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"NOSTRE FRANCEIS N'UNT TALENT DE FUÏR":
THE SONG OF ROLAND AND THE ENCULTURATION OF A WARRIOR CLASS

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During the German siege of Paris in December 1870, a learned and patriotic medievalist, Gaston Paris, delivered a set of lectures at the Collège de France on La Chanson de Roland et la nationalité française.¹ It would now be timely for a specialist in contemporary history and literature to prepare another study on the Song of Roland and modern nationalism, particularly in the period of World War I. Influential historians have blamed the newspapers and the popular press for inflaming public opinion on the eve of the Great War.² That "yellow journalism" helped to indoctrinate the masses who marched enthusiastically to war cannot be doubted, but scholars and professors also played their part in the movement, and while the press harangued the future foot soldiers, the academic elite was addressing the officer class. Every poilu knew about Joan of Arc, but the officers had also learned in their lycées of the valor of the heroes of Roncevaux. While the greater part of this paper is devoted to the social and political values conveyed by the Chanson in the Middle Ages, the use of literature to buttress values can conveniently be illustrated by some reference to the Song in more modern times.

A dozen French translations of the Roland appeared between 1870 and 1914 and in 1880 it was assigned officially as a "texte classique à l'usage des élèves de seconde."³ In 1900 a professor at

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the Lycée Henri IV told his audience at the Ecole Spéciale Militaire at Saint-Cyr, "La Chanson de Roland est notre Illiade" and concluded, "Elle n'est pas seulement un sujet d'étude pour nos esprits: c'est une des sources vives où nous devons retremper nos âmes."⁴ During the summer of 1918 a professor at the Ecole Normale of Fontenay-aux-Roses urged future teachers, when reading to future Rolands and Olivers from the Chanson, to show "le lien toujours vivace qui joint au passé le présent" and the ideals inherited from "nos aïeux du Moyen Age," including "ardent amour de la patrie," "culte souverain de l'honneur," and "crainte de forfaire et d'être honni."⁵

Joseph Bédier's love of medieval France and contempt for German culture, expressed in the great Légendes épiques he first published between 1908 and 1913, was shared widely by and with his countrymen.⁶ Five days after Germany declared war on France, a friend of Charles Péguy, editorializing in a Parisian Catholic daily, offered his readers two inspirational (if technically incongruous) quotations, "Finis Germaniae" and the invocation of the Carolingian Salic (and therefore, Germanic) Law, "Vive le Christ qui aime les Francs."⁷ Battle strategies for the war were created by military theorists like Ardent du Picq and the enthusiastic Colonel Grandmaison, rather than medievalists and their sympathizers, but all shared a common sense of national heritage and spirit. The Field Regulations of November 1913 declared, "L'armée française, revenue à ses traditions, n'admet plus, dans la conduite des opérations, d'autre loi que l'offensive," and stated formally, "Les batailles sont surtout des luttes morales."⁸ On the battleground of morale, the Chanson de Roland could serve as a weapon.

As preparations for war against Germany developed, the Song leaped the Channel and two translations appeared in England in 1907, just three years after the Anglo-French Entente. Scott Moncreiffe began his own translation as a "solace" in the summer of 1918, and John Masefield in 1918 introduced each chapter of his apologetic Gallipoli with a hortatory passage from the Song of Roland.⁹ The precise links connecting literature, ideals and actions are most uncertain, for it is so difficult to distinguish the determinants of behavior from their after-the-fact justification. Nevertheless, it seems clear to me that the Chanson played a part in the mentality of the Great War. The use of the Roland in modern times, either for inspiration or for solace, may be considered a part of the process of enculturation, a process which is probably harder to understand but easier to recognize in earlier or non-Western cultures than in our own.

"Enculturation" is a term recently created by anthropologists as an alternative to "socialization" to distinguish different aspects of the educational process and its relationship to cultural change. Specialists differ over the distinctions between these terms and their specific meaning, and I will not insist on a matter of definition here. But since "socialization" may lead one to think of children learning (however well) to listen respectfully to their elders or of a page being taught not to pick his teeth in public, I have preferred to use "enculturation" here, defined as "the process of acquiring a world view."¹⁰

Great poetry both gives pleasure and teaches. The epic transmits information about the heroic past, and in either its oral form

or in successive reworked texts, this information can change with circumstances. In nonliterate societies, we are told by two field anthropologists, "what continues to be social relevance is stored in the memory while the rest is usually forgotten," and in proof of this point they note how the Tiv people of Nigeria changed their "traditional" genealogies over forty years. As a second example they cite the case of the state of Gonja in northern Ghana, which was divided into seven divisional chiefdoms in the early part of this century, at which time the local myths indicated that the founder of the state, Jakpa, had seven sons; sixty years later two of the divisional chiefdoms had disappeared and in the collective memory of the people Jakpa was said to have had only five sons.¹¹ We should expect analogous changes in an evolving story like that of Roland.

Information such as that just mentioned about genealogy and lineage is useful to a society in understanding its past or present political organization, but the transmission of techniques seems to play a very minor part in epic poetry. A young warrior would never learn how to fight in battle formation from hearing the Song of Roland.¹² He would not even learn how to use his sword. The "fragment" from The Hague, dated about the year 1000, describes an "epic stroke" which splits the middle of the opponent's head and body and even cleaves the spine of his horse.¹³ This overhand stroke is used repeatedly in the Chanson de Roland (except that in the Baligant episode Charlemagne splits only the emir's head), the Bayeux tapestry depicts the beginning swing of such a stroke, and its consequences can be seen in numerous medieval illustrations.¹⁴ Now if one reflects

on this stroke, it is better suited to legendary heroes than to real-life survivors. If a warrior raises his arm like a tennis player about to serve, he exposes the vulnerable area of the armpit, loses the ability to parry all but a similar stroke, and gains nothing from the forward movement of the horse. According to those of my students who have fought with heavy swords on foot (I have not), a sweeping side-stroke is more powerful than an overhead smash, because it can be delivered with the torque of the whole body. And for a mounted warrior, a thrust is preferable to a cut, and the "epic stroke" is particularly dangerous, because if the opponent veers, the stroke would then descend on the head of the rider's own horse. In short, the Chanson de Roland is not a manual of practical use for either a medieval warrior or a modern historian. It teaches not skills but values or morale. This is surely what the author of a thirteenth-century sermon had in mind when he wrote of the use of the deeds of Charles, Roland, and Oliver "to give spirit to the audience."¹⁵

The complex problems of dating, of different chronological "layers" in the Oxford text, and of different versions of the Chanson which were produced and written after "Tuoldus" had completed his epic, are troublesome issues for any commentator. At this point I should say that I find compelling the major arguments of "traditionalism" that the Oxford text does contain much material which entered the collective or poetic memory in earlier centuries, such as the "epic stroke" or the episode of Charlemagne, like Joshua, making the sun stand still outside Zaragoza as reported in the Annales Anianenses.¹⁶ Because it deals with traditional material, the poem of "Tuoldus" is notoriously

hard to date precisely. The poem's reference to Saracen battle drums helps to place its composition after 1086,¹⁷ but beyond that point controversy rages. Some paleographers have dated the Oxford manuscript as late as c. 1170, allowing other critics to place its composition in the 1150s. Others consider that the manuscript could have been written as early as 1125 and not later than 1150, thus ruling out a mid-twelfth-century composition and placing the text either shortly before the First Crusade or within a generation or so after.¹⁸ For the purposes of this paper, dealing as it does with enculturative values, the precision of dating is not of great importance, so long as one accepts the principle that some portions of the epic entered the Chanson, in either oral or written form, well before the twelfth century, but that in a fluid tradition early material which does not have "social relevance," which goes against the cultural values of a later time, will tend to drop from sight. What is certain is that even if it was first written in the late eleventh century, the Chanson de Roland as we have it is culturally a twelfth-century poem, copied in the twelfth century, cited by twelfth-century authors, and popular enough to give birth to translations and other versions in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Moreover, a host of critical studies shows that the poem of "Tuoldus" is no mere pastiche of fragments from different epochs, but was intended by its author to have a unified form and meaning.¹⁹

The remainder of this paper is concerned with some of the ways in which the Chanson might have inspired or justified the behavior of its twelfth-century audience. Among the enculturative values which the Song of Roland displays, the most prominent is the glorification of

warfare, a "just war," a "Holy War," to be sure, but warfare all the same. I doubt if many, if indeed any, bellatores of the period when the Chanson was still a living epic needed to be reassured that warfare was a proper and honorable occupation. But when one looks outside the Chanson and the values of the warrior class, one can see that they are in contradiction to the lingering remnants of traditional Christian pacificism, a theme of great importance in many of the Fathers and clearly expressed by the quotation in Sulpicius Severus' popular vita of St. Martin of Tours, "I am a knight (miles) of Christ, I am not permitted to fight."²⁰ Whether or not a Song of Roland was chanted by a Taillefer to inspire the Norman army before the battle of Hastings, the twelfth-century authors William of Malmesbury and Wace considered the Chanson appropriate for such an occasion.²¹ While the warriors of William the Conqueror or of the succeeding period can scarcely have been expected to have puzzled over Tertullian and Basil, and presumably gave no thought to the fact that St. Martin deserted from the Roman army, not all bishops were warriors like the poetic Turpin or the historical Odo of Bayeux, who as members of the clergy were forbidden by canon law to bear arms.²²

Attitudes toward warfare varied, of course, and I am not sure that the Gregorian Reform itself marks a great turning point on the issue of Christian pacificism. In the early eleventh century Bishop Hubert of Angers was excommunicated for fighting at his king's command, while Bishop Wazo of Liège did lead troops in battle, but conscientiously did so unarmed.²³ When critics, with their own ideas about the nature of Christianity (medieval or modern), call the Chanson

a devoutly Christian epic, a Vita or Passio sancti Rolandi, we need to remember that Archbishop Turpin provided an uncanonical model for any clergy who heard the poem.²⁴

In what I have just said about the positive value placed on warfare I noted that the war commemorated in Roland, unlike those in the more common epics of revolt such as Raoul de Cambrai, was a "Holy War" against the infidel. Practically all medievalists agree that there is a relationship between the Chanson and the development of the idea of crusade, the Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens, though the chronology of that relationship has been hotly disputed. As Carl Erdmann has put it, "Some say that 'the Chanson de Roland would be impossible without the First Crusade,' while others maintain that 'the crusade would be incomprehensible without the Chanson de Roland.'"²⁵ Erdmann did not attempt to date the poem, except to state that "the Chanson cannot antedate the time of Alexander II."²⁶ The theme of a bellum domini fits both the actual historical circumstances of the invasion of Spain and the period after the renewed religious expansionism of Christian Europe in the 1060s, that is, about the time of the writing of the Nota Emilianense, and so is of little help in dating either the Oxford Roland or its predecessors. While I feel that the Chanson accords well with a military-religious ethos common in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, what strikes me most is how difficult it is to find clearly demonstrable echoes of the crusade to recover Jerusalem in a text which took its present written form well after the First Crusade.²⁷ Equally, it is surprising how seldom the name of Roland or reference to the Chanson appears in the extensive literature written in support of the

crusading movement.²⁸ Even in the early fourteenth century, when Pierre de la Palu turned to a literary source for his treatment of Charlemagne in his Liber Bellorum Domini, he used the story of Amis and Amiloun.²⁹ The Chanson de Roland must have been immensely popular in the twelfth and later centuries (as manuscripts, translations, and onomastics all attest), its ethos does support the militant expansion of Christianity, but the vigor of scholarly debate over precise dating suggests that it could have been composed before 1095, and the relative silence of crusading sources and propaganda with respect to Roland or the epic Charlemagne indicates that contemporaries could have understood, described, and advocated crusades quite well if the Chanson de Roland had never existed.

Besides the positive value placed on fighting itself and on militant Christianity, a third obvious but easily misunderstood cultural value transmitted by the Chanson is loyalty to king and country.³⁰ This point too has been amply treated in our literature on the Chanson, and in this brief discussion I wish particularly to express a caveat about an apparent "French" or "Capetian" nationalism. The "patriotic" loyalties which I think the Oxford Roland exemplified for its listeners were loyalty to the warrior's highest recognized ruler, the ruler who led one's army into battle, a loyalty which we may call "feudal," whether its object was an emperor, king, duke or count, and willingness to fight and die for one's homeland, for Tere Majur, the familiar theme of pro patria mori, whatever that homeland or pays actually was. In addition, the Chanson also stresses imperial authority in terms which seem particularly appropriate to the Anglo-Norman "empire," in part because

William the Conqueror ruled to some degree in a Carolingian mode.³¹ It may at first seem perverse not to emphasize the importance of dulce France and not to argue that the author of the Oxford Roland was trying to inculcate loyalty to the king of France (any king, from Henry I to Louis VII, depending upon the date assigned to the text). But let us consider the historical origins and context of the poem a bit more fully.

Whatever the means of transmission, the Song of Roland had to have its origin in the battle whose twelve-hundredth anniversary was commemorated in 1978. And when that event was celebrated in song, the ruler to whom highest honor was given had to be Charlemagne, and his warriors necessarily Franks. Charlemagne, the unifier of Christian Europe, became in legend and belief a universal hero, a Christian Alexander, but once the Capetians had overthrown the Carolingians, it took a long time for the Capetian monarchy to develop a special affinity for him. His canonization in 1165 was, after all, the work of an anti-pope opposed by the French monarchy and acting at the instigation of the German emperor. A prophecy created at Saint-Valéry-sur-Somme about 1040 predicted that the Capetians would hold the throne of France for seven generations, when it would return to a descendant of Charlemagne. Early in the twelfth century Hugh of Fleury and Sigebert of Gembloux both stressed the usurpation of the Capetians in their influential histories. Only at the end of the twelfth century did the reditus ad stirpem Caroli become a literary theme centering on Philip Augustus.³²

One of the literary merits of the Roland is that Charlemagne is a noble figure throughout, ready to become the saint placed in Heaven by Dante, and is not insulted as he is in many other chansons, though his comparative impotence at the trial of Ganelon may reflect this tradition.³³ It has been suggested that the Chanson de Roland was commissioned by Suger or one of his successors to strengthen the prestige of the Capetian monarchy, but this idea, even if it does not fall on chronological grounds, finds precious little support in the writings of Suger himself. In his student days a distinguished French medievalist set out to write a diplôme on "L'idée de Charlemagne dans la pensée de Suger," and abandoned the project when he found, as can be seen by anyone who consults the index of the Oeuvres complètes de Suger, that the great propagandist of St. Denis scarcely mentioned Charlemagne and when he did treated him as simply one more king who had the good sense to make donations to the abbey. The arguments of Professor Hans Erich Keller, which derive a good deal of rhetorical force from repetition and the cumulation of philological detail, all too often must depend on the concept of mystification. "Mystification" can be useful for a writer of religious allegory or a humorous author, like Geoffrey of Monmouth, who had to deal with split allegiances in a turbulent political setting, but it is a senseless technique for a propagandist trying to strengthen royal power, when direct writing would be so much more effective.³⁴

The reputation of Charlemagne, as far as we can tell, never died. As the Nota Emilianense suggest, a cantar de Rodlane about Charlemagne and his peers may have existed in Castile in the eleventh century.³⁵ Scholars have placed the origins of the Chanson de Roland in areas of France as widely separated as the Midi and Brittany.³⁶ The existence of songs about Charlemagne in his native Germanic tongue has been postulated, though textual evidence for an early Song of Roland in German is as lacking as evidence for a Chanson in Francien dialect. For an historian unable to form an independent judgment about the philological discussions, the arguments about the "national origin" of the Chanson seem analogous to those about the origin of Honorius Augustodunensis, who was born in one place and traveled a lot.³⁷ What is clear from translations and manuscripts is that after the beginning of the twelfth century the Chanson de Roland could find a welcome home in France, England, Germany, Norway, Italy, Spain, and eventually Brazil.

In short, one did not have to be French or a subject of the Capetian monarchy to enjoy and be inspired by the Song of Roland. The Anglo-Normanisms of the Oxford Roland, combined with other evidence, including the name Tuoldus, has suggested to some a Norman or Anglo-Norman origin.³⁸ A French critic has recently written that if the author of the Oxford Roland was Norman or of Norman origin, he did not reveal "de véritables partis pris normands," and that "son idéal s'élève pourtant au-dessus de tous les particularismes, et apparaît déjà vraiment national."³⁹ I would prefer either to

consider the ideal of the Chanson supranational or to say that the term nationalism has little or no meaning in the period we are considering. In The Battle of Maldon Byrthnoth, who in dying for his king and homeland exhibits much the same fierce pride and loyalty as Roland, has been said to show "un haut sentiment national."⁴⁰ Perhaps so, but it is probably to the England of Byrthnoth's king, Ethelred II, that we owe our single medieval manuscript of Beowulf, a manuscript which shows that the glory of the Danish court stayed alive in an Anglo-Saxon kingdom which had suffered grievously from Danish attacks.⁴¹ If we move forward to the twelfth century we find that the French welcomed Arthur and the "matter of Britain" without regard for his national origins. In the medieval world we are considering, loyalty and love of homeland were admired and "nationalism" was not understood in the sense that it is today. With equal justice it could be said that if the author of the text from which the Oxford Roland was copied was French, he did not reveal "any deep French prejudices," for the Normans, the men of Auvergne, the Bavarians, the Gascons, the Saxons, all the troops of Charlemagne's empire as the author conceived it, are treated with respect.

But what, one is bound to ask, of the special place in dulce France given to the Francs de France, of the phrase "nos Franceis"?⁴² In the Chanson "France" sometimes indicates all the empire held by the Franks, just as "Francs" and "Franceis" are usually interchangeable, but in other places the heartland of Francia is more limited. Those limits, as worked out by Ferdinand Lot and René Louis, are enclosed in the territory marked out by the four points Mont-Saint-Michel, Sens,

Besançon, Wissant, that is, the ancient Neustria of the late tenth-century Carolingian Kingdom.⁴³ For the Rolandslied the territory of Francia can be expressed as Carolingie (see v. 6930). If any political significance is to be given to the limited "France," it should be directed not at the Capetian monarchy but at that of the late Carolingians, which had so little significance in the twelfth century that the copyist of the Oxford Roland garbled his text. A sense of long past history, which is, after all, what an epic preserves, is a different matter from positive political loyalty. To turn from literature to charters for an example, the Catalans forgot neither their historical relationship nor their nominal ties to the French monarchy, so that well into the twelfth century notaries in obscure villages were still dating charters by the regnal years of the kings of France.⁴⁴ But that formal historical tie does not mean that any Catalan, no matter how moved by epic poetry, made the slightest effort to fight and die for a Capetian monarchy which never led a military expedition to the south until Louis VI's campaign in Auvergne.

Up to this point we have dealt with the way in which the Chanson treats warfare itself and the Holy War in particular, as well as the question of French or Capetian loyalty, but for a fourth and final theme we come now to the topic which has interested me most and which lies behind the title of this paper. The Chanson teaches not the techniques of fighting but the virtues desired for an ideal warrior. My main example is the condemnation of flight, expressed not only in the title of this paper (v. 1255), but in such warnings as "Dehet ait ki s'en fuit!" (v. 1047). The idea that it is better to die than retreat

is, of course a commonplace of the chansons de geste, as it is of most epics.⁴⁵ But it is not, I should add, an ideal military strategy. Confidence in cran or guts rather than prudent concern for tactics or logistics was very nearly disastrous for the French in World War I. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries mutual consent was a necessity before individual combat between mounted warriors could take place, and flight or retreat was common. Sometimes it was a skillfully executed and disciplined feigned or Parthian retreat, as probably occurred at Hastings. Sometimes it was ignominious retreat, like that of Stephen of Blois. And sometimes a retreat followed by a later victory, as in the case of Henry Beauclerc, seemed only to illustrate to chroniclers the prudent wisdom that he who fights and runs away, may live to fight -- and win -- another day.⁴⁶

Even though disciplined retreat can sometimes be the best strategy, every commander wants troops who will risk, indeed sacrifice, their lives if necessary.⁴⁷ To insure such readiness to die, the enculturation of warriors through a code of honor and glory that condemns flight as shameful has great value, and epic poetry plays its part in creating this code. The Institutiones Disciplinae on the education of noble youths urged instruction in "the ancestral songs by which the auditors are spurred to glory," and in the Chanson de Roland no one wants to have bad songs sung about him.⁴⁸

Central to the Chanson de Roland is a code of honorable loyalty. Loyalty to one's kin appears, notably in the support Ganelon receives from his family.⁴⁹ But towering far above loyalty to kin are a warrior's loyalties to his companions in arms, to his battlefield

commanders, to his pays and his ruler, and to the Christian religion, all of which are skillfully combined in the Oxford Roland. Examples of such loyalty can be found in the twelfth century, perhaps more commonly in England than in France, but the ideals of the Chanson were rarely part of everyday life. The tenacious bond of the Germanic comitatus is a commonplace of literature and idealized history, but the military and political realities of eleventh and twelfth-century France were not those of Tacitus, Beowulf, or even of the historical Charlemagne, who could enforce ties of dependence with a large amount of traditional auctoritas. In the France of the first half of the twelfth century, the king had little control over the great princes, who when well-behaved were more allies than subjects. A warrior-king like Louis VI nearly exhausted himself controlling the minor nobility of the Ile-de-France, territorial princes had to worry about the loyalty of their barons, hereditary castellans could dream of retaining more and more power for themselves, and roving juvenes were ready to join the most promising commander. If feudalism was to reverse the disintegrative forces of localism, family loyalty and self-interest, it needed above all two things. One was institutions which would distribute political power and benefits sufficiently widely to the military class to convince it that its best interests lay in the stability of principalities and indeed in the building of states.⁵⁰ The other was an ideal of loyalty that could bind the entire class, from barons to bacheliers, into a group which could conduct war, govern, and administer together in support of its common interests, from defense against foreign invasion to mutual repression, exploitation or control of a dependent peasantry and burghers.

The question of whether the chansons de geste should be classed as aristocratic or considered intended for bacheliers draws a distinction where none is necessary.⁵¹ The Chanson de Roland can be considered an enculturative instrument for an entire warrior class, from the most aristocratic descendants and successors of the heroes named in the text to the lowest milites with pretensions to chivalric honor.

To conclude this paper we shall now return to the question of the Chanson and its particular audience. The "traditionalist" school holds, with quite forceful arguments, that a Chanson de Roncevaux existed from some time after the actual battle in the eighth century in one form or another, having as one purpose the commemoration of the event and the glorification of the fallen, and the "individualist" school allows that versions of the Roland "story" circulated before "Tuoldus" wrote. The enculturative values of earlier compositions were presumably the political and military ideals of the Carolingian warrior class, though since the prehistory of the Oxford Roland is so uncertain, we have almost no evidence of what specific effects an earlier song might have had on its audience, how much of its emphasis, for example, was on loyalty and treason, how much on Christianity, Holy War, kingship, or the special role of the Frankish "nation." Early songs or stories presumably traveled about the Frankish empire, perhaps circulated with the royal court or army, were carried along the pilgrimage roads described so evocatively by Bédier, or were even part of the "baggage" of other itinerants, such as the rotuligeri who bore mortuary rolls between churches as widely separated as Ripoll, Pampeluna, Paris, and Aachen.⁵² Their language could have been Latin or vernacular, their

content surely changed with time and local circumstances, and all that can be said with certainty of them today is that their interest must have been sufficient for some elements to have survived and to have left their mark on written records like the Nota Emilianense and the "fragment" of The Hague.

In the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries in France Carolingian government and its political ideals were only a memory, while "modern," centralized, "national" government of the type administered by Henry Plantagenet and Philip Augustus was still in statu nascendi. In the absence of centralized, bureaucratic governments the burden of social control and civil cohesion fell upon the institutions of the Peace Movement, in which the episcopacy played such an important role, and on those relatively short chains of command, of one man bound to another by fief and homage, which we call "feudal." Such "feudal" hierarchies could and eventually often did strengthen kingship, and they brought a new class of men, the milites, into the functions of government. In real life from the middle of the eleventh century on, as in the Chanson de Roland, a large group of lesser men began their training in power along with the higher nobility or "peers." Surely it was one of the enculturative functions of the Chanson to extend the values of the aristocracy to these "others," the altres.⁵³

Awareness of the importance of the knightly class and of the process by which these "two levels of feudalism" could be brought to work together has provided increased understanding of the political dynamics of Western Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Analysis of the process has usually concentrated on the incentives

offered by rulers to counter the presumable self-interest (or family and local interest) of the class of milites; in the words of a recent study of territorial power in the twelfth century, "to retain the fidelity of other lineages and of equestrian fighting men, the ruler had to share his power with them."⁵⁴ Administrative records necessarily concentrate attention on the distribution of power and wealth, but literature has the peculiar property of allowing us to see as well the sharing of ideals.

The political ideals of the Oxford Roland are precisely those which would cement the structure of the military society of the twelfth century. Its audience could hear of vassals bound by a sense of military brotherhood which transcended lineage, of courage and honor in the face of the enemy which assured the survival not of individuals but of the group, of "loving" loyalty to a ruler who deferred his more important decisions to a council of his barons. A politically-minded critic might move from the observation that these enculturative values ideally prepared men to take their place in a changing society to the conclusion that a shrewd ruler, be he a William the Conqueror or a Suger, would naturally attempt to propagate literature like the Roland as part of a political program, but such an observation would miss two crucial points. In the first place, no twelfth-century ruler had sufficient control over "communications" to give the Chanson the circulation and popularity it did in fact enjoy. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, the ideals and institutions we have been discussing served the interests of the warrior class at least as well as they did the princes. The popularity of the Chanson in the class which provided its major audience was surely

not due to imposition or nostalgic tradition but to a form of ideological natural selection, a natural selection of ideals and esthetics passed on with appropriate modifications from generation to generation.

The major point of this paper is that the Chanson de Roland filled a need, or many needs, for its medieval audiences, and that it had the power to move men to rethink their self-interest in terms of higher ideals, to the point that in real life as in epic imagination they might actually prefer honorable death to shameful flight, group loyalty to limited personal advantage, and in the process build stronger governments and assure peace and stability. Historians examine the structures which helped to shape such ideals and behavior, but they can never read or hear the Chanson precisely as medieval men did. In this case, however (and unlike, let us say, Beowulf or Maldon), the Chanson de Roland had a repeat performance on the stage of modern European history, and in the Great War was again in the minds or on the lips of men who fought for ideals in battles. In analyzing the affective power of the poem the medievalist can perhaps learn from modern experience. But if a study of the Chanson in the twentieth century is written, perhaps the modernist can also make a comparison with the medieval experience and ask if the enculturative values of the Chanson were of equal benefit for those Rolands and Olivers who were asked to fight -- and die -- under its influence.

NOTES

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1. Printed in his La Poésie du moyen âge: leçons et lectures, 2 vols. (I cite the 7th ed. of 1913), 1, 87-118; cf. the partial English trans., Patriotism vs. Science (New York, 1935).
 2. Sidney B. Fay, The Origins of the World War, 2 vols. (New York, 1928), 1, 47-49; G. Lowes Dickinson, The International Anarchy, 1904-1914 (New York and London, 1926), pp. 40-47.

3. On Léon Gautier's classroom text and translation see Stephen G. Nichols, Jr., "Poetic Reality and Historical Illusion in the Old French Epic," French Review 43 (1969), 23. In Rennes in 1839 students were asked to respond to the question, "En quel sens la Chanson de Roland a-t-elle pu être appelée l'épopée nationale?"; see Abbé Blanoeil, Baccalauréat: Histoire de la littérature française, 31st ed. (Nantes, 1897), p. 515 for the "Sujets de devoirs français donnés dans différentes facultés," with 6 of 12 questions on the chansons de geste devoted specifically to the Roland.
4. L'armée à travers les âges: Conférences faites en 1900 (Paris, 1902), lecture on "La Chanson de Roland" by Paul Lehugeur, pp. 65 and 102.
5. Henri Chamard, trans., La Chanson de Roland (Paris, 1919), pp. iii-iv, introductory letter to his students at Fontenay-aux-Roses dated 21 August 1918.
6. On Bédier's "fobia antitedesca" see Luigi Foscolo Benedetti, L'epopea di Roncisvalle (Florence, 1941), pp. 65-66: "La teoria del Bédier non è in fondo che un episodio della campagna germanofoba condotta dagli intellettuali di destra negli anni che precedettero la guerra mondiale, campagna de cui la guerra mondiale venne come a legittimare la violenza e la passione."
7. La Croix, 8 August 1914 (n° 9633), p. 1. The editorialist who also cited Péguy's trust in "saint Michel, sainte Geneviève et Jeanne

d'Arc," was identified only by the initials R.T. The first "quotation" is a reformulation of the late eighteenth-century "Finis Poloniae." On the second quotation, which comes from the second and longer prologue to the Lex Salica written under Pepin, see Ernst H. Kantorowicz, Laudes Regiae (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1946), p. 59, who punctuates as "vivat qui Francos diligit Christus, . . ." In the Pactus Legis Salicae, I 2, Systematischer Text (Göttingen, 1957), p. 315, Karl August Eckhardt curiously punctuates as "vivat qui Francos diligit, Christus eorum regnum custodiat, rectores eorum det. . . ."

8. Decret du 28 novembre 1913 portant règlement sur la conduite des grandes unités (service des armées en campagne) (Paris: Librairie Militaire Berger-Levrault, 1914), p. 7 and Fernand Engerand, Le secret de la frontière, 1815-1871-1914; Charleroi (Paris, 1918), p. 228; Engerand appears to have cited a fuller text of the decree than that published in 1914. On Col. Grandmaison see Barbara Tuchman, The Guns of August (New York, 1962), pp. 33-34, and on Ardent du Picq see John Keegan, The Face of Battle (New York, 1976), pp. 70-71.
9. La Chanson de Roland adapted into English Prose, by Henry Rieu (London, 1907), and The Song of Roland Newly Translated into English by Jessie Crosland (London, 1907); C. J. Scott Moncrieff, trans., The Song of Roland (London, 1919), often reprinted. On Masfield see Paul Fussell, The Great War and Modern Memory (New York and London, 1975), pp. 87 and 147.

10. See Margaret Mead, "Socialization and Enculturation," Current Anthropology 4 (1963), 184-188, and Nobuo Shimakara, "Enculturation -- A Reconsideration," ibid. 11 (1970), 143-154. The definition given here is that of Philip E. Leis, Enculturation and Socialization in an Ijaw Village (New York, 1972), p. 5.
11. Jack [John R.] Goody and Ian Watt, "The Consequences of Literacy," Comparative Studies in Society and History 5 (1963), 307-310.
12. On the need to fight in battle formation see R. C. Small, Crusading Warfare (1097-1193) (Cambridge, Eng., 1956), pp. 126-130. Once the shock of a cavalry attack had occurred, however, combat between mounted warriors was necessarily individual or fought by small groups of men; see Brault, Song of Roland, 1, 417, nn. 76, 80. The poem presents the "new" method of using a lance without showing how to do it; see D. J. A. Ross, "L'originalité de 'Turolodus': le maniement de la lance," Cahiers de civilisation médiévale 6 (1963), 127-138.
13. On the Fragment see Paul Aebischer, "La Fragment de La Haye, les problèmes qu'il pose et les enseignements qu'il donne," Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie 72 (1957), 20-37, and on the stroke itself, Menéndez Pidal, Chanson, pp. 376-378. According to the Pseudo-Turpin, Charlemagne characteristically used the full stroke; see Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi, ch. 20, ed. C. Meredith-Jones (Paris, 1936), p. 177.

14. Many illustrations of split heads and even bodies are reproduced in Rita Lejeune and Jacques Stiennon, La Légende de Roland dans l'art du moyen âge, 2 vols. (Paris and Brussels, 1966), as well as D. D. R. Owen, The Legend of Roland: A Pageant of the Middle Ages (London, 1973). In the Bayeux tapestry the beginning of the stroke appears in the scene labeled "Hic ceciderunt simul," reproduced in Brault, Song of Roland 1, plate 49. Cf. the sword realistically raised for a cavalry thrust in the late twelfth-century Rolandslied, Heidelberg University, Pal. germ. 112, fol. 74, reproduced by Brault, Song of Roland, plate 51.
15. "Solent gesta Caroli, Rolandi et Oliveri referri ad animandum audientes" in a sermon attributed to Nicolas de Biard, cited by Edmond Faral in "A propos de la Chanson de Roland," in La Technique littéraire des chansons de geste (Paris, 1959), pp. 277-278.
16. The "traditionalist" position is, of course, forcefully stated by Menéndez Pidal, Chanson, who discusses the Annals of Aniane on pp. 305-311. For those who respond to this particular point that the manuscript of this text was written in the early twelfth century and could have been "contaminated" by the Roland itself, Menéndez Pidal provides an answer in his reference (p. 308, note 2) to the appearance of the same phrases in a continuation of the Chronicon Isidorianum from the year 1017 (MGH SS, 13, 262).

17. The frightening and novel use of battle drums by the Almoravids at the battle of Zalaca in 1086 (cf. v. 3137) is noted by Martín de Riquer, Los Cantares de gesta franceses (Madrid, 1952), p. 81; French trans. by I.-M. Cluzel, Les Chansons de geste françaises (2nd ed., Paris, 1957), pp. 75-76.
18. As stated above (n. 9), the reference to battle drums places the text after 1086. The paleographic arguments, still unresolved, about the Oxford manuscript are whether it was copied in the period 1125-50 (Samaran, Marichal) or whether it could have been produced as late as 1170 (Bédier, Short); see Ian Short, "The Oxford Manuscript of the Chanson de Roland: A Paleographic Note," Romania 94 (1973), 221-231, and Charles Samaran, "Sur la date approximative du Roland d'Oxford," ibid., pp. 523-527. The Oxford text is clearly a copy, and in his edition of La Chanson de Roland (Milan-Naples, 1970), p. xiii, Cesare Segre has argued that at least one copy lies between O and the archetype. On this point André Burger, "Leçons fautive dans l'archétype de la Chanson de Roland," Mélanges E.-R. Lalande (Poitiers, 1974), pp. 77-82 has raised doubts, suggesting that O could have been copied directly from the text of "Turolfus." On the basis of the evidence currently available it appears that the Oxford text could have been composed as well as copied in the early years of the reign of Henry II, but if this is the case, the author consciously maintained an archaic style and avoided obvious contemporary allusions. For arguments for a mid-twelfth-century dating of the Chanson see the unscholarly but suggestive work of Emile Mireaux,

La Chanson de Roland et l'histoire de France (Paris, 1943), pp. 79-105, who places its composition c. 1158 in the circle of Henry II Plantagenet, and the articles of Hans Erich Keller (some of which are cited below, n. 36), who considers it was written at St. Denis in the circle of Suger.

19. On the unity of the poem of Turoldus see Bédier, Légendes épiques, 3rd ed., 3, 410-453 or more recently, Brault, Song of Roland 1, 47-71. A "remanieur" could of course be an excellent, indeed inspired, author.
20. Vita s. Martini, c. 4, ed. Jacques Fontaine, Sources chrétiennes, 133-135 (Paris, 1967-69), 1, 260; see the editor's commentary on the militia Martini 2, 428-538. On Martin's changing role as a model see Barbara H. Rosenwein, "St. Odo's St. Martin: the uses of a model," Journal of Medieval History 4 (1978), 317-331. On Christian pacifism in general see Roland H. Bainton, "The Early Church and War," Harvard Theological Review 39 (1946), 189-212, and his Christian Attitudes toward War and Peace (New York, 1960).
21. On the testimony about the song chanted before the battle see David Douglas, "The 'Song of Roland' and the Norman Conquest of England," French Studies 14 (1960), 99-100. How we evaluate the story of Taillefer depends in large part on whether we conclude that the so-called Carmen de Hastingae Proelio was written shortly after 1066 or well into the twelfth century. The latest editors of the Carmen, Catherine Morton and Hope Munz, have argued that the work is both early and accurate; see their The Carmen de Hastingae Proelio of Guy, Bishop of Amiens, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1972),

- pp. xv-xxx. R. H. C. Davis contends that it is neither in "The Carmen de Hastingae Proelio," English Historical Review 93 (1978), 241-261. The issue appears still to be sub judice.
22. The often quoted admonition of St. Ambrose against the use of weapons by the clergy (Ep. 20, MPL 16, 1050) appears, among many other places, in the Decretum of Gratian (C 23 q. 8 c. 3, ed. Friedberg, 1, 954). It should be noted that the traditional prohibition against fighting by the clergy, which the Frankish kings included in their capitularies, specifically mentioned war against the infidels.
 23. For Hubert see The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres, ed. Frederick Behrends, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1976), ep. 71, pp. 118-129. The letter or tract against any fighting by the clergy usually attributed to Fulbert (MPL 141, ep. 112) has been shown by Behrends, "Two Spurious Letters in the Fulbert Collection," Revue bénédictine 80 (1970), 253-275, to be a twelfth-century forgery; chronologically shifted by a century, the tract's contents remain significant. On Wazo see Anselm of Liège, Gesta episcoporum Leodiensium, c. 54-56 (MGH SS 7 [1846], 221-223).
 24. See Edmond Faral, "A propos de la Chanson de Roland: Genèse et signification du personnage de Turpin," in La Technique littéraire des chansons de geste, pp. 271-280. The idea that there could be a sharp distinction between secular and religious culture in the crusading period seems to me a false dichotomy, but on this topic see Julian White, "La Chanson de Roland: Secular or Religious

Inspiration?" Romania 84 (1963), 398-408, and Gerald Herman, "Why Does Oliver Die before the Archbishop Turpin?" Romance Notes 14 (1972-73), 376-82. Mireaux, Chanson de Roland, pp. 59-63, argues that the Oxford Roland is an anti-pseudo-Turpin in emphasizing that Turpin was a warrior rather than a simple singer of masses. Whatever the chronology, the differing roles of Turpin suggest some sort of dialectical relationship.

25. Erdmann, Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens (Stuttgart, 1935), p. 264; I have quoted the excellent new translation with additional notes and bibliography by Marshall W. Baldwin and Walter Goffart, The Origin of the Idea of Crusade (Princeton, 1977), pp. 284-285. See also Hans-Wilhelm Klein, "Der Kreuzzugsgedanke im Rolandslied und die neuere Rolandforschung," Die neueren Sprachen 6 (1956), 265-285.
26. Ibid., p. 265; English trans. p. 285. Menéndez Pidal, Chanson, pp. 244-248 stresses the counterargument of Charlemagne's actual "Holy War" mission. The reservation that not all medievalists are agreed on a relationship between the ideas of the Chanson and those of the crusading period is necessary because of the same author's emphatic statement (p. 243): "Toutes ces idées n'appartiennent pas au temps des croisades."
27. Clearly there are some echoes of military experience in the eastern Mediterranean theater of operations, notably the proper names in the Baligant episode, though the critical response received by Henri Grégoire makes the precise number uncertain; see on this point Joseph

- J. Duggan, "The Generation of the Episode of Baligant," Romance Philology 30 (1976), 73. The argument of Rachel P. Rindone, "An Observation on the Dating of the Baligant Episode," Romance Notes 11 (1967-70), 181-185, seems relatively weak to me.
28. Raoul of Caen uses the names of Roland and Oliver to praise two heroes of the First Crusade, and Ordericus Vitalis compares Robert Guiscard to Roland; Raoul of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, in Historiens des croisades, Occidentaux (Paris, 1866), 3, 627 and Ordericus, Historia ecclesiastica, Bk. 7, ed. Marjorie Chibnall, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1969), 4, 36 (ed. Le Prevost, 3, 186). As Menéndez Pidal has noted (Chanson, pp. 234-235), references to the story of Roland are strangely lacking in vernacular poetry intended to excite crusading zeal. I am unconvinced that the speech of Urban II as reported by Robert of Reims necessarily referred to the epic rather than the historical Charlemagne and his son (as suggested by Duggan, "Generation," p. 70), since Charles and Louis did actually "destroy pagan kingdoms and expanded in them the boundaries of the holy Church" in campaigns against the Saxons and the Avars.
29. J. F. Benton, "Theocratic History in Fourteenth-Century France: The Liber Bellorum Domini by Pierre de la Palu," The [University of Pennsylvania] Library Chronicle 40 (1974) = Bibliographical Studies in Honor of Rudolf Hirsch (Philadelphia, 1974), pp. 38-54.
30. Cf. D. D. R. Owen, "The Secular Inspiration of the Chanson de Roland," Speculum 37 (1962), 390-400.

31. Jacques Boussard, "La notion de royauté sous Guillaume le Conquérant," Annali della Fondazione italiana per la storia amministrativa 4 (1967), 47-77, compares the Salisbury oath to the oaths exacted by Charlemagne (pp. 68-69) and states (p. 64) that the concept of royalty in England in 1066 was "beaucoup plus proche de l'idéal défini par Hincmar au IX^e siècle, que de la royauté française du XI^e siècle, dans laquelle le roi n'est qu'un 'primus inter pares'."
32. Karl F. Werner, "Die Legitimität der Kapetinger und die Entstehung des Reditus ad stirpem Karoli," Die Welt als Geschichte 12 (1952), 203-225. I agree with Laura Hibbard Loomis that the use of the word auriflamma at St. Denis under Philip Augustus probably derives from the influence of the Chanson, rather than the reverse, for ori flambe describes the vexillum given by Leo III to Charlemagne at Rome whether it means "notched standard" or "golden flame." See L. H. Loomis, "The Oriflamme of France and the War-Cry 'Monjoie' in the Twelfth Century," Studies in Art and Literature for Belle da Costa Greene (Princeton, 1954), pp. 67-82, trans. as "L'oriflamme de France et le cri 'Munjoie' au XII^e siècle," Le Moyen Age 65 (1959), 469-499; André Burger, "Oriflamme," Festschrift Walther von Wartburg zum 80. Geburtstag (Tübingen, 1968), 2, 357-362; Hans Erich Keller, "La version dionysienne de la Chanson de Roland," Philologica Romanica, Erhard Lommatzch gewidmet (Munich, 1975), 270-275. When Carl Erdmann wrote Kaiserfahne und Blutfahne, Sitz. Akad. Berlin, Phil.-hist. Kl., 28 (1932) and "Kaiserliche und päpstliche Fahnen im hohen Mittelalter," Quellen und Forschungen 25 (1933-34), 1-48, he had not yet taken account of an eleventh-century forgery (MGH Const. 1, 1668) which claims that Charlemagne received the

- vexillum b. Petri apostoli at Rome in 774, and the tenth-century chronicle of Benedict of San Andrea (MGH SS 3, 710), which states that on his alleged trip to Jerusalem Charlemagne presented to the Holy Sepulcher a vexillum aureum; see Entstehung, pp. 179, n. 47 and 183, n. 60 (Eng. trans. pp. 195, n. 47 and 200, n. 60). M. Berger's etymology of "notched standard" is a solution to the old problem of the color of St. Peter's standard, which according to the Lateran mosaic was a notched green banner (illustrated in Brault, Song of Roland, 1, pl. 60). See also Leon Gautier, Les épopées françaises (Paris, 1880), 3, 124f., n. 2; cf. the banner di fiamma e d'oro in the Italian Nerbonesi (Bk. 1, ch. 2), cited ibid., p. 639 n.
33. Karl Heinz Bender, "Les Métamorphoses de la royauté de Charlemagne dans les premières épopées franco-italiennes," Cultura Neolatina 21 (1961), 164-174; see also Gautier, Épopées 3, 155-160, who expatiates indignantly on the debased image of Charlemagne in many chansons de geste, blaming the uncomplimentary portraiture on a chronological shift.
34. Professor Keller's arguments that the Oxford Roland was composed about 1150 by a poet writing at St. Denis in the circle of Abbot Suger may be found in "La version dionysienne" (above, n. 31); a shorter paper along the same lines, "The Song of Roland: A Mid-Twelfth-Century Song of Propaganda for the Capetian Kingdom," Olifant 3 (1976), 242-258; and most recently "La Chanson de geste et son public," Mélanges . . . offerts à Jeanne Walthelet-Willem, Marche

romane (Liège, 1978), pp. 257-285. These arguments seem to me to be unsound for three reasons: (1) as stated in the preceding note, there is no compelling reason to associate the oriflamme with the banner of the Vexin preserved at St. Denis; (2) the statements (in Olifant 3, 254) that "during the twelfth century, the Abbey of Saint-Denis was most instrumental in the ascendancy of the cult of Charlemagne in France" and that in "the period of Suger . . . Charlemagne was used to heighten and strengthen the Capetian kingdom" are unsupported by documentation, doubtless because it is hard to find evidence to show that Suger accorded Charlemagne anything more than the respect appropriate for one of many rulers who had richly endowed his abbey; and (3) the discussion of proper names which make the Chanson a roman à clef depends upon "mystification" and etymological subtleties entirely inappropriate for a work of "propaganda." For example, the name Pinabel "would be a name whose meaning was easily discernible to a twelfth-century man in Southern Italy, 'beautiful like a pine tree.'" But of course the Oxford Roland was not written for an audience in Southern Italy ("this totally different world") and we are told that the name "could doubtless have been easily understood in Northern France, though with a different meaning" -- i.e. with the sense of "membre viril" (Olifant 3, 252). Whatever the basis of Pinabel's beauty, arguments of this sort have nothing to do with whether the Roland was written at St. Denis.

Much stronger textual arguments have been made that the Historia Karoli Magni of Pseudo-Turpin was either written at St. Denis or by

a cleric who favored that monastery; see the ed. of Meredith-Jones, pp. 323-333, and Ronald N. Walpole, "Sur la Chronique du Pseudo-Turpin," Travaux de linguistique et de littérature 3, 2 (1965), 7-18. If one is willing to accept the idea that the "final" version of the Oxford text was composed in the 1150s, then one must also consider seriously the hypothesis of Emile Mireaux that the poem was composed not only in Angevin rather than Capetian circles but also by someone who precisely wished to contradict the version of Pseudo-Turpin (see Chanson de Roland, pp. 70-78). A certain, "early" dating of the Oxford text would invalidate the theories of both Mireaux and Keller, but if a mid-twelfth-century date is permissible I find the Angevin hypothesis much more convincing than the Dionysian.

35. Menéndez Pidal, Chanson, pp. 384 ff; cf. Miquel Coll i Alentorn, "La introducció de les llegendes epiques franceses a Catalunya," Coloquios de Roncesvalles (Zaragoza, 1956), pp. 133-150.
36. Rita Lejeune, "La Naissance du couple littéraire 'Roland et Olivier'," Mélanges Henri Grégoire 2, Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves 10 (1950), 371-401 (Midi); Gaston Paris, "Sur la date et la patrie de la Chanson de Roland," Romania 11 (1882), 400-409 (Brittany).

37. Cf. V. I. J. Flint, "The Career of Honorius Augustodunensis. Some Fresh Evidence," Revue bénédictine 82 (1972), 63-86. This is only one contribution to a continuing reexamination of Honorius by a number of writers.
38. Ettore L. Gotti, La Chanson de Roland e i Normanni, Bibliotheca del Leonardo 40 (Florence, 1949); Michel de Bouard, "La Chanson de Roland et la Normandie," Annales de Normandie 2 (1952), 34-38; David C. Douglas, "The Song of Roland and the Norman Conquest of England," French Studies 14 (1960), 99-116; for an objection see Thomas S. Thomov, "Sur la langue de la version oxonienne de la Chanson de Roland," Société Rencesvals IV^e Congrès international, Heidelberg, 29 août-2 septembre 1967. Actes et mémoires (Heidelberg, 1969), pp. 179-193.
39. Pierre Le Gentil, La Chanson de Roland (2nd ed., Paris, 1967), p. 34; Eng. trans. by Frances F. Beer, The Chanson de Roland (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), p. 26. I am happier with the old textbook formulation (I cite from a pre-World War I edition) of Gustave Lanson, Histoire de la littérature française (11th ed. rev., Paris, 1909), p. 31, who refers to "un profond et encore inconscient patriotisme, qui devance la réalité même d'une patrie." Cf. Robert A. Levine, "The Internalization of Political Values in Stateless Societies," Human Organization 19 (1960), 51-58.

40. Quotation from Menéndez Pidal, Chanson, p. 321. A distinction between the ideals of Roland and Byrhtnoth is asserted by Frederick Whitehead, "Ofermod et démesure," Cahiers de civilisation médiévale 3 (1960), 115-117 and Cecily Clark, "Byrhtnoth and Roland: A Contrast," Neophilologus 51 (1967), 288-293.
41. The contents of the codex was probably assembled in the second half of the tenth century; see Dorothy Whitelock, The Audience of Beowulf (Oxford, 1961), p. 51. Paleographers have placed the writing of Beowulf in the last decades of the tenth century. It should be noted that the codex contains three other works -- all written by one of the scribes of the Beowulf -- which other paleographers have placed in the mid-eleventh or even the twelfth century; see Robert L. Reynolds, "Handwriting Illustrations: Some Problems in Economic-Historical Research," Studi in onore di Amintore Fanfani (Milan, 1962), 3, 433-435.
42. See Pietro Paolo Trompeo, "Dulce France," in his L'Azzurro di Chartres e altri capricci, Artesusa 5 (Caltanissetta-Rome, 1958), pp. 27-33. Léon Gautier, "L'idée politique dans les chansons de geste," Revue des questions historiques 7 (1869), p. 84, n. 3, calculated that in the Chanson de Roland the terms "France" and "Franceis" were applied to the entire empire of Charlemagne 170 times. Gautier's view that Bavaria, Normandy, Germany, Brittany, Frisia, etc. should be considered dependent or conquered territory was challenged by Carl Theodor Hoefft,

France, Franceis & Franc im Rolandslied (Strassburg, 1891). Douglas, "The 'Song of Roland' and the Norman Conquest," p. 110, points out that William the Conqueror addressed his continental subjects, Normans and Angevins, as Franci sui.

43. Ferdinand Lot, Etudes sur les légendes épiques françaises (Paris, 1958), pp. 260-279 (first pub. 1928), and René Louis, "La Grande Douleur pour la mort de Roland," Cahiers de civilisation médiévale 3, (1960), 62-67; cf. K. J. Hollyman, "Wissant and the Empire of Charles le Simple," Journal of the Australasian Universities Language and Literature Association 8 (1958); 24-28. I find the theory of Rita Lejeune that v. 1428 refers to Saint-Michel-Pied-de-Port near Roncevaux reasonable but in the end unconvincing; see her "Le Mont Saint Michel au-péril-de-la-mer, la Chanson de Roland et le pèlerinage de Compostelle" in Millénaire monastique de Mont Saint-Michel, 6 vols., (Paris, 1966-1971), 2, 411-433.
44. Though forbidden by the Council of Tarragona in 1180, dating by the regnal years of the kings of France continued in a few instances into the thirteenth century; see Arthur Giry, Manuel de diplomatique (2nd ed., Paris, 1925), p. 93.
45. Cf. the vow of Vivien in the Chanson de Guillaume, vv. 580-589, ed. Duncan McMillan, SATF, 2 vols. (Paris, 1949-50). For a moralization of the theme see Pseudo-Turpin, ed. Meredith-Jones, ch. 12, pp. 134-135, quoted by Brault, Song of Roland, 1, 34-35.

46. Bernard S. Bachrach, "The Feigned Retreat at Hastings," Medieval Studies 33 (1971), 264-267. On charges of cowardice leveled against the counts of Blois-Champagne see Michel Bur, La formation du comté de Champagne (Nancy, 1977), pp. 482-485. For a medieval version of the proverb which closes this paragraph see The Owl and the Nightingale, v. 176 ("Wel fiȝt þat wel fliȝt"), ed. Eric Gerald Stanley (London, 1960), with notes on other appearances.
47. On the "will to combat" see Keegan, Face of Battle, pp. 269-279 and elsewhere; this study of the battles of Agincourt, Waterloo, and the Somme is informative and thought-provoking throughout.
48. See Paul Pascal, "The 'Institutionum Disciplinae' of Isidore of Seville," Traditio 13 (1957), 426: "In ipso autem modulandi usu voce excitata oportet sensim psallere, cantare suaviter nihilque amatorium decantare vel turpe sed magis praecinere carmina maiorum quibus auditores provocati ad gloriam excitentur." Though its editors have attributed this text to St. Isidore and it is treated as authentic by Menéndez Pidal, Poesía juglaresca y juglares (6th ed., Madrid, 1957), p. 348, its authorship is uncertain; Jacques Fontaine, "Quelques observations sur les Institutiones disciplinae," Ciudad de Dios 181 (1968), 617-655, considers that it is not by Isidore and places its probable composition in Carolingian Gaul. In either case, a Visigothic or Carolingian author added a favorable reference to the carmina maiorum to St. Ambrose's condemnation of love songs. See also Jean Györy, "Réflexions sur le jongleur guerrier," Annales

Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestensis, Sectio Philologica 3 (1961), 46-60.

49. See John Halverson, "Ganelon's Trial," Speculum 42 (1967), 661-669. In "The Character and the Trial of Ganelon: A New Appraisal," Romania 96 (1975), 333-367, John A. Stranges argues well that Thierry is the champion of Charlemagne and of justice, but in my opinion greatly overstates the position that the audience could be expected to feel sympathy (as he seems to) for Ganelon.
50. Joseph R. Strayer, "The Two Levels of Feudalism," in his Medieval Statecraft and the Perspectives of History (Princeton, 1971), pp. 63-76.
51. While Brault, like many critics, describes the audience of the Chanson primarily as "aristocratic," he notes that some authors have suggested "that the chansons de geste were primarily intended for bacheliers"; see Song of Roland, I, 27-28 and 353, n. 162. The argument that the Chanson reflects the ideals of the bacheliers or apprentice warriors is presented from a Marxian point of view by R. Constantinescu, "Aspecte ale reflectării societății feudale în Cînecul lui Roland," Studii [de Institutul de istorie și filosofie de Romîne] 16 (1963), 565-589.
52. On the bearers of mortuary roles see Jean Dufour, "Les rouleaux et encycliques mortuaires de Catalogne (1008-1102)," Cahiers de civilisation médiévale 20 (1977), 13-48.

53. On the institution of peers in the mid-eleventh century see Paul Guilhaume, Essai sur les origines de la noblesse en France au moyen âge (Paris, 1902), pp. 175-182. 'But besides the peers, who dominate the "fragment" of The Hague and the Nota Emilianense, the named heroes of the Oxford Roland are joined by a host of "autres," 15,000 chevaliers and bacheliers in vv. 108-113. Moreover, like the milites discussed by Strayer, these "others" not only fought but took part in judicial functions; the duel of Pinabel and Thierry was to take place "par jugement des autres" (v. 3855).
54. Thomas N. Bisson, "Mediterranean Territorial Power in the Twelfth Century," Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 123 (1979), 145.