-17 (37 M). 66-67 Cf. 2.318; *Galt. Alex.* 3.346 (66 M). 68 Cf. *Lucan* 7.82. 68-69 Cf. 2.366-68; *Verg. G.* 4.80-81; *Ov. M.* 5.158; *Lucan* 3.482-84; *Stat. Th.* 1.418-19; *Galt. Alex.* 3.165, 6.88, 7.197-98, 9.109-10 (59, 128, 156, 199 M); *Alanus, Anticlaud.* 9.359-60 (195 Bossuat). 70 Cf. *Galt. Alex.* 1.258-59 (14-15 M). 77 Cf. *Verg. A.* 10.88. 78 Cf. *Verg. G.* 2.423; *Galt. Alex.* 1.314 (17 M). 79 Cf. *Verg. A.* 2.235; *Galt. Alex.* 1.309 (16 M). 81 Cf. *Galt. Alex.* 1.317, 9.84 (17, 198 M).

- Eruta ferratis extra fundamina rostris  
Mittuntur, raptuque pedis muralia nutant.
- 85 Preterea populosa coors et nescia uinci  
Acriter ad clausos aditus cum milite multo  
Dimicat imposito capiti securo galero,  
Multaque bellantum ualidis uibrata lacertis  
Ferre perfringit portarum claustra securis,
- 90 Liminibusque aries illiditur. ipse suorum  
Agmine dux primus, ubi nudo fulminat ense,  
Impiger hinc illuc festinat et inde refertur,  
Hic illic discurrit, equumque regirat in orbem  
Agmina circuiens, et quos bene cernit agentes
- 95 Confortare studet, nunc se conuertit ad istos,  
Nunc ad eos redit, hisque animos instigat et illis.  
Ipse manus adhibens muros quatit, ipse seratos  
Impetit ingressus, nolitque ultroneus intus  
Admitti: sola potius transire ruina
- 100 Exquirat per uimque uiam fecisse patentem.  
Aduuat ergo suos, inter quos pectore toto  
Fortius insistens, tandem de poste reuulsas  
Post crebros ictus portas resupinat, et urbis  
Menibus effractis pugna domitrice tyrannum
- 105 Vincit et exiliat, Laciisque e finibus illum  
Transmissum Francis in claustra monastica trudi  
Precipit et nigra soccum mutare cuculla,  
Dans uitam penamque secuta. res iussa secuta est.  
Rex ille infandus, quamuis non sponte, quietam
- 110 Transiit ad uitam, fratrum statione receptus,  
Vt legitur, nostre non longe a menibus urbis  
Ariopagite monacatus martiris ede.

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83 Cf. Galt. *Alex.* 2.259-60 (38 M). 84 Cf. Galt. *Alex.* 1.318 (17 M). 85 Cf. 2.175; Verg. *A.* 12.527-28; Ov. *P.* 2.9.45; Galt. *Alex.* 4.560, 5.20 (98, 103 M). coors = cohors. 86 Cf. Hor. *C.* 1.15.16; Lucan 4.254; Galt. *Alex.* 6.470 (143 M). 87 Cf. Claud. *Rap. Pros.* 1.78; Galt. *Alex.* 1.262, 3.510, 5.88 (15, 96, 106 M). 88 Cf. Ov. *Her.* 3.125-26, *M.* 5.142; Lucan 7.289. 89 Cf. Galt. *Alex.* 10.137 (226 M). 91 Cf. 1.475, 2.37. 93 Cf. *Iudic.* 15.5; Ov. *M.* 6.225-26, *M.* 12.468. 94 Cf. Lucan 7.558. 95-96 Cf. Verg. *A.* 6.315; Galt. *Alex.* 2.445 (46 M). 99-100 Cf. Lucan 1.150. 100 Cf. Lucan 3.467. 104 Cf. Ov. *Her.* 9.117. 105 Desiderius surrendered in 774. 106 Cf. 1.336. 108 Cf. Ov. *M.* 4.550. 112 Medieval sources disagree on the place of Desiderius' banishment. *Historia regum Francorum monasterii s. Dionysii* 18 (400 Waitz), agreeing with Egidius, declares: 'in Franciam misit [sc. Karolus Magnus], eumque iussit in ecclesia sancti Dionysii tonsorari et monachum fieri. Quod et factum est, ibique usque ad ultimum uite sue diem moratus est, sepultusque est ibidem.' On the other hand, *Chronicon Leodiense*, ed. Martin Bouquet *Rec. des historiens* 5 (1869) 385, reports 'Desiderium regem in exilium direxit Agilfrido episcopo

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92 Impigit *Duval*; inde: inde et *Duval*, modo *D-S* · 97 quatit *L* · 101 Aduuat *D-S* · 105 Latiusque *Labbeus* · 106 tradi *Labbeus D-S* · 108 penamque *Duval* · 110 uitam fratrum: uitae formam *Duval* · 112 Aryopagite *L* Areopagitae *Labbeus*

- Tunc sua restituens pape, de pace tenenda  
 Cum populo Papie firmato federe, Magnus  
 115 Vndique per girum terram sibi subdit, et ex se  
 Heredem statuit illic regnare Pipinum.  
 Quo deinde a fatis precepto, quinque relictas  
 Ex ipso neptes affectu patris apud se  
 Fouit, et imposuit regno pro patre nepotem,  
 120 Nam successiuo priuatus honore parentum  
 Inque fugam compulsus erat ducis exulis heres  
 Ne demum Ecclesie feodis Adalgisus eque  
 Cum genitore nocens aut forte nocentior esset.  
 De quibus oblatas ulto cum laude querelas  
 125 Magno magna fuit Romane gratia sedis,  
 Et demum ualuit ad habendum maius honoris  
 Culmen apostolici gessisse negocia iuris.  
 O magnum meritis o propter facta perenni  
 Dignum laude uirum, cuius preconia nunquam  
 130 Enarranda satis, qui non in proxima martem  
 Sustinuit girare suum sed in extera regna;  
 Longanimes longe distantibus intulit iras.  
 Nec fuit ambitio si Transalpina petita est  
 Gallia belligeros sub eo passura tumultus.  
 135 Laudo uirum quod longa graues in tempora fastus  
 Telluri domine turriteque abstulit urbi.  
 Et bello potior tractandaque maior ad arma  
 Magniloquos Ligures compressit uindice dextra.  
 Laudo uirum quod honor Domini defensio cleri,  
 140 Nec fecit uicium sed causam in prelia uirtus.  
 O que sidereum tellus natiua tulisti  
 Lauduno felice ducem, o sub preside tanto

[*sc.* of Liège].’ And *Annales Sangallenses Maiores* an. 774 (ed. G. H. Pertz, MGH SS. 1 [1826] 75) has: ‘rex Desiderius et Ansa uxor eius pariter exiliati sunt ad Chorbeiam, et ibi Desiderius in vigiliis et orationibus et ieiuniis et multis bonis operibus permansit usque ad diem obitus sui.’ Amaury Duval, in *Hist. litt. de la France* 17 (1832) 48, comments that, in contrast with those historians who say that Desiderius was exiled to Corbie, ‘Gilles, à ce sujet, mérite plus de confiance,’ but Duval gives no real basis for his view. 116-119 Cf. *Einh. Vita K.* 19 (24 H-E, 22 G-M). Pepin became king of Italy in 781. He died in 786, when he was succeeded by his son Bernhard. 121-23 Cf. *Annal. reg. Fr. and Ann. q. d. Einh. an. 774* (38-41 Kurze); *Einh. Vita K.* 6 (8-9 H-E, 9 G-M). 136 Gloss: ‘telluri domine propter rusticos in tantum ibi dominantes ut si queratur a quocumque cuius est ciuitas, “mea est” respondeat.’ Cf. *Ov. Am.* 3.8.47, *M.* 15.447-48. 137 Cf. 3.345, 4.244. 140 uicium: glossed ‘cupiditas uel amor dominandi.’ uirtus: glossed ‘que fuit in dilatatione fidei pugnando contra paganos et in defensione ecclesie pugnando contra apostatas.’ 142 Lauduno: i.e. Laon; cf. *supra*, *Introd.* n.148. Where Charlemagne was born is uncertain. Aix-la-Chapelle, Ingelheim, Carlstadt in Franconia, and Salzburg all claimed to be his birthplace: see B. Hauréau, *Charle-*

- Quatuor undecies et tres regnata per annos  
 Francia, donec eras tante subiecta lucerne  
 145 Et radiis radiosa suis, tu Francia pollens,  
 Tu bona tu dulcis tu libera uertice recto,  
 Tu multum dilecta Deo felixque fuisti;  
 Tu propter titulum pacis, quam sola gerebas  
 Quamque dabas aliis per signa preambula terris,  
 150 Sensifica uoce bene nomen adepta togate;  
 Que quamquam placidos consueueris edere reges  
 Nec duros tuleris nec sis latura tyrannos,  
 Tunc tamen arduior tunc floridiore uigebas  
 Nomine, tunc fecunda uiris et scibilis actis  
 155 Donec eras miti sub defensore sub almo  
 Principe sub uictore pio sub rege fideli,  
 Cui nulla eualuit impune resistere tellus.  
 Illa etiam quam nubiferos erecta tuentur  
 Castra super scopulos Alpinique undique montes,  
 160 Cuius tutamen augent imperuia multis  
 Flumina uasta locis, uillarum copia, multus  
 In uillis populus, iugisque frequencia martis.  
 Ardua nulla timens bene pertulit omnia Magnus.  
 Nec dubitauit ibi post bella capessere longam  
 165 Securam requiem, diuturnius urbe moratus  
 Que sibi preplacuit, ideo sortita Placoris,  
 Vt perhibent, ab eo decretum nomen. ut autem  
 Rex ibi consedit aliquanti temporis hospes,  
 Rursus et ipse nouo disponit bella paratu.  
 170 Rursus in arma ruens scopulosas transuolat Alpes  
 Alterius lateris: magno superanda labore  
 Inclita uictricis petitur Germania genti.  
 Ergo e diuerso gemine coiere coortes,  
 Et cum Saxonibus inito certamine duos

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*magne et sa cour* (Paris 1877) 3. Possibly, the notion that Laon was the emperor's birthplace was based on the fact that his mother Bertrada was a daughter of Charibert, count of Laon: cf. *Annal. reg. Fr.* an. 748 (8 Kurze). 143-44 Cf. *Einh. Vita K.* 15 (17 H-E, 17 G-M). Charlemagne reigned 768-814. 144-45 Cf. *Galt. Alex.* 2.147 (34 M). 145 Cf. *Galt. Alex.* 10.231 (230 M). 149 Cf. 4.154, 5.197. 158-60 Cf. *Einh. Vita K.* 6 (9 H-E, 9 G-M). 158-59 Cf. 2.170; *Lucan* 1.689, 3.299. 163 Cf. 2.189; *Verg. A.* 4.298; *Ov. M.* 8.259. 165 Cf. 5.304. 166-170 *Annal. reg. Fr.* and *Annal. q. d. Einh.* an. 775 (40-41 Kurze) speak of Charlemagne as proceeding from Düren against the Saxons. 166 Placoris: i.e. Piacenza. 166-67 Cf. 1.353. 169 Cf. *Stat. Th.* 7.390-391. 170-198 Cf. *Annal. reg. Fr.* and *Ann. q. d. Einh.* ann. 772 sqq. (32 sqq. Kurze); *Einh. Vita K.* 7-8 (9-11 H-E, 10-11 G-M). The Saxon wars lasted from 772 to 804. See Halphen, *Charlemagne* 65-72. 170 Cf. *Verg. A.* 2.353; *Ov. F.* 6.598; *Lucan* 3.172, 5.652; *Galt. Alex.* 2.17, 3.430, 4.104 (29, 69, 81 M). 171 Cf. 2.320; *Verg. A.* 3.368. 173 coortes = cohortes. 174 Cf. 1.535.

- 175 Intulit assultus, et cedere nescia bellis  
Spectata est pugnace manu presencia Magni,  
Multaque patrata est misere deletio gentis.  
Multo grassatum est in sanguine donec abactos  
Saxones exceptit coniuncta in federa Francis.
- 180 Quos prius ydolatras, tunc dogmata nostra sequentes,  
Sacro mandauit baptismi fonte renasci.  
Cuius ad imperium nec erat nisi ficta uoluntas.  
Milia multa sacro perfundi fonte uideres.  
Hoste triumphato deinceps in partibus illis
- 185 Spes stabili de pace fuit, sed rege regresso  
Mox leuitate sua, pactoque fideque relictis,  
Sese attemptarunt Magno subducere, facti  
Rursus apostatici, quorum rumore recepto,  
Ille nichil sublime timens, rursus agmine facto,
- 190 Processit tumidam bello contundere gentem.  
Tunc uelud iratus, gladiis ferientibus egit  
Vt Francis subiecta foret Francisque fideles  
Ferret Abroditos, multoque labore fauorem  
In Magni cessit aduerse ex agmine partis
- 195 Dux Winthokindus. nisi formidata mouerent  
Prelia Francigene maiori robore freti  
Victricique manu, nam preualuere suoque  
Blandita est et fida fuit Victoria Magno.  
Diua potens armis ne noxa subesset amicis,
- 200 Agnouit ueteres in posteritate Sicambros,

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175 Cf. 2.85. 176 Cf. Galt. *Alex.* 1.217 (13 M). 178 Cf. Lucan 6.421. 179 Cf. 2.353. 181 Cf. 2.277, 296-97. 186 Cf. Galt. *Alex.* 4.97 (80 M). 189 Cf. 2.163. 189 Cf. Verg. *A.* 182, Galt. *Alex.* 3.209, 5.294, 7.86, 10.347 (61, 114, 152, 234 M). 190-93 Cf. *Annal. reg. Fr.* and *Annal. q. d. Einh.* an. 785 (68-71 Kurze); *Einh. Vita K.* 12 (15 H-E, 14 G-M). The Abodriti (in the correct spelling) were a Wendish tribe in North Mecklenburg. 190 Cf. Verg. *A.* 1.263-64; *Sil. Ital.* 4.706; Galt. *Alex.* 5.28 (104 M). 193-94 Cf. 4.389; Lucan 10.417-18. 193 Abroditos: glossed 'populum.' 195-96 Cf. *Juv.* 6.257. 195 See Martin Lintzel, *Karl der Grosse und Widukind* (Hamburg 1935) and Friedrich Knöpp, *Karl und Widukind* (Frankfurt-am-Main 1935). 198 Cf. 3.8-9; *Einh. Vita K.* 8 (11 H-E, 12 G-M): 'blandienti fortunae adsentiri solebat'; Galt. *Alex.* 1.496-497 (23 M). 199 Diua potens: glossed 'uictoria.' Cf. Verg. *A.* 1.531; *Ov. Am.* 3.10.35, *M.* 9.315; *Hor. C.* 1.3.1. 200-22 Cf. text G; *Lib. hist. Fr.* 1-4 (242-244 Krusch). 200-11 Isidorus, *Etym.* 9.2.101 (on the Franci): 'alii eos a feritate morum nuncupatos existimant.' *Lib. hist. Fr.* 2 (243 Krusch) says: 'Tunc appellauit eos Valentinianus imperator Francos Attica lingua, hoc est feros, a duritia uel audacia cordis eorum.' On the name Franks and their association with ferocity, see e.g.: W. C. Perry, *The Franks and their First Appearance in History to the Death of King Pepin* (London 1857) 43-45; Godefroid Kurth, *Études franques* (Paris 1919) 89-137, esp. 91-92; Francis Owen, *The Germanic People: Their Origin, Expansion, and Culture* (New York 1960) 105. 200 Cf. texts E-G; cf. Rigordus, ed. Delaborde pp. 55, 56, 58. Guillelmus Armoricus, *Philippis* 1.75-76 (ed. H. F. Delaborde, *Œuvres de Rigord*

- Nota quibus feritas, cum de Meothidos undis  
 Inuisos pepulit et debellauit Alanos,  
 Cognate meruit imponere nomina uocis,  
 Romano quondam sic instituyente tiranno,  
 205 Qui pugiles animos et inexpugnata probate  
 Pectora uirtutis miratus inesse Sicambris,  
 Nomine muttato tamquam dicendo Ferancos,  
 Francos dixit eos, que uox inflexa feroces  
 Innueret Francos, cumque imperiale decenni  
 210 Non dandum spacio semel indulsisset, ad illud  
 Reddendum deinceps cogi nequiere tributum,  
 Dicentes, cum de repetendo nuncius isset,  
 Non cogi debere, suus quia soluerat illos  
 Sanguis, et ut nostrum iuxta uulgare loquamur,  
 215 Cum Franci fierent, ea tunc francatio sanxit  
 Quod prestruxit eis antiquis Francio nomen.  
 Deinde etiam amissi cum ius reuocare tributi  
 Vellent et edicto belli Romana potestas  
 Impeteret Francos, illi, ocius urbe cremata  
 220 Ne superesset eis nisi spes sub marte triumphi,  
 Progressi contra Germanaque castra lucrati,  
 Sub duce Marcomiro Genebaldo complice toruis  
 Iam tunc Theutonicis inuenti in bella fuere  
 Robore maiores, propriis ubi sedibus illos  
 225 Marte requirentes, uicere aliunde profecti.  
 Nec sine laude suis fecere silere sub armis.  
 Cum quibus admixtis populis et prole recepta  
 In tantam exiguo creuerunt tempore gentem  
 Finibus inuasis ut mox sibi rege creato

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*et de Guillaume le Breton* 2 [Paris 1885] 10), declares: 'Urbs ab eis dicta est fundata Sicambria fundo / In qua regnauit cum Francis Francio primus.' 203 Cf. Lucan 3.273-74; Galt. *Alex.* 3.464 (71 M). 204-9 Cf. text F; Rigordus, ed. Delaborde p. 56. Cf. Guillelmus Armoricus, *Philippis* 1.114-15 (11 Delaborde). 205-6 Cf. 2.342; Ov. *M.* 11.767-68. 205 Cf. 1.2. 207-9 See on 2.200-11. 211-14 Cf. Guillelmus Armoricus, *Philippis* 1.120-24, 139-43 (12 Delaborde). 215 Franci: glossed 'liberi.' 216 Cf. 1.361, 2.200-11, 3.176, texts E-G. See Fredeg. 2.5-6, 3.2 (46, 93 Krusch), esp. 2.5 (46 Krusch): 'electum a se regi Francione nomen, per quem Franci uocantur.' Cf. Rigordus, ed. Delaborde pp. 55-58 and Guillelmus Armoricus, *Philippis* 1.60 (9 Delaborde). 217 Cf. 3.43; Juv. 2.30; Galt. *Alex.* 4.251 (86 M). 221 Cf. Guillelmus Armoricus, *Philippis* 1.146-149 (12-13 Delaborde). 222 Cf. text G; Fredeg. 3.3-4 (93-94 Krusch); *Lib. hist. Fr.* 4 (244 Krusch); Gregorius Turonensis, *Hist. Fr.* 2.9 (52 Krusch); Guillelmus Armoricus *Philippis* 1.130 (12 Delaborde). 226 Cf. 5.66; Lucan 1.277. 228-47 Cf. Rigordus, ed. Delaborde p. 56: 'Ab illo enim tempore in tantum uirtus Francorum exereuit ut totam tandem Germaniam et Galliam usque ad iuga Pyrenei et ultra subiugarent.' Mention is made, *ibid.* 56-59, of Marcomirus, Sonnon, and Genebaudus. 228 Cf. Gen. 48.19, Deut. 26.5.

- 230 Marcomiri maiore ducis, multo undique questu  
Ditari inciperent atque omnibus esse timori,  
Et magni numero magni quo nomine magni  
Milicia, magna nomen probitate redemptum  
Seruarent deinceps in libertate manentes.
- 235 Et quando hec potuit iam tunc prestantibus armis  
In nouitate sua tenere plantatio gentis,  
Nonne magis sub eo, cui formidabile terris  
Nomen erat regi magno pre regibus orbis,  
Nonne et strenuitas accrescere debuit illis
- 240 Et factis spectanda nouis accedere uirtus?  
Dignum quippe fuit aciem uicisse suorum  
Et plus posse suis ad regna domanda diebus  
Quatinus integra laus et gloria salua priorum  
Constaret meritis et degenerantibus actis
- 245 Non infectus honor in posteritate maneret.  
Contra Germanos unde exuperantibus ipsis  
Primiciis gentis, clarum ante tulere tropheum.  
Attendebat ad hec Victoria quod reperiri  
Gens minime posset que sic castrense per orbem
- 250 Exerceret opus, cui sic accederet horror  
Et decus armorum, quos sic sua signa decerent  
Vt Francos proceres, et regis in omnibus actis  
Culpandum nichil inueniens incurrere nollet  
Propter Theutonicos inuicti principis iram.
- 255 Haut ita propter eos erat amissura pudorem  
Vt modo consueti muttaret commoda cursus,  
Vt Karolo Francisue suis factura molestum  
Indignumue aliquid aliquatenus esset et istos  
Nunc fastidiret in eorum uersa fauorem.
- 260 Nec uero in fide post prelia dicta quieuit  
Impietas gentis. sepe illuc Magnus eundo,  
Cum iuga Francorum temere ceruice rebelli  
Excuteret, uix post quater octo et quatuor illuc  
Directas acies, tociens ex hoste triumphans,
- 265 Theutonicos potuit tandem superare furores.

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230 maiore: glossed 'filio.' Cf. *Lib. hist. Fr.* 4 (244 Krusch): 'Marchomiris quoque eis dedit hoc consilium et elegerunt Faramundo ipsius filio, et eleuauerunt eum regem super se.' Pharamond reigned ca. 420-28. 231 Cf. *Act.* 5.5. 236 Cf. *Ps.* 143.12. 237-38 Cf. 3.203; Galt. *Alex.* 7.175-176 (155 M). 244 Cf. 1.76. 247 Cf. *Ov. Her.* 9.104; Galt. *Alex.* 1.143 (10 M). 254 Cf. *Ov. T.* 4.10.98, P. 1.1.149; Galt. *Alex.* 1.308, 542 (16, 25 M). 260-78 See on 2.170-98 *supra*. 260 Cf. 2.170-90. 262 Cf. 4.46. 263 Perhaps Egidius was thinking of Einh. *Vita K.* 7 and 8 (9, 11 H-E, 10-11 G-M): 'per continuos triginta tres annos gerebatur . . . anno tricesimo tertio finitum est.' 264 Cf. *Verg. G.* 281.

- Nec quia uicit eos, illustri in principe fastus  
 Is fuit aut Francis dure dominatio frontis  
 Quin iuga Francorum gaudenti uertice ferrent  
 Saxones, et tellus populos complexa comatos  
 270 Mansueto uellet parere per omnia regi.  
 Qui de Saxonibus uictis, quia corporis esset  
 Gens ea conspicui, Rhenum Gallumque per axem  
 Vxores preter ac natos milia fertur  
 Distribuisse decem populumque auxisse ferocem.  
 275 Denique belligeros hec pacis forma tumultus  
 Abstulit ut deinceps ea Francis federe firmo  
 Gens uniretur, Christoque in fonte renata  
 Crederet ydolici cultus errore relicto.  
 Hic ubi cessarunt acies, castrensia Magnus  
 280 Amouit uexilla loco tamen ante recessum  
 Presidiis positis ubi nouit id utile paci.  
 Sic sibi per turres et munimenta locorum  
 Germanos retinere uolens, tunc agmina secum  
 In bellum rapiens, fines inuasit Hiberos,  
 285 Victores cupiens illic quoque uincere Francos.  
 Causa quod intraret terram expugnare sub axis  
 Occidui tractu non usurpatio regni  
 Aut hominum pressura fuit, sed gloria celi  
 Et Christi firmanda fides ea uota premebat.  
 290 Et res ad libitum que succedebat agendum  
 Ad uirtutis opus faciles tulit undique casus.  
 Venerat ad regem, necdum subduxerat alas  
 Saxonie populis, de gente profectus Hibera  
 Dux quidam gentilis adhuc in limine regnum  
 295 Citeriore tenens et non inglorius armis.  
 Huius erat menti uoti inspiratio sacro  
 Fonte renascendi, seque ipse per omnia Magno  
 Ocius exponens, pepigit si bella moueret  
 Contra quos offensus erat, se reddere castra  
 300 Et prepossessas allatis clauibus urbes.  
 Quem rex, ut moris habuit, gratante recepit  
 Officio secum uotiuoque gaudia gessit,

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267 Cf. Juv. 8.189. 268 Cf. Juv. 6.207; Galt. *Alex.* 8.505 (192 M). 272 Gloss: 'Rhenum id est Rhenicum, Gallum id est Gallicum.' 274 ferocem: glossed 'scilicet Francum.' 279-400 See on text A 143-52, also Halphen, *Charlemagne* 87-91. 279-85 Cf. *Annal. reg. Fr.* and *Annal. q. d. Einh.* ann. 777-78 (48-51 Kurze); *Einh. Vita K.* 9 (12 H-E, 12-13 G-M). 281 Gloss: 'presidiis id est firmitatibus.' Cf. Galt. *Alex.* 1.278 (15 M). 283-84 Cf. 2.24. 289 Cf. 1.15, 47-48. 291 Cf. 5.415; *Eccli.* 45.14. 295 Cf. *Verg. A.* 12.397; Galt. *Alex.* 5.450-51 (150 M). 296-97 Cf. 2.181. 302 Cf. Juv. 1.86; Galt. *Alex.* 5.445 (120 M).

- Atque ubi muneribus magnis cumulauit, eodem  
 Cum rege Hesperie bellis direxit agendis  
 305 Ocius e natis unum, qui tunc Aquitani  
 Delegatus erat tractare negocia regni.  
 Intuitus cuius ratio fuit ipse quod esset  
 Implicitus bellis, ille e regione moueret  
 Proximiore gradus, nato mediante futuros  
 310 Euentus rerum preconiearet, Hiberam  
 Absens inspiceret expectaretque periclo  
 Sub leuiore fidem si forte per omnia pacto  
 Dux sibi constaret. iccirco uicaria duxit  
 Bella manus gereret, et sic consultius egit.  
 315 Nam Franci regionis adhuc in limine primo  
 Vix bene constiterant, et iam leuitatis adorsus  
 Naturale malum, quasi qui resipisceret, una  
 Exclusos aliis uix illos urbe recepit,  
 Cetera dissimulans nec se illis reddere posse  
 320 Oppida sed magno dicens superanda labore,  
 Vt qui pronus erat pacto resilire, fauore  
 Ductus amicorum quos offendisse timebat.  
 Hic merito possem genti, crudelis Aria,  
 Insultare tue, qui pauperis edis adeptus  
 325 Commissum regimen, nequiens non esse professor  
 Hispanie fidei, uendens ibi fulcra bonorum,  
 Seus distractor de dispensante fuisti.  
 Ille tui meminit fidei indeuotus honoris.  
 Ipse sui spretor ut complacuisset amicis.  
 330 Verum ubi persensit mote molimina fraudis,  
 Ad regem proles bellis perfecta citatos  
 Facti legatos et nuncia mesta remisit.

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304-14 Cf. *Vita Hludowici imperatoris* 4 (ed. Pertz, MGH SS. 2 [1829] 609). 306 Cf. 1.305-07; Galt. *Alex.* 1.217, 8.167 (13, 179 M). 307 Gloss: 'intuitus id est considerationis.' fuit: glossed 'scilicet agere.' ipse: glossed 'Karolus.' 308 ille: glossed: 'filius Karoli.' 310 Cf. *Lucan* 5.779. 318 Cf. 2.66-67. 320 Cf. 2.171. 323 Gloss: 'Inuehitur in quendam Hispanum, scilicet sancti Martini (*corr. by the glossator from matini*) Parisiensis, pro dilapidatione bonorum domus ubi preluit.' See on 2.326. Nothing further about this Arias seems known. I am grateful for a reply (28 April 1969) from Surirey de saint Remy, conservateur en chef of the Bibliothèque historique de la ville de Paris, in this matter. Anyway, Arias of St. Martin's, Paris, probably a contemporary of Egidius, cannot be the man whom Duchet-Suchaux identifies (thesis p. 136) as 'Hosein ibn Hahya, un des trois sarrasins chefs, dont Soliman ben Alarabi assura le concours à Charlemagne en 777.' 324-25 Cf. 1.435. 326 bonorum: glossed 'ipsius hospitalis.' Perhaps Egidius has in mind the hospital at the monastery of Saint-Martin-des-Champs, Paris: see Dorothy-Louise Mackay, *Les hôpitaux de la charité à Paris au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris 1923) 153 327 Cf. *Luc.* 12.42. 328 tui: glossed 'id est tuorum morum.' 330 Cf. *Verg.* A. 4.296-97.

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310 preconiearet *D-S*; hyberam *L* · 316 adorsi *L* · 319 illa *D-S* · 323 Hec *L*; Aria *in ras.* *P*, helya *L* · 324 pauper *L*; edis adeptus *om. L* · 326 Hispanie *D-S*

- Hosti incongrediens propius remanere suisque  
Interea studuit urbem munire tuendis.
- 335 Nec mora, perdendos rex intardatus ad hostes  
Fulmineis cepit terram percurrere signis,  
Factaque deditio castella absoluit et urbes,  
In quibus he que se uoluerunt dedere regi,  
Egregii cum sint positus, maiore uigere
- 340 Nomine creduntur et non debere sileri:  
Primitus illa prior Nauarro in climate grati  
Pampilona situs et inexpugnabile castrum  
Nomen habens Stelle, saxosa Asturia, Sancti  
Facundi burgus, Legio quoque gloria regni,
- 345 Bartinona potens, et que ueneratior orbi  
Iactat apostolico se Compostella sepulcro.  
Nominis egregii terrore coercita tellus  
Non contra est luctata diu, nam celitus almo  
Prodigiis pro rege datis ac gente fideli
- 350 Horruit et domini famulo iuga uertice magni  
Sustinuit, licet innumeris exercita bellis,  
Hostis et alterius nullum prepassa timorem.  
Gentibus astrictis coniuncta in federa, Magnus  
Regrediens illinc Pyreneo est colle dolosos
- 355 Vascones expertus, et enim cum faucibus arctis  
Agmen inexplicitum longo se tramite ferret,  
Ecce infra positos hastilibus obruit hostis  
Desuper explorans et concidit ultimus ordo.  
Cui fuga non patuit, nec iam defensio turbe
- 360 Precedentis erat, illo non cedere retro  
Longius a cuneis ne desererentur in hostes,  
Non muttare latus ob saxa imperuia et altos  
Hinc illinc montes, non in iuga prima ualenti  
Agmine pre nimio profugos extendere gressus.

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336 Cf. 1.475, 2.37-38. 341-42 Cf. *Annal. reg. Fr. and Annal. q. d. Einh. an. 778* (50-51 Kurze). 342-46 See Pseudo-Turpinus, *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi* 3, 8 (ed. C. Meredith-Jones [Paris 1936] 94-101, 108-109); Pseudo-Turpinus (shorter version) 5 (ed. H. M. Smyser [Cambridge, Mass. 1937] 58-60). 342 Cf. 2.205-6; Galt. *Alex.* 5.368 (117 M). 344 Legio: i.e. León. 347 Cf. Verg. *G.* 1.99; Ov. *P.* 3.3.61; Galt. *Alex.* 10.230 (230 M). 353-400 Cf. *Annal. q. d. Einh. an. 778* (51, 53 Kurze); *Einh. Vita K.* 9 (12-13 H-E, 12-13 G-M). The defeat inflicted by the Basques occurred 15 August 778. Joseph Bédier, *Les légendes épiques* 3 (Paris 1929) 285, claims that Egidius used the *Chanson de Roland* for his account of the disaster (cf. G. Paris, *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne* [Paris 1865] 107), but Egidius may have depended upon the general tradition or upon some chronicle(s).

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338 dedere: subdere *L* · 344 Facondi *L* · 345 Barcelona *L* · 346 se Compostella: secum postella *L* · 353 coniuincta *Michel*; magnis *L Michel*; QVINTA *Gautier* · 355 OPTIMVS: OPTIMVS CVM MVLTVS ALIIS *L Michel* · 356 in explicitum *Michel*; OBIIT: OCCIDIT *Michel* · 360 non: nec *Michel* · 363 ualent *D-S* · 364 prenimio: pro nimio *Michel*

- 365 De sic arctatis inter iuga uallis in imo  
 Multa fit e multis per tela pluentia strages.  
 Hic Anselmus comes occidit, imbre cruento  
 Missilium confossus, et Engebardus in aula  
 Prepositus, dominusque Britanni littoris inter
- 370 Innumeros numerandus obit Rollandus, equestri  
 Ordine flos potior et honor specialior armis.  
 Cuius in exiguo sed ab eius funere magni  
 Nominis oppidulo fit adhuc ostensio cornu,  
 Petraque quam, cum iam rueret, mucrone corusco
- 375 Marcia dextra fidit, illuc cernenda profectis  
 Restat adhuc rerum non infima testis earum.  
 At castrum aduectum Blauiam nunc usque quiescit  
 Corpus ibi, tantique uiri ueneratur opertos  
 Ille locus cineres et gaudet honore sepulcri.
- 380 Hic et Oliuerus meriti redolentis eidem,  
 Par indiuiduum, nulloque ex agmine toto  
 Post illum inferior, sed proxima gloria castris  
 Proxima milicie quo stabat in ordine uirtus.  
 Ipse ducis propior et amantior assecla bello,
- 385 Proh dolor, immo dolo morti concessus, in illo  
 Compositos tumulo cineres habet, et soror eius  
 Adiacet Alda suo puluis coniunctus amico,  
 Quam dolor oppressit, et adhuc si digna receptu

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**366-68** Cf. 2.67-68; Lucan 6.224; Stat. *Th.* 8.416-17; Galt. *Alex.* 1.312, 9.126, 183-84, 263-64, 391 (16, 200, 202, 205, 210 M); Alanus, *Anticlaud.* 9.360 (195 Bossuat). **368** The name of the official in Einh. *Vita K.* 9 (9 H-E, 13 G-M) is Eggihardus; but in Hugo Floriacensis, ed. Waitz p. 361, the name is Eggibardus. **370-79** Cf. Pseudo-Turpinus 23, 29 (192-193, 212-213 Meredith-Jones); *Guide du pèlerin de Saint-Jacques de Compostelle* 7, 8 (ed. J. Vielliard [Mâcon 1950] 76, 78, 80); Pseudo-Turpinus (shorter version) 26, 31 (85-86, 90 Smyser); *Chanson de Roland* 2338-39. See Smyser, *op. cit.*, 44-45 n. 4. **374** Cf. Verg. *A.* 2.333, 10.651-52; Sil. 2.242-43; Stat. *Th.* 1.614, 9.542, 10.774; Claud. 20.446; Galt. *Alex.* 1. 34 (6 M). **377-381** On the death of Oliver cf. *Chanson de Roland* 2010-25. Cf. Hugo Floriacensis, ed. Waitz p. 361: 'Rollandus Blauia castello deportatus est ac sepultus.' In Pseudo-Turpinus 29 (214-215 Meredith-Jones), Pseudo-Turpinus, (shorter version) 31 (90 Smyser), and *Guide* 8 (80 Vielliard), Oliver is buried at Belin. **379** Cf. Ov. *T.* 3.3.45; Galt. *Alex.* 7.299 (160 M). **381-82** Cf. 4.79. **384** ducis: glossed 'Rollandi.' **386** Cf. Hor. *C.* 2.1.7-8; Ov. *F.* 3.547; Lucan 1.568, 8.748. Concerning the tomb of Roland, see C. Julian, 'La Tombe de Roland à Blaye,' *Romania* 25 (1896) 161-73. **387-88** Cf. *Chanson de Roland* 3705-33. On Alda as sister of Oliver see *ibid.* 1720. **388** Cf. Iob 16.8. **388-89** Cf. 5.126-27; Verg. *A.* 4.190; Lucan 2.672, Galt. *Alex.* 3.332 (66 M).

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367 Fort. anselinus *L*; umbre *Michel* · 368 Egebardus *Duval* · 369 littoris: limitis *Gautier Bédier* · 371 et: ut *Michel* · 372 sed: suo *Duval*; ab *om.* *Duval* · 374 iam *om.* *Duval* · 375 Marcia dextra: Marti aderat *Michel*; illic *L* · 376 rerum: terre *Duval*  
 380 Hic: Illic *Bédier* · 384 proprior (*alt. r exp.*) *P*, proprior *D-S* · 385 dolor: hoc *D-S* · 388 receptu: relatu *L Michel*

- Fama canit, Remensis eo sub tempore sedis  
 390 Eutropius presul, alio quem nominis usu  
 Turpinum dixisse uolunt, uir in agmine clarus,  
 Sede sua clarus studiis, sed clarior armis.  
 Et quorum tumulis non obseruata uetustas  
 Nomina deleuit, superest tantummodo fluxa  
 395 Carne cinis, cui se nullo discrimine tellus  
 Miscuit, et quorum circa fragmenta soluti  
 Corporis et petris inclusa capacibus ossa  
 Mandatas plumbo custodit lamina uoces.  
 Quosque suis produnt epygrammata certa sepulcris.  
 400 Agminis eiusdem multi cecidere perempti.  
 Vix inde exempto repetita est Francia regi,  
 Et dulci requieuit humo, tamen ante redactis  
 Sub iuga Narbone populis, sed et ante reperta  
 Coniuge quod partus geminos enixa iaceret.  
 405 Quippe duos utero conceperat, e quibus alter  
 Vite deperiit ad limina prima, renatus  
 Alter aquis uixit Ludouicus nomine, regno  
 Successor, meritoque pii cognomen adeptus.  
 Deinde triumphantes Capuanis intulit alas  
 410 Et Beneuentanis indixit prelia Magnus,  
 Vim cuius non ferre ualens de pace tenenda  
 Seruandaque fide dux placat Aragisus illum  
 Obsidibus natis. sic Francis redditus infer  
 Baioaris martem celeri sudore peractum.  
 415 Coniunctos Sclaus premit ira secuta Sueuos,

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**389-92** Cf. *Chanson de Roland* 2077-98, 2222-45. **393-94** Cf. Deut. 9.14; Ov. *M.* 1.445. **395** Cf. Verg. *A.* 1.574, 12.498, 12.770; Ov. *T.* 5.10.29; Lucan 3.119, 4.218, 770, 10.91; Galt. *Alex.* 1.323, 7.328 (17, 161 M). **398** Cf. Galt. *Alex.* 1.521-25 (24 M). **399** Cf. Galt. *Alex.* 1.470 (22 M). **400** Cf. Lucan 3.571-72; Galt. *Alex.* 3.42 (54 M). **404-08** Cf. *Vita Hludowici* 2-3 (ed. Pertz MGH SS. 2 [1829] 607-8); Hugo Floriacensis, ed. Waitz p. 361. Louis was born in 778. Lothair, his twin, died shortly after birth. **404** Cf. Verg. *A.* 1.274. **408** Cf. Ov. *M.* 8.151, *F.* 4.420; Galt. *Alex.* 1.397 (20 M). **409-40** Cf. Pseudo-Turpinus 1 (88-89 Meredith-Jones): 'Karolus postquam multis laboribus per multa orbis climata diuersa regna, Angliam, scilicet, Galliam, Theutonicam, Baioariam, Lothoringiam, Burgundiam, ceterasque regiones uniuersasque urbes a mari usque ad mare. . . adquisiuit.' Pseudo-Turpinus (shorter version) 2 (56 Smyser) is similar. **409-13** Cf. *Annal. reg. Fr.* an. 787 and *Annal. q. d. Einh.* 786 (72-75 Kurze); *Einh. Vita K.* 10 (13-14 H-E, 13 G-M). Charlemagne proceeded against the Capuans and Beneuentans in 787. **414** Cf. *Annal. reg. Fr.* and *Annal. q. d. Einh.* ann. 787-88 (75-85 Kurze); *Einh. Vita K.* 11 (14 H-E, 13-14 G-M). The Bavarian War lasted from 787 to 788. See Halphen, *Charlemagne* 61-65. **415-16** Cf. 2.431-32; *Annal. reg. Fr.* and *Annal. q. d. Einh.* an. 789 (87 Kurze); *Einh. Vita K.* 12 (15 H-E, 14-15 G-M). Hugo Floriacensis, ed. Waitz p. 361, says 'Dani uero et Sueues

- Et domitant dacas Gallorum iesa bipennes.  
 Sub iuga descendunt de libertate priori  
 Frisones a Magno tantum seruire coacti,  
 Frisones assiduis exercita natio bellis,  
 420 Propter inaccessas numquam ante subacta paludes.  
 Non nisi cui toto nichil insuperabile mundo  
 Nullum inuincibilem uoluit Deus esse locorum:  
 Perua uindictae, Magno tantummodo regi  
 Subdita, post Magnum nulli subdenda per eum.  
 425 Que gens, ut fama est, effusa in littore ponti,  
 Tuta suis sitibus habet oppida, non habet urbes,  
 Intitulatque sibi distincto iure locorum  
 Nomine pastoris sumptos aliunde patronos.  
 Que simul lingue uarians ydioma parumper  
 430 Cognata est bibulis conuictu et moribus Anglis.  
 Post hos Francorum fiunt subiectio Russi.  
 Sed neque Noreugos totum certata per orbem  
 Bella reliquerunt. eadem certamina passi  
 Immanes cedunt in Magni iura Geloni,  
 435 Hisque triumphatis Auares adduntur et Huni.

Sclaus erant foederati.' Charlemagne's expedition took place in 789. See Halphen, *Charlemagne* 74-81, 94-97. 417-30 Cf. *Annal. reg. Fr.* an. 784 (66 Kurze); *Einh. Vita K.* 14 (17 H-E, 16-17 G-M). See Halphen, *Charlemagne* 72-74. 418 Cf. Galt. *Alex.* 10.92, 236 (224, 230 M); cf. Alanus, *Anticlaud.* 5.457 (137 Bossuat). 420 Gloss: 'inaccessas id est inacces-sibiles.' 421 Cf. Hor. C. 1.3.37; Galt. *Alex.* 8.568, 10. 239-240 (216, 230 M). 426 Cf. Galt. *Alex.* 10.231 (230 M). 428 Gloss: 'quia a Theutonia habent episcopos illi qui sunt in Frisia.' Frisia was assigned to the diocese of Bremen. 430 The English had a reputa-tion for being heavy drinkers: cf. Galt. *Alex.* 10.51-52 (223 M); Nigellus, *Speculum stultorum* 1520-24 (ed. J. H. Mozley and R. R. Raymo [University of California English Studies 18; Berkeley and Los Angeles 1960] 64-65, see also 158); Galfridus de Vino Salvo, *Poetria noua* 1003 (ed. E. Faral, *Les arts poétiques du XII<sup>e</sup> et du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* [Paris 1958] 228). Iacobus Vitriacensis, *Historia Occidentalis*, ed. F. Moschus (Douai 1597) p. 297, relates that students of Paris insulted the English, 'Anglicos potatores et caudatos affirmantes.' B. Hauréau, *Notices et extr.* 6 (1893) 124, prints from B. N. lat. 18522 a gloss on the *Alexandreis*: 'Francis scire, sitis Anglis, nescire Britannis. / Fastus Normannis crescit crescentibus annis' (cf. H. Walther, *Carmina medii aevi posterioris Latina* 1 [Göttingen 1959] no. 6840). Paul Meyer, in *Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires* ser. 2, 5 (1868) 183, records from Oxford Digby MS 53 f. 16, where qualities of nations are listed: 'Anglia potat.' See further P. Meyer, 'De l'allitération en roman de France,' *Romania* 11 (1882) 573 and n. 1; A. L. Poole, *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta* (Oxford 1964) 241-42; P. Rickard, *Britain in Medieval French Literature 1100-1500* (Cambridge 1956) 167-70. 431 The empire of Charlemagne included as tributaries the Slavs between the Elbe and the Vistula: cf. Garrod and Mowat, *op. cit.* (*supra* on 1.143) xlii. 431-33 Cf. 3.415-16. In *Einh. Vita K.* 12 (15 H-E, 14-15 G-M). not Russi but Sclauī are mentioned. 432-33 Cf. 1.1-2. 434 Cf. 1.547. 435 et: glossed 'id est.' Cf. *Annal. reg. Fr.* an. 791 (Kurze 86-89); *Einh. Vita K.* 13 (15-16

Nec timide ostensis uastata Britannia tergis  
 Insultare potest, nam pars fit et ipsa triumphi.  
 Gallicus hic potuit plus Roma et Cesare Magnus.  
 Ille uiris acidas nactis in pocula sorbas

440 Succisis propius caudis restrinxit habenas.

H-E, 15-16 G-M). The war against the Avars was undertaken and completed in 791. See Halphen, *Charlemagne* 81-87. **436-40** Charlemagne carried on campaigns against Brittany in 786 and 799: cf. *Annal. reg. Fr.* and *Annal. q. d. Einh.* ann. 786, 799 (72-73, 108-109 Kurze); *Einh. Vita K.* 10 (13 H-E, 13 G-M). See Halphen, *Charlemagne* 91-94. A confusion may have arisen between the conquest of Brittany and that of England: see on 2.409-40 above. **436** Britannia: glossed 'id est Angl(ia).' Cf. Lucan 2.572. **437** Cf. 5.364; *Ov. Am.* 1.1.49; Lucan 4.360-61; *Galt. Alex.* 6.300 (136 M). **438** Gloss: 'De quo dictum est "Territa quesitis ostendit terga Britannis" id est Anglicis.' The quoted verse is Lucan 2.572. **439** sorbas: glossed 'id est ceruisias. Tractum est a *Georgicis*: "Fermenta atque acidis imitantur pocula sorbis."' The quoted verse is *Georg.* 3.280. **440** Gloss: 'Verbum uulgare est "il lor acurcea lor resnes." Hinc elici potest quod Anglici iam non sunt caudati quos Karolus, sicut hoc legitur, decaudauit.' The English were supposed to have tails. See on 2.430; cf. *Guide* 7 (30 Vielliard). Petrus Riga, *Causa regis Francorum contra regem Anglorum* (ed. B. Hauréau, 'Un poème inédit de Pierre Riga?' BECH 43 [1882] 11), writes: 'Nunquam recta fuit, nunquam meruit sibi causa / Anglica, uel potius Anglica cauda fidem.' M. R. James and Claude Jenkins, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace* (Cambridge 1932) 163, indicate that MS 99, fol. 186 contains 'Anglicus a tergo caudam gerit, est pecus ergo' (cf. Walther, *op. cit.* no. 1031). Stephanus de Borbone, *Tractatus de diuersis materiis praedicabilibus* 282 (ed. A. Lecoy de la Marche, *Anecdotes historiques . . . d'Étienne de Bourbon* [Soc. de l'hist. de France; Paris 1877] 234), offers 'Anglici erubescunt caudati uocari.' See also G. Neilson, *Caudatus Anglicus* (Edinburgh 1896); E. Faral, *Mimes français du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris 1910) 34; Margaret Houck, *Sources of the Roman de Brut of Wace* (Univ. of Calif. Pub. Eng. 5; Berkeley and Los Angeles 1941) 265-72; Samuel Singer, *op. cit.* (*supra*, on *Kar.* 1.354) 1 (1944) 148; Mozley and Raymo, *op. cit.* (*supra*, on *Kar.* 2.430) 159; A. L. Poole, *op. cit.* 241; Rickard, *op. cit.* 165-66.

438 hic: hec *L*; magno *Paris* · 440 prope *D-S*; retrinxit *L*

#### TENOR TERCII LIBRI

Fedus in imperio pueri cum matre solutum  
 Tercius exequitur Karolumque insignia Rome  
 Gessisse imperii Papa tradente Leone,  
 Bawariis quam magnifice se gessit adaptat,  
 5 Describit terras quas subdidit, obsequiosos  
 Commemoratur reges, alia et magnalia narrat,  
 In quibus extollit mores, commendat amorem

Tenor 1 pueri cum matre: Constantine VI and his mother, Empress Irene, of Byzantium. See on 3.27-48 *infra*.

*Tenoris tit.* TENOR: CONTINENTIA *L* · 1 matre: marte *L* · 7 commandat *D-S*

- Principis, adiungit que circa dogmata curam  
 Natorum gereret, et agit de matre sepulta,  
 10 Quam circa diuina libens, quam examine prompti  
 Iudicii dirimens causas fuit, atque ita regem  
 Tradit in his animum gessisse per omnia fortem.  
 C quater et semel X positam quater I repetitam  
 Versiculis ponit distinctio tertia summam.

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11 Cf. 4.3. 13-14 On the stichometric note, cf. *supra*, Introd., at n. 100.

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13 positum *Lehm.* (*Sb.*) · 14 Vsiculis *D-S*

### INCIPIIT TERCIVS LIBER

- Fictilis interea uasis compage soluta,  
 Carcere corporeo cognatis redditus astris,  
 Ille, olim qui propter opem contra Itala regna  
 Petrum legarat, Adrianus papa peregit  
 5 Extremos in pace dies, meritique probati  
 Clerus apostolica prefecit sede Leonem.  
 Cui si in sublimi constaret adorsio rerum,  
 Ad sacrum fuerat facilis fortuna cacumen,  
 Sed non blanda satis nec ad omnem prospera casum.  
 10 Sic in mundanis absque omni turbine rebus  
 Nec mera leticia est nec leta omnino uoluptas,  
 Pax ubi nulla rata est, ubi gloria nulla quieta,  
 Et nullus securus honos expertus in alto.  
 Hoc Leo conscensu est, qui tutior ima tenebat.

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1-86 Cf. *Liber pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne 2.7; *Annal. reg. Fr.* and *Annal. q. d. Einh.* an. 801 (112-113 Kurze); *Einh. Vita K.* 28 (32 H-E, 29-30 G-M). On the imperial coronation and its significance, see especially F. L. Ganshof, *The Imperial Coronation of Charlemagne: Theories and Facts* (Glasgow 1949); P. E. Schramm, *Die Anerkennung Karls des Grossen als Kaiser* (Munich 1952); Helmut Beumann, 'Nomen imperatoris — Studien zur Kaiseridee Karls des Grossen,' *Historische Zeitschrift* 158 (1947) 515-49. See also Halphen, *Charlemagne* 120-39. 1 Cf. *Leuit.* 6.28, Num. 5.17, Dan. 5.6, and elsewhere in the Bible; *Lucan* 1.72, 3.491; *Stat. Th.* 8.31; *Claud.* 33.115; *Maximian* 1.172; *Galt. Alex.* 4.592 (99 M). 2 Cf. 4.352; *Verg. A.* 5.517; *Ov. M.* 15.839. 3-4 Pope Adrian sent his legate Peter to Charlemagne to request help against Desiderius: see *Annal. reg. Fr.* and *Annal. q. d. Einh.* an. 773 (34-35 Kurze). 5-6 Adrian I was pope 772-95; Leo III was pope 795-816. On the succession of Leo see *Annal. reg. Fr.* and *Annal. q. d. Einh.* an. 796 (98-99 Kurze). 5 Cf. *Galt. Alex.* 6.74 (128 M). 8-9 Cf. 2.198; *Lucan* 4.711-712; *Galt. Alex.* 1.496-497, 5.130 (23, 108 M). 13 Cf. 1.309. 14-22 See on text A 155. Cf. *Liber pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne 2.4-5; *Annal. reg. Fr.* and *Annal. q. d. Einh.* an. 799 (106-107 Kurze); *Einh. Vita K.* 28 (32 H-E, 29 G-M); *De Carolo Magno et Leone papa* 353-69, 406-536 (377-79 Duemmler);

- 15 Hunc, in equo cum iam pompam ducendo sederet,  
 Appetiit manuum uiolenta iniectio tractum  
 Nequiter et sacra de maiestate reuulsum.  
 Quem predefuncti pape excecare parentes  
 Excito contra seducte turbine plebis
- 20 Presumpsere, nec ex oculis ablata lucerna est.  
 Prorsus adhuc speculans, postquam cruciatibus ille  
 Euadit, fugit ad Karolum, quo uindice facti  
 Sede reformatur tranquillaque tempora complet.  
 At bene promerito condigna rependere regi
- 25 Idem Romanus ut posset presul, in ipsi  
 Efficiens habita est et sumpta occasio rebus,  
 Nam per idem tempus Romani nomine regni  
 Filius Hyrenes uidue commune parenti  
 Grecorum moderamen habens regnarat in urbe
- 30 Que Rome titulum gerit inuidiosa secunde.  
 Federibus sociis aliquanto tempore tanti  
 Imperii regimen ambo tenuere quiete,  
 Et placide spacio conregnauere decenni.  
 Demum non equis animis et federe rupto
- 35 Inter eos, amens genitricem in uincula misit  
 Filius et regni tenuit moderamina solus.  
 Illa diu detenta, dato custodibus auro,  
 Euasit, captumque tenens in carcere natum,  
 Imperii dominam lustrum se gessit in unum.
- 40 Ille modo matris et adorsa callidus arte  
 Blandiciis donis partim et terrore fauorem  
 Custodum sibi concilians, e carcere fecit  
 Liber ut exiret, amissaque iura recepit.  
 Quem rursus captum trusumque in uincula mater
- 45 Irreuerens oculis priuari iussit, et illo  
 In luctu gemituque diem claudente supremum  
 Anxietate dati sibi uulneris, ipsa resumpti  
 Imperii gessit alio moderamina lustrum.  
 Quam blandi insidiis uerbi simulator amoris

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Notker, *Gesta Karoli* 1.26 (35, 37 Haefele). Leo III was attacked on 25 April 799 by a throng who tried to blind him and to cut out his tongue, and at first it was thought that these efforts at mutilation had been successful. 14 Cf. *Ov. M.* 2.137. 27-48 Cf. *Annal. reg. Fr.* and *Annal. q. d. Einh.* an. 798 (104-05 Kurze). 28-48 In 780 at Constantinople Irene became regent for her ten-year-old son, Constantine VI, but after he assumed full power in 790, a struggle between them ensued, and Constantine was blinded by his mother in 797. She then reigned alone until 802. 30 Gloss: 'scilicet Constantinopolis.' 36 Cf. 1.381. 43 Cf. 2.217. 45 Cf. *Eccli.* 26.2. 46 Cf. 1.386. 49-51 Nicephoros I, who held the post of Logothete of the General Treasury under Irene, succeeded her as the result of a plot which culminated in October 802. Nicephoros was emperor 802-11.

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15 in equo — ducendo: subito cum iam promotus papa *L* · 17 Nequiter *D-S* · 18 excecare *Duval* · 21 postquam: *fort.* priusquam *L*, per quot *Duval* · 28 hirenes *L* · 41 et: ex *L*

- 50 Seduxit, regnumque Nicephorus abstulit illi.  
 Mox etiam in uinclis misere expirare coegit.  
 Dum uero regnabat adhuc preeratque superbo  
 Imperiosa iugo, nati iam quatuor annis  
 Effluxis a morte sui, quasi sede uacante
- 55 Imperii quoniam mulieri cesserat, heres  
 De medio sublatus erat. quis deinde futurus  
 Rector erat dubium cum prole uiroque careret  
 Imperitans mulier, nec erat successor habendus  
 Qui iam intentabat. ideo Leo papa tenendo
- 60 Culminis illius apici terreque regende  
 Prefore commodius Karolum intellexit, et esse  
 Gratus ei cupiens quod et ecclesiasticus ultor  
 Et suus extiterat, per publica uota uocatum  
 In Petri ecclesia sollempniter unxit adaptans
- 65 Regificos cultus, quotquot de more figurat,  
 Imperiale decus et tanti insignia regni.  
 Tunc humeris trabeam pedibus sandalia sceptrum  
 Ferre manu diadema comis excepit habendum.  
 Vtque sacri perfudit eum pinguedo liquoris,
- 70 Mox declaratus fuit urbi augustus et orbi.  
 Hic acclamatum est deuota a plebe per urbem:  
 'Magno ac pacifico regi semperque uerendo  
 Augusto Karolo uictoria uita potestas.'  
 O quam grata Deo, quam debuit esse fidelis
- 75 Ecclesie, quam pontifici subiecta Leoni  
 Illo Roma die, quam de preeuntibus ausis  
 Et de premissis mesta ac confusa reatu,  
 Illo namque die cum libertate resurgens  
 Antiqui decus imperii mundique recepit
- 80 Iure suo regimen, et Bizanthea potestas  
 Ad Grecos arctata suos excussa Latino  
 Vertice dedidit Romanum assumere nomen.  
 Illum Romulide, quo sic reparata senatus  
 Gloria Romulei, merito duxere beatum
- 85 Sollempnemque diem quo tam bene contigit urbi  
 Quoque nouo facta est ea magnificencia regi.  
 Ad quem Bawariis olim a genitore creatus

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54 Constantine VI seems to have died in 797. 66 Cf. Verg. A. 11.334; Galt. *Alex.* 6.475 (143 M). 68 Cf. 1 tenor 9. 71-73 Cf. *Annal. reg. Fr.* and *Annal. q. d. Einh.* an. 801 (112-113 Kurze): 'a cuncto Romanorum populo adclamatum est (cuncto Romanorum populo aclamante *Annal. q. d. Einh.*) "Carolo augusto a Deo coronato magno et pacifico imperatori Romanorum uita et uictoria."' 82 Cf. *Ov. M.* 1.201. 87-152 Cf. *Annal. reg. Fr.* and *Annal. q. d. Einh.* an. 787 (74-79 Kurze); *Einh. Vita K.* 11 (14 H-E, 13-14 G-M). See Halphen, *Charle-*

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50 nichephorus L; illi bis P · 68 habendus D-S · 77 premissis: commisso L · 82 dedit D-S; roma non L · 83 Romulide: Romuli de D-S · 84 dixere L · 87-92 *itt. om. D-S*

- In dominum terreque ducem de pace tenenda  
 Inter eos paulo ante suos in fraude quietis  
 90 Pretexta uerbis legatos Tapsilo misit.  
 Cuius colloqui Romani presulis aures  
 In primis temptauit opus, quo traduce rerum,  
 Si fraudem sentire minus si simplice posset  
 Falli intellectu facilem suggesta trahenti  
 95 Regis in assensum, citius captata referrent.  
 Ille impreuentus re uera in federa pacis  
 Hortari regem consanguineoque gerendum  
 Coniuncte fidei laudare excepit amorem.  
 Magnus ad hec quanta esset eis cognatio, quantus  
 100 Sanguinis accessus et participatio carnis,  
 Quamque fidem saltem intuitu seruare paterno  
 Tapsilo deberet, placide proponere cepit.  
 Adiecit quam sepe uolens ab amore recessit  
 Offendensque fuit in federe, mitius ipse  
 105 Semper eum tolerans, nullam, cum perdere posset,  
 Intulerat merito uindictam, cumque uel hosti  
 Cuilibet appeteret, plus quolibet hoste propinqui  
 Sanguinis huic uellet, nec demerisset amari;  
 Romani, cuius decreto cauta uigeret  
 110 Inter eos rata pax et sanctio federis esset,  
 Respondit super hoc sese parere paratum  
 Presulis hortatis, ipsi e regione referrent  
 Quid facerent pro parte ducis, que iussa tulissent,  
 Qua possent sancire fide commercia pacis.  
 115 Qui cum se non posse fidem prebere sed illam  
 Exigere officii magis et uicis insinuarent  
 Esse sue nec uelle nisi proponere iussa  
 Et commissa sibi, iussi nil tale tulisse,  
 Se tantum assererent missos pro pace petenda,  
 120 Talia querendo taciti uelamina ueri,  
 Insuper occulto non sufficientia dicto  
 Nescio que cudendo, dolis ex ore bilingui  
 Responsisque datis adopertius illa malorum  
 Contio conuicta est uoluisse imponere regi,  
 125 Nec potuit gaudere sue molimine fraudis.

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*magne* 61-65. 87 genitore: glossed 'Pippino.' Cf. *Annal. reg. Fr.* and *Annal. q. d. Einh.* an. 748 (8-9 *Kurze*). 89 Cf. *Verg. A.* 5.85; *Claud.* 28.477. 90 Tapsilo: glossed 'proprium nomen.' 92 Cf. 1.89. 96 Ille: glossed 'papa.' 97 consanguineoque: glossed 'Tapsiloni.' Tassilo was a nephew of Pepin the Short. 103 uolens: glossed 'et non coactus.' 104 federe: glossed 'seruando.' ipse: glossed 'Karolus.' 105 Cf. 1.557, 4.142; *Iac.* 4.12. 106 -que: glossed 'id est etiam.' 112 Adrian I was the pope. 122 Cf. *Hor. Serm.* 1.10.30.

- Cessit enim nimio confusa pudore, priusquam  
 Cederet a sancto multum obiurgata Leone,  
 Adiciente minas se cum regione suisque  
 Omnibus Ecclesie censure suppositurum  
 130 Esse ducem et uinculis anathematis impliciturum.  
 Rex autem artificem fraudis constanter adorsus  
 Quo meruit gladio punire, sibique rebellis  
 Suscipiens curam redigendi in iura ducatus,  
 Vindictæ statuit non segnis in ore suorum  
 135 Diffidiare ducem, martemque edicit habendum.  
 Cuius apud Gallos cum iam remearet, ad iram  
 Tapsilo se seruare timens, consultius ipsum  
 Placare intendens posito diademate, supplex  
 Et pedes occurrit, cui, litigiosa relinquens,  
 140 In manibus sese dedens genibusque uolutus,  
 Obtinuit ueniam, quamquam iam sanguinis ullo  
 Intuitu uenie locus aut paciencia uite  
 Non esset, nec quam abiecit natura moneret,  
 Sed magis hoc gereret irato pectore uotum  
 145 Magnus, et interior, animo si credere uellet,  
 Traderet hunc motus ipso quoque sanguine mortis  
 Esse reum, quo plus nature debita contra  
 Offendisset eo crudelius esse necandum.  
 At rex uirtutis magis intellexit ut ire  
 150 Cederet offensis nec crederet omnia uotis,  
 Cumque uiri fortis esset contundere fortem,  
 Fortius id duxit ut posset uincere mentem.  
 Hunc ubi conspicuis tam sepe exercitus actis  
 Victor in obtentu uiolenti uicit amoris,  
 155 Non minus in reliquos idem uirtutis alumpnus,  
 Ille animo forti spectandus gloria Rome  
 Magnus, ad imperium magno promotus honore  
 Rexque manens patriis Romano in principe Francis,  
 Imperii et regni communi commoda cura  
 160 Disponens utrisque gerit. sub principe tanto  
 Proficit augmentis res publica. gloria regni  
 Augescit titulis adeo quod adaucta potestas  
 In duplum fuerit totoque priore secutum  
 Dimidium maius, etenim cum Gallia, tantum

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131 artificem: glossed 'Tapsilonem.' 135-41 Tassilo submitted to Charlemagne in 787 but in 788 conspired with the Avars. 135 Cf. 1.499; Galt. *Alex.* 1.283 (15 M). 145 Cf. Verg. G. 3.391, A. 6.173; Lucan 3.220; Galt. *Alex.* 9.26 (196 M). 146 motus: glossed 'animi' Gloss: 'ipso sanguine ipsa sanguinis ratione.' 147 Cf. 1.387-88. 154 Cf. Lucan 1.165-66; Sil. Ital. 5.675. 161-71 Cf. Einh. *Vita K.* 15 (17-18 H-E, 17-18 G-M). 161-62 Cf. 1.115.

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132 rebellem *D-S* · 133 redigendum *L*; in *om. L* · 139 Et: Ad *Duval* · 158 Rex-  
 que: Rex qui *D-S*; patris *L* · 162-164 *tit. om. D-S*

- 165 Que Rhenum Ligerimque inter iacet Oceanumque  
 Ac Baleare fretum, genitori eiusque propinquis  
 Preregnata foret, paruaque Aquitania parte  
 Per Biturum metas soli subiecta parenti,  
 Et que Danubium citra Germania longis  
 170 Tractibus ad Rheni rippas se porrigit, olim  
 Sub titulis esset regum descripta priorum,  
 Sub Karolo memorata modo uiolencia martis  
 Pugnaces illi fecit se dedere gentes  
 Vique pererratos Francorum accedere regno  
 175 Saxonie tractus, illis regnantibus ante  
 Reliquis Troum sub maiestate corone  
 Non habitos; et adhuc inuicto strenua regi  
 Obtinuit uirtus ut Belgica tota subesset,  
 In terras diuisa duas, quarum altera dicta est  
 180 Austria et alterius inflexum Neustria nomen.  
 Quarum topographis iste est situs: Austria longe  
 Finibus a nostris Rheno interstante recedit.  
 Citerior Mosa preterlabente rigatur  
 Neustria, cui quondam ponebat Launia fines.  
 185 Vtraque terra, prius regio totaliter una,  
 Belgica nomen habens ante inicialia regum,  
 Belgaque plebs eius, que cum diuisa recessit  
 In partes, primoque remoto nomine, binis  
 Nomina bina tulit. que nomen habebat ab austro  
 190 Prima suo tractu complectebatur eos  
 Francones; nostris sedes erat altera Francis.  
 Vtraque deinde tulit diuersa uocabula primis,  
 Expressitque suos muttata uoce colonos.

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167-68 Cf. 1.465-79, 513; Fredeg. Cont. 41-52 (109-20 W-H); *Annal. reg. Fr. and Annal. q. d. Einh. ann.* 760-68 (18-27 Kurze). 175 Cf. 2.173-98. 176 Cf. 1.361; Verg. A. 1.30, 598, 3.87; Galt. *Alex.* 5.385 (117 M). 178 Cf. Galt. *Alex.* 1.111 (9 M). 180 Gloss: 'Neustria quasi Neoaustria id est noua Austria.' 181 Cf. Galt. *Alex.* 1.404, 406 (20 M). 183 Mosa: glossed 'fluuiio.' Likewise, 'fl.' glosses the names of the other rivers in 184, 199, 200, 218, 220, 222, 228 (except Auxona in 228). Cf. Verg. A. 6.873-74; Lucan 9.355; Galt. *Alex.* 2.148-149 (34 M). 184 Gloss: 'Launia fluuius, qui et Materna dicitur.' L. Lalanne, 'Nom donné à Marne par un poète du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle,' BECh 1, ser. 2. (1844) 170-71, discusses the name Launia for the Marne and states (p. 170) that no ancient writer used *Launia*. See also A Piette, 'Nom ancien donné à la Marne dans un poème latin du XII<sup>e</sup> s.,' *Bull. Soc. archéol. hist. et scientifique de Soissons*, 2, ser. 2 (1881) 42-44. 186 Gloss: 'Belgica prouincia fuit compacta ex duabus Gallicis, continens Austriam, que est in Gallia comata, et Neustriam, que est in Gallia togata.' 194 Gloss: 'restrictis metis quantum ad hoc quod Fran(corum).'

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165 Oceanumque *Lalanne* · 167 parua *L* · 170 reni *L* · 171 esset regum: regum esset *L* (*corr. L*<sup>1</sup>) · 175 illic *Lalanne D-S* · 176 Reliquiis *L Lalanne* · 177 adhuc: ad hec *L* (*corr. L*<sup>1</sup>) · 179 duas: suas *L* · 180 inflexum *L* · 181-182 *tit. om. D-S* · 182 reno *L* · 183 preterlabante *D-S* · 183-184 *tit. om. D-S* · 187 plex *L*; cum: con *L* · 189 austroro *L*

- Que nunc censetur restrictis Francia metis  
 195 Lugdunensis erat prouincia, adusque Britanni  
 Littora pertingens pelagi. cum uero togatos  
 Amisit regis Merouei tempore Gallos,  
 Dilectis cessit tunc primum Sequana Francis,  
 Hicque intersticio quod Atacis aberrat in alueum,  
 200 Quod medium Ligeri Materneque adiacet amni,  
 Depinxit fines et adhuc depingit eorum  
 Qui nunc sunt Franci quia natio Franca, nec illis  
 A terra nomen sed terre est nomen ab illis.  
 Francia fit tellus quam possidet incola Francus.  
 205 Gallia non proprie dicitur terra, magisque  
 Dixeris inproprie laxo nisi nomine Gallos,  
 Nam tantum Gallos que tali nomine terre  
 Appellantur habent. quod si communius istud  
 Nomen et ad nostros laxare uoles, ea terre  
 210 Conditio uetus est, et prima notatur origo,  
 Nam fuit a Gallis hec primum Gallia tellus,  
 Terciaque et media est terrarum nominis huius.  
 Hanc illamque et adhuc aliam, prout limite certo  
 Queque suos retinet fines a seque recedunt,  
 215 Ille indicibilis, ille insuperabilis, ille  
 Maximus in terris tenuit monarca quiete  
 Scilicet in tanto regionum corpore quicquid  
 A rippis Histri Rheni finitur in undis,  
 Quicquid et a Rheno est, Ligeris quod subsecat amnis,  
 220 A Ligeri quicquid protenditur usque Warunnam,  
 Quo spacio durat Aquitania, quicquid atrocem  
 Finibus Aluernis Ligeri transmittit Alesum,  
 Quicquid ab Ausciticis madidat Dordona deorsum  
 Et cum Vasconia totisque iugi Pyrenei  
 225 Verticibus simul et Nauarro climate, quicquid

197 Meroueus reigned ca. 448-57. 199 Atacis: Lalanne, *op. cit.* 173 n. 1, remarks 'Il faut lire Araris, car l'Aude Atax, n'a jamais servi de borne à la France proprement dite. D'ailleurs la delimitation du bassin indiqué par le poète se rapporte à la Saône.' 203 Cf. 1.237-38. 210 et: glossed 'id est etiam.' Cf. Verg. *G.* 2.336, 4.286, *A.* 1.372, 7.371; *Ov. Her.* 4.55, *M.* 1.3, *P.* 4.8.17; *Galt. Alex.* 4.181 (84 M). 212 Cf. *Ov. F.* 5.618; *Galt. Alex.* 1.396-97, 405 (20 M). 215-36 Cf. *Einh. Vita K.* 15 (17-18 H-E, 17-18 G-M). 218 Gloss: 'Tantum durat Gallia comata,' with 'togata' written above 'comata.' 219 Gloss: 'Tantum durat Gallia togata.' 220 Gloss: 'Tantum durat Gallia bracata.' Warunnam: i. e. Garonne. 222 Alesum: i.e. Allier. 223 Gloss: 'Auscita (Aucs *suprascript* by *glossator*), Norbona, et Burdegala metropoles sunt in Aquitania post Biturim, que est capud Aquitanie.' Auscita is Auch.

196 pertingens: restringens *L* · 198 primum: demum *L*; secana *L* · 199 Hocque *D-S*; Atacis: Araris *Lalanne, malit D-S* · 200 Matroneque *D-S*; anni *L* · 202 illi *Lalanne D-S* · 203 terra: terra est *L*; terre est: terre *L* · 212 Tercia que *Lalanne* · 216 *om. L (mg. add. L<sup>1</sup>)* · 219 annis *L* · 220 Warumnam *D-S* · 222 Aluernis: alumnis *L D-S* · 224 pyrenei *L*

- Viterius fluuio finem facit axis Hiberno,  
 Quicquid ad Oceani refugam protenditur undam  
 Et redit ad partes quas Scaldus et Auxona rorant,  
 Quicquid Arogona est uel Gotthia, quicquid in ipsis  
 230 Alpius et citra cepit Burgundia nomen.  
 Insuper Italicis, quascumque uel Appula tellus  
 Vel Campana tulit, Venetis Siculisque Calabris,  
 Et circumpositis usque in confinia Graium  
 Gentibus imposuit dominantia iura tributi,  
 235 Et Dacos Histri rippa ulteriore manentes  
 Et duplices egit sub uectigalibus Vngros.  
 Regni etiam sub eo est maiestas aucta quibusdam  
 Regibus et populis quos in socialis amoris  
 Federa deuotos sibi reddidit. insuper illi  
 240 Gloria donandi sic conciliauit Hibernos  
 Et Scottos reges ut se eius in omnia seruos  
 Esse faterentur. quociens legabat ad illum  
 Gallicie Alfonsus rex aut sua scripta recepit,  
 Non aliter quam se esse suum reputabat, et horum  
 245 Testes litterule transmissaque scripta supersunt.  
 Egypti quoque rex Aaron magnatibus orbis  
 Anteferebat eum predilectique colebat  
 Affectu, quamquam non uisu nec nisi fame  
 Hunc solo nosset et dilexisset odore.  
 250 Et quia seruiiciis amor apparere, probari  
 Vtilitate solet perque internuncia duci  
 Mancipia ac per blanda trahi rescripta salutem,  
 Dilecto seruire uolens et amare uideri,  
 Sepe in litterulis iocundaque blandaque scripsit.  
 255 Sepe sui arcani legatos misit, eique  
 Munificus preciosa inter donaria, uestes  
 Scilicet et gemmas aliasque illius eoi  
 Orbis opes. mirum quod mire exponeret horas  
 Et morulas lucis perquireret ex oricalco  
 260 Ductile misit opus, ubi scemate facta fabrili  
 Horales quedam tradebat clepsedra cursus

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228 Auxona: i.e. Aisne river. 237-48 Cf. Einh. *Vita K.* 16 (19 H-E, 18-19 G-M).  
 243-45 Cf. *Annal. reg. Fr.* and *Annal. q. d. Einh.* an. 798 (102-05 Kurze). 243 Alfonso II  
 reigned 789-842. 245 litterule — supersunt: Egidius probably derived this directly from  
 what Einhard, *Vita K.* 16 (19 H-E, 18 G-M), says about the Irish kings: 'Extant epis-  
 tolae ab eis ad illum.' 246-72 Cf. *Annal. reg. Fr.* ann. 801-2 (114-17 Kurze). Haroun  
 was caliph of Bagdad 786-809. See Gabriel Audisio, *La vie de Haroun-al-Raschid* (Paris  
 1930) 119-34; F. W. Buckler, *Harunu'l-Raschid and Charles the Great* (Cambridge, Mass.,  
 1931), esp. 17-31, 43-47, 51-52.

- Cum bis sex pilulis, quarum distinctus ad horam  
 Subdita reddebat tinnitum in cimbala casus.  
 Ad totidem sub momento cuiuslibet hore
- 265 Progrediens de materia fabricatus eadem,  
 Parua fenestrales claudendo equantia rimas  
 Cuspide pulsabat reserabat et hostia miles.  
 Tale ferens magni magnum ueneramen amoris  
 Optimus augustus, quod multa in tempora mansit,
- 270 Hoc habuit Pharii donum memorabile regis,  
 Multaque multorum simili captatus amore  
 Munera percepit. contra sibi gloria maior  
 Instans certamen obnixaque lucta receptis  
 Plura remetiri et meritis precedere cunctos,
- 275 Quos quasi non proprium quasi duxit turpe secundo  
 Expectare loco, non dandi exempla subire  
 Sed prebere uolens ne tam sibi dantibus esset  
 Respondens quantum ante merens quod deinde daretur.  
 Nec sola hec regis bonitas, sed et ecclesiarum
- 280 Edificator erat, loca religionis adaugens,  
 Subiectis equus, largus subuentor egenis.  
 Non solum imperii terris sed in ultima mundi  
 Trans Medos ultra Memphitas usque sub Indos  
 Plurima captiuus fidei mittebat alendis,
- 285 Et detentores si non dimittere, saltem  
 Humane tractare suos in carcere uinctos  
 Natureque aliquid uelle indulgere rogabat,  
 Attente insinuans illum debere timeri,  
 Plasmata cuius erant, pro cuius amore fideque
- 290 Insontes alias sic cogebantur egere,  
 Non aliam ob causam missi in discrimina uite.  
 Hec erat in miseros sancti compassio regis,  
 Vnde et religio plus commendata minusque  
 Exprobrata fides supportabatur in illis
- 295 Lenius, et penes hunc in libertate cupitus

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266 rimas: glossed 'id est aperturas.' 271 Cf. Verg. *E.* 6.9-10; Ov. *Am.* 2.17.15-16, *A.A.* 1.83, *Her.* 1.76, *F.* 2.585, *M.* 6.465, 8.124, 435. 279-80 Cf. Einh. *Vita K.* 17, 26 (20-21, 30-31 H-E; 19-20, 28 G-M). 281-96 Cf. Einh. *Vita K.* 27 (31-32 H-E, 28-29 G-M); Notker, *Gesta Karoli* 2.9 (64 Haefele). See L. Bréhier, 'La situation des chrétiens de Palestine à la fin du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et l'établissement du protectorat de Charlemagne,' *Moyen âge* 30 (1919) 67-75. 281 Cf. 3.298, 4 tenor 2-3. 282 Cf. Ov. *T.* 4.4.83; Lucan 4.147; Galt. *Alex.* 3.484 (71 M). 287 Cf. Ov. *A.A.* 3.159; Juv. 2.140. 291 Cf. Lucan 2.599. 294 in illis: glossed 'in detentoribus.'

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266 equantia: equestria *Dupal* · 269 multa: lingua *L* · 272-273 *tit. om. D-S* · 272 MAGNITVDINE *L* · 275 turpe: tempore *D-S* · 279 Hec *L*; *tit. om. D-S* · 283-284 *tit. om. D-S* · 291 discrimine *Lehm.*

- Iuuit amor multos et solui gratia fecit.  
 Quin et ei placuit ydiomata nosse, loquentum  
 Scire modos ut sic subiectis equior esset,  
 Cum populis communis habens commercia lingue,  
 300 Sollicitoque illi uarias proferre loquelas  
 Grece intellectus plus quam prolatio cessit.  
 Discendis quoque litterulis tam mente libenti  
 Institit ut tabulis has effigiare studeret,  
 Quodque magis decuit, natos etate tenella  
 305 Iniciabat eis, demum mandabat adultos  
 Exerceri in equis, tyronum ludere bella  
 Precipiti giro studioque instare ferarum.  
 At lanas tractare coloque assuescere iussit  
 Et fuso natas, quarum sibi sena propago  
 310 Preter eos sexus qui quinque fuere uirilīs.  
 Et bene de fragili sexu curam ut pater egit  
 Anxius, haut passus, facile ut contingere posset  
 In luxum solui per desidīs ocia uite,  
 Quas exercitiis et subdere maluit arti.  
 315 Preterea penes hunc in magno mater honore  
 Bertrada consenuit, qua proles digna parente  
 Dignaque prole parens, mulier generosa, sed infra  
 Se sese moderans, non alto a sanguine ducens  
 Grande supercilium, sed humillima casta fidelis  
 320 Sobriaque et prudens, toto conamine cultus  
 Emula diuini semperque operosa pudicis  
 Officiis manuum, quarum labor iret in usus  
 Et decus ecclesie; tandem cum plena dierum  
 Esset, eam que fit carni communiter omni  
 325 Est ingressa uiam, claudens extrema beato  
 Tempora decessu. que postquam in fata recessit,  
 Dilectum corpus dignis sepeliuit honeste

296 Cf. 2.39; Hor. *Ep.* 1.16.39. 297-303 Cf. *Einh. Vita K.* 25 (30 H-E, 27 G-M).  
 298 Cf. 3.281. 304-14 Cf. *Einh. Vita K.* 18-19 (22-23 H-E, 21-22 G-M). *Einh. Vita K.* 18 (22-23 H-E, 21 G-M) mentions by name six daughters (see on 4.70-80) and six sons Charles, Pepin, Louis, Drogo, Hugo, and Thierry. 306 Cf. *Verg. A.* 7.163; *Ov. A.A.* 3.357. 311-12 Cf. 5.311. 313 Cf. 1.309. 315-29 Cf. *Einh. Vita K.* 18 (23 H-E, 21-22 G-M). 318 Cf. 5.421; *Verg. A.* 4.230, 6.500; *Lucan* 2.214; *Juv.* 8.27; *Galt. Alex.* 1.95 (8 M). 323-24 Cf. *Gen.* 25.8, 35.29, 1 Par. 23.1, 2 Par. 24.15, *Iob* 42-16. 324-25 Cf. *Ios.* 23.14, 3 *Reg.* 2.2. 325-26 Cf. 1.386. 326 Cf. *Verg. A.* 2.791, 4.705; *Ov. M.* 11.43; *Galt. Alex.* 1.535 (25 Mueldener).

296 Multos iuuit amor *P D-S* (corr. *P*<sup>1</sup>), Amor iuuit multos *Lehm.* · 297 locutum *Duval* · 297-298 *tit. om. D-S* · 300 Solliciteque *L* · 302 quoque: quo *L Duval* · 303 SVOS *om. D-S* · 304 Quemque (eras. in Quodque) *L* · 308 At: Ad *Lehm.* · 309 MANVVVM: MANVVVM SVARVM *L* · 312 facile — posset: quas subdere maluit arti *L* · 313 Atque exertitio facile ut contingere posset *L* · 314 In luxum solui per desidīs otia uite *L* · 315 BERTRVDA *L*, BERTRANDA *D-S* · 321 semper *D-S*

- Filius exequius, in eo sibi doctus honorem  
 Augere et meritum fructumque capessere uite.
- 330 Nec bene preteream de rege, quod extitit idem  
 Nocte dieque frequens circa diuina, ministris  
 Altaris persepe prior surgendo, colendis  
 Ipse sacris adeo feruens adeoque requirens  
 Debita diuino seruari tempora cultu,
- 335 Nocte suis precibus comitans nocturna, dieque  
 Quolibet, ad missas ubi se precontulit, horis  
 Omnibus assistens uario ueneramine circa  
 Singula discretus ut toto sedulus esset  
 Canonis excursu, cordis director ad ipsum
- 340 Conficientis opus tantumque attentus agendis  
 Illius arcani, tunc circa sacra uacando  
 Concepta interius, sese uirtutibus aptans,  
 Tunc sibi liberior fideique paratior hospes,  
 Tunc sancte deuotus et ad misteria supplex
- 345 Ecclesie, tunc quem sacrificex tractabat in ara  
 Presentem attendens, tunc se mentaliter urgens  
 Eius in applausus, natam de uirgine carnem  
 Esse sciens illic celique astare cateruas.  
 Tunc etiam sancto que magna facecia regi
- 350 Magna laude fuit, uicioso more precandi  
 Nunc ea neglecta est et inobseruata, susurris  
 Sacrifici parcens ne forte in canone motis  
 Obstreperet labiis; cessanti uoce loquenti  
 Corde, minus labiis erat et plus mente perorans,
- 355 Tunc recolens benefacta Dei, tunc spiritualis  
 Plasmatis inspector animo, tunc transfuga mundi  
 Et celi ciuis, tunc contemplator amoris  
 Christi, tunc mortis penas uel premia uite  
 Altius admirans, tunc rursus ad efflua rerum
- 360 Omina conuersus, tunc tempora mensus et arctos  
 Viuendi fines, tunc hausto horrore supremi  
 Iudicii dubius, pauido tunc corde retractans  
 In quibus offendit, tunc facta in singula plene  
 Cognitor ipse sui, tunc natas fonte uaporo
- 365 Proflus in lacrimas, tunc proturbante timore

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330-38 Cf. Einh. *Vita K.* 26 (30-31 H-E, 28-29 G-M). 337 Cf. Verg. *A.* 3.128; Ov. *Her.* 15.359. 345 Cf. 2.137; Hildebertus, *Versus de mysterio altaris* (PL 171.1201): 'Nil aliud sacrificex est quam Christi simulacrum,/Dum tractat corpus Christi.' 353-54 Cf. 1.333. 354 Cf. Galt. *Alex.* 1.48 (7 M). 356 Gloss: 'plasmatis id est anime.' Cf. Lucan 8.335. 357 amoris: glossed 'in redimendo homine.' 362 Cf. Prov. 26.24, Eccles. 9.1. 365 Cf. Sap. 17.8, 1 Petr. 3.6.

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330 Nec: uel Non ss. *P*<sup>1</sup>, Non *L* · 336 percontulit *Duval* · 337 circa: cura *Lehm.* *D-S* · 340 tantumque: tamenque *Lehm.* · 343 *om.* *D-S* · 351 in obseruata *Lehm.* 358 pena *L* · 365 ptoflus *Lehm.* (*Sb.*)

- Percussus uel spe consolatrice resurgens;  
 Tunc quoque regrediens per tempora cana sui que  
 Circumspector utrum que iam maturuit uua  
 Censeri posset aut esset ydonea falci  
 370 Messis et in cana fructum fecisset arista.  
 Nam postquam iam cana seges, uel fecerit ante  
 Vel perit et nullum factura est postea fructum.  
 Tunc uero fortis animi solamen agebat,  
 Tunc hylaris si quod opus aduertisset in actis  
 375 Quod bene fecisset, quod in illo examine magni  
 Iudicis obiceret, quo tutior ire tremendos  
 Posset ad aspectus meritumque fauoris haberet,  
 Tunc demum superi sincerius ipse dionans  
 Regis in amplexus, tunc deliciosa uolutans  
 380 Eius, et improbulo uestigans gaudia uoto,  
 Tunc uelud elinguis nullique affandus adusque  
 Missa expleretur et concomitantia missam  
 Cetera rite suo preconsummata fuissent.  
 Nec fuit in tota uite statione relictis  
 385 Diuinis prior ad mundana negocia, numquam  
 Quamlibet urgentes misse prereptus ad actus.  
 Quem bene prosequitur ex illo tempore morem  
 Postera maiestas Domino inspirante fidelis  
 Semper et a Karolo non mansuetudine morum  
 390 Absona, non diuersa fide nec amore tuende  
 Ecclesie discors nec religione recedens.  
 Ille autem postquam audierat diuina, forenses  
 Tunc agitans causas et publica commoda tractans,  
 Magnam admittebat equitum plebisque sequelam;  
 395 Tunc ducibus turbaque simul stipatus equestri  
 Gaudebat cunctis concessa palacia multo  
 Impleri populo; tunc imperiale tribunal  
 Celsior ascendens cunctisque a sede uidendus  
 Tamquam sollicitans si quis proponere uellet,  
 400 Ipse auditorus oculos referebat ad omnes.  
 Ceperat oblatas ubi iam disquirere causas,  
 Tedia ne ferret, aut si maiora uocarent  
 Primo progressu, de consessoribus aut de  
 Regni precipuis in tota gente probatas

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368 Cf. Gen. 40.10; Verg. *G.* 2.419. 370-71 Cf. Ov. *M.* 10.655; Galt. *Alex.* 1.242 (14 M).  
 378 dionans: this word, supported by both MSS and perhaps found only here, may have been  
 formed from 'Diona' with the meaning 'ardent.' 392-415 Cf. Einh. *Vita K.* 24 (29 H-E,  
 27 G-M). 393 Cf. 1.307; Ov. *M.* 13.188; Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.3, 2.2.70; Juv. 16.7. 395 Cf.  
 Verg. *A.* 4.136; Lucan 4.208; Galt. *Alex.* 3.128 (58 M). 402 Cf. Galt. *Alex.* 10.406 (236 M).

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368 maturauit *Lehm.* · 369 aut: ante *L.* · 374 aduertebat *L.* · 378 secrecius *L.*  
 379 uolutans *L.* · 386 Quotlibet *Lehm.* · 392 aut <em> *Lehm.* · 393 causas: casus  
*Duval* · 399 sollicitus *L.* · 403 consessoribus *D-S*

- 405 Personas, quas non caperet palpatio doni,  
 Non immutaret persone acceptio, ueri  
 Inquisitores ad dinoscenda piarum  
 Causarum merita sibi substituebat, et omni,  
 Postquam instructus erat, dictabat iura petenti,  
 410 Intardata sequens examina, debiliumque  
 Expediebat opem contra consueta malignis  
 Diffugia, excludens longa interualla dierum,  
 Forti consilio, quorum ius esse sciebat,  
 Dimissos cupiens absoluere, fortius autem  
 415 Aduersum fraudes et queque iniusta resistens.

405 Cf. Deut. 10.17, 16.19; Juv. 1.35; Galt. *Alex.* 1.106, 4.156 (9, 83 M). 406 Cf. Iob 32.21, Prov. 18.5 and elsewhere in the Bible; Galt. *Alex.* 1.107 (9 M). 409 Cf. *Capt.* 21; Verg. *A.* 1.507, 7.246; Sil. Ital. 6.693; Galt. *Alex.* 6.13 (125 M).

409 intractus *L* · 412 lingua *L*

#### TENOR QUARTI LIBRI

- Temperiem regis, quam sobrius esset in escis,  
 Quam fugiens mithmos, quam luxum exosus et equus  
 Subiectis princeps, canit hec ex ordine quartus.  
 Prosequitur regni quam pignora sancta reliquit,  
 5 Inprimis de rege pio finemque beatum  
 Quem meruit, subiungit agens de principe Caluo  
 Egidii laudes ostensaque signa deorsum.  
 De Karolo repetit, quem prefert omnibus illis,  
 Tunc meminit mortem maturaque tempora ponit,  
 10 Omnia maturo matura in rege figurans.  
 Sic eius consummat in hoc condimine uitam,  
 Firmat et egregiam quarta hec structura columnam.  
 Versibus ista decem superat pars quarta priorem,  
 C quater apponens ante, I quater X bis adaugens.

Tenor 2-3 Cf. 3.281. 3 quartus: glossed 'liber.' 11 Cf. Ov. *M.* 1.21.

*Tenoris tit.* TENOR: CONTINENTIA *L* · 1 in escis: inescis *Lehm.* 2 mimos *L*,  
 mi[th]mos *Lehm.*; *alt.* quam: quem *L*

## INCIPIIT QUARTUS LIBER

- Talia ciuilis princeps libramina iuris  
 Iugiter exercens et protelare dolosas  
 Nolens sed dirimens lites, huic deinde labori  
 Postquam ereptus erat, sextam expectabat ad horam  
 5 Tempora prandendi recipique iubebat apertis  
 Ad mensam foribus omnes intrare uolentes,  
 Quicumque ingenui sacriue characteris essent,  
 Seu cleri titulum seu culmen equestre professi,  
 Nec nitidis fieret reuerencia maior, ut eque  
 10 Officii uirtus uenerabilis esset in illis.  
 Porro indistractus pruritu fruminis ullo  
 Nec uentre urgenti nec hiulco gutture frendens,  
 Sed uite mediocris amans, nisi quando decebat  
 Vt uario luxu polleret regia, raro  
 15 Conuiuator erat, in mensa fercula tantum  
 Quatuor admittens carnesque libentius assas,  
 Quas sibi preplacitas magis affectabat in escam,  
 In uerubus poscens apponi frustra ferine,  
 His etiam citra saciem ciuiliter utens,  
 20 Et quater ut multum uino inter prandia potus.  
 Hoc quoque continuit sacro obseruamine Magnus

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1-2 Cf. Galt, *Alex.* 1.105-106 (9 M). 3 Cf. 4 tenor 11; Ov. *M.* 1.21. 11-20 Cf. Einh. *Vita K.* 24 (28-29 H-E, 26 G-M). 21-28 Cf. *Capt.* 133-36. Hostility toward the 'histriones' or 'mimi' is often expressed in medieval literature: see e.g. Alcuinus, *Epp.* 175, 237 (ed. E. Duemmler, MGH, *Epp. Karolini aevi* 2 [1895] 290, 381); Adamus Bremensis, *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum* 3.39 (ed. B. Schmeidler, MGH, *In usum schol.* [1917] 183); Iohannes Saresberiensis, *Policraticus* 1.8 (ed. C.C.I. Webb, [London 1909] 406a); Egidius Corboliensis, *Hierapigra*, from bk. 6 (ed. C. Vieillard [Paris 1908] 380-381: see on *Capt.* 25-28); Aelredus, *Speculum caritatis* 2.23 (PL 195.571); *Vita S. Edmundi Cantuariensis* 23 (ed. E. Martène and U. Durand, *Thesaurus nouus anecdotorum* 3 [Paris 1717] 1795); Daniel Becclesiensis, *Vrbanus* 48 (ed. J. G. Smyly [Dublin and London 1939] 3); *Carmina Burana* 33.4.7 (ed. A. Hilka and O. Schumann 1 [Heidelberg 1930] 55). B. Hauréau, *Notices et extr.* 3 (1891) 317, reports, from Paris B. N. lat. 14925 (13th cent.), on a sermon complaining 'Cum uoce ioculatoris, in plateis sedentis, quomodo illi strenui milites antiqui, scilicet Rolandus et Oliuerius, et cet., in bello occubere recitatur, populus circumstans pietate mouetur et interdum lacrymatur; sed cum uoce Ecclesiae inclyta Christi bella, quomodo scilicet mortem moriendo deuicit et de hoste superbo triumphauit quotidie fere commemoratur, qui sunt qui pietate mouentur?' Trinity College Dublin MS 218, fol. 137r, includes in a 15th-century list of sins 'Si histrionibus aut aliis indignis aut non indigentibus aliquid dederit.' Among 15th-century scribbles in Bodleian MS Sum. Cat. 2295 is 'Histrionibus dare est demonibus immolare.' See also B. Hauréau, *Notices et extr.* 2 (1891) 287-288; Hermann Reich, *Der*

- Vt quia palpones blando sermone resoluant  
 Corda auditorum cum dira pereffluit aures  
 Pestis adulandi, scurras icirco cauendos  
 25 Duceret, icirco nebulones quoslibet a se  
 Sedulus arceret, nullosque admitteret huius  
 Nequicie mithmos, laudari a turpibus ipse  
 Sic fugiens sicut laudari ob turpia nollet.  
 Nec minus egregii sibi uir discretus in usum  
 30 Constituit moris ut toto tempore mense  
 Seria lectoris aliquodue audiret acroma.  
 Sepe legebantur bibulas poscentis ad aures  
 Sanctorum uel gesta patrum uel cronica regum,  
 Plusque Augustini libros audire libebat.  
 35 Quos sibi mandabat relegi distinctius, illum  
 Precipue cui de urbe Dei prescribitur index.  
 Idem ubi cenarat, patulis astare fenestris  
 In morem duxit, aliquaque a tempore mense  
 Interstante mora demptis sibi calcibus ibat  
 40 In lectum modicam membris captare quietem,  
 Aut ibi liberior studioso pectore rerum  
 Pondera uersabat seque inquirebat agendis  
 Aut respirabat curarum examine fessus,  
 Nec nisi in estiuus duxit dormire diebus.  
 45 Quod si uexatis alias obrepsit ocellis  
 Furtiuus sompnus, cum se ceruice reclini  
 Reddiderat stratis, uiolento parua sopori  
 Tempora donabat. postquam euigilauerat, extra  
 Deduci assuerat circum attria uirgineasque  
 50 In cameras aut gramineos pergebat in orthos.  
 Nec uero in molles furias tenerosue resoluti  
 Ibat in amplexus, non ut conspecta labellis  
 Oscula melliflui castigatique tumoris

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*Mimus* 1.2 (Berlin 1903) 793-94; E. Faral, *Les jongleurs en France au moyen âge* (Bibl. de l'Éc. des Hautes Études 187; Paris 1910), esp. p. 29. Probably the spelling 'mithmi' for 'mimi' was influenced by 'mythos.' 22 Cf. Galt. *Alex.* 10.166 (227 M). 24 Cf. Cicero, *Lael.* 25.91 'nullam pestem esse maiorem quam adulationem'; Galt. *Alex.* 10.51 (223 M). 29-36 Cf. Einh. *Vita K.* 24 (29 H-E, 26 G-M). 31 Gloss: 'acroma est cantus de uirilibus gestis.' 32 Cf. Hor. *C.* 2.13.32; Pers. 4.50; Galt. *Alex.* 1.81, 187, 10.51-52 (8, 12, 223 M); Alanus, *Anticlaud.* 7.197 (162 Bossuat). 36 index: glossed 'id est titulus.' 37-48 Cf. Einh. *Vita K.* 24 (29 H-E, 26-27 G-M). 40 Cf. Verg. *A.* 4.5; Ov. *F.* 6.331. 41-42 Cf. Verg. *G.* 4.83, *A.* 5.407-08, 701-02; Ov. *T.* 2.237, 4.10.91-92. 45-46 Cf. Hor. *A.P.* 360; Ov. *Her.* 18.46, *F.* 3.19; Galt. *Alex.* 4.450 (94 M). 46 Cf. 2.262; Ov. *M.* 10.558; Galt. *Alex.* 5.202 (110 M). 50 orthos = hortos. 51-69 Egidius takes no notice here of Charlemagne's concubines and of his offspring through them, but see 4.75-76 and cf. Einh. *Vita K.* 18, 20 (22-23, 25 H-E; 21, 23 G-M). 52 Cf. Galt. *Alex.* 3.228 (62 M).

- Blandirentur ei, non ut quecumque uenustas  
 55 Ad tactus ageret aut contrectare suas  
 Delicias aliena cutis, risusque sereni  
 Succuterent pectus fracteque in murmura uoces.  
 Absit enim indigno censendus nomine uicti  
 Ille hominum uictor circa hec indigna uacaret,  
 60 Absit ut in multa maculam uirtute reportans  
 Ille decor morum, uas excellentis honoris  
 Virtutisque tenor, qui uero nomine dici  
 Πανάρεθος potuit, hoc uotum erroris haberet,  
 Subditus et uiciis hominum sibi subditor esset.  
 65 Verius ut nullo uiolans conubia furto  
 Legitimeque sue solo contentus amore,  
 Castus erat, quamquam humane pruriginis illos  
 Donec erat iuuenis sensisse in pectore motus  
 Et calidus potuit numerosa prole uideri.  
 70 Nam preter de legitimis uxoribus ortos  
 Tres illi iuuenes et progeniosa nepotum  
 Semina sex natas, quarum altera Gisia dicta est  
 Altera Rottrudis et tertia Berga, triumque  
 Nomina non legi, super hec fecundus et augens  
 75 Hunc numerum prolis, alios, si dicere fas est,  
 Furtiuo coitu genuit rex ipse gemellos,  
 Quorum alter studiis genitoris inhesit et eque  
 Prelia certauit Domini castrensibus Hugo  
 Deditus officiis nullique in laude secundus,

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57 Cf. Verg. A. 3.556; Juv. 2.111. 63 Gloss: 'panaretos sonat quasi omnem habens uirtutem uel totus uirtuosus.' *πανάρηθος*: cf. Jerome, *Prologus in Libros Salomonis (Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulg. versionem* 11 [Rome 1957] p. 4; PL 28 [1846] 1242): 'Fertur et *πανάρητος* Iesu filii Sirach liber . . .' 68 Cf. Verg. G. 1.420, A. 12.217. 70-80 Cf. Einh. *Vita K.* 18 (22-23 H-E, 21 G-M). By his wife Hildegard, Charlemagne had Charles, Pepin, Louis, Rothrud, Bertha, and Gisia. The misspellings 'Berga' (also in Hugo Floriacensis: see below) and 'Gisia' are found both here and in the genealogical table of French kings prepared by Egidius (MS P fol. 48r). There, underneath '<Ro>trrudis Berga Gisia,' stands the caption '<Fil>ie cum tribus aliis quarum nomina ignorantur.' Einhard, *Vita K.* 18 (22 H-E, 21 G-M), says of Charlemagne 'Habuit et alias tres filias Theoderadem et Hiltrudem et Hruodhaidem.' But Hugo Floriacensis, ed. Waitz p. 362, has merely 'Habuit et tres filias Rotrudem, Bergam, et Gislam,' and it would seem that Egidius was following Hugo or some source like him. On Charlemagne's four wives and possibly as many as six concubines, and his children, see E. S. Duckett, *Alcuin, Friend of Charlemagne* (New York 1951) 91-98 and Allen Cabaniss, *Son of Charlemagne: A Contemporary Life of Louis the Pious* (Clinton, Mass., 1961) 135 n. 5. 75 Cf. *Capl.* 61, 183; *Ov. P.* 4.8.55, 4.16.45; *Pers.* 1.8; *Sil. Ital.* 3.425; *Stat. Th.* 2.595; *Galt. Alex.* 1.516 (24 M). 78-79 Cf. *Galt. Alex.* 6 *argum.* 2, 6.36-37 (123, 126 M). 78 Hugo, abbot of St. Quentin, died 844 in a battle between Pepin of Aquitaine and Charles the Bald.

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55 coniectare *Duval* · 58 censandus *L* · 63 uocum *L* · 66 contemptus *L* · 72 Gisia: Sisia *Duval*, Gisia *Lehm. D-S* · 73 rottudris *L* · 74 hec; hoc *D-S* · 77 inhesit et: in Hectore *Lehm.* · 79 Deditus: Strenuus *L*

- 80 Alter episcopium Drogo Methense recepit,  
Mitiior inuentus alio condimine morum  
Et quasi natiuus in mansuetudine cleri,  
Sese in diuinis agitans iurisque peritus,  
In cuius manibus, cum sanctus episcopus esset,  
85 Sanctior ex alia Ludouicus coniuge frater  
Cognato moriens uitam exalauit Olimpo.  
Sed diuerticulum ne fiat in ordine rerum  
His breuiter tactis, que sunt dicenda sequentur.  
Restat ad historie supra dimissa redire.  
90 Post tot enim natos et tante pignora prolis  
Regia debebat merito cessare uoluptas.  
Sicut erat cessans, aliis sese ipse gerebat  
In uotis; et quod ad ephebos siue puellas  
Intrabat simul ipse iocans, nil tale pudendos  
95 Traxit in affectus, tantum solacia lete  
Etatis captare uolens et uiuere letus.  
Quin etiam studuit, ne erroris forma regendis  
Ipse regens esset sed honestos traderet actus,  
In cultu seruare modum. nec uilia multum  
100 Nec multum preciosa ferens, fastumque repellens  
Erumpneque notam, communes uixit ad usus.  
Ipse autem uenerandus erat florente senecta  
Prepollens membris, euectus corpore, letus  
Ore, genis rutilans, nasoque extante uenustus.  
105 Cumque sua gereret se maiestate uerendum,  
Blandus erat famulis mandando, loquendo facetus  
In ciues, hilaris equiti cleroque iocosus,  
Ipse suis facilis, suus illis, omnibus omnes,  
Ipse suos quos norat amans et amatus ab illis,  
110 Ipse infligende uindictæ serus, amori  
Captando uelox et firmior ipse tenendo.  
Hic modus, hec uirtus, hec circumspectio uite  
Mansit et exegit penes has sua tempora leges

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80 Drogo was archbishop of Metz 823-55. 85 Cf. Einh. *Vita K.* 18, 30 (22, 34 H-E; 21, 31 G-M). Louis was a son by Hildegard, second wife of Charlemagne; Drogo and Hugo were sons by a concubine Regina. 86 Cf. 4.173-84; Verg. *A.* 2.562; Ov. *M.* 5.62; Galt. *Alex.* 7.248 (158 M). Louis died in 840. 91 Cf. Hor. *C.* 1.27.13; Stat. *Th.* 4.690. 97-101 Cf. Einh. *Vita K.* 23 (27-28 H-E, 25-26 G-M). 101 Cf. Hor. *C.* 3.3.51; Lucan 6.578. 102-04 Cf. Einh. *Vita K.* 22 (26-27 H-E, 24 G-M). 102 Cf. 1.72. 108 Cf. Eccli. 37.31; 1 Cor. 9.22; Lucan 4.363; Galt. *Alex.* 1.115 (9 M). 110 Cf. 5.123; Galt. *Alex.* 1.181 (12 M). 111 Cf. 3.271.

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80 droco *L*, metense *L D-S* · 84 sanctus: factus *D-S* · 88 tractis (*r partim eras*).  
*L*; sequenter *D-S* · 97 Quin: Dum *L D-S*; *tit. om. D-S*; CVLTVS: REGIS *Lehm.* (*Sb.*)  
102 DESCRIPTIO KAROLI *mg. L D-S* · 103 Perpollens *Duval* · 105 MORIBVS  
KAROLI: KAROLI MORIBVS *D-S* · 108 facilis: facit *Duval*; suus: suis *Lehm.*; ille  
*D-S*; omnis *Duval Lehm.*

- Vt princeps per cuncta bonus, per cuncta beate  
 115 Conditionis homo meritique per omnia magni  
 Vt bona semper amans, semper melioribus herens  
 Et comes ipse bonis et tutor ubique bonorum,  
 Inque bonum cessere bono digne omnia digno  
 Prospera, nec titulus fame extollentior ulli  
 120 Nec maior Domini mundanis gratia rebus  
 Affuit ut preter patrie ditionis habenas  
 Francorum regno Romanos primus adauctus  
 In fasces et ad hos ex se uia prima futuris  
 Omnibus in terris monarchi iure preesset,  
 125 Et dominis dominus Romanis, gloria nostra  
 Grandeque solamen, contra iuga Caesaris equa  
 Linqueret heredes in maiestate receptos.  
 Quorum ne fiat dampnosa obliuio, saltem  
 Vt doceam qualem hec felicitis germinis arbor  
 130 Debuit et meruit ex se producere fructum,  
 Quedam etiam ut memorem monimenta insignia regum,  
 Succincta breuitate libet meminisse duorum.  
 Primus qui Karoli de lumbis fluxit eundem  
 Retulit in multis, dictus Ludouicus, ab illa  
 135 Innata pietate sibi, cui semper alumnum  
 Se gessit, merito ipse pii cognomen adeptus.  
 Cui fuit a natis incessans pugna nec unquam  
 Seuus conuelli potuit pietate remissa  
 Vt patrem exueret et eis apponeret equas  
 140 Compensare uices. alios quoque flagiciosos  
 Nec sibi coniunctos idem indefessus in ipsis  
 Flagiciis adeo studuit, cum perdere posset,  
 Non tantum sufferre sed et miserendo fouere  
 Quod non uicit eos odio sed uicit amore.

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**119** Cf. 1.334-35. **124** Cf. Ov. *M.* 5.439; Juv. 10.1. **129-30** Cf. 5.7. **131** Cf. Verg. *A.* 3.102, 8.312, 356; Galt. *Alex.* 2.348-49 (42 M). **133** See on 2.404-08. Pepin the Hunchback, born of a concubine, was Charlemagne's first son. Charles, who was born ca. 772 but died in 811, was the emperor's first legitimate son. Louis, born in 778, was the oldest surviving legitimate son of Charlemagne. See Hauréau, *Charlemagne* 113, 118-19, 124, 128. **136** Cf. 2.408. **137** On the strife produced by nobles and the children of Louis, see *Vita Hlud.* 44-53, 62 (632-39, 646 Pertz); Theganus, *Vita Hludowici* 41-43, 48 (ed. Pertz, MGH SS. 2 [1829] 598-99, 600-1). **141** indefessus: glossed 'ad bene agendum.' **142-44** Cf. *Vita Hlud.* 46 (634 Pertz): 'consuetae non immemor'; Theganus, *Vita Hludowici* 49 (601 Pertz): 'Pepercit inimicis suis,' and Hugo Floriacensis, ed. Waitz p. 363: 'Hic fuit uir clementissimae naturae.' **142** Cf. 1.557.

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114 beatus *D-S* · 117 ubique: ibique *Lehm.* · 119 titulis *Lehm.*; excellentior *Lehm.*  
 123 hos: hoc *D-S* · 124 monarche (*e fort. ex i*) *L* · 133 CAPITVLVS *D-S*, qui et ad 4.345,  
 355, 403; 5.1, 47, 173, 304, 399 in titulis similiter scribit · 135 LVDOVIO *L* · 137  
 COMMEMORATVS EST: COMMEMORATVR *L*, MEMORATVR *D-S* · 141 conuinctos  
*D-S*

- 145 Huic etiam in clerum tanta exquisitio tantus  
 Dulcor in excelsum subrepsit, tantus adegit  
 Qui tunc exciderat diuinum extollere cultum  
 Feruor quod librum normam et precepta ferentem  
 Canonicè uite conscribi fecit et illum
- 150 Iuris ubique sui clero transmisit habendum.  
 Hic etiam augustus collectis tocius ad se  
 Patribus imperii medius consessor in illo  
 Agmine pontificum dampnansque superflua cleri  
 Suasit et obtinuit, exempla preambula prebens,
- 155 Scansilium nucleos ex ere nolasque sonoras  
 In phaleris simul et calcaria grandia et auro  
 Intextas uestes gemmataque cingula poni,  
 Pro monstro reputans cuicumque professio sacris  
 Ordinibus fieret quod inepto scemate seclii
- 160 Fastibus et pompe mundane deditus esset.  
 O regem eximium, qui sic in rege sacerdos  
 Catholicum studuit sine fastu reddere regnum,  
 Cui bene pro meritis nec enim male claudere uitam  
 Qui bene uixit habet. postquam iam membra resoluì
- 165 Ceperunt totoque recessit corpore uirtus,  
 Tanta reperta fuit desursum gratia mitti  
 Vt bis uiginti posset superesse diebus  
 Nullo alio uiuens quam carne et sanguine Christi.  
 Dansque manu propria natis pro parte, clientum
- 170 Partim in mercedes, partim in decus ecclesiarum  
 Solamenque inopum quicquid sibi mobilis esse  
 Repperit, et gaudens quod nil superesset habendum,  
 Quod sine diuiciis ad mortem tenderet inter  
 Assistentis ei Drogonis et undique flentum
- 175 Pontificum amplexus ac sepius addita fronti  
 Signa crucis, donec licuit uel posse leuare  
 Vel mouisse manum, fieri sibi deinde petebat  
 Nutibus, in leuum conuersus ibique maligno  
 Spiritui impropersans, quem tunc uidisse putatur
- 180 Ex illi obiectis, mox dextra in parte reductus,

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148-50 Cf. *Vita Hlud.* 28 (621-22 Pertz). The *De institutione canonicorum et sanctimonialium canonicè uiuentium* was prepared by Amalarius (PL 105.817-976). The council was held at Aix in 816. 150 Cf. 1.499; Verg. A. 3.329. 152-60 Cf. *Vita Hlud.* 28 (622 Pertz). 154 Cf. 2.149. 161 Cf. Galt. *Alex.* 1.196 (12 M); Paulinus of Aquileia, *Sacrostylabus* (PL 99.166): 'Sit dominus et pater, sit rex et sacerdos, sit omnium Christianorum moderatissimus gubernator.' See Franz Kampers, 'Rex et sacerdos,' *Historisches Jahrbuch* 45 (1925) 495-515. 164-84 Cf. 4.80-86; *Vita Hlud.* 62-64 (647-48 Pertz). Louis died in 840. 164-65 Cf. 4.350; Verg. A. 4.695; Ov. *M.* 11.612; Galt. *Alex.* 1.431-32 (21 M). 165 Cf. Verg. A. 2.791, 4.705; Ov. *M.* 11.43; Galt. *Alex.* 1.535 (25 M).

- Letior oblate crucis inter brachia figens  
 Intuitum fundensque preces cum munere numquam  
 Prerepte uocis, animam sic ore sereno  
 Merosisque oculis celestibus intulit astris.
- 185 Iste fuit Karoli successor, moribus idem  
 Sed pietate prior, ex quo genitore secundus  
 Nomen aui tenuit, nec degener exitit huius  
 Moribus egregiis heres cognomine Caluus,  
 Vnicus ut princeps toto tunc temporis orbe.
- 190 Cui studium maius et erat magis insita cura  
 Nosse bonos omnes et sese reddere notum  
 Omnibus, idque fuit in cognitione requirens  
 Tamquam ex condigno ut qui diligerentur ab illo  
 Diligerent et eum, si non aliunde futurum
- 195 Esset ei uirtutis opus, meditamine sancto  
 Sollicitus uel sic admitti in sorte honorum,  
 Quod mox compleuit Domini dignatio uotum.  
 Nam per idem tempus, quamquam tunc temporis euo  
 Grandior et forsán ab auito tempore natus,
- 200 Clarebat meritis felix confessor et abbas  
 Inclitus, alte etiam uir conditionis, et ortu  
 Atticus Egidius, sed ea regione relicta,  
 Tunc heremita loco qui Septimania fertur,  
 Cum Benedictus adhuc, qui nominis exitit huius
- 205 Tercius, ut legitur, postquam iam Sergius alter  
 Sederat, Ecclesie Romane papa preeset.  
 Ad quem etiam ut sancte sedis munimen haberet  
 Cenobiique sui ius illi subderet idem  
 Vir Domini accessit. de quo diffusus in omne
- 210 Clima soli rumor, propter preconia fame  
 Cuius erat, Karoli deuenit regis in aures,  
 Qui uidisse uirum cupiens, ipsumque uidendi  
 Copia cum fieret, sacris hortatibus eius  
 Respirare uolens, ut dignum duceret ad se

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**183** Cf. Galt. *Alex.* 2.188 (36 M). **183-84** Cf. Verg. *A.* 5.517; Ov. *M.* 9.271-72, 15.846, *P.* 4.8.63. **185-88** Charles the Bald reigned 840-877. **187** Cf. 1.76. **198-301** Concerning the legend of St. Egidius (Giles) see BHL 93-98; *Acta sanctorum* Sept. I (1756) 299-303; P.-E. d'Éverlange, *Histoire de saint Gilles* (Avignon 1885); E. Rembry, *Saint Gilles* 1 (Bruges 1881) esp. xxiii-lxx on the sources. In the table of French kings on fol. 48<sup>r</sup> of MS P, 'Sanctus Egidius' is placed near Karolus Calvus. **199** Duchet-Suchaux, who reads *Avito*, wrongly remarks (thesis p. 123 n. 7) 'Il s'agit selon tout vraisemblance de Saint Avit, évêque de Vienne.' **204-6** Benedict III was pope 855-58, preceded by Leo IV (847-55) and Sergius II (844-47). **207** quem: glossed 'Benedictum.' **209** Vir: glossed 'Egidius.' **210** Cf. 1.82-83; Ov. *Her.* 16.207. **211** Cf. Verg. *A.* 2.81, 119, 7.166; Hor. *A.P.* 255; Ov. *A.A.* 2.449, *M.* 5.256, and similar formulations elsewhere in Ovid. **212-13** Cf. Ov. *P.* 4.5.15; Galt. *Alex.* 6.494 (144 M).

- 215 Pergere uisendum prece legatisque poposcit.  
 Nec ulit in uotis maiestas sancta repulsam.  
 Quod quidam Karoli decepti nomine, Magno  
 Euenisse uolunt, nimirum hunc ipse secutus  
 Errorem plerumque fui et sic esse putabam
- 220 Donec persensi quod non ita cronica tradunt,  
 Non aditi sancto permittunt tempora pape,  
 Cum fuerit longo retro tempore. porro ubi regis  
 Maiestatiue commissa negocia cere,  
 Qui missus fuerat, sancto obtulit. ille petenti,
- 225 Vt deinde euenit, aliquo se profore credens,  
 De se ita sollicitum iustis debere rogatis  
 Audiri sensit et censuit esse petendum.  
 Cui quasi tredenis potuit prodire dietis  
 Obuius, adueniens urbem cui Genabus olim
- 230 Nomen erat notoque deinde recessit ab usu  
 Diuersumque illi nunc Aurelianis habetur.  
 Hic stetit a Karolo lete occurrente receptus  
 Vir Domini, sociaque aliquot statione dierum  
 Tempus agens inter uarios pro more loquendi
- 235 Sermones. tum de uirtutum insignibus et de  
 Mundicia morum tum de celestibus et de  
 Eternis tum de bonitate modoque merendi  
 Et fidei arcanis multa est cum rege locutus,  
 Sanctaque conguessit animo plantaria, sancte
- 240 Altius infixit fidei fundamina. quadam  
 Deinde die dum regis adhuc cogentia propter  
 Vota moram faceret, pro rege orare rogatus,  
 Cum bonus imposuit cui nuncius inde repertum

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217-22 Among writers there was confusion between Charles Martel, Charlemagne, and Charles the Bald: cf. e.g. Notker, *Gesta Karoli* 2.14 (77 Haefele); Hugo Floriacensis, ed. Waitz p. 363; *Vita Karoli* 13 (35-36 Rauschen). See E. C. Jones, *Saint Gilles* (Paris 1914) 19 n. 4, 38-45, 198-301; Robert Folz, *Le souvenir et la légende de Charlemagne dans l'empire germanique médiéval* (Paris 1950) 167-68; Baudouin de Gaiffier, 'La légende de Charlemagne: Le péché de l'empereur et son pardon,' *Recueil de travaux offert à M. Clovis Brunel* (Paris 1955) 490-93; Margrit Koch, *Sankt Fridolin und sein Biograph Walther* (Zurich 1959) 120. See also Rauschen (ed.), *Vita Karoli*, p. 36 n. 38; Smyser (ed.), Pseudo-Turpinus (shorter version), p. 51 n. 1. Eugene Müntz, 'La légende de Charlemagne dans l'art du moyen âge,' *Romania* 14 (1885) 334, 336, discusses the 12th-century box intended to enclose the bones of Charlemagne after they had been exhumed by Frederick Barbarossa in 1166. This box has a scene showing Charlemagne conversing with St. Egidius, and the inscription reads: 'Crimen mortale conuertitur in ueniale. / Egidio Karolum crimen pudet edeire (*sic*) solum; / Illud enim tanti grauat. Egidio celebranti / Angelus occultum perhibet reseratque sepultum.' 217 magno: glossed 'Karolo.' 223 Cf. Ov. *M.* 9.601. 229-31 Genabus, or more commonly Genabum, was an old name for Orléans.

- Nomen in ecclesia sacra pertractaret ad aram  
 245 Et missam, presente uiro dignosque stupore  
 Intuito euentus, scelerosi criminis unde  
 Ipse tenebatur, quod nulli sed nec eidem  
 Fassus erat sancto, ueniam impetrauit habendam.  
 Angelicis manibus porrecta in canone misse  
 250 E celo carta, qua cognitione dabatur  
 Perspicua sciri commissum ex ordine crimen,  
 Et sancti precibus innotuit esse remissum  
 Regi si deinceps eius cessaret ab actu.  
 Qui casus satis arduus et res tam ueneranda  
 255 Quam miranda fuit in quantum missio carte  
 Sic facta est et sic inscriptio profuit eius.  
 Si satis attendas, patet inde Deum manifestis  
 Et sanctum et regem meriti reputasse probati  
 Indiciis, hunc quem pro rege audiret et illum  
 260 Cui condonaret in sancti nomine culpam:  
 Hunc quod eum tamquam sibi gratum exaudiit, illum  
 Quod facile absoluit ne quem acceptabat habere  
 Perderet; hunc per quem, illum pro quo talia fecit.  
 Laudata est penes hunc ut nota in milite uirtus,  
 265 Et precium cum laude tulit, simul et penes illum  
 Qui placiturus erat tandemque futurus amicus  
 Officio est ostensus amor diuinus; et iste  
 Muneris ille quidem donatus honore sequestri  
 Officii est, quia sicut honos uel debita sancto  
 270 Gloria, sic excepta fuit pro regis amore  
 Actio. sic plus quam forsans sperare dabatur  
 Articulo tali, specialia commoda solus  
 Repperit et meritis tulit excellentius omen;  
 Immo magis merito sine quolibet hoc sibi factum  
 275 Seruicium, hoc speciale datum, hoc uenerabile lucrum,  
 Hoc magnum precium gratis percepit ab illo  
 Qui tribuit gratis, si rem sublimius ipsam  
 Vestiges aut si causas et prima requiras  
 Iudicia euentus. etenim cum neuter eorum  
 280 Esset adhuc et cum nondum meruere quod illud  
 Accideret, iam tunc sanctum debere salubres  
 Concipere has et ferre preces diuina uoluntas  
 Saluando pro rege fuit retroque futura  
 Hec erat a primis prouisa remissio rebus.

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244 Cf. 2.137. 245 uiro: glossed 'Karolo.' 248 Cf. 1.499; Num. 15.28. 259 hunc: glossed 'sanctum.' The same gloss appears on *hunc* in 4.261, 263, 264 *infra*. illum: glossed 'regem.' The same gloss occurs on *illum* in 4.261, 263, 265 *infra*. 267 iste: glossed 'sanctus.' 268 ille: glossed 'rex.' 272 Cf. Galt. *Alex.* 3.441 (70 M). 277-78 Cf. Verg. *A.* 6.145.

- 285 Hec uere pietas hec magna Dei miserentis  
 Gratia grata fuit, que sic dignata propinquum est.  
 Neue superflueret uirtute carismatis huius,  
 Compleuit nomen et significata rependit  
 Vt qui uoce tenus Karolus prius extitit, idem
- 290 Plus quam uoce dehinc, quia res accessit ad ipsam,  
 Et melius Karolus et conuenientius esset.  
 Quo pacto obtinuit ut nullum seu retro seu tunc  
 Siue prius tantis fuerit dignata deorsum  
 Gratia portentis, ubi nam merito dubitari
- 295 Debuit et credi potuit ratione patrati  
 Criminis ut nondum confessus non bonus esse,  
 Non dubie patuit signum bonitatis habere.  
 Qui bonus, ut uoluit bonitas diuina, Deoque  
 Sic dilectus erat ut quod se teste patratum
- 300 Inconfessus adhuc nolebat prodere crimen,  
 Iam tunc esset ei diuina in mente remissum.  
 Talis et iste fuit Karoli de stirpe secutus  
 Tercius a Karolo, regni successio digna  
 Et sancto patri non inficianda propago.
- 305 Quem tamen infaustis odiis exercita contra,  
 Postquam illum claram uelud exaltare lucernam  
 Disposuit Dominus cum delibutio sacri  
 Crismatis unxit eum, post contingentia celo  
 Prodigia in regem, postquam uirtutibus eius
- 310 Cernuus et meritis octauus papa Iohannes  
 Imperio prefecit eum, nil tale timentem  
 Nec meritum temere conspirans turba malorum  
 Perdere non timuit potu celante uenenum,  
 Cui quantum fame post funera conuenit, illud
- 315 Per se innotescit supra memorabile factum.  
 Sed licet hic tanti celo sit teste gerendus  
 Nominis et meriti, licet excellencia sancti  
 Claruerit patris non inferioribus actis,  
 Semper dignior est et semper maior habendus
- 320 Ille prior Karolus, qui nomine notior isto  
 Singulus efficitur, quod si concesserit ullis,  
 Plus proprie debetur ei; contingere uero

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287-91 *Karolus* is here associated with 'chrism,' but the name is really from Old High German Karl, meaning 'full-grown.' Cf. 1.286 *supra*. 300 Cf. 1.47. 304 Cf. Ov. *M.* 2.34; Galt. *Alex.* 3.167 (50 M). 305-13 On the conspiracy against Charles the Bald and the supposed poisoning of this emperor, see Hincmar, *Annales Bertiniani* an. 877 (edd. F. Grat et al. [Paris 1964] 215-17) and Regino, *Chronicon* an. 877 (113 Kurze). 310-11 John VIII was pope 872-82. He crowned Charles the Bald emperor in 875. 321 Gloss: 'concesserit id est simul cesserit.'

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296 nundum *L*; esse: esset *D-S* · 303 regum *L* · 304 inficienda *L D-S* · 305 Que *L* · 314 quantum fame: fame quantum *L* · 316 hic: hoc *L* · 322 proprie *L*

- Diuersis potuit, sed eis cognominis huius  
 Quod Magnus speciale tulit sublimius istud  
 325 Defuit adiunctum uel uox corrupta remansit.  
 Dignior ergo fuit quoniam prior et quia Francos  
 Dignati primus percepit munera celi,  
 Primus ut imperii solium sublime teneret  
 Augustoque inter patres, quicumque fuerunt  
 330 Serius aut citius, quorum uel legibus orbis  
 Paruit aut cessit bellis, ipse unicus omnes  
 Inter eos sicut fama sic fortibus actis  
 Et merito fidei preclarum nomen haberet,  
 Non minus excessu ditiosis ubique uigeret,  
 335 Nec minus a toto sua uectigalia mundo  
 Acciperet, quantumque illius sedis honore  
 Formidandus erat, tantum coleretur amore.  
 Si quis id attendat mecum sibi: a patre summo  
 Mire dispositus, quia bella peregit honoris  
 340 Inferiore gradu, conspectior inde supremum  
 Ascendit culmen meruitque tenere quietus,  
 De preunte statu concessus in ultima sanctis  
 Tantum exercitiis ubi prime dignior ordo  
 Qui tunc successit fuit emendatio uite.  
 345 Denique decurso metis felicibus eio  
 Ante octogenum, post quem est labor et dolor annum  
 Mortis Aquisgrani passurus iura dierum  
 Extremum clausit octabis uirginis Agne  
 Et comitans Agnam Vite transiuit ad Agnum.  
 350 Cuius in antiquam resoluta corpore matrem,  
 Quid Karolus terre deberet condita terra  
 Ossa recognoscunt. cognato reddita celo  
 Pars eius melior celestes retulit illuc  
 Igniculos et quod perceperat inde talentum.  
 355 Iam decies ductus octogenarius annos  
 Verbi incarnati produxerat, imperialis  
 Cum solii Karolus decus et diadema recepit

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**328** Cf. 3 Reg. 1.37. **330-31** Cf. Verg. A. 4.231; Lucan 6.462; Boeth. *Consol.* 3 M. 2.3; Galt. *Alex.* 2.451 (46M). **333** Cf. Juv. 8.31. **340** Inferiore gradu: glossed 'dum rex erat et nondum imperator.' inde: glossed 'per bella.' **341** culmen: glossed 'imperii.' **345-49** Cf. *Annal. reg. Fr.* an 814 (140 Kurze); Einh. *Vita K.* 30 (35 H-E, 31-32 G-M). **345** Cf. Verg. A. 10.472; Boeth. *Consol.* 4 P. 4.7 'tam breuibz uitae metis.' **347** Aquisgrani: glossed 'proprium nomen.' **349-50** The Feast of St. Agnes is on 21 January. Charlemagne died 28 January. **350** Cf. 4.164-65; Verg. A. 3.96; Ov. *M.* 7.328; Stat. *Th.* 13.678; Galt. *Alex.* 1.484, 4.94, 9.146, 10.425 (23, 80, 200, 237 M). **351** Cf. 1.507. **352** Cf. 3.2; Ov. *M.* 1.81. **354** Cf. 1.423; Matth. 25.14-30. **355-62** Cf. *Annal. reg. Fr.* an. 814 (140 Kurze); Einh. *Vita K.* 30-31 (35-36 H-E, 31-32 G-M).

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323 eis: ei L · 326 quoniam: quam D-S · 335 sua: sibi L · 342 ultima: altera (*haud per compendium*) L · 346 post quem: post quam L

- Optimus illius regni monarca, quod annis  
 Bis septem tenuit. ter denis et tribus ante  
 360 Prefuerat Francis ad patris sceptrum receptus,  
 Equabatque suos sexagenarius annos  
 Quinque ter adiunctis cum carnis iura peregit.  
 Ipsius a regis obitu fluxere peracti  
 Octo semel septem undecies annique trecenti  
 365 Vsq̄ue sub hoc tempore sub quo presentia scripsi.  
 In quibus edendis emendandisque biennem  
 Ex equa gessi diuisum lance laborem  
 Editor in primo studiorum et deinde secundo  
 Corrector factus, tunc mutans rursus, et anni  
 370 Vnius effluxu postquam ad suprema resedi,  
 Vsq̄ue modo suppressa tenens cum a tempore Verbi  
 Annorum summam consummant mille ducenti.  
 O hominum quondam fauor et dilectio terror  
 Et decor, in terris maiestas unica, solus  
 375 Precipuusque uigor, tunc admiratio mundi,  
 Tunc Franci predulce decus prelucida regni  
 Et pregrata dies, prepollens gloria regum,  
 Tunc melior, tunc absque pari me iudice princeps,  
 Prono corde tuis tua me in preconia, Magne,  
 380 Egisti meritis, que sepe in mente reuoluens  
 Non admirari non possum. nescio certe  
 Non laudare. meus ideo fuit impetus istas  
 Attemptare uices adeo ut cessare nequirem  
 Si uellem cohibere manum. furata libentem est  
 385 Sic animum uirtus quod postquam uenit ad aures  
 Et semel historicus cupido tua cronica uati  
 Explicuit codex, mox est accensa fauore

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361-62 Concerning Charlemagne's death the *Annales reg. Fr.* an. 814 (140 Kurze) says 'anno aetatis circiter septuagesimo primo . . . humanis reb̄us excessit' and Einhard, *Vita K.* 30 (35 H-E, 32 G-M), reports 'decessit anno aetatis septuagesimo secundo.' The epitaph in Einh. *Vita K.* 31 (36 H-E, 32 G-M) states 'decessit septuagenarius.' Trying to reconcile Egidius with the earlier accounts of Charlemagne's age at death, Amaury Duval, *op. cit.* (*supra* on 2.112) 58 n. 1 claims 'Il faut entendre, selon nous, *quinque ter* comme s'il y avait *quinque et ter*, c'est à dire 8.' But this would make Charlemagne sixty-eight at time of death and would be about as unsatisfactory as the seventy-five years, which is the normal interpretation. Cf. the Roman number lxxv for age of death in text A 182 *supra*. 366-69 On the revisions of the *Karolinus* by the author himself, see Huygens, *op. cit.* 179. Cf. 5.304-42. 387 The 'historicus codex' contained apparently Einhard's *Vita Karoli*.

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- Captaque mens in eis, mox ardua uota fouere  
 Confisa est, et in hunc scribendi cessit amorem,  
 390 Hunc preter dictata stilo iam trita soluto  
 Affectans seruansque modum quia tradita uersu  
 Pro metrico dulcore sonant iocundius auri  
 Et leuius capiuntur et intus firmiter herent.  
 Quod si uelle Dei est id me uoluisse nec illo  
 395 Cepimus inuito, duret labor iste, reseruet  
 Hec sibi posteritas breuiter discenda, nec umquam,  
 Magne, tuas poterit dampnare obliuio laudes  
 Quas donante Deo, cum longius illa recedant  
 Secula, post obitus ueteres, ea gratia rerum est  
 400 Que preiit, nondum excussit iam tempore tanto.  
 Nec presens abicit uentura nec auferet etas,  
 Si quicquam officio quod presto in postera possum.  
 Hactenus hec de rege pio, de principe sancto,  
 De duce magnifico, de quo non alta locuti  
 405 Nec tanto condigna uiro, sed conditionis  
 Immemores nostre, quos nos deuotio traxit  
 In laudes eius, presumpsimus ore minori  
 Ire uel in modicis non ut narratio pleno  
 Tractatu fieret sed qualiscumque daretur  
 410 Huius habenda uiri tantummodo notio, quando  
 Et quis et unde fuit quantis quot qualibus actis  
 Nomen in orbe tulit, positoque ex ordine uero,  
 Nulla fides deinceps mithmis mendacibus esset.  
 Et nunc quandoquidem presumpti in talibus ausus  
 415 Improbis progressa uiget, propensius istum  
 Depingendo uirum, quali quantoue cathedre  
 Presule Romane tulit impositore coronam,  
 Qua procerum de stirpe prius processit ad ortum,  
 Quo cepit regnare loco, quo contigit illi  
 420 Euentu Romanus apex, que fortia gessit,  
 Quos habuit mores, quam claro claruit alme  
 Successu prolis, quo et quanto tempore carpsit  
 Vitales auras, ubi sit uel quando sepultus,  
 Singula per seriem paucis meminisse uelimus.

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388 Cf. Ov. *M.* 7.633.      389 Cf. 2.193-94.      401 Cf. Verg. *E.*9.41; Ov. *Her.*  
 15.85-86.      403 Cf. 1.47.      410 After *quando* a gloss 'scilicet.'      413 See on 4.21-28.  
 422-23 Cf. Verg. *A.* 1.388; Galt. *Alex.* 3.367-68, 7.52-53 (67, 151 M).

## TENOR QUINTI LIBRI

- Applicat ostense quintus uirtutis amori  
 Lectoris studium, Karolum commendat et eque  
 Magnificum regem Francis exoptat habendum.  
 Hic in utroque statu regem tangendo modernum,  
 5 Arguit inferius pariterque informat amicum.  
 Mox ubi cui de quo quando est quo fomite scriptus  
 Cur etiam, paucis, et ubi correctus, adaptat  
 Ipse liber, meminitque sui plerumque parentis.  
 Hic susceptori subit exhortatio. librum  
 10 Terminat inferius sermo conuersus ad illum.  
 Hanc sibi qui scripsit post precedentia metam  
 Fecerat. hic eius intentio tota quiescit.  
 Quartam transcendit pars uersibus ultima denis,  
 Nam quadringentis triginta quatuor addit.

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Tenor 4 in utroque statu: glossed 'boni et mali.' 6 quo fomite: glossed 'id est qua  
 causa.' 13-14 On the stichometric note, cf. *supra*, *Intro.*, at n. 100.

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Tenor 2 Carolum *Brial* · 4 tanguendo *D-S* · 7 correptus *L D-S* · 11 post: per  
*Duval* · 13 uersibus: uerbis *D-S*

## INCIPIT QUINTUS LIBER

- Ardua propositi postquam attemptata peregi,  
 Huc ades, et nostros iam nunc agnosce labores,  
 Perlecture tuo deuotum carmen honori  
 O puer, in regno regalis sanguinis heres,  
 5 Hec tibi constituit in te michi credita uirtus,  
 Qui sancta es soboles sancte genitricis habendus  
 Et debes prodisse bona bonus arbore fructus,  
 Quem bene consuluit tenerum cupidumque sciendis  
 Litterulis aptare boni prouisio patris,  
 10 Cum bene conueniat in tam sublime futuro

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2 Cf. Verg. *E.* 2.45; Ov. *Am.* 2.12.16; Lucan 8.103; Galt. *Alex.* 1.24 (6 M). 3 Cf. Ov.  
*T.* 5.7.32. 4 After marginal heading, gloss: 'Quod prosequitur in hoc primo capitulo,  
 in principio libri tetigit ibi: Si sancto moueor medicamine' (cf. 1.31). 6 Louis VIII's  
 mother was Isabella of Hainault. 7 Cf. 4.129-30; Matth. 7.17-18; 12.33. 9 Louis'  
 father was Philip Augustus. 10-11 Cf. 1.312.

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*Liber V* 2 PROVOCATVR LVDOVICVS PVER *Brial* · 4 CAROLI *Brial* · 5 in te:  
 uite *ut uid.* *L* · 6 sancta: sanctae *Brial*; sancte *om.* *Brial* · 7 prodesse *L* · 8 tenerum  
 cupidumque: tenere cupideque *Brial*

- Tot rerum regimen et regni culmen ephebo  
 Vt si de rebus quas soli scire necesse  
 Esset ob occultas causas latore citato  
 Secreti interdum continget epistula magni,  
 15 Ipse sibi sit sufficiens ea uerba legendo  
 Et sine teste sibi possint arcana uideri.  
 Est etiam regi, cuius prudentia sermo  
 Sensus et ingenium cunctos precedere debet  
 Inferius positos regisque ex nomine dignas  
 20 Ferre uices, ut sit elementa edoctus, honestum,  
 Vnde legendo libros imitari facta honorum,  
 Declinare dolos, docti rectoris ad omnes  
 Officio pollere, suis bonus esse, placere  
 Posse Deo, nosse Ecclesie misteria, mores  
 25 Excolere, et supra laicos rationis acumen  
 Exercere sciat, inter consulta suorum  
 Sit magis exculto maioris pectore sensus,  
 Diuinos apices intelligat, et cohibere  
 Excessus hominum qui debet habetque preesse,  
 30 Iudiciis pateat in scripto iure peritus.  
 Et quando ingenuas residere parumper ad artes  
 Te pater instituit, uirtutis ut emulus esses,  
 Accipe iam tanti retinens per principis actus  
 Quam bona quam dulcis quam numine plena pieque  
 35 Sectanda est uirtus, attende in principe pro quo  
 Sustinuit quantum licuit sudoris inire,  
 Nostri etiam sensus angustia quanta bonorum  
 Perpetue meritis accedit gracia fame,  
 Et quod inutilium est post mortem mentio nulla,  
 40 Nec redimit quemquam fame uel forma uel etas  
 Vel precium generis in conditione suprema,  
 Sed sua, si fuerit eris congestor auarus,  
 Si suus in patinis animus, moriente tiranno  
 Mentio commoritur et consepelitur humato.  
 45 In Karolo nil tale leges, nisi fortia gesta,  
 Vnde refert meritas eterna in secula laudes.  
 O utinam diuina daret dignatio talem  
 Francorum nec degenerem per secula regem,  
 Quamquam de regno uel regni preside nondum  
 50 Vt nimis acciderit pro tempestate moderna

28 Cf. 5.245, 351-52; Galt. *Alex.* 1.179 (12 M). 31 quando: glossed 'id est quandoquidem.' 36 Cf. Hor. *C.* 1.15.9-10, *Epod.* 10.15; Lucan 9.745. 48 Cf. 1.76. 50 After marginal heading for cap. 2, gloss: 'Quod hic prosequitur, superius tetigit ubi Si bene sollicitor Regis in his que sint etc.' — cf. 1.35-39.

11 regimen: regnum *Brial* · 15 sibi *om.* *D-S* · 17 cuus *L* · 30 pateat: fiat *L*; cripto *L* · 31 arces *L* · 36 Sustinuit: Sustinuit pro *L* · 40 quemquam: quidquam *Brial* · 42 fuderit *Brial*; erit *Brial* · 43 suis *L* · 45 Carolo *Brial* · 47 utinam: uim *L* · 49 nundum *L D-S* · 50 nimis: minus *L*

- Et meritis hominum quod sit de iure querendum,  
 Sed bene fit rebus, et adhuc sub rege Philippo  
 Lene iugum, specimenque boni rectoris habemus.  
 De quo nemo nisi peruersus et emulus eius
- 55 Nemo negare potest quin rex pro tempore nostro  
 Sit bonus et nostris sub eo successerit annis.  
 Quo certe dominante sui munitior axis  
 Est regni factus, longe est progressa potestas  
 Regia quo quondam partes adeunte marinas.
- 60 Donec ibi tenuit turmas, ablata fugatis  
 Ydolatri Acaron populi sub iura fidelis  
 Marte suo rediit. illo redeunte secutum est  
 Dignum laude nichil, sed adhuc, nisi perfidus hostis  
 Cismaticata suo fedasset corda ueneno,
- 65 Vtilius facturus erat. quo deinde regresso  
 Floriferis siluit probitas Normanna sub armis,  
 Nec nisi conuersis in proditione retrorsum  
 Affini potuit terre succurrere frustra.  
 Anglia marticolam iactans hucusque tyrannum
- 70 Que semel obtinuit uictricibus obruta signis  
 Castra Philippus habet, nisi que spe pacis habende  
 Perdere sustinuit, que certe ut perderet hosti  
 Reddidit elusus. consultius ipse retenta  
 Indirepta tenet, et si sapit, illa tenebit.
- 75 Verum diuino si de dulcore bibisset  
 Plus modicum, sancti si mansuetudine patris  
 Sese informaret, si tam sufferret adiri

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56 Cf. *Ov. Her.* 8.65; *Galt. Alex.* 1.6 (5 M). 57 Cf. *Galt. Alex.* 2.5 (29 Mueldener). 58-65 Philip Augustus set out on the Third Crusade in 1190. After Acre fell to the Crusaders and Philip returned to Europe (1191), Richard the Lion-Hearted, who remained longer in the Holy Land, failed to take Jerusalem. 63 Cf. *Prol.*, 2.129. 65-74 After Philip Augustus returned to France from the Crusade, he strove to conquer Normandy and other continental territories of England. His hostility toward King John of England supposedly sprang from John's failure to do homage to the French king for England's continental possessions (Rogerus de Houedene, *Chronica*, ed. William Stubbs, 4 [Rolls Series; London 1871] 95). On the military campaigns of late 1199, cf. Rogerus de Houedene, *ibid.* p. 96: 'Philippus rex Franciae cepit Concas, castellum Rogeri de Toni, mense Septembris. . . . Mense uero Octobris rex Franciae cepit castellum de Balun. . . . Deinde rex Franciae obsedit Lauardin; sed rex Angliae superuenit cum exercitu suo; et rex Franciae relinquens obsidionem, recepit se in ciuitate Cenomannensi.' According to the negotiations of 1200 (see on 5.126-30 *infra*), John bestowed upon Louis VIII the city and county of Evreux, with certain other territories, and Philip recognized John's title to his then continental possessions. 66 Cf. 2.226. 69 Cf. *Ov. T.* 5.3.22, P. 4.14.14. tyrannum: John Lackland, king of England 1199-1216. 76 The father of Philip Augustus was Louis VII, who ruled 1137-80.

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52 fit: sit *Brial* · 53 habemus: hominis *D-S* · 60 fugacis *L D-S* · 64 Schismatica *Brial*  
 66 Glorificis *Brial* · 67 conuersus *L* · 68 potuit terre: terre potuit *L* · 76 sancti:  
 scilicet *Brial Duval*; mansuetudine patris: tam sufferret adiri *Duval* · 77 *om. Duval*

- Quam fit in oppositum, si tam tractabilis esset  
 Tam patiens tamque expectans quos rarius audit  
 80 Quam tolerans paucos quam formidatus et urgens  
 Consilium, si tam placidus quam strenuus, et se  
 Tam moderans circumspecto moderamine quantum  
 Vota premens ubi nunc in uotis accidit illi,  
 Maius adhuc meliusque sui sperare liceret  
 85 Proficuum regni: nisi fallor, opinor et illi  
 Et sibi subiectis sine proturbante tumultu  
 Vberius genus omne boni cum pace ueniret,  
 Et sine conatu sine ui sine Marte sine ulla  
 Sanguinis impensa sola ratione reducti  
 90 Quos nunc extollit aduersa superbia, iusto  
 Parent domino uellentque subesse rebelles.  
 Nec uero est in eis prudentia uelle reniti  
 Seque exorando per bella opponere regi,  
 Quem penes utilius uenia implorata ualeret,  
 95 A quo plus uenie bonitas oblata referret,  
 Et qui plus humili posset ceruice refringi.  
 Et quod opus fastus que pugna quis error eorum?  
 Sic quondam catulus cuius diuellitur auris  
 Discit ab ignaris ut fiat acerbior illis.  
 100 Vindice iam pena procerum quos fraudis adorse  
 In regem piguit seque erexisse minaci  
 Vertice sublimes, quosdam in discrimen abactos  
 Vidimus exemplum quod predocuere luentes,  
 Quos ut in aduersis compulsa potentia regis  
 105 Frangeret. hinc passa es aliquod fortasse grauamen,  
 Forsitan excussu consuete pacis in acres,  
 Francia, procinctus mesta ac turbata fuisti,  
 Forsitan et crebro fisci exactore iuandi  
 Difficiles leges et tempora dura tulisti.  
 110 Si tamen attendas alios, ubicumque locorum

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83 Cf. 1.15, 47-48. 88-89 Cf. *Ov. M.* 8.63; *Galt. Alex.* 1.450, 4.124, 9.248-49, 10.286-87 (22, 82, 204, 232 M). 90-94 Cf. Rogerus de Wendover, *Flores historiarum* an. 1199, ed. H. G. Hewlett, 1 (Rolls Series; London 1886) 288: 'Venit interea ad regem Iohannem comes Flandrensis apud Rothomagum, et alii multi nobiles de regno Francorum, et pepigerunt foedus amicitiae cum eo, sicut fecerant cum rege Richardo contra regem Francorum.' Cf. likewise Matthaeus Parisiensis, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. F. Madden, 2 (Rolls Series; London 1866) 81 and *Chronica maiora*, ed. H. R. Luard, 2 (Rolls Series; London 1874) 456; Rogerus de Houedene, ed. Stubbs 4.95; Rigordus, ed. Delaborde p. 145. 96 Cf. 1.14. 98 Cf. *Verg. E.* 6.3-4. 100 Cf. 2.138; *Galt. Alex.* 8.157 (179 M). 107-9 Cf. *Chron. S. Dionysii* an. 1199, ed. Brial, *Rec. des historiens* 17 (1817) 387; Rigordus, ed. Delaborde p. 148. Philip Augustus required his lay subjects to pay a third of their goods and made other intolerable exactions. See Krehbiel, *Interdict, op. cit.* (*supra* on 1.41-50) 117 n. 120.

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78 fit: sit *L D-S* · 85 Proficium *Duval*; nisi: cui si non *L*; et illi: *om. L* · 95 boitas *L* · 97 Et: At *Brial*; quod: quid *Brial D-S* · 105 est: es *Labbeus* · 107 ac: et *Brial* ·

- Imperitant in more suo peioris haberi  
 Conditionis eos emunctorisque pusille  
 Plebis et Ecclesie grauiores esse tyrannos,  
 Iam tu in respectu regeris sub principe miti.  
 115 Nec debes de iure queri cui contigit isto  
 Tellus rege regi, que non es passa Richardi  
 Triste iugum nec Theutonica es corrosa tyranni.  
 Porro tibi tua, si nescis, per bella futura est  
 Conditio melior. morbis inuasa medelam  
 120 Hoc gustu sananda bibis. turbatio sancit  
 Que preit extremis requiem cum pace diebus.  
 Hanc autem totis perquirat nisibus, armis  
 Iam minus insistens, iam serior ultor in hostes  
 Rex quasi compaciens, postquam iam uindice telo  
 125 Impius ille ruit, post quem cum fratre relicto  
 Componet, nam qui inualuit, si uera susurrat  
 Rumor, ei in terre cessurus parte Iohannes

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112-13 Cf. Hor. *A.P.* 238, *Serm.* 1.4.8; Juv. 6.147. 116 Richard I reigned from 1189 to 1199. 123 Cf. 4.110. 124-25 King Richard, brother of John Lackland, died 6 April 1199 as the result of a wound received from an arrow while he was laying siege to the castle of Chêlûs. 124 Cf. 2.138; Lucan 5.206 125 Cf. Verg. *A.* 1.348-49. 126-30 Toward the middle of January 1200, the two kings John Lackland and Philip Augustus held a meeting at which the foundations of peace were laid (cf. Rogerus de Houedene, ed. Stubbs 4.106-107; Matthaeus Parisiensis, *Chronica maiora*, ed. Luard 2.461), and on 22 May 1200 they concluded the treaty of Le Goulet, the terms of which are summarized by Rogerus de Houedene, ed. Stubbs 4.95: 'reddidit rex Franciae Iohanni regi Angliae ciuitatem Ebroicarum, et totum comitatum, et omnia castella et ciuitates et praedia quae occupauerat in Normannia per guerram, et in aliis terris regis Angliae; et Iohannes rex Angliae statim deuenit inde homo Philippi regis Franciae; et in continenti dedit uniuersa illa Lodowico filio praedicti regis Franciae, in maritagium cum nepte sua, filia Aldefonsi regis Castellae.' See also on 5.65-74 *supra*; Radulphus de Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Stevenson (Rolls Series; London 1875) 100-1, where a detailed account of the agreement is given; Matthaeus Parisiensis, *Chronica maiora*, ed. Luard 2.474; Rigordus, ed. Delaborde p. 148; Ch. Petit-Dutaillis, *Étude sur la vie et le règne de Louis VIII* (Bibl. de l'Éc. des Hautes Études 101; Paris 1894) 6; Cartellieri, *op. cit.* (*supra* on 1.41-50) 4 (Leipzig 1921) 116; F. M. Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy (1189-1204)* (Manchester 1913) 200-5. On 23 May 1200, Louis, who was fourteen years old, and Blanche, who was thirteen or fourteen years old, were wed as an effort to solidify the peace: cf. Rigordus, ed. Delaborde p. 148; Rogerus de Houedene, ed. Stubbs 4.115; Matthaeus Parisiensis, *Chronica maiora*, ed. Luard 2.474. The *Karolinus* was completed in 1200, apparently before the treaty of Le Goulet (22 May), since peace arrangements, including the marriage of Louis and Blanche, are still anticipated. Concerning Blanche see Petit-Dutaillis, *op. cit.* 5-9; J. M. S. Daurignac, *Blanche de Castille* (Paris 1861); Marcel Brion, *Blanche de Castille* (Paris 1939). 126-27 Cf. 2.388-89; Verg. *G.* 4.42; Ov. *Her.* 20.233.

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116 que: ã L · 117 es om. P (ss. P<sup>1</sup>) · 120 bilis L, bibes Brial; sancit: sanat Brial · 121 preit: parit Brial · 124 celo P (uel telo ss. P<sup>1</sup>), celo uel telo L · 125 post quem: postquam L · 126 inualuit Brial · 127 ei: eius Brial; in om. P Brial (ss. P<sup>1</sup>)

- Quodam coniugio regem placabit, et eius  
 Neptis ab Hispanis aderit cum federe pacis,  
 130 Candida que nubat iuueni uirguncula nostro.  
 Inde uirum ueneror, et dum contemplor in illo  
 Aut nichil aut minimum de conditione tyranni,  
 Gratulor ecclesiis et nostre gratulor urbi,  
 Gratulor et regno, cui nil perpendo timendum.  
 135 Sed magis expecto potiore in postera casum  
 Dummodo cui longe speramus tempora uite,  
 Cuius adhuc paulo est plus quam tricena iuuentus,  
 Incolumi regi uitalis transitus annos  
 Continuet plures longumque extendat in eum;  
 140 Dummodo nomen aui retinens sua gaudia seruet  
 Sanus et incolumis genitori iam duodennis  
 Perspicuusque puer heres in regna futurus.  
 Ipse a quo regitur perfecta potencia regnis  
 Assit in his opifex et prosperet omnia Christus.  
 145 Hec ego pollutis labiis peccator et alti  
 Indignus regis recipi exaudit ad aures  
 Sepe precor si qua est que regi culpa nocere  
 Debeat aut plebi, cesset sublata, sed ipse  
 Rex satis hic posset, nec nostra oratio confert  
 150 Sicut et eius opus. penes ipsum pondera rerum  
 Consistunt. ad cuncta Deum confido paratum.  
 Tantum rex uetito non detineatur amore,  
 Atque ad legitimum redeat deserta cubile.  
 Sana manet regi per cetera fama. probatur  
 155 Id minus, idque magis muttari posse suorum  
 Publica uota petunt, in que concedere saluo  
 Eius honore uelim. si forte offenditur inde  
 Omnipotens, si propterea uexamina, quorum  
 Nullus adhuc finis populi mediante reatu,  
 160 Si uarie pestes seu desolatio terre  
 Seu morbi seu longa fames bellique tumultus  
 Propterea fiunt et non aliunde medelam  
 Assequimur, reuocanda super diuorcia malim  
 Res immuttari iustamque resurgere causam.  
 165 Ipse etiam nollet nullo quoque uindice culpe  
 Tam reus et tantis causa efficientior ex se

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**135-39** Philip Augustus was born in 1165. He died in 1223. **140** Louis VIII's grand-  
 father, Louis VII, ruled from 1137 to 1180. **139** Cf. Hor. *A.P.* 346; Ov. *M.* 15.621;  
 Lucian 1.448; Galt. *Alex.* 1.183 (12 M). **145** Cf. Isai. 6.5. **147-48** Concerning Philip's  
 divorce and the interdict see on 1.41-46. **152-303** Cf. 1.41-50; *Capt.* 177-201. **152-**  
**53** That is, let Philip return from his illicit connection with Agnes to his rightful marriage  
 to Ingeborg; see 1.41-46. **162-63** Cf. 5.376-77.

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137 adhuc: ad hec *L* · 143 perfecta *Brial D-S* · 145 Hoc *D-S* · 146 regi *L* ·  
 149 hic: hoc *Brial D-S* · 152 Tamen *Brial* · 155 Id: Ad *L*

- Esse malis. nec enim uiolencia sola pudoris  
 Id sineret si non aliunde obstacula uoto  
 Huic fierent: minus ad penam presumpserit umquam  
 170 Expectare Deum. per se magis expedit illi  
 Mitius ipse suos emendet et expiet actus  
 Vt Domino uiuat acceptior et sibi tutus.  
 Et quid agis contra qui papam urbemque reuisis  
 Tam crebro, Willelme, gradu? quid te exigit istud  
 175 Ire frequens illuc? numquam debere uideris  
 Dimitti donec uestigia nulla retrorsum  
 Inuenies et uel sero moriturus abibis.  
 Sic opus est. ubi te uideo non posse deesse  
 Mittenti, metuo ipse tibi, nam terra colonos  
 180 Deorat illa suos, cuius uelud incola dudum  
 Efficeris, nec enim hec tam longa frequentia simplex  
 Transitio est sed uera potest habitatio dici.  
 Et quod opus facto? cur non magis omnia curas  
 Vt tibi parcatur et in hoc sudore uiarum  
 185 Ipse supersedeas? quare non consulis illi  
 In melius? quare non suggeris ipse quid esset  
 Vtilius facturus homo, nam quando mouetur  
 Recta minus, tunc non hominis palpanda uoluntas  
 Nec contrectanda est sed corripienda sed arte  
 190 Muttanda in melius. in te sapientia contra  
 Ostendi debet et sancta professio cleri  
 Et ueri fideique rigor, tuus ut sit in illum  
 Et uerax et fidus amor. nec molliat arcum  
 Consilii propriis obliqua intentio lucris.

**173-303** Cf. 1.41-46, *Capt.* 60-66. On Guillelmus Armoricus' activity in the divorce negotiations with the papacy, see Cartellieri, *op. cit.* (*supra* on 1.41-50) 4.1.55; Delaborde, *op. cit.* (*supra* on text A 142) 1.lxxix-lxxx. Cf. Rigordus, ed. Delaborde p. 205: 'Philippus rex misit sollemnes nuncios ad dominum papam Innocentium III, uidelicet Petrum de Corbolio, archiepiscopum Senonensem, cum aliis bonis uiris, pro absolutione sua et regni Francie impetranda.' The chaplain of Philip Augustus is perhaps best remembered as the author of the *Philippis*, in honor of this king (ed. Delaborde, *op. cit.* [*supra* on 2.200] and of a *Karlotis*, now lost, in honor of Carolus, son of King Philip. See Polycarp Leyser, *op. cit.* 990-91; *Histoire littéraire de la France* 17 (1832) 336-56; Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry* . . . 2.343; J. de Ghelincx, *L'essor de la littérature latine au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Brussels 1955) 360. **174** Gloss: 'Tam crebro unde superius: Romaque frequente recursu' — cf. *Capt.* 62. **175** After heading for cap. 3, gloss: 'Quod hic prosequitur, superius tetigit ibi: Si simul amplector ut in his correptus amicus corrigat offensas etc.' — cf. 1.41. **178** Cf. *Ov. M.* 1.279, 2.785; *Lucan* 10.239. **192-93** Cf. *Galt. Alex.* 6.527 (145 M). **193-94** Cf. H. Walther, *Proverbia sententiaequae Latinitatis medii aevi* 1 (Göttingen 1963) no. 1283.

170 illi: ipsi *Brial* · 173 Et: At *Brial Duval* · 174-175 CORRIPIT AMICVM ET CONSILIVM EI DAT *Brial* · 179 Mittendi *L* · 182 Translatio *Brial* · 183 Et: Sed *Brial*; quod: quid *Brial D-S* · 187 nan *L* · 189 sed: seu *Duval*; corripienda: comprimenda *Brial*

- 195 Hec tibi debetur grauitas qua tu reperiri  
 Et credi sapiens possis, sapientia uero est  
 Non ea que tenebras amat, immo preambula lucis  
 Que sit et ostendet pre se uexilla Tonantis.  
 Hanc certe exigeris, et te persepe suburget
- 200 Mens ut sic sapias, uel abest qui debet adesse  
 Intimus ille sapor, sine quo non percipis ullum  
 Pectore dulcorem. si non dulcescis, acescit  
 Tota in peccatum sapientia; sicque scienti  
 Nescisse utilius. ergo ut sapiendo saporem
- 205 Hunc dulcem teneas, non offendendo fereris  
 Regis in obsequium. tantum suadebis honesta  
 Et tantum hec facies. nec palpo uideberis, immo  
 Curabis sane ut titulo probitatis habundes.  
 Et pro te uigeat communis opinio, quam tu
- 210 Dilectis prepone tuis. non tu unius ore  
 Sed fama sis teste bonus ne forte, quod absit,  
 Vnius tantum uotoue ferare duorum.  
 Non tu sub specie recti fallaris; amici  
 Vel domini in libitum nedum sis pronus; honestum
- 215 Impugnent per te qui publica commoda nolunt.  
 Nam si qua in medium magis expedientia nosti,  
 Iudicio debent tamquam potiora teneri.  
 Te numquam in diuersa trahat respectus amici,  
 In peruersa suo numquam te inclinet amori.
- 220 Hic odio tibi peior amor. sed forte necesse est  
 Vt placeas domino. debes uirtute placere  
 Non uiciis. et tu precium uirtutis habeto.  
 Cum numquam dominum perdendum ob corpus haberes,  
 Ne perdas animum, corpus qui perdere nolles,
- 225 Et si sis sub eo, tuus esse memento. per illum  
 Nil age quod tibi sit uel ei fecisse pudendum.  
 Que bona que pia sunt ea percunctare gerendis  
 Ipse ministeriis. quod si nichil egeris horum,  
 Quid superest? ubi tunc honor et reuerencia amorque
- 230 Et domini curanda salus? nam talia debent  
 Subiecti dominis, et ad hec seruanda teneris  
 Plus forsam quam credis adhuc, nam quo ordine rerum  
 Attendis casus, aut que tibi gratia sentis

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197 Cf. 2.149; Galt. *Alex.* 4.454-55, 10.361 (94, 235 M). Gloss: 'Non ea que tenebras. Sunt enim qui sapientes reputantur pro eo quod profunde et inscrutabilis conscientie inueniuntur.' 229 Cf. Galt. *Alex.* 1.178, 5.290 (11, 114 M).

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197 perambula *L* · 198 ostendet *Brial* · 200 qui: uel *L* · 201 Intimus: Interim *Brial* · 202 dulcessis *L* · 206 tantum: tamen *Brial* · 207 tantum: tamen *Brial*; faciens *Brial* · 210 proponere *Brial* · 214 libitum: uotum *L* · 215 publica commoda: commoda publica *D-S* · 225 Et si: Etsi *Brial* · 229 ubi: u'bi (*pro urbi ut uid.*) *L* · 230 nam *om. L* · 233 aut: et *L*

- A Domino est, qua noticiam notique fauorem  
 235 Regis habes, nonne est ut te conuictor et ipsum  
 Lucrifices et non, si scis retinere ruentem,  
 Labi permittas? quid, si id perpendis agendum,  
 Pulcrius occurrit? circa hec assistere regi  
 Esset honos. hec tu curare domesticus eius  
 240 Debueras et consilio prodesse salubri.  
 Qui si dissimulas alio fortasse reductus  
 Intuitu, forsitan ut sis tibi commodus uni  
 Et regi blandus, heu quod profiteris omittis  
 Officium cleri, diuineque arma relinquis  
 245 Iusticie. ut sacros apices edoctus, ut unus  
 Christicolum non es, sed desinis esse fidelis.  
 Et cur non moresque bonos Dominique timorem  
 Iuraque persuades? cur legem et federa Christi  
 Non imples et in hoc casu discrimina uite  
 250 Omnia postponis? quenam tibi gloria maior  
 Vtiliorue labor? ut omittam cetera, cause  
 Multimode ut fiant, hec sunt repetenda talenti  
 Fenora commissi, quibus est ea copia regum  
 Magnatumque fauor conuictibus. ista sodalis  
 255 Regius exolues uel non securus adibus  
 Iudicii faciem, quin te exactore sub illo,  
 Quod tamen auertat propter deperdita dragme,  
 Obruat abiecti rubor et confusio uultus.  
 Hec postquam obieci, iam te, carissime, paucis  
 260 Obiurgasse sat est, si tu conuicia dicas  
 Que dictat non fictus amor, sed tu amodo Romam  
 Desere Romanis, et ubi remeaueris, illud,  
 Quicquid agas alias, iter abiurare memento  
 Ut numquam arripias si utcumque absistere possis,  
 265 Nedom ubi causa subest tam suspiciosa comesque  
 Tanto offendiculum discrimine. cetera regis  
 Iussa explenda feras. hic tu tibi parce. profectus  
 Iam tociens eternus ibi potes ocuus esse  
 Ciuis in angusta Laterani marmoris ede.  
 270 Tunc tot impensis regi hec in fine laborum  
 Lucra feres? tunc hec seuissima premia longis  
 Queris habere uiuis? miserum est seruire, supremum  
 Mors cuius precium est, sed mortem finge remitti,  
 Quam uia non faciet, et duret sepe ferendus

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245 Cf. 5.28. 252 ut: glossed 'id est quare.' 252-53 Cf. 1.423; Matth. 25.14-30.  
 257 Cf. Luc. 15.8-9. 258 Cf. Isai. 61.7 and elsewhere in Bible. 267 Cf. Galt. *Alex.*  
 9.524 (215 M).

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237 id: hec *L*; agendus *L D-S* · 241 Quod *D-S* · 242 sis: scis *Brial* · 243 quod:  
 quid *D-S* · 244 cleri: clerici *Brial* · 258 Oruat *L*; obieci *L* · 259 clarissime *L* ·  
 261 Que: Quod *Brial* · 263 obiurare *L* · 270 Tunc *D-S* · 271 tunc *D-S*

- 275 Hic de more labor: frustra iuuenilibus annis  
 Vitam afflixisti, frustra que fuere priores  
 In sudore dies nisi sit cum pace senectus,  
 Et frustra tot opes tot commoda magna tulisti  
 Si numquam uiues inter bona parta quietus.
- 280 Porro quod hec memini, non te dissuadeo regi  
 Obsequium prestare tuum, nam regis in aula  
 Exercenda patet bona uita locusque merendi,  
 Si bene compositi sermonis scemate motus  
 Interdum quos ira mouet componere cures,
- 285 Nuncia pacis agas et regni commoda tractes,  
 Si domino constans, modicus tibi, mitis et equus  
 Omnibus. interdum plebeo copia si cui  
 Intrandu non est, eius te interprete causam  
 Ad regem expedias. proprio contentus asilo
- 290 Sis aliquando tuus, nec sis quasi scurra tuique  
 Improbis ingestor sed sic remorator ut illuc  
 Sepius accessum fecisse magisque frequentem  
 Esse uelint, ut quem sese minus angere lucris  
 In propriis et uelle magis communia norint,
- 295 Vt quibus affueris tamquam presente patrono  
 Semper proficiant. his qui uersantur in aula  
 Pectore tranquillo dominum retinere labores.  
 Exterius positis pacem et sua iura reformes.  
 Sic certe sine labe potes regique placere
- 300 Et bonus esse suis. prono si talia nisu  
 Intardatus agas, cessabunt scandala regni,  
 Saluabis decus ipse tuum, nec sancta peribit  
 Coniugii uirtus, nec erunt discrimina recti.
- Hec ego, Romulea cum iam diuturnus in urbe
- 305 Hospes eram. quo me quedam aduersantia contra  
 Ad pape Clementis opem bis iam ante profectum  
 Rursum de magnis egere negocia rebus  
 Sub Celestino Romane antistite sedis.

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278 Cf. 1.307. 284 Cf. Verg. A. 4.341; Hor. A.P. 35. 285 Cf. 1.307. 287 plebeo = plebeio. 301 Cf. Matth. 13.41. 303 Gloss: 'supple quantum in te erit, quia et per alium poterunt eadem fieri.' 304-342 Cf. 4.366-69. 304 ego: glossed 'scripsi.' Cf. 2.165; Ov. M. 15.625, F. 4.260; Galt. Alex. 5.181 (110 M). 306 Clement III was pope 1187-91. 307-10 A bull of Pope Celestine III, which can be dated 1 April 1196 (Archives de France L 235 (16), ed. Huygens, *op. cit.* [*supra*, Introd., nn. 1, 19] 182-83), reveals that Egidius was seeking, and obtained, the confirmation of a certain Rainald as dean of S. Marcellus, Paris. The election of Rainald had been opposed, according to the bull, by a 'Magister Philippus canonicus Parisiensis.' See *supra*, Introd. at nn. 18, 19. 308 Celestine III was pope 1191-98.

- Tunc ego suscepte constans Alletha querele  
 310 Et nostri certans certamina iusta decani,  
 Nec minus inter eas quas mens tulit anxia curas  
 Pyeridum promptus indefessusque satelles,  
 Quandoquidem remorabar ibi et sex pene resedi  
 Mensibus, hinc nimio ne quis marcore solum  
 315 Crederet, interea hec studioso parta labore  
 Pro modulo scripsi succinctius, unde referrem  
 Inspiciens priuata meis solacia curis.  
 Que uariis uariata locis et denique nostro  
 Parisius reditu manui subiecta supreme,  
 320 Postquam iam tenui longum suppressa, futuro  
 In regnum iuueni pro munere mittere duxi,  
 Non quantum decuit, nam lime plurima restant,  
 Sed quantum licuit, angustis uiribus usus  
 Et breuitate mei lectoris tedia uitans.  
 325 Premeditans etiam proprias per singula uires,  
 Tractibus angustis ad me mea uota resumpsi,  
 Me michi compensans ut qui iam tempore longo  
 Rarius olfeci pingues de nocte lucernas,  
 Rarior intrator in castra scolastica ueni.  
 330 Et uia me multis minuit Romana diebus,  
 Tempore quo, uarium dum circumducerer orbem,  
 Non ita porrexi nostris doctoribus aurem,  
 Et mea desuetas fastidit inercia curas.  
 Et minus huic animum possum indulgere labori  
 335 Qui magis utilibus eum dispono futurum,  
 Vnde malum redimam donec sum in tempore tempus,  
 Emendemque dies, si postmodo uita supersit,  
 Quandoquidem teneri progressu finibus eui  
 Iam michi ter denis accrescit sextus in annis.  
 340 Quando ego curriculum iam tanti temporis egi  
 Et reddo iam pene uirum, mea longius etas

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310 decani: glossed 'S. Marcelli.' Cf. 1 Tim. 6.12, 2 Tim. 4.7. The Abbé Jean Lebeuf, *Histoire de la ville et de tout le diocèse de Paris* (Paris 1883) 1.120-26, discusses the 'église collégiale du bourg de saint Marcel' and states (p. 120) that, according to a tradition, this church was founded during the reign of Charlemagne by Roland. See also L. H. Cottineau, *Répertoire topo-bibliographique des abbayes et prieurés* (Mâcon 1935-70) 1.2214. 311 Cf. 3.311-12; Ov. *M.* 9.275; Galt. *Alex.* 4.55-56 (79 M). 319 Cf. 1.29-30. 322 Cf. 1.137. 328 Cf. Pers. 5.181; Juv. 7.225. 330 diebus: glossed 'quos potui expendisse in scolis uel minuit diebus quia multis diebus minus uiuam propter laborem quem in eundo et redeundo sustinui et dum considero quod non diu uicturus sum, minus amplector studium.' 336 Cf. 1.114. 337 Cf. 1.63.

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309 Alletha: athleta *Brial D-S* · 310 om. *PL* (*mg. add. P<sup>1</sup>*); certans: tractans *Brial*, curans *Huygens* · 312 Pieridum *Brial* · 316 succinctus *L* · 319 Parisiis *Duval* · 331 circumducerer: circumducer in *L* · 333 curas: causas *Brial* · 339 sextus *DuChesne*

- Procedit, sed adhuc non albert tempora canis.  
 Preueniant utinam cani sub pectore sensus  
 Et sit quod sapiam tantum sapor, amplius autem  
 345 Post obitum post deponendam corporis huius  
 Spiritui molem; si tantum insistere recte  
 Hic sit amor uite casto sub dogmate Christi.  
 Proficere expecto, spero et perplura docendus  
 Sub doctore bono magis expedientia scire,  
 350 Cuius odore spei iam sum cruciaminis expers,  
 Iamque artes saluere iubens a limine, sacros  
 Circa apices leuiores sequor uel dulcia, tantum  
 Cum paucis aliunde datis et sola requiro  
 Sola meto fidei uel doctrinalia morum.  
 355 Iam sine litterulis multis, sine nomine magno  
 Ad conducendos mores animeque salutem  
 Sufficit in scriptis si pauca intelligo, si quo  
 Interdum dicto solamen in ocia sumo.  
 Nec cumulo in mortem que morte relinquere plangam,  
 360 Namque et auaricia est incerta in uota sciendi  
 Cum zelo nimii thesaurizatio sensus,  
 Sed quia more meo sic scribere sic meditari  
 Sic circumduci sic se exercere studere  
 Et sapere est et pars studiosi magna laboris.  
 365 Forsitan hec temptanda minus nec agenda fuisse  
 Hoc pacto credes qui me hec scripsisse uidebis,  
 Dummodo dicta sequar et me iuuet ire priori  
 Tramite. non omnino nego, sed in ocia gratum  
 Hoc fero solamen, maioraque commoda nactus  
 370 Euheor in leges anime dum mente libenti  
 Excipior studiis. tunc non sum in corpore molli  
 Corporis astrictus, tunc alte e sede lutosa  
 Spiritus erigitur et conuersatur in astris.  
 Donec ineuulsus sic me rego, donec in istis  
 375 Occupor officiis, minus ambitione laboro  
 Atque in mundanis minus obruor, unde medelam  
 Hanc sequor a puero. studiis exinde iocose  
 Susceptis, olim cum nondum puberis eui

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342 Cf. Ov. *M.* 3.516.    351-52 Cf. 5.28.    354 Cf. 2.437.    369 Cf. Verg. *A.* 10.859.  
 370 Euheor = Euehor.    376-77 Cf. 5.162-163.    377-85 What Egidius here says about  
 his writings should be compared with what he has given us in text C 1-10. There he reports  
 four works in verse, three in prose. In the present account the prose works are not mentioned  
 and those in verse are reduced in number to three: the early verse 'in sexum muliebrem,'  
 then the satires, and — with the saint's life passed over — what appears to be the *Karolinus*  
 itself (compare 384-85, 'tercius . . . pro te ludus erit' with 403-4 'tu que tibi lusi Solus habe').

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346 si: Sit *Brial* · 348 per plura *Brial* · 350 sum *bis* (*alt. exp.*) *L* · 358 summo  
*L* · 359 plagam *L* · 361 thesaurisatio *D-S* · 365 nec: non *Brial* · 376 obuor  
*L* · 378 nundum *D-S*

- Factus eram, in sexum muliebrem comica lusi,  
 380 Acrior inde fui sub zelo interprete morum  
 Cum fuit in satyris scribendi cura meumque  
 Dulcius arcana modulabar in aure Lupercum.  
 Nec fuit hoc error sed eo sub tempore lusus,  
 Et fuit in ludo tolerancia. tercius autem  
 385 Pro te ludus erit, nec erit, Ludouice, pudendus,  
 Si tamen a sciolo iocunda nec ardua queris,  
 Si mea non petitur distendi fimbria quo me  
 Transgrediar cum materie sublimis agatur  
 Propositum possumque parum considerare summis.  
 390 Fontis enim, quam magna bibit facundia uatum,  
 Aut nulle aut tenues spargunt michi uiscera stille.  
 Et nisi quod moueor tanto facturus ephebo  
 Obsequium, pro quo exiles percunctor ad alta  
 Conatus, forsan alia consultius esset  
 395 Ire uia citraque magis consistere tutum.  
 Sed ne placetur Liur uirtute relicta,  
 Si miser ora Fauor precluserit, inuidus istis,  
 Noster inuratur et delectetur amicus.
- Tu pocius tu blande puer, cui pignus honoris  
 400 Seruicique ferunt, tu quando uacaueris, audi  
 Interdum hec que sint, nugisque ignosce canoris.  
 Sed credi nolim quod mithmus publicus aures  
 Ad stadium commune petam. tu que tibi lusi  
 Solus habe potius, nec sit mea Musa forensis.  
 405 Aut si quis fortasse leget, me magna scientes  
 Inuitasse sciat quo sese exerceat alter  
 Verbiopotens et ei sint instrumenta studendi.  
 Cui si diuino profecerit altius ore  
 Condere tam claris spaciosa uolumina gestis,  
 410 Et labor et meritum, gremium commune peroret  
 Ambiat hunc populus. at tu me collige tecum,  
 Nostraque Parisius tituli ferat huius honorem  
 Quod tibi uel modicum iactet fecisse poetam.  
 Ergo age magna meis puer expectatio uotis,  
 415 Vt cupias uirtutis opus uirtutis ad usus,  
 Hunc tu claude sinu gremioque expone libellum,

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379 comica: glossed 'id est comicum librum.' 382 Lupercum: glossed 'proprium nomen,'  
 396 Cf. 1.109. 401 Cf. Hor. A.P. 322. 403 Cf. Galt. *Alex.* 7.37 (150 M). 404 Cf.  
 Ov. P. 4.6.29. 407 Cf. *Capt.* 24. 411 Cf. Hor. *Serm.* 2.1.51. 414 Cf. *Capt.* 2.  
 415 Cf. 2.291.

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381 scribendis *L D-S* · 389 possumque parum: possum pariter *Brial*; confidere *L* ·  
 390 quam: quo *Brial* · 397 preluserit *L* · 401 SVSCEPTOREM OPERIS SVI: SVS-  
 CEPTIONEM IPSIUS *L*, SVSCEPTOREM OPVSCVLI IUVENEM LVDOVICVM *Brial*  
 · 400 uacaueris *L* · 402 noluit *L*; mimus *L* · 405 me: ne *L* · 406 Inuitare *L* · 407  
 Sensipotens *L*; ei: si *D-S* · 412 Nostra *L* · 416 tu *om. L*; gremioque: thalamoue *L*

- Et tibi, si quis inest, dignare excerpere fructum  
 Vt quos monstrabit docili breuitate libellus  
 Cum bene mirandos Karoli miraberis actus,  
 420 Conicias quanta est Francorum gloria regum  
 Et quanti regni quamque alti sanguinis heres  
 Existas, o care puer, quam laudibus illis  
 Ipse instare libens exempla que sumere debes.  
 Hec ideo mitto, que tu si legeris unquam,  
 425 Sic meminisse stude, sic obseruare memento.  
 Viue dehinc; et si quas tradis gratia rerum  
 Aut te fama uiri gremio insedissee Fauoris  
 Fecerit ut saltem paucis uerseris in ore,  
 Si sapis, hunc usum cum te continget habere,  
 430 Nil de te presume, precor, sed uertice prono  
 In laudes Karoli, *Karoline*, clientulus esto.  
 In laudes Karoli zelo uirtutis amande  
 Quo potes officio mentem lectoris adito.  
 Hoc tu commodius et honestius utere uoto.  
 435 Sic rogo, sic opto, factoque hic fine quiesco.  
 Explicit *Karolinus*

418 Cf. 1.144. 420 Cf. Galt. *Alex.* 1.465-66 (22 M). 427 uiri: glossed 'Karoli.'  
 430 Cf. Lucan 1.546; Galt. *Alex.* 8.489 (192 M). 431 Cf. Galterus addressing his *Alexan-*  
*dreis* in the praef. (1 M). 434 uoto: glossed 'id est uolito.' 435 Cf. Verg. *A.* 3.718.

417 inest: inde *Brial* · 419 karali *L*, Caroli *Brial*; mirabilis *L* · 422 ille *D-S* · 424  
 que tu: quem *L* · 426-428 *tit.*: APOSTROPHE AD LIBRVM (ET FINIS IPSIVS *om.*)  
*Brial*, *tit. om. D-S* · 431 *om. L*; Caroli *Caroline Brial* · 432 *om. Brial*; amante *L*

### <EPILOGUS>

- Ordine sic numeroque dato per singula rebus,  
 Clauditur hoc noster contentus fine libellus.  
 Si queris quot sint per quinque uolumina uersus,  
 Dat bis tricenos bis mille simulque ducentos  
 5 Totalis numerus, super excrescendo duobus.  
 Qui prologum faciunt quique explanatio presunt  
 Inicis libri cuiusque: hinc septuaginta  
 Inde decem per se consistunt separe summa.  
 Restat adhuc carmen quo presentatio libri  
 10 Exhibita est dantisque fides, ubi non sibi plaudens,  
 Immo suis quosdamque sua de gente recordans,

Epil. 6-8 *om. L* · 7 cuiusque libri *P Delaborde D-S Huygens (corr. P<sup>1</sup>)* · 10 dantis que  
*D-S* · 11 quosdamque — recordans: et ad hoc quorumdam nomina ponens *L*; quosdamque:  
 quosdam qui *D-S*

Precommendat eos seseque minorat in illis.  
 Deinde stilum uariat et primo nomina ponit  
 Pontificum, subdit reges, ubi singula rerum  
 15 Inuolucra explanat et dicta priora recludit.

Epilogue: 13-15 In both MSS. P and L there are a list of popes and a list of other rulers, and in P alone there is a genealogical table of French kings. Cf. text C 11-17.

12 Percommendat *Delaborde*; minorat: commendat *L*, memorat *D-S*. Post uersum 15, sequuntur in *L*:

Hic demum uersus in suma carminis huius,  
 Si quot sint queris, hec septem tolle ducentis  
 Sed non includas quos primo margine scriptus  
 Premittit prologus uel quos contenta librorum  
 Ante libros signant qui sunt hec septuaginta,  
 Inde decem per seque existunt separe summa. [*cf. lin. 8 Epilogi*]  
 Quod si connumeris ipso cum corpore libri  
 Extantes alios et summa sit una per omnes,  
 Preter bis mille sexcentos addere summe  
 Integritate potes sed quatuor inde recides.

#### CAPTATIO BENIUOLENCIE IN SUSCEPTORE ET COMMENDATIO PARIENSIS

O michi si qua pie constant oracula mentis,  
 Olim, magna meis puer expectatio uotis,  
 Rex ubi iure tuo regni tractabis habenas,  
 Iura reuiuiscant et nostra refloret etas.  
 5 Inde pia qua te complector mente future  
 Pro spe uirtutis, michi prima occasio cepti  
 Carminis, et nostre modulis perfecte camene  
 Paucis te, Ludouice, uolo. tua numina rebus  
 Ambio secretis. modicum, puer inclite, uatem  
 10 Sed tibi deuotum si me dignaris honori  
 Deseruisse tuo, fateor scripsisse libellum  
 Francorum laudes et Gallica gesta canentem.  
 Egidiana nouos pro te prorupit in ausus  
 Primiciasque sui mittit tibi Musa laboris,  
 15 Sed secura minus cum dira infamia nostros  
 Iam dudum laceret ciues orisque maligni

1 Cf. 1.59. 2 Cf. 5.414. 3 Cf. Verg. A. 7.600, Galt. *Alex.* 3.537 (73 M); Alanus, *Anticlaud.* 5.517 (138 Bossuat). 4 Iura: glossed 'quod.' 5 Cf. Ov. T. 1.3.70. 8 Cf. Terence, *Andria* 29: 'paucis te uolo.' 9 Cf. 1.100, *Capt.* 83. 17 Galt. *Alex.* 3.166 (59 M). 12 Cf. text C 6. 19-75 The persons treated are numbered (mg.) I-XV in MSS PL.

*Captatio SVSCEPTIONE L, SCRIPTOREM Brial Duval Delaborde* · 3 ubi *L* · 7 perfecte *D-S* · 11 Deseruere *L*, Deseruire *DuChesne Bulaeus* · 13 Aegidiana *Bulaeus Brial*; pro: per *Duval*; in: ad *Duval*

- Audeat immeritos commune incessere probrum  
 Quod nullos habeat urbs Parisiana scientes,  
 Cum tamen excoctum multo sudore Tiboldum  
 20 Artibus ediderit generis consortis; et oris  
 Altisoni iactet dictantem iura Philippum;  
 Nec minus in sacris metrico sermone Leonem  
 Ludentem historiis, et quem intepuisse dolemus  
 Petrum in diuinis uerbotenus alta sequentem;

19 Cf. Galt. *Alex.* 1.22 (6 M). As Duchet-Suchaux (thesis p. 127 n. 1) comments, the identity of the Tiboldus in the text cannot be ascertained. 20-21 Cf. Galt. *Alex.* 3.24-25 (54 M). Cf. 3.409; Verg. *A.* 1.507. 21 Philippum: glossed 'de Greua.' Philip de Grève is frequently identified as Philip the Chancellor of Notre Dame (1218-36), formerly archdeacon of Noyon. To this Philip the Chancellor have been attributed poems, sermons, and a theological *Summa*. See Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry . . .* (*cit. supra* on Introd. n. 1.) 2.227-35; *Idem*, *A History of Christian Latin Poetry* (Oxford 1953<sup>2</sup>) 395-401; and particularly J. de Ghellinck, *op. cit.* (*supra* on 5.173-303) 92-93, 425-26, 456, 458 and his bibliographies on Philip, pp. 88 n. 16 and 456 n. 77, to which add: N. Fickermann, 'Philipp de Grève, der Dichter des "Dic Christi ueritas,"' *Neophilologus* 13 (1927-28) 71 and P. Glorieux, *Répertoire des maîtres en théologie de Paris au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris 1933) 1.282-84. J. de Ghellinck does not mention the view of Henri Meylan ('Les Questions de Philippe le Chancelier,' *École nat. des Chartes, Positions des thèses* [Paris 1927] 89), who distinguishes Philip the Chancellor from Philip de Grève and says of the latter 'On ne connaît pas d'écrit de lui.' Meylan (pp. 89-94) treats the writings of Philip the Chancellor. Anyway, Fickermann regards the Chancellor and de Grève as the same man: *cf. loc. cit.* 'Philippus in den Hss. meist Cancellarius Parisiensis genannt, zuweilen auch "de Greue."' Brial, *Rec. des historiens* 17 (1878) 297 n. 2, discounting the gloss, thinks that Philippus de Novara is referred to. But he was born only ca. 1195: see J. L. La Monte and M. J. Hubert (trans.), *The Wars of Frederick II against the Ibelins in Syria and Cyprus* (Records of Civilization 25; New York 1936) 7. 22 This Leo may be Leonius, canon of Notre Dame, who is known to have written ca. 1154 an hexameter *Historia ueteris et noui Testamenti*: *cf.* Brial, *Rec. des historiens* 17 (1878) 297 n. 3. See J. Picard, in St. Bernard's *Opera* (Paris 1609) 2252 n.; Leyser, *Historia poetarum* 497; *Hist. litt. de la Fr.* 13 (Paris 1814) 434-47; J. A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Latina mediae et infimae aetatis* (Florence 1858) 4.551. 24 Petrum: glossed 'de Roiss(ia).' A. Duval, in *Hist. litt. de la Fr.* 17 (Paris 1832) 65, explains *Capt.* 23-24 by saying that regret is felt that Petrus Riga left his great work imperfect. Duchet-Suchaux (thesis p. 129 n. 4) also identifies 'Petrum' with Petrus Riga; Paul Beichner makes the same identification in his edition of the *Aurora* 1.xxi, where *Capt.* 23-24 are interpreted as meaning that 'he [sc. Egidius] regrets that the poetic powers of Peter Riga have waned.' On Petrus Riga (ca. 1140-ca. 1209), canon of Notre Dame, Reims, and later of St. Denis, Reims, renowned for his *Aurora*, see Father Beichner, *op. cit.* 1.xii-xix. But if the scholiast of MS P is correct, not Petrus Riga, but Petrus de Roissia is meant, who was chancellor of the church of Chartres in the early 13th century (at least in 1208) and disappears from there by 1213. His most important work was a *Manuale de mysteriis ecclesiae*. Concerning him and his writings, see V. L. Kennedy, 'The Handbook of Master Peter, Chancellor of Chartres,'

17 communi *Bulaeus*; probro *Bulaeus* · 19 Tibouldum *L DuChesne*, Thibouldum *Bulaeus* · 19-20 *tit. om. Brial* · 21 philippum *L* · 22 metrico: melico *L Picard Bulaeus DuChesne*; leone *L*

- 25 Cum sit et hic alius, nostre non indecor urbi,  
 Oris adornati, solo michi iunctus in usu  
 Nominis, in reliquis maior meliorque gerendus  
 Nominis ille mei, celeberrimus arte medendi;  
 Cum sit et hic ortus, cuius facundia grata est
- 30 Et numquam laudanda satis, nec in agmine uatum  
 Nominis extremos sortiri debet honores  
 Ille Edue Stephanus maior leuita, lucrosis  
 Assiduus studiis, a quo decisio legum  
 Queritur et noti monstratur regula iuris;
- 35 Cum superexcellens legum iurisque peritus  
 Ille inter patres intraque palacia magni  
 Nominis Ansellus, quem, cum maioribus orbis,  
 Meldis episcopo promouit gratia sensus,  
 Hic tulerit cunas. alius quoque nominis huius
- 40 Olim claruerit hac nostra oriundus in urbe

*Mediaeval Studies* 5 (1943) 1-38, and M.-T. d'Alverny, 'Les mystères de l'église, d'après Pierre de Roissy,' *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet* 2 (Poitiers 1966) 1085-1104, esp. the bibliography in 1086 n. 11. Kennedy was unaware of the gloss and apparent reference in Egidius to Petrus de Roissia. Rigordus, ed. Delaborde p. 139, mentions a 'sacerdotem nomine Petrum de Rossiaco, de eodem episcopatu Parisiensi . . . uirum scilicet litteratum,' who preached effectively. Iacobus Vitriacensis' comments on this Petrus (*Historia Occidentalis*, ed. Moschus pp. 287-88) would explain Egidius' disparaging remark: 'maculam posuit in gloria sua. Ipse enim, qui perfectionis iter arripuerat et paupertatem predicabat, occasione praedicationis suffarcinatus est diuitiis et redditibus et factus est ecclesiae Carnotensis canonicus et cellarius; et qui ex fumo lucem producere debuerat, ex luce fumum produxit. Et ob hoc . . . doctrinam suam contemptibilem reddidit.' Rigordus, ed. Delaborde p. 140, perhaps indicates dissatisfaction with Petrus de Roissia: 'Sed qui scire desiderat qua intentione quisque predicauerit, finem attendat; quia finis intentiones hominum manifestissime declarat.' 25-28 On Egidius Corboliensis (1140-1224), see *Hist. litt. de la Fr.* 16 (Paris 1814) 506-11 and 21 (Paris 1847) 840-43; his *Carmina medica*, ed. L. Choulant (Leipzig 1826), esp. ix-xxxvi (about Egidius' life and writings); C. Vieillard, *L'urologie in Gilles de Corbeil, sa vie, ses oeuvres, son poème des urines* (Paris 1903); Valentin Rose (ed.), *Egidius' Viaticus* (Leipzig 1907) iii-xv; C. Vieillard, *Gilles de Corbeil, médecin de Philippe Auguste* (Paris 1908), with extensive excerpts from the satiric poem *Hierapigra*, which Dieter Scheler is about to publish; R. P[oupardin] in *Moyen âge* 22 (1909) 143-44; E. Wickersheimer, *Dictionnaire biographique des médecins en France au moyen âge* 1 (Paris 1936) 196-97. 25 Gloss: 'sicut ille Petrus.' 28 Cf. Ov. A.A. 2.735; Galt. *Alex.* 9.387 (209 M). 32 Cf. Iudic. 17.9 and similar expressions in the Bible. Stephanus de Balgiaco was bishop of Autun 1112-36. He died at Cluny in 1139/1140. The bishop wrote a treatise *De sacramento altaris* (PL 172. 1273-1308). Concerning him see *ibid.* 1271-74; *Hist. litt. de la Fr.* 11 (Paris 1869) 710-13; *Gallia Christiana* 4 (Paris 1876) 389-92; J. de Ghellinck, *op. cit.* (*supra* on *Capt.* 21) 157, 155 n. 25. 35 Cf. Galt. *Alex.* 1.478 (23 M). 37 Anselmus was bishop of Meaux 1197-1207.

31 honoris *L* · 33 derisio *DuChesne* · 34 noti: nostrii *L*, nostri *DuChesne Bulaeus* · 35-37 *tit. om. Brial D-S* · 36 patres: proceres *DuChesne Bulaeus* · 37 Anselmus *D-S* · 40 claruerit: floruerit *L DuChesne Bulaeus*

- Assecla regalis magnusque domesticus aule.  
 Hic uetus Anselmus hic et prestantior illo  
 Posteriore. subit qui Sarracena Philippus  
 Cognomenta tulit, preter quas nouerat artes  
 45 Queque inerant illi diuinitus omnia quondam,  
 Decreta et sacras claudens in pectore leges.  
 Illum etiam raptum e medio proponere possem,  
 Cuius nunc titulos successor honore secundo  
 Pictaiensis habet, illum sublimia sacri  
 50 Eloquii quondam ructantem pectore pleno,  
 Illum inconcinna tacitum pro uoce, legendi  
 Prefectum gradibus nostrisque his finibus ortum.  
 Nec nulla est cleri, quantum permittitur annis,  
 Gloria, dulcisone gratus modulamine uocis,  
 55 Gratus et in metricis, ille a pastore priori  
 Parisii Stephanus nutricius alter et alter  
 Nouiomi presul, quem nos debere fatemur  
 Dotibus egregiis, cum sit iuuenilior euo,  
 Quod fuit in tenero pastor prouectus ephebo.  
 60 Tu quoque, sui non es noster non esse fatendus,  
 Vir meritis accepte tuis, si dicere fas est,

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42 prestantior illo: glossed 'nota hic, adulator non fuit ubi mortuum uiuo pretulit.' The second Anselmus is probably Anselmus de Garlanda, seneschal of France in the early 12th century: cf. M. Prou, *Recueil des actes de Philippe I<sup>er</sup>* (Chartes et diplômes relatifs à l'histoire de France; Paris 1908) cxi-cxli. 43 Nothing further seems known about Philippus Sarracena. 45 Gloss: 'diuinitus id est de diuinitate.' 47-49 Petrus Pictaiensis succeeded Hilduinus as chancellor of Notre Dame (1193-1205). On Hilduinus, cf. Lebeuf, *op. cit.* (*supra* on 5.310) 2.291 and 4.21 n., 30; M. Guérard, *Cartulaire de l'église Notre-Dame de Paris* (Collection des cartulaires de France 7; Paris 1850) 1.45, 295, 397, 398; 2.156, 198, 311, 372; 3.386; 4.201. Works of Petrus Pictaiensis are in PL 211.783-1280. Concerning him see P. Glorieux, *op. cit.* 1 (1933) 229-231; P. S. Moore and M. Dulong (edd.), *Sententiae Petri Pictaiensis* 1 (Publ. in Med. Stud. of Univ. of Notre Dame 7; Notre Dame, Indiana, 1943) vi; Raby, *Secular Latin Poetry* 2.43; J. de Ghellinck, *op. cit.* 79 and (bibliography) 76 n. 14. 49-50 Cf. Ps. 18.3, 44.2; Galt. *Alex.* 10.143 (226 M). 51 Illum: glossed 'magistrum Hilduinum.' Gloss: 'inconcinna id est incongrua ad ponendum in uersu.' 55 pastore priori: glossed 'qui et Parisiensis fuit.' 56 Duchet-Suchaux (thesis p. 132 n. 13) identifies the first Stephanus mentioned here as Étienne de la Chapelle-Gautier, canon of Notre Dame, who became bishop of Meaux in 1162, archbishop of Bourges in 1171, and died 1174. But very possibly Egidius had in mind Stephanus bishop of Paris 1124-42, who succeeded a Girbertus and whose writings are in PL 173.1399-1427. 57 Nouiomum: Noyon. This Stephanus was bishop of Noyon 1188-1221. See *Hist. litt. de la Fr.* 18 (Paris 1835) 1-4. Brial, *Rec. des historiens* 17.298 n. 12, identifies the two Stephani as the bishop of Noyon and the bishop of Meaux respectively, in this order. 61 si dicere fas est: glossed 'ne offenderis.' Cf. 4.75.

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- A raro sessu Romaque frequente recursu,  
 Regalis, Willelme, domus famose sodalis,  
 Mecum olim in studiis, nunc maior doctor, adauges  
 65 Hos uatum titulos, et dum in sublimia scandis,  
 Parisii magno ciues extollis alumpno.  
 Iunior et logices dudum perplexa resoluens  
 Post hos ad cathedram maioris pontis alumpnus,  
 Huius adhuc numeri, tirunculus imminet Adam.  
 70 His ego si nequeo mendax auertere dictum,  
 Dimitto quorum tam sacra sciencia floret.  
 Et nemo externus titulis precellit eorum,  
 Nec memoro cunctos. aliquos quoque transeo sicut  
 Sepe retemptatis auctorum excursibus illum  
 75 Vasis inexhausti paruo de ponte Iohannem,  
 Iam tot propositis magnatibus unde resisti  
 Sufficit inuidie mendosaeque probra refelli.  
 Nemo tot obfuscet claram doctoribus urbem.  
 Tantorum mater fecunda Lutetia uatum  
 80 Quod ueneretur habet turbamque excusat inertem.  
 Nec uero dominis exilem confero Musam,  
 Sed longe cedo, qui nomine clamo minori,  
 Meque in respectu modicum cognosco poetam.  
 Nam fateor, studiis contenta minoribus altum  
 85 Quicquid erat breuis illa mee facundia Muse  
 Semper inambitum gessit semperque remansit  
 Ima secus, nisi si qua sacri moralia scripti  
 Aut fidei modulos legere et decerpere duxi  
 Queque in philosophis ad id accessoria noui,  
 90 Hec quoque pauca metens, reliqua intemptata relinquens  
 Que tamen audire potui sed nulla sciendi  
 Sollicitudo fuit. et nunc si forte negarem,  
 Impromptu est quia uase rudi quia paupere uena  
 Emanasse sapit simplex infancia uersus.  
 95 Et sunt uerba suo nimium conformia uati.

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62 sessu: glossed 'id est residencia.' 63 See on 5.173-303. 69 Duchet-Suchaux (thesis p. 133 n. 16) claims that Egidius' Adam is the celebrated Adam du Petit Pont (died 1181), author of the *De utensilibus* and *Ars disserendi*. But Egidius clearly names an Adam 'maioris' (not 'parui') 'pontis,' and this Adam seems otherwise unknown. 75 Cf. Jerem. 48.12. Iohannes Paruipontanus likewise seems otherwise unknown. 83 Cf. *Capt.* 9.

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62 A raro: Auaro *DuChesne Bulaeus*; sensu *L DuChesne Bulaeus* · 63 Willielmi *Bulaeus*  
 65 scandis: tendis *Bulaeus* · 66 Parisios *Bulaeus* · 67 logicos *L DuChesne* · 68 Post:  
 Per *DuChesne Bulaeus*; hos: hoc *Bulaeus* · 69 adhuc: ad hec *L DuChesne* · 72 Et:  
 Vt *Bulaeus*; praecellat *Bulaeus* · 73 aliquos: multos *Bulaeus* · 75 Ioannem *Bulaeus* ·  
 79 Lutecia *L* · 80 Quos *Brial D-S* · 81 Nec: Nunc *Brial* · 84 contempta *L* ·  
 88 legerere *L* · 89 Quodque *Brial D-S* · 90 reliqua: alia *L* · 93 quia uase: quod  
 uase *Brial D-S*

- Quod si dignaris in pauperiore paratu  
 Rem, Ludouice, tuam nec tu preconia Franci  
 Nominis assumi fastidis ore minori,  
 Pro te proque tuis aliquid maioribus hic me  
 100 Gessisse inuenies cognate gentis honori.  
 Regis ubi Karoli, domitum quibus ille per orbem  
 Clarior enituit, positus succinctius actis,  
 Innuitur Franci quanta est coniunctio regni  
 Sedi Romane, de cuius regia dono  
 105 Maiestas crementa tulit cum presulis olim  
 Romani iussu regis muttata remissi  
 Conditio est regnique bonis collata potestas.  
 Ex illo tranquilla uiget fameque fauore  
 Proficit, ex illo nullis concessa tyrannis,  
 110 Sed semper placidos et semper adepta fideles  
 Ecclesie debet quod adhuc subsistit in illis.  
 Hic quoque uirtutis cuius uestigia serues  
 Et tua nonnumquam dulcorem in uota requiras.  
 Lectoris docilis animum condimine sacro  
 115 Imbuere amplector, quantum considerare tantis  
 Sufficit in rebus meriti persona minoris.  
 Nam supra uires hunc consumare laborem est;  
 Et minus informor ubi me breuitate coartant  
 Qui scripsere prius, quando que non nisi scripto  
 120 Nunc sciri possunt, tunc ipso cognita uisu  
 Plenius et melius scripto mandanda fuerunt.  
 Hec uero minus attendens tantum illa uetustas  
 Quod uoluit scripsit, tunc tamquam trita relinquens  
 Multa ex contemptu, que post obliuio cepit.  
 125 Aut si nomen habent, sed non credenda supersunt.  
 Que uero meminere manent, ad que ipse recursum  
 Semper habens, cui non aliunde est notio rerum,  
 Que sequor antiquis patior compendia scriptis.  
 Absit enim quecumque boni de principis huius  
 130 Milicie titulis et bellipotente Minerua  
 Vel dici possent uel que omnia uera fuere  
 Me memorasse putes, ubi si, Ludouice, uidetur,  
 Debuerim magis esse libens. ego quo modo, quero,

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98 Cf. Ov. *T.* 1.6.30; Lucan 4.573-74.    101 Cf. 1.1-2; Galt. *Alex.* 1.1 (5 M).    102 Cf. Galt. *Alex.* 10.80 (224 M).    105-7 Pepin, mayor of the palace, became king in 751, with the encouragement of Pope Zacharias, and Childeric III, the puppet king, was dethroned.  
 130 Cf. 1.534; Stat. *Th.* 2.716.    133-36 Cf. 4.21-28.

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99 hic: id *L* · 101 Caroli *Brial* · 101-103 *tit. om. Brial D-S* · 103 est *om. L* · 113 nonnumquam: nonnumquam in *L*; dulcorem in uota: in dulcorem uota *Brial* · 114 docilem *D-S* · 115 considerare: cum sidere *L* · 116 meriti: metri *Brial* · 122 Hoc *D-S*; tantum: tamen *Brial* · 123 Que *L* · 125 sed: uel iam ss. *P<sup>1</sup>*, iam *L* · 128 potior *Brial* · 130 belliponte *L* · 131 fuerunt *L*

- Id facturus eram? nec enim que mithmica pangunt  
 135 Commenta aut meminit communis opinio uulgi,  
 Historie tradit breuior per singula textus.  
 Et tu quid sentis, uel quos, puer inclite, censes  
 Me potius debere sequi: nugasne uagantes  
 Aut apices fixos? quod si plus scripta fauoras,  
 140 Quid nisi conformer ubi nulla expressio rerum  
 Ponitur et tantum gestorum summa refertur?  
 Hoc quoque pertractans, nichil in progressibus illis  
 Immuttans, nichil adiciens, quia ficta sequendo  
 Res reperire nouas et nomina fingere rebus  
 145 Et falsare stilum sicut mutilare tenorem  
 Visum turpe fuit, iccirco fortia regis  
 Percurro breuiore stilo. moralibus autem  
 Longius uberiusque moror, que marcia plus quam  
 Signa uel armatas acies posuisse referre  
 150 Ac meminisse libet. ea sunt condimina menti,  
 Dum satis intueor, ea uota fuere studendi.  
 Nunc mecum modulans istud sine teste iuuamen,  
 Solamenque fero, quid id est considero, quantum  
 Vtilitatis habet ubi de lectore benigno  
 155 Spem quasi concipio. nichilominus ipse pusillum  
 Dum me perpendo, metuo michi, nec male de me  
 Presumpsisse uolo. sed utrum prodire libellus  
 Debeat in lucem, postquam iam credo supremam  
 Apposuisse manum, sancto prestolor ab ore,  
 160 Amplectorque tuum preconsultare fauorem.  
 Hic te ne teneam uel fiant tedia, nostri  
 Totius breuiter tangenda est summa libelli.  
 Sectus quinque libris liber est, et quatuor horum  
 Pretitulant apices uirtutum in nomine primi.  
 165 Incoat inde trium finalis littera quintum.  
 Hic tibi seruata est perfectior orbita rerum.  
 Orbiculatus apex unius fine receptus  
 Qui quasi perfectum studuit finire libellum.  
 Cur apices alii libris sic esse iubentur,  
 170 Transeo que ratio est; sed in illis singula uirtus  
 Tangitur idque libro prologo breuiore docetur.  
 Porro libri cum sint qui distinguntur, in illis  
 Materie textu se continuante, priores  
 Quatuor ordo regit. succedit in ordine quintus

137 Cf. 1.100; Stat. *Th.* 8.744, 10.793.    140 Quid: glossed 'fiet.'    144 Cf. *Ov. M.* 4.524.  
 146 Cf. *Ov. F.* 5.706; *Lucan* 5.409.    158-59 Cf. 1.29-30.    163-71 Cf. *Egidius' Prol.*

134 mimica *L. Lehm.* · 137 Et: At *Brial Duval* · 138 nugasque *L.*, nugasue *Duval* ·  
 140 Quid nisi: Quidni his *Brial D-S* · 142 in progressibus illis: ordine siue relatu *L.* · 145  
*om. P (mg. add. P<sup>1</sup>)* · 150 menti: metri *Brial* · 159 sacro *Brial* · 166 perfectio *Lehm.*  
*(Sb.)* · 167 retentus *L.* · 171 id *D-S*; libri *Brial Lehm. (Sb.)* · 172 distinguuntur  
*Brial*

- 175 Taliter ut possit post quemlibet esse legendus  
*Primus apostolici etc., Intuitu etc., Fedus etc., Temperiem etc.*  
 Si placet ut meriti non excidat actio nostri,  
 Temporis esto memor quo prodiit iste libellus  
 Perscriptus, Ludouice, tibi, tecumque priores
- 180 Gestit accessus. nosti quia munera feci  
 Ipse ego qui scripsi, quamquam tunc temporis actu  
 Crudior et quam tunc posset licuisse uideri  
 Fortasse improbior. siquidem si dicere fas est,  
 Tunc domini propter offensam regis et illam
- 185 Que super inducta est, in toto climate regni  
 Publicus Ecclesie suspenderat organa meror.  
 Tunc inimiciciis pupille pace soluta  
 Seque Syon dominam Babilone impune gerenti,  
 Prelatis cleroque suo secedere terror
- 190 Regius edixit. longe fugere profecti  
 Quilibet, et pelli potuit cuiusque timeri.  
 Non minus icirco scripto interserta relinquens  
 De quibus illa fuit turbatio, muneris instar  
 Que tu corrigeres ea tamquam opponere duxi.
- 195 Si tamen hoc posses, et te ne tale quid umquam  
 Per te attemptares uolui, Ludouice, moneri.  
 Ille meum, fateor, animum in commune gemendus  
 Mouerat euentus. ea dura negocia rerum.  
 Et bene successit ubi regis fracta uoluntas
- 200 Auspice legato. mox sexta luce sequentis  
 Scilicet ebdomade longa interdicta resoluit.  
 Lux ea prolatus qua uenerat ante libellus  
 Regalesque domos ascenderat, ebdomadali  
 Prima tenore fuit, quam quondam nomine solis

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**177-201** Cf. 1.41-50, 5.102-3. **183** Cf. 4.75. **184-201** Concerning the papal interdict see on 1.41-50. **186** Ps. 136.2. **189-91** Cf. *Gesta Innocentii III* 53 (PL 214.xcix): 'Rex autem in tantam indignationem excanduit ut episcopos et alios clericos, qui primo seruauerunt interdictum, ab ecclesiis suis faceret uiolenter expelli et bona omnia occupari.' See *Chron. S. Dionysii* an. 1199 (387 Brial); Rigordus, ed. Delaborde pp. 141, 147-48. See too, Krehbiel, *Interdict* 115. **200** The papal legate who successfully negotiated with Philip for the removal of the interdict was Octavian, bishop of Ostia: cf. his letter in *Regesta* 3.15 of Pope Innocent III (PL 214.887-91); *Gesta Innocentii* 54 (PL 214.ci); Rigordus, ed. Delaborde p. 149; Géraud, *op. cit.* (*supra* on 1.41-50) 94-97; Krehbiel, *Interdict (cit. supra*, on 1.35) 121-22. **200-19** The birth-anniversary of the thirteen-year-old prince was 5 September, which fell on Tuesday in 1200. The *Karolinus* arrived at the palace on Sunday, 3 September 1200. Since the interdict was lifted after the delivery of the poem to the prince, it is evident that the *Captatio*, or at least a revision of it, must have been prepared later.

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176 *Hic uersus haud metricus fort. uncis includendus est.* Apostolici: apostolus L; Temperiem etc.: temperiem etc. apostoli etc. L, Tempore etc. D-S · 177 excedat Brial · 182 quam: quia Brial · 188 Sion Brial; Babilone Brial D-S; genti L · 190 profecti Brial · 192 Non: Nec L · 199 Et: At Brial

- 205 Gentilis censere solet. uoluentibus annis  
 Tunc tibi tredecimum plene natale reduxit.  
 Feria dico prior, non quod prior illa fuisset  
 Quando natus eras, sed que tibi prebuit ortum  
 Feria quinta fuit; que tertia prestat ad ipsa
- 210 Limina Septembris, eadem in datione libelli  
 Feria facta prior, recteque per alfa cucurrit.  
 Embolismalis tunc temporis annus et idem  
 Bissextilis erat, numeri cui nomen ab auro  
 Quatuor ordo tulit. indictio tertia facta est.
- 215 Bissextum propter uno sibi creuit adaucto  
 Sextus concurrens, et tertia mansit epacta.  
 Hoc quoque tempus erat quod et attestatur in ipso  
 Fine liber, nati cum retro a tempore uerbi  
 Annorum summam complebant mille ducenti.
- 220 Hactenus hec. tu deinde iube, sequar ipse iubentem  
 Facto quid sit opus. nam sunt qui muneris usum  
 Huius habere uolunt sed non, nisi iusseris, umquam  
 Diuulgandus erit, potius mittendus in ignem.

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220 Cf. 1.47.

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209 perstat *Brial Delaborde* · 210 *Lumina Brial* · 217 attestatus *D-S* · 220 hec:  
 hoc *D-S* · 223 *Diuulgandus erit*: In lucem ueniet *L*; mittetur *L*, metuendus *D-S*. *Post*  
*lineam 223 sequuntur in L versus qui superius in textu C leguntur.*