

# WARRIOR-BISHOPS IN *LA CHANSON DE ROLAND* AND *POEMA DE MIO CID*

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ARCHBISHOP TURPIN, THE fighting bishop in *La Chanson de Roland*, is a character whose behavior and attitudes are contrary to modern assumptions about what a medieval clergyman should have been. The poet's first mention of him, it is true, represents him in a role that is consistent with conventional views about the clergy: he volunteers to travel to Marsilion's court as Charlemagne's peace ambassador (264-73)—but so do the barons Naimon, Roland, and Olivier (246-58). In each subsequent appearance in the poem, however, Turpin accompanies the Frankish rearguard not as a peaceable messenger of the Prince of Peace but more and more as one of Charlemagne's most ferocious warriors. In his "sermun" at Roncevaux, he admonishes the Franks to fight, "Chrestientet aidez a sustenir" '[to] help to sustain the Christian faith' (1129), and "Clamez vos culpes, si preiez Deumercit" 'confess your sins, and pray to God for mercy' (1132), and he promises absolution for sins in exchange for military service, and martyrdom in exchange for death on the battlefield (1134-38). He rides to battle on a horse once owned by Grossaille, a king whom he had killed in Denmark (1488-89). During the course of battle, Turpin kills the Berber Corsablix, the enchanter Siglorel, the African Malquiant, the infernally-named Saracen Abisme, and four hundred others, elsewhere striking a

thousand blows (1235-60, 1390-95, 1414, 1470-1509, 1593-1612, 2091-98). Turpin and Roland are the last of the Franks to die in the battle. Before they do so, Turpin, seeing the Saracens take flight, declares triumphantly, "Cist camp est vostre, mercit Deu, vostre e mien" 'the field is yours, thanks to God, yours and mine' (2183).

Most critics who have discussed Turpin's character have thought of his fighting role as irregular but reflective of the late eleventh-century spirit of the Crusades, exemplified by the military career of Adhemar Bishop of Le Puy, who led a division of Bohemond's army during the First Crusade in 1098, or even by Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, who 32 years before had accompanied his brother William of Normandy on a military expedition to England. Contemporary models for Turpin have been proposed by Tavernier (98-102), Faral 1959, Lejeune, Jones (148-51) and Brault (1:104-5). C. A. Robson notes similarities in phrasing between the Sarum and Roman Breviaries at Matins in the Commons of a Confessor Bishop, "qui contra omnes...cum vigili hoste conflictus," and the poet's praise of Turpin: "Cuntre paiens fut tuz tens campiuns" 'He was always a champion against the pagans' (*Roland* 2244). Nevertheless, Robson asserts that Turpin "takes part in warfare in a way which would incur irregularity," despite his "strongly sacerdotal character" (97-100). An interesting exception among critics is Dorothy Sayers who, in the introduction to her translation of *Roland*, asserts that Turpin reflects not the time of the First Crusade but, rather, an earlier age, one which "was already passing" when *Roland* was made, "an age when the secular priest lived very close to the laity" (18-19). Her only example is Turpin's "slighting reference to the life of the cloister" (1880-81), when he says that a monk is worth but ".IIII. deners" compared to the value of a good warrior, but her instincts were right. Turpin's role as a fighting bishop, and other details in the poem that

link religion and warfare, reflect a tradition that goes back to Carolingian times.

If Turpin belongs to a Carolingian tradition of warrior-bishops, so also does Jerome, bishop of Valencia in the *Poema de Mio Cid*, who, during the siege of Valencia by Yucef of Morocco, grants absolution to Rodrigo's warriors in exchange for their military service (1679-1710) and then joins the battle himself (1711-98). Again, when Valencia is under attack by Bucar, Jerome asks for the foremost position in the vanguard, and in his first sally he kills two Moors with his lance and five with his sword (2383-2402). Jerome's role as a warrior-bishop is modeled on Turpin (Smith 173-74). More generally, the influence of *Roland* may be seen in the few suggestions that there are in *Poema de Mio Cid* that Rodrigo's war has a religious motive or justification (Gariano).

The concepts, characterization, and iconography associated with Turpin and Jerome and with religious warfare are complex and interrelated, but for the sake of clarity I shall discuss them here in terms of three general categories: first, the concept of a "holy war" and its relationship to the earlier concept of a *bellum justum*; second, the role of bishops, abbots, and other clergy as military leaders during the centuries preceding the Crusades and the manifestation of this role in Carolingian literary tradition; and third, certain details symbolic of religiously-oriented warfare, such as the military associations of the archangels Gabriel and Michael in *Roland* and of St. James in the *Poema de Mio Cid*. These are matters that for the most part have been associated with the Crusades and the spirit of the Crusades, but, as will appear, they have their roots in the Carolingian age.

The idea of a "holy war"—one that is thought of as a religious act or directly related to religion, gradually evolved from the idea of a just war, or *bellum justum*, for

which the principal authority in the Middle Ages was St. Augustine in his *De civitate Dei*, in his Biblical commentaries, and in various correspondence (F. H. Russell 16-39; Markus). According to Augustine, a war of aggression could be a just war only if it had a just cause (e.g., to right a wrong done by an enemy, or to punish the violence or cruelty of an enemy) and a right intention (to obtain peace by restoring order). Some scholars have wanted to see a sharp distinction between a holy war and a *bellum justum*: Erdmann, for example, thought of a just war as essentially and necessarily a defensive one (Erdmann 7-9), although, in fact, Augustine wrote mainly about the justice of aggressive wars, and not at all about the distinction between these and defensive ones. J. E. Cross (271) has suggested that this was because it was self-evident to Augustine, and therefore not commented upon by him, that a defensive war would also be a just war, but that seems to me to be unlikely: when, for example, Charlemagne began his campaign against the Saxons to punish them for their disorderliness along the Frankish frontier, he began a conflict that Augustine would have recognized as a *bellum justum*, and the Saxons, for their part, found themselves on the defensive. Surely the Saxons were not *also* fighting a just war. It seems to me that the distinction between defensive and aggressive warfare was not an important part of Augustine's thinking about the ethic of war. So also with the distinction between a holy war and a *bellum justum* in Carolingian times: this is a modern, analytical distinction, necessary to our own understanding of the evolution of medieval concepts about warfare; but the distinction would have seemed unimportant, or even incomprehensible, during the Carolingian age. Einhard describes Charlemagne's warfare against the Avars (A. D. 791-803) as just a war strictly in secular terms, it is true: after noting that the Franks had captured the palace of the Avars and carried

off a vast quantity of gold, silver, and wargear, Einhard asserts that the Franks had justly seized these treasures, because they were things the Avars had stolen unjustly from other peoples: "Quippe cum usque in id temporis pene pauperes viderentur, tantum auri et argenti in regia repertum, tot spolia praetiosa in proeliis sublata, ut merito credi possit, hoc Francos Hunis iuste eripuisse, quod Huni prius aliis gentibus iniuste cripuerunt" 'until then [Franks] had seemed almost paupers, now discovered so much gold and silver in the palace and captured so much precious booty in their battles, that it could rightly be maintained that they had justly taken from the Huns what these last had unjustly stolen from other nations.'" (Einhard, *Vita Caroli* 13). In Charlemagne's wars against the Saxons (A. D. 772-804), however, secular motives merge with religious ones: the Saxons had perpetrated many incidents of murder, robbery and arson along the Frankish border, and had constantly violated the laws of God and man (*Vita* 7). The objective of Charlemagne's campaign was to force the Saxons to accept Christianity and to renounce the worship of devils. In his capitulary *de partibus Saxoniae* made at Paderborn in 785, Charlemagne declared that any Saxons in the Frankish military occupation who still lurked about unbaptized, or who had hid themselves in order to escape baptism, were subject to the penalty of death (*Capitulare Paderbrunnense, Patrologia Latina* 97:145-48; *Capitularia regum francorum* no. 26). This is reminiscent of the forced conversion of Saracens who are led to the blessed waters of baptism by Charlemagne's Bishops after the defeat and death of Baligant:

Li reis creit en Deu, faire voelt sun servise;  
E si evesque les eves beneïssent  
Meinent paien entesqu'al baptisterie:  
S' or i ad cel qui Carle cuntredie,

Il le fait pendre o ardeir ou ocire.  
Baptizet sunt asez plus de.C.milie  
Veir chrestien....

The king believes in God, wishes to do his  
service;  
And his bishops bless the waters,  
[They] lead the pagans to the baptismal font.  
If there is anyone who now refuses Charles,  
He has that man hanged or burned or slain.  
They baptized well more than a hundred  
thousand  
True Christians...

(*Roland* 3666-72)

No such motive was involved in the historical Charlemagne's unsuccessful expedition in Spain in 778 (*Einhard, Vita* 9); however, some details in *Roland* have their historical counterparts in Charlemagne's prolonged wars against the Saxons, and in many ways the Saracens of the poem are similar to the Saxons of Frankish literature: savage, unruly, treacherous devil-worshippers and practitioners of magic and fraud. Marsilion's murder of Charlemagne's first two ambassadors, Basan and Basile (*Roland* 205-10), has its counterpart in the rocky history of the Saxon wars. According to the Frankish Royal Annals for the year 798, Charlemagne went to war with one of the Saxon groups, the Nordliudi beyond the Elbe (in modern Holstein), because these people had seized his messengers, held a few of them for ransom but executed the others, including Godescal, his ambassador to Sigifrid, king of the Danes (*Annales regni Francorum* 741-829; Scholz 76-77).

Charlemagne's role in converting the Saxons to Christianity was a theme in Carolingian literary tradition. An anonymous Saxon poet of the late ninth century, known

to us only as “Poeta Saxo,” composed a five-part historical epic, the *Annalium de Gestis B[ea]ti Caroli Magni*, in which he imagined that at the time of the Last Judgment, Peter would appear at the head of all the converted Jews, and Paul at the head of the converted gentiles, and among these latter would be Andrew leading the Greeks, John leading the churches of Asia, Matthew leading the Ethiopians, Thomas leading the Indians, and Charlemagne leading the Saxons on their joyful procession to heaven. This Judgment Day motif, expressed originally by Gregory the Great, was fairly well known in medieval times (Bischoff 3:256-59). The conversion of the Saxons is related specifically to Charlemagne’s military campaigns which, in turn, have their Biblical and early Christian precedents:

Illic Davit pollet virtutis honore  
    Cum Constantino atque Theodosio;  
Illic antiquum gaudet quod vocerit hostem  
    Eripiens multos ipsius a laqueis;  
Illic congruadent illi salvata per ipsum  
    Munere, Christe, tuo milia spirituum.  
Quis numeret quantas animas, dum credere fecit  
    Saxonum populos, reddiderit domino?  
    (Poeta Saxo, PL 99:736)

Then he commands that respect paid to the  
courage of David.  
in the company of Constantine and Theodosius;  
there he rejoices on vanquishing the ancient  
enemy  
and snatching many away from its snares.  
There with Charlemagne thousands of spirits  
rejoice  
on being saved by him through the grace of  
Christ.

Who can count how many souls he restored to  
the Lord  
when he made Christians of the Saxon peoples?  
(Godman, 345)

In *La Chanson de Roland*, the concept of a *bellum justum* merges with that of a holy war in statements that develop or imply a contrast between *dreit* 'right' and *tort* 'wrong', terms that point to legal as well as ethical concepts. Just before the fighting at Roncevaux, Roland says, "Païen unt tort e chrestiens unt dreit" 'the pagans are wrong and the Christians are right' (1015), and later, during the fighting, "Nos avum dreit, mais cist glutun unt tort" 'we are right, and those swine are wrong' (1212). During the warfare between Charlemagne and Baligant, Oger the Dane slays Ambure, the Saracens' standard-bearer, and brings down their ganfanon called "le dragon" (3543-52). At that point, Baligant begins to see "Que il ad tort e Carlemanges dreit" that he was wrong and Charlemagne was right' (3554). This contrast, and the association of "dreit" with authority as well as with justice, is implied in the epithet "dreiz emperere" applied to Charlemagne (308,766, 2441), in other statements about Charlemagne's "dreit" in Spain (3359-3367), about Ganelon's treachery "seinz dreit" 'without right' (511) and about the Saracens' "tort" (1899). The contrast of "dreit" and "tort" also is implied in Ganelon's trial. Charlemagne calls a council to determine "dreit" in this case (3751: "De Guenelun car me jugez le dreit" 'Concerning Ganelon, judge what is right for me'), which finally is settled by means of judicial combat. George Fenwick Jones, in his analysis of "dreit" and "tort" in *Roland*, suggests that the relationship of this theme to the custom of *judicium Dei* 'judgment of God' in Ganelon's trial can be projected backward to the warfare between Christians and Saracens in the poem. He proposes that



el obispo don Jerome      la missa les cantava;  
la missa dicha      grant sultera les dava:  
“El que aquí muriere      lidiando da cara,  
préndol yo los pecados,      e Dios le abrá el  
   alma.”

(1702-5)

The Bishop Don Jerome sang them Mass;  
when the Mass was said he gave them absolu-  
tion:

“He who may die here fighting face to face  
I absolve him of his sins, and God will take  
possession of his soul.”

The word *martirie* in *Roland*, of course, as Leon Gautier notes (521), signifies not the martyrdom of saints in a limited sense, but any sort of violent death; it is applied once to the Twelve Peers (965), and thrice to the pagans (591, 1165, 1467). Turpin, however, declares that the Franks killed at Roncevaux will be “seinz martirs” ‘holy martyrs,’ and that they will have “Sieges... el greignor pareis” ‘seats in the highest paradise’ (1134-45), which relates the word *martir* to the more restricted context of a holy war. Tavernier (98-99) once asserted that this exchange of absolution for military service would have been unthinkable before the time of the Council of Clermont in 1095, when Pope Urban II introduced it as an incentive for participants in the First Crusade (Munro; Cowdry), and this view has been repeated often in editions and studies of *Roland*, although historians of Crusade ideology just as often have called attention to the Carolingian practice of granting absolution in a military context. In December 853, Pope Leo IV appealed to the Franks for aid against Saracens who had pillaged Rome, and he promised a reward in heaven for those who died in battle (*Patrologia Latina* 115:655-57). Although this was

“a hortatory expression of pious hope and prayer” rather than a “proclamation of doctrine” (Brundage 22), it created an important link between salvation and military service against pagans. In 878, Pope John VIII declared that warriors who died in defense of the Church or of Christian government were assured of salvation and he granted them at least a general absolution from sins (*Patrologia Latina* 126:816; discussed by Delaruelle). This theme reappeared in the eleventh century under Popes Leo IX (1049-54) and Alexander II (1063), who in letters addressed to the Archbishop of Narbonne and to the clergy of Volturne promised remission of the penance required for sins, for those Christian warriors who took part in the *reconquista* of Spain (Brundage 124-35).

The presence of Turpin and Jerome on the battlefield reflects a practice that was common in the eighth century and beyond. It is true that priests were forbidden to carry arms or accompany an army, according to the Council of Soissons held in 744 under the auspices of Pepin the Short; true, also, that 13 according to the Synod of Ver, abbots were obliged to provide the king with soldiers but forbidden to accompany them to battle (McKitterick 55, 58). But when Charlemagne began his campaign against the Saxons in 772, his army was accompanied by bishops, abbots and presbyters. According to the Royal Frankish Annals for 753, during Pepin’s reign, Hildegard Bishop of Cologne was killed in Iburg castle, near Osnabruck, during a campaign against the Saxons (Scholz 39). Throughout the ninth and tenth centuries it was generally the duty of bishops and abbots in France, Lotharingia, Italy, and England not only to furnish warriors, but also to contribute organizational services and even to accompany the army to battle (Prinz 195-96; Johnson 166-218; Auer 1971: 316-407 and 1972: 48-70; Nelson 15-30). Lupus, Abbot of Ferrières, in a letter of 849 to Paradulus, Bishop of Laon, complained about the

military service required by Charles the Bald during his campaigns against Danish pirates and Breton rebels: "As you know, I have not learned how to strike and to escape from an enemy, nor how to carry out the other duties of a soldier on foot and on horseback. Our king needs more than warriors" (Duckett 183). King Charles, for his part, had little patience with high-level clerics who were worth but four-pence compared to competent warriors: at the Synod of Savonnières, in June 859, the king presented a denunciation of Wenilo, Archbishop of Sens, because, among other complaints, "when I was face to face with attack by pirates on land and sea, Wenilo pleaded that he was ill and must return to his home" (Duckett 191).

But, of course, the real difficulty about Turpin and Jerome concerns not their presence on the battlefield, but their activity there as fighters who carry arms and know how to use them. It was customary for clerics to carry crosses or banners to battle, but they were forbidden by the Church to bear arms, and during the eleventh century and earlier the Church's position often was reformulated (Erdmann 77). But the separate functions of lance and cross, of secular and spiritual instruments of warfare, pose no problem for the *Roland* poet. When the Franks observe Turpin's successful combat against Abisme, they exclaim "En l'arcevesque est ben la croce salve" 'in our archbishop the cross is strong to save' (1509), referring to Turpin's lance or spear metaphorically as a bishop's crosier: "Ben set ferir e de lance e d'espier" 'He [Turpin] knows well how to use a lance and spear' (1675).

The reverse metaphor is much more common. Adam of Bremen, in his eleventh-century history of the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen, speaks of St. Radbod, bishop of Utrecht, and of Lievizo, archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen, as taking vengeance on the Vikings with the sword of anathema (Adam of Bremen 37, 77). When clerics are

praised for their military leadership in Carolingian poetry, we cannot always be certain whether the allusion to spiritual wargear is meant literally or metaphorically. Sedulius Scottus praised Hartgar, Bishop of Liege from 840-855, in these terms after he had led an army to victory over the Norsemen (Traube ed. 176-77):

Tè decet talem meruisse florem,  
O decus belli miritis coruscum,  
Arma qui vibras super astra nota,  
Inclite praesul.

Protegis scuto fidei tuosque  
Macte lorica galeaque Christi,  
Aureo fulgens gladio salutis  
Proteris hostes.

(*Carmen* 8:9-16)

O shining glory of valiant deeds,  
you rightly earned such a trophy.  
Noble bishop, you brandish arms famed  
in heaven.

You ward off enemies with the shield of  
faith, a sacred lorica, and Christ's helmet;  
and, flashing with salvation's golden sword,  
you destroy them.

(Doyle trans. 109-10)

In *Carmen* 67 Sedulius praises Count Eberhard of Friuli (d. 868 or 869) for his warfare against Saracens and describes his wargear in similar terms (Traube 220-21):

Protegit hunc Christus clipeo gladioque salutis,  
Lorica fidei, sic galeaque spei.

(*Carmen* 67: 15-16)

Christ arms him with the sword and shield of salvation,  
and with the lorica of faith and helmet of hope.

(Doyle 162)

*Gladio salutis*, *lorica fidei*, and *galea spei* reflect the Pauline theme of the "Armor of God" (Ephesians 6: 11-17) but refer literally to Eberhard's wargear, symbolic of his military leadership. We should not assume that Bishop Hartgar's wargear, described in similar terms in *Carmen* 8, was only metaphorical.

Closer in spirit to Turpin and Jerome is Ebolus, the Abbot of St.-Germain-des-Prés and nephew of Gozlin, Bishop of Paris, who took his place in battle, along with Odo, Count of Paris and later King of the West Franks (888-98), during the Viking siege of Paris in 885-86. In Abbo of St-Germain's *Bella Parisiaca Urbis*, which like Poeta Saxo's *Annalium* belongs to the genre of Carolingian historical epic, Abbot Ebolus is paired with Odo as his "socius...equiperansque" 'companion and peer' (38), a relationship similar to the companionship of Roland and Olivier. Jones, in *Ethos of the Song of Roland* (107), has suggested that the concept of companionship in *Roland* was Germanic in origin and orientation, since the word *cumpaign* might be taken as a loan-translation of OHG *gileibo* (literally 'one who shares bread') cf. Gothic *gahlaiba*. *Cumpaign*, *cumpaignun* in *Roland*, however, has a conceptual antecedent in the *socius* of Carolingian historical epic. Of Abbot Ebolus we are told that

Septenos una potuit terebrare sagitta,  
Quos ludens alios iussit prebere coquinae.  
(*Bella Parisiaca Urbis* 109-10)

He was able to pierce seven men with a single arrow;  
laughingly he ordered some of them to be taken to the kitchen.

The kitchen humor here, as Curtius points out (431-33), has its counterpart in *Roland* where Ganelon, arrested and put under the governance of Besgun, the master cook, is

beaten by Besgun's "cumpaignons / De la quisine" (1821-22), in a rare combination of kitchen humor with the theme of companionage. Early eleventh-century successors of the Abbot of St-Germain include Bernard of Angers, who in his *Liber miraculorum sanctae Fidis* expresses approval for a certain prior at Canques who bore arms against enemies, sometimes in the company of an angel despite the circumstances that the clergy were forbidden to use weapons; and also Thangmar of Hildesheim who in his *Vita Bernwardi Hildesheimensis* approves of Bishop Bernward's warfare against Danes, though not of his involvement in the Ottonian campaign against Rome. Thangmar notes that Bernward's weapon was the holy lance of Constantine (Bouillet 66). Even more revealing are those writers who vigorously denounced the use of weapons by clerics: Fulbert of Chartres (d.1029), for example, who explicitly rejected the concept of a *bellum justum* as a justification for the military service of Bishops (*Patrologia Latina* 141:235, 248, 268); Leo IX at the Council of Rheims in 1049 (*Patrologia Latina* 142:1437); and Wipo who records with disapproval the death of the Bishop of Asti in battle (Wipo 54). The recurrence of this theme indicates that there was cause for complaint: too many bishops and abbots were going beyond the call of military duty.

Turpin and Jerome thus take their place in a long tradition of fighting clerics, some literary, many historical. Moreover, the bishops in *Roland* and the *Poema de Mio Cid* are characterized in terms of *sapientia* and *fortitudo* as was traditional for epic heroes. Isidore of Seville, in his *Etymologiarum*, defined heroic poetry as a poetic narrative of the deeds of men who had both "sapientiam et fortitudinem" (1.39.9). This theme has been applied to the study of *Beowulf* (Kaske; Niles 224-25) as well as *Roland* (Menéndez-Pidal 314; Szittyá). In the *Chanson de Roland*, "Rolant est proz e Oliver est sage" 'Roland is brave and



in Carolingian France (Szittyá 196-206). Gabriel, who manifests himself to Charlemagne several times to provide military counsel and aid (2452-57, 2526-28, 2847-48, 3609-11), has ancient military associations beginning with St. Jerome's etymological interpretation of his name as *fortitudo Dei*. Szittyá, the first writer to clarify the role of these angels in the poem, interprets Roland's association with Michael and Charlemagne's with Gabriel as reflecting two different modes of *fortitudo*. More generally the archangels are part of the religious iconography of warfare, and it is their traditional character that interests us in this regard.

The archangels have their counterpart in the *Poema de Mio Cid*, in St. James the apostle, the brother of Jesus. According to legend, St. James preached Christianity in Spain in the First Century A.D.; his tomb was discovered during the ninth century at what was to become the site of the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela in Galicia; and his military associations began with his visionary appearance to King Ramiro I just before the battle of Clavijo, in 834, when the Christians won a great victory and slew 70,000 Moors. The regnal dates of Ramiro I, 842-850, are incompatible with this legend, but at any rate during the late ninth and early tenth centuries, Santiago de Compostela became famous as the shrine of St. James. Our earliest evidence for St. James's intervention in the battle of Clavijo is the "Diploma of Ramiro I," an early twelfth-century forgery perpetrated by the cathedral canons of Compostela, which represents itself as having been issued by Ramiro at Calahorra on 25 May 834 (Ponce de León, Appendix I; Ferriero 2:132; Villada 1:207; Orive 148). In this document, Ramiro is represented as providing an account of his vision of St. James and subsequent victory at Clavijo, and announcing an annual harvest-tax throughout Christian Spain, called the *voto de Santiago*, with



“Munjoie,” the Frankish *enseigne* or battle-cry in *Roland* (1181, 1974, 2151), has a religious significance due to its etymological association with ‘Monte Gaudia,’ the hill from which pilgrims visiting Rome first viewed the city; Jenkins, in his edition of the *Chanson* (94-95), points out that there were similar hills near Jerusalem and Santiago and that “it is the pilgrim’s outcry of joy at the end of their long quest.” According to the poet, “Munjoie” was derived from the name of Charlemagne’s sword, “Joiuse,” which had mounted in its golden pommel the point of the lance that had pierced Christ’s side during the Crucifixion (2501-10). The historical Charlemagne was a great collector of relics; among these were Longinus’s lance and one of the four nails used for the Crucifixion, which according to another tradition was the relic that was set in Charlemagne’s sword (Loomis, “Holy Relics” [1950]: 440). On the occasion of Charlemagne’s battle with Baligant, the cry “Munjoie” was transferred to Charlemagne’s oriflamme, or war-banner, formerly called “Romaine,” which once had belonged to St. Peter (3092-95; see Loomis, “Passion Lance” [1950] and Loomis 1959). This symbolic link is enhanced by the fact that the word *enseigne* means both “battle-cry” and “battle-standard,” and as Erdmann has pointed out (182-200), the banner is the *vexillum Sancti Petri* which identifies Charlemagne’s campaign as a holy war. “Munjoie” at one point is contrasted with the Saracen battle-cry, “Preciuse” (3564-65), which Baligant adopted for the name of his sword and battle-cry in imitation of the Frankish names “Joiuse” and “Munjoie” (3144-48). Elsewhere, however, the Saracen battle-cries are compared to the whinnying of horses, the braying of mules, and the barking of dogs (3526-28):

Cil d’Occiant i braient e henissent,  
Arguille si cume chen i glatissent.

The men of Occiant bray and whinny,  
Those of Arguille bark like dogs.

Sedulius, in *Carmen* 25, in praise of Louis II of Italy for a victory over Saracens, similarly contrasts the Christians' battle-cry "alleluia" with the barbarous screeches of the Saracens—"alleluiatica verba" versus "rustica verba" (*Sedulii Scotto Carmina*, 191, 11. 31-34). "Alleluia also was the cry used by St. Germanus when he led the Britons to a bloodless defeat of attacking Saxons and Picts (Bede, *Ecclesiastical History* 1:20).

One final detail that contributes to the religious symbolism of warfare in Roland is the background of the Saracen leader, Valdabrun, who (1566-68)

Jerusalem prist ja par traïsun,  
Si violat le temple Salomon,  
Le patriarche ocist devant les funz.

Took Jerusalem by treason;  
He violated the temple of Solomon,  
He killed the patriarch before the fonts.

Valdabrun's past *traïsun* makes him the Saracen most suitable to receive Ganelon's treasonable oath and to reward Ganelon with the gift of his sword and a thousand gold coins (1569-70). The concept of the recovery of Jerusalem and of the holy places, of course, was a key theme in Pope Urban II's preaching of the First Crusade in 1095, along with the concept of a military campaign to Jerusalem as an "armed pilgrimage." Jenkins and Horrent speculate that the *Roland* poet's allusion to Jerusalem was modeled on Adhemar of Chabannes, or a similar chronicler, who describes the destruction of the Holy Sepulcher wrought by Caliph el-Hakem in 1010 (Jenkins 119-20, Horrent 290), but Brault notes that another possible model could be the profanation of the Temple of Solomon by Heliodorus in 2 Maccabees 3:7-23 (Brault 1:421). Another

could be the destruction of the temple by the Romans, who like the Babylonians before them had sacked Jerusalem, as Alcuin notes in a poem about historical parallels to the sack of Lindisfarne by the Danes:

Heu, Iudea, tuis habitator in urbibus errat  
rurus in antiquis, laus tua tota perit.  
Nobile nam templum, toto et venerabile in orbe,  
Quod Solomon fecit, Caldea flamma vorat.  
Deicit hoc iterum Romana potentia bellis  
In cineres solvens moenia, tecta simul.  
(Alcuin, *Destruction of Lindisfarne* 47-52;  
in Godman 128)

Alas, Judaea, few are the inhabitants who wander  
in your ancient cities; all praise of you has died.  
The noble temple, revered throughout the world,  
which Solomon built, the Chaldean flame devoured,  
the power of Rome once again demolished it in  
battle,  
reducing its walls and houses to ashes.  
(Godman, trans., 129)

If the *Roland* poet was thinking of an event closer to the time of Charlemagne, possibilities include the sacks of Jerusalem mentioned in the *Chronicles of Fredegar*, one by the Eastern Emperor Heraclius, 610-41, and another during the reign of Constans in the 640's (Fredegar 1.66 and 1.81). The poet did not need a Crusade propagandist to inform him that Jerusalem was in Saracen hands and had been during Charlemagne's time, also. The fact that Jerusalem is mentioned only briefly in an historical allusion, indeed, suggests that the "Crusade spirit" of Pope Urban II is not a theme in *Roland*.

That is true, also, of the other details symbolic of the religious aspects of warfare in *Roland*, as we have seen. Archbishop Turpin's military participation reflects an historical and literary tradition that goes back to

Carolingian times or earlier, as do the archangels Michael and Gabriel, and in the *Poema de Mio Cid*, these have their counterparts in the military role of Bishop Jerome and in the allusion to the apostle James. Charlemagne's war-cry, "Munjoie," and its symbolic associations with Longinus's lance likewise reflect the Carolingian heritage of medieval French poetry, although the symbolic relationship of "Munjoie" with the *vexillum Sancti Petri* reflects an eleventh-century tradition. *Roland* is not a Crusade poem. It does not reflect the eleventh-century spirit of the Crusades. The religious iconography of warfare in the poem embodies traditional Frankish material that points to the idea that the Franks under Charlemagne were fighting a just war in Spain.

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