

# Contents

## Acknowledgements — V

## Introduction — XIX

- 1 Aim of this book — XIX
- 2 Inventory of names in the Song of Roland — XIX
- 3 Outline of previous research — XX
- 4 Structure of this study — XXII
- 5 Collecting and analysing the material — XXIII
- 6 Questions of authenticity — XXVIII
- 7 On the dating of the Song of Roland — XXX

## Results — XXXI

## A The non-Christian side

### The Orient — 3

- A.1 Baligant's peoples – the catalogue — 3
- A.1.1 First group of ten: the western section (northwest group of five and southwest group of five) — 9
  - A.1.1.1 First *eschiele*: *de cels de Butentrot* — 9
  - A.1.1.2 Second *eschiele*: *de Micenes as chefs gros* — 20
  - A.1.1.3 Third *eschiele*: *de Nubles e de Blos* — 25
  - A.1.1.4 Fourth *eschiele*: *de Bruns e d'Esclavoz* — 33
  - A.1.1.5 Fifth *eschiele*: *de Sorbres e de Sorz* — 42
  - A.1.1.6 Interim summary — 45
  - A.1.1.7 Sixth *eschiele*: *d'Ermines e de Mors* — 45
  - A.1.1.8 Seventh *eschiele*: *de cels de Jericho* — 50
  - A.1.1.9 Eighth *eschiele*: *de Nigres* — 54
  - A.1.1.10 Ninth *eschiele*: *de Gros* — 57
  - A.1.1.11 Tenth *eschiele*: *de Balide la fort* — 61
  - A.1.1.12 Interim summary — 68
- A.1.2 Second group of ten: the middle part — 69
  - A.1.2.1 First *eschiele*: *des Canelius les laiz* — 69
  - A.1.2.2 Second and third *eschiele*: *de Turcs, de Pers* — 76
  - A.1.2.3 Fourth *eschiele*: *de Pinceneis* [. . .] — 79
  - A.1.2.4 Fifth *eschiele*: *de Soltras e d'Avers* — 81
  - A.1.2.5 Sixth *eschiele*: *d'Ormaleus e d'Eug<|>ez* — 90

|            |                                                                                               |
|------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A.1.2.6    | Seventh <i>eschiele</i> : <i>de la gent Samuël</i> — 101                                      |
| A.1.2.7    | Eighth <i>eschiele</i> : <i>de Bruise</i> — 105                                               |
| A.1.2.8    | Ninth <i>eschiele</i> : <i>de Clavers</i> — 107                                               |
| A.1.2.9    | Tenth <i>eschiele</i> : <i>d'Occian l[e] desert</i> — 109                                     |
| A.1.2.10   | Two special cases: <i>Enfruns</i> and <i>Arabiz</i> — 120                                     |
| A.1.2.10.1 | The <i>Enfruns</i> — 121                                                                      |
| A.1.2.10.2 | The <i>Arabiz</i> — 122                                                                       |
| A.1.2.11   | Interim summary — 124                                                                         |
| A.1.3      | Third group of ten: the eastern part – and contemporary events — 125                          |
| A.1.3.1    | First <i>eschiele</i> : <i>des jaianz de Malpr[o]se</i> — 125                                 |
| A.1.3.2    | Second and third <i>eschiele</i> : <i>de Hums</i> ; <i>de Hungres</i> — 128                   |
| A.1.3.3    | Fourth <i>eschiele</i> : <i>de Baldise la lunge</i> — 130                                     |
| A.1.3.4    | Fifth <i>eschiele</i> : <i>de Val Penuse</i> — 136                                            |
| A.1.3.5    | Interim summary — 138                                                                         |
| A.1.3.6    | Eighth <i>eschiele</i> : <i>d'Argoilles</i> — 140                                             |
| A.1.3.7    | Seventh <i>eschiele</i> : <i>de Leus e d'Astrimonies</i> — 144                                |
| A.1.3.8    | Sixth <i>eschiele</i> : <i>de [ . . . . et de] Maruse</i> — 150                               |
| A.1.3.9    | Ninth <i>eschiele</i> : <i>de Clarbone</i> — 154                                              |
| A.1.3.10   | Tenth <i>eschiele</i> : <i>des barbez de &lt;Val&gt; Fronde</i> — 157                         |
| A.1.3.11   | A special case: the <i>Sulian</i> — 162                                                       |
| A.1.4      | Review of the catalogue of peoples — 164                                                      |
| A.2        | The overarching structure of Baligant's realm — 167                                           |
| A.2.1      | Baligant's centres — 167                                                                      |
| A.2.2      | The fiefdom promised to Baligant's son — 171                                                  |
| A.2.3      | The fiefdom belonging to Baligant's brother — 177                                             |
| A.2.4      | The fiefdom belonging to Baligant's standard-bearer — 180                                     |
| A.2.5      | Review of the overarching structure of Baligant's realm — 183                                 |
| A.2.6      | A special case: Nineveh — 184                                                                 |
| A.3        | Individual people in the Baligant section — 184                                               |
| A.3.1      | Reflection on methodological issues around "Saracen" personal names in Old French epics — 184 |
| A.3.1.1    | The basic problem — 184                                                                       |
| A.3.1.2    | Saracen names for Christians — 185                                                            |
| A.3.2      | The named individuals in the Baligant section — 190                                           |
| A.3.2.1    | Baligant's son — 190                                                                          |
| A.3.2.2    | Baligant's brother — 191                                                                      |
| A.3.2.3    | Baligant's standard-bearer — 193                                                              |
| A.3.2.4    | The King of the Persians and the Lutici — 194                                                 |
| A.3.2.4.1  | The King of the Persians — 194                                                                |

- A.3.2.4.2 The King of the Lutici — 196
- A.3.2.5 Baligant's counsellor — 198
- A.3.2.6 Baligant's messengers (*Clarifan, Clariën, Maltraïen*) — 200
- A.3.2.7 Other confidants of Baligant — 201
- A.3.3 The name *Baligant* and the problem of the origins of the Baligant section — 204
- A.3.3.1 The name *Baligant* — 204
- A.3.3.2 Scenario I: Chronological priority of the *Chanson de Roland* — 210
- A.3.3.3 Scenario II: Chronological priority of the *Pseudo-Turpin* — 215
- A.3.3.4 Harmonising the two scenarios — 217
- A.3.3.5 Baligan(t) as a Christian name — 217
- A.4 Narrative technique in the Baligant section — 218
- A.4.1 The *descriptio* of Baligant's character — 218
- A.4.2 The illuminated fleet — 220
- A.4.3 Who killed Amorre? — 222
- A.4.4 The pagan insignia — 223
- A.4.5 Que fais-tu? — 225
- A.5 Oriental elements in the Marsilë section — 227
- A.5.1 *Est<math>\langle r \rangle — 227*
- A.5.2 *Malbien d'ultre mer* — 228
- A.5.3 *Li reis de Suatilie* — 228
- A.5.4 *De l'or d'Arabe, un palë alexandrin* — 230
- A.5.5 *D'ici qu'en Orient(e)* — 231
- A.5.6 *Valdabrun* — 231
- A.5.7 *Falsaron*, Lord of the land of Datan and Abiram — 237
- A.5.8 *Li amiralz de Primes* — 238
- A.5.9 *Justin de Val Ferree* — 239
- A.5.10 *Arrabiz* — 239
- A.5.11 *Grandonë*, son of King *Capuël* of Cappadocia, and his horse *Marmorë* — 240
- A.5.12 *Arabe* — 243
- A.5.13 Review of the oriental elements in the Marsilë section — 243

## North Africa — 245

- A.6 The Algalife and his domain — 245
- A.6.1 *Kartagëne* — 249
- A.6.2 *Alfrere* — 253
- A.6.3 *Garmalie* — 255
- A.6.4 *Ethiope* — 258
- A.7 Other North Africans — 260

- A.7.1 *Malquiant*, son of King *Malcud*, and his shield from *Tulette* — **260**
- A.7.2 *Reis Almaris del regne de Belferne* — **264**
- A.7.3 *Reis Corsablis*, *Barbarins* — **267**
- A.7.4 *Abisme* — **271**
- A.7.5 Review of North Africa — **274**
- A.7.6 A special case: *Li amiralz Galafres* — **274**

## **The Pyrenean Peninsula (with its northern foothills) — 277**

- A.8 The Pyrenean Peninsula with its capital Saragossa: King Marsiliē and his family — **277**
  - A.8.1 *Espaigne* — **277**
  - A.8.2 *Sarraguce* — **279**
  - A.8.3 *Marsiliē* — **282**
  - A.8.4 *Bramimunde*, *Juliane* — **293**
    - A.8.4.1 *Bramimunde/Bramidonē* — **293**
    - A.8.4.2 *Juliane* — **302**
  - A.8.5 *Jurfaret*, Marsiliē's son — **303**
- A.9 The twelve anti-peers — **306**
  - A.9.1 *Aëlroth* — **307**
  - A.9.2 *Falsaron* — **308**
  - A.9.3 *Corsablis* — **308**
  - A.9.4 *Malprimis* of Berbegal — **308**
  - A.9.5 The *amurafle* of Balaguer — **310**
  - A.9.6 The *almaçor* of Burriana — **316**
  - A.9.7 *Turgis* of Tortosa — **318**
  - A.9.8 *Escremiz* of Valtierra — **321**
    - A.9.8.1 Fiefdom and person — **321**
    - A.9.8.2 Valtierra and the date of the *Chanson de Roland* — **324**
  - A.9.9 *Estorganz* — **326**
  - A.9.10 *Estramariz* — **328**
  - A.9.11 *Margariz* of Seville and Cádiz — **331**
    - A.9.11.1 Fiefdom and person — **332**
    - A.9.11.2 The name *Margariz* — **342**
    - A.9.11.3 The *Chanson de Roland* and *Zallāqa* — **345**
  - A.9.12 *Chernubles* of the Monegros — **346**
  - A.9.13 Review of the twelve anti-peers and looking forward to the Battle of Roncevaux — **348**
- A.10 Other enemies at the Battle of Roncevaux — **350**
  - A.10.1 First group — **350**
  - A.10.2 The origins of the motif of Borel and his twelve sons — **354**

- A.10.3 The last group — 357
- A.11 Spanish non-combatants — 363
- A.11.1 *Malduit*, Marsilīe's treasurer — 363
- A.11.2 Marsilīe's messengers — 363
- A.11.3 Review of the names of Marsilīe's messengers — 372
- A.11.4 Marsilīe's tribute to Charlemagne — 372
- A.12 The geography of Spain and its northern foothills — 378
- A.12.1 The Pyrenees — 378
- A.12.1.1 The *porz de Sízer* — 378
- A.12.1.2 The *porz d'Espagne* — 380
- A.12.1.3 The *porz d'Aspre* — 380
- A.12.1.4 *Rencesvals* — 383
- A.12.2 Roland's conquests on the Spanish campaign — 385
- A.12.2.1 *Nobles* — 385
- A.12.2.2 *Commibles / Morinde* — 398
- A.12.2.3 Valtierra — 404
- A.12.2.4 Pina — 404
- A.12.2.5 Balaguer — 405
- A.12.2.6 Tudela — 405
- A.12.2.7 Seville — 405
- A.12.3 Review of Roland's Spanish conquests — 406
- A.12.4 Other geographical details — 407
- A.12.4.1 *Cordres* — 407
- A.12.4.2 *Haltilīe* — 415
- A.12.4.3 *Carcasonīe* — 416
- A.12.4.4 *Tere certeine* — 419
- A.12.5 A special case: The *perrun de Sard[a]nīe* — 422
- A.12.6 Other geographical details (continued) — 422
- A.12.6.1 *Durestant* — 422
- A.12.6.2 *Galice* — 428
- A.12.6.3 *Val Tenebr[e]s* — 429
- A.12.6.4 The Ebro — 430
- A.12.6.5 *Marbrise and Marbrose* — 431
- A.12.6.6 The *Gironde-Marsune-Nerbone* complex along with *Tencendor* and *Malpalin* — 433
- A.12.6.7 *Nerbone* again — 436

#### Non-Christian ideas — 445

- A.13 The 'heathen' gods — 445
- A.13.1 Jupiter — 445

- A.13.2 The Anti-Trinity — **446**
- A.13.2.1 Mohammed — **448**
- A.13.2.2 Tervagan — **449**
- A.13.2.3 *Apollin* — **466**
- A.13.2.4 The inner structure of the Anti-Trinity — **467**
- A.13.3 Review of the ‘heathen’ gods — **468**

## **B Between Islam and Christianity**

- B.1 Weapon names — **471**
- B.1.1 Charlemagne’s and Baligant’s weapons — **471**
- B.1.1.1 The swords: Charlemagne’s *Joiuse*, Baligant’s *Preciuse* — **471**
- B.1.1.2 *Maltét* — **472**
- B.1.1.3 *Trente clartez* — **473**
- B.1.2 Roland’s *Durendal* — **474**
- B.1.3 Why is Roland not allowed to destroy Durendal? — **483**
- B.1.4 A special case: Roland’s Olifant — **484**
- B.1.5 Turpin’s *Almace* — **485**
- B.1.6 Olivier’s *Halteclere* — **488**
- B.1.7 Ganelon’s *Murgleis* — **489**
- B.1.8 Review of the weapon names — **493**
- B.1.9 Origins of the weapons — **494**
- B.2 Textiles and their origins — **495**
- B.2.1 *Palīe alexandrin* — **495**
- B.2.2 *Palīe galazin* — **495**
- B.3 Horse names — **498**
- B.3.1 The individual names — **498**
- B.3.2 Review of the horse names — **502**

## **C The Christian side**

### **Christian ideas — 507**

- C.1 God, Christ, angels, saints and Satan — **507**
- C.1.1 God (the Father) — **507**
- C.1.1.1 Deus, Damnesdeus — **507**
- C.1.1.2 *Veire paterne* — **507**
- C.1.2 Jesus Christ — **509**
- C.1.3 The angels: Michael, Gabriel, Cherubin – and Satan — **511**
- C.1.3.1 Michael — **512**

|           |                                                                                           |
|-----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| C.1.3.2   | Gabriel — 512                                                                             |
| C.1.3.3   | The <i>angle Cherubin</i> — 513                                                           |
| C.1.3.4   | Satan — 515                                                                               |
| C.1.4     | Saints: the relics in Durendal's hilt — 515                                               |
| C.1.4.1   | Basil — 515                                                                               |
| C.1.4.2   | Dionysius — 517                                                                           |
| C.1.4.3   | Peter — 518                                                                               |
| C.1.4.4   | Mary — 518                                                                                |
| C.1.5     | Review of the relics in Durendal's hilt — 519                                             |
| C.1.6     | Other mentions of saints — 519                                                            |
| C.1.6.1   | Mary — 519                                                                                |
| C.1.6.2   | Lazarus and figures from the Old Testament — 519                                          |
| C.1.6.3   | Sylvester — 521                                                                           |
| C.1.6.4   | Aegidius — 523                                                                            |
| C.1.6.5   | The innocent children — 529                                                               |
| C.1.6.6   | Severin of Bordeaux and Romanus of Blaye — 529                                            |
| C.1.6.7   | Peter – and the French Royal Banner — 531                                                 |
| C.2       | More about Charlemagne's banner and battle cry — 539                                      |
| C.2.1     | The term <i>orie flambe</i> — 539                                                         |
| C.2.2     | The term <i>Munjoie</i> — 543                                                             |
| C.2.2.1   | MLat. <i>Mons Gaudii</i> : the toponym before and after 1100 (Hill of the Pilgrims) — 545 |
| C.2.2.1.1 | A hill 5 km north-west of the centre of Rome — 545                                        |
| C.2.2.1.2 | A mountain 10 km north of the Notre Dame Cathedral of Le Puy — 549                        |
| C.2.2.1.3 | A hill almost 1 km northwest of Saint-Martial in Limoges — 549                            |
| C.2.2.1.4 | [With a doubtful dating:] A hill 8 km northeast of Saint-Calais (Sarthe) — 550            |
| C.2.2.1.5 | A mountain almost 7 km northwest (?) of Saint-Liutwin of Mettlach — 552                   |
| C.2.2.1.6 | A Mons Gaudii planned in 1098 to be located west of Arles — 553                           |
| C.2.2.1.7 | A mountain 8 km north-northwest of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem — 555    |
| C.2.2.1.8 | A mountain 3.5 km east-northeast of Santiago de Compostela — 556                          |
| C.2.2.1.9 | Summary of the early toponymic findings — 556                                             |
| C.2.2.2   | Further toponymic and French-appellative developments — 557                               |
| C.2.2.3   | <i>Mons, gaudium</i> and <i>mons gaudii</i> / <i>Munjoie</i> as theological terms — 564   |
| C.2.2.4   | The battle cry <i>munjoie</i> < <i>mons gaudium</i> or <i>meum gaudium</i> ? — 569        |
| C.2.2.5   | The Capetian battle cry: is it dependent on the Chanson? — 572                            |

- C.2.2.6 Interpretation of the occurrences — **575**
- C.2.3 Review of *orie flambe* and *Munjoie* — **580**
- C.3 The shadow of the poet — **581**
- C.3.1 *La Geste, Geste Francor* — **581**
- C.3.2 *Tuoldus; Vivien; (E?)Bire, (N?)Imphe* — **583**
- C.3.2.1 *Tuoldus* — **584**
- C.3.2.2 *Vivien* — **589**
- C.3.2.3 *(E?)Bire, (N?)Imphe* — **594**
- C.3.2.3.1 A small place or area near Narbonne (version 1) and the city of Nîmes — **596**
- C.3.2.3.2 A small place or area near Narbonne (version 2) and the city of Nîmes? — **598**
- C.3.2.3.3 Epirus and the Nymphaeum? — **598**
- C.3.2.3.4 Birecik and Inab? — **603**
- C.3.2.3.5 A southern Italian-North African scenario? — **607**
- C.3.2.3.6 Thuringia? — **610**
- C.3.2.3.7 The area around the mouth of the Oder? — **610**
- C.3.3 Review of *Tuoldus, Vivien, Bire* and *Nimphe* — **612**

**Geographical details and minor figures — 613**

- C.4 The basic geographical structure of Charlemagne's empire — **613**
- C.4.1 The whole: *Tere major* — **613**
- C.4.1.1 *Terra maior* — **614**
- C.4.1.2 *Terra maiorum?* — **619**
- C.4.2 Review of *Ter(r)e major* — **619**
- C.4.3 The size of Charlemagne's empire: the *vals de Moriane* and Roland's conquests outside Spain — **619**
- C.4.3.1 The *vals de Moriane* — **620**
- C.4.3.2 Roland's conquests outside Spain — **621**
- C.4.4 Review of Roland's conquests — **631**
- C.4.5 Threats from within the empire: the future rebels against Charlemagne — **631**
- C.4.6 Review of the Rebels — **641**
- C.4.7 An external point of view: Blancandrin on Charlemagne's conquests — **641**
- C.4.8 The core: the four corners and the main residence. *Antelme de Maience* and the principle of regional conformity — **642**
- C.4.9 Review of the four corner points — **657**
- C.5 Two fundamental questions — **657**
- C.5.1 Apparent anachronisms — **657**

|           |                                                                                                               |     |
|-----------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| C.5.2     | Regionality and supraregionality in the <i>Chanson de Roland</i> —                                            | 659 |
| C.6       | The ten <i>eschieles</i> and their leaders —                                                                  | 659 |
| C.6.1     | The <i>eschieles</i> —                                                                                        | 659 |
| C.6.2     | The numerical strength of the <i>eschieles</i> —                                                              | 664 |
| C.6.3     | The leaders of the <i>eschieles</i> —                                                                         | 665 |
| C.6.3.1   | The first <i>eschiele</i> : young Franks led by Rabel and Guineman —                                          | 665 |
| C.6.3.2   | The second <i>eschiele</i> : young Franks under Gebuïn and Lorant —                                           | 668 |
| C.6.3.3   | The third <i>eschiele</i> : the Bavarians led by <i>Ogier le Daneis</i> —                                     | 670 |
| C.6.3.4   | The fourth <i>eschiele</i> : the Alemanni led by <i>Herman, le duc de Trace</i> —                             | 672 |
| C.6.3.5   | The fifth <i>eschiele</i> : the Normans led by <i>Richard le veil</i> —                                       | 674 |
| C.6.3.6   | The sixth <i>eschiele</i> : the Bretons under eastern French leadership —                                     | 675 |
| C.6.3.7   | The seventh <i>eschiele</i> : the Southern French led by <i>Jozeran de Provence</i> and <i>Godselme</i> —     | 682 |
| C.6.3.8   | The eighth <i>eschiele</i> : the Frisians and the Flemings led by <i>Rembalt</i> and <i>Hamon de Galice</i> — | 684 |
| C.6.3.9   | The ninth <i>eschiele</i> : the people from Lorraine and Burgundy led by <i>Tierrī le duc d'Argone</i> —      | 687 |
| C.6.3.10  | The tenth <i>eschiele</i> : veteran Franks led by Charlemagne himself —                                       | 690 |
| C.6.4     | Review of the ten <i>eschieles</i> and their commanders —                                                     | 691 |
| C.7       | The twelve peers —                                                                                            | 692 |
| C.7.1     | From the <i>aulici</i> to the <i>pers</i> —                                                                   | 692 |
| C.7.2     | Why are there twelve peers? —                                                                                 | 694 |
| C.7.2.1   | Are they modelled on the apostles? —                                                                          | 694 |
| C.7.2.2   | Did they reflect Charlemagne's real court officials? —                                                        | 695 |
| C.7.2.3   | Were they modelled on other groups of twelve men? —                                                           | 697 |
| C.7.3     | The group of 'twelve peers' outside the Song of Roland and its composition —                                  | 701 |
| C.7.4     | The group's composition in the Song of Roland —                                                               | 704 |
| C.7.4.1   | The list of peers in the archetype —                                                                          | 704 |
| C.7.4.2   | New aspects in the structure of the group —                                                                   | 705 |
| C.7.4.3   | The individual peers (excluding Roland and Olivier) —                                                         | 707 |
| C.7.4.3.1 | <i>Gerin</i> —                                                                                                | 707 |
| C.7.4.3.2 | <i>Ger(i)er</i> —                                                                                             | 708 |
| C.7.4.3.3 | <i>Otun</i> or <i>Atun</i> —                                                                                  | 709 |
| C.7.4.3.4 | <i>Bereng(i)er</i> —                                                                                          | 713 |
| C.7.4.3.5 | <i>Ive</i> —                                                                                                  | 714 |
| C.7.4.3.6 | <i>Ivorīe</i> —                                                                                               | 715 |

|            |                                                            |            |
|------------|------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| C.7.4.3.7  | <i>Astors</i> or <i>Sansun</i> / <i>Sanson</i> —           | <b>716</b> |
| C.7.4.3.8  | <i>Anseïs</i> —                                            | <b>718</b> |
| C.7.4.3.9  | <i>Gaifier</i> or <i>Engel(i)er</i> the Gascon —           | <b>721</b> |
| C.7.4.3.10 | <i>Gerart de Rossillon</i> —                               | <b>722</b> |
| C.7.5      | Review of the twelve peers —                               | <b>724</b> |
| C.8        | The minor characters —                                     | <b>725</b> |
| C.8.1      | <i>Acelin</i> of Gascony —                                 | <b>725</b> |
| C.8.2      | <i>Alde</i> —                                              | <b>727</b> |
| C.8.3      | <i>Antelme de Maience</i> —                                | <b>730</b> |
| C.8.4      | <i>Duke Austorje of Valence</i> —                          | <b>731</b> |
| C.8.4.1    | This character in the Song —                               | <b>731</b> |
| C.8.4.2    | The historical person —                                    | <b>734</b> |
| C.8.5      | <i>Baldewin</i> and <i>Guinemer</i> —                      | <b>736</b> |
| C.8.5.1    | <i>Baldewin</i> —                                          | <b>736</b> |
| C.8.5.2    | <i>Guinemer</i> —                                          | <b>738</b> |
| C.8.5.3    | <i>Balduin</i> as a pre-existing figure —                  | <b>740</b> |
| C.8.5.4    | The <i>Balduinus</i> / <i>Tedricus</i> rivalry in the PT — | <b>741</b> |
| C.8.6      | <i>Basan(t)</i> and <i>Basilē</i> —                        | <b>743</b> |
| C.8.7      | <i>Basbrun</i> and <i>Besgun</i> —                         | <b>744</b> |
| C.8.8      | <i>Bevon de Belne e de Digun</i> —                         | <b>745</b> |
| C.8.9      | <i>Droün</i> and his nephew <i>Gualter del Hum</i> —       | <b>746</b> |
| C.8.10     | <i>Guiun de Seint Antonē</i> —                             | <b>747</b> |
| C.8.11     | <i>Henri</i> , nephew of Duke <i>Richard</i> of Normandy — | <b>752</b> |
| C.8.12     | <i>Loëwis</i> ‘Louis’, Charlemagne’s son —                 | <b>753</b> |
| C.8.13     | <i>Pinabel del castel de Sorence</i> —                     | <b>753</b> |
| C.8.14     | <i>Willalme de Blaive</i> —                                | <b>762</b> |
| C.9        | The fiefdoms —                                             | <b>763</b> |
| C.9.1      | The explicit fiefdoms —                                    | <b>763</b> |
| C.9.2      | A basic fact of epic geography: the Capetian barrier —     | <b>764</b> |

### **The main characters — 767**

|        |                                                  |            |
|--------|--------------------------------------------------|------------|
| C.10   | <i>Ganelon</i> —                                 | <b>767</b> |
| C.10.1 | The name outside the centre-western strip —      | <b>769</b> |
| C.10.2 | The name inside the centre-western strip —       | <b>773</b> |
| C.10.3 | The name type <i>X</i> + <i>Ganelon</i> —        | <b>780</b> |
| C.10.4 | The question of <i>Ganelon</i> ’s home fiefdom — | <b>785</b> |
| C.10.5 | Review of <i>Ganelon</i> —                       | <b>786</b> |
| C.11   | <i>Turpin</i> —                                  | <b>787</b> |
| C.11.1 | The name inside the centre-western strip —       | <b>793</b> |
| C.11.2 | The name in the rest of Galloromania —           | <b>794</b> |

- C.11.3 Review of Turpin – and of Ganelon and Marsilîe; the Angevin core Song of Roland from 1045–1055 — **799**
- C.12 Naines — **800**
- C.12.1 The forms of the name — **800**
- C.12.2 Naines, the character in the Song — **802**
- C.12.3 Real people and the prehistory of the name — **803**
- C.12.4 Naines' Duchy — **809**
- C.12.5 Review of Naines — **812**
- C.13 Olivier and Roland: the pair of names — **812**
- C.13.1 The pairs 1–7 — **813**
- C.13.2 The names *Riuallon/Ruuallon/Rualent* etc., *Roland* and *Olivier* especially in the Dinan dynasty — **821**
- C.13.3 Pairs of names 8–11 — **824**
- C.13.4 Interim summary of the pairs of brothers — **826**
- C.13.5 Pairs of names 12–33 — **829**
- C.13.6 Review of the pairs of names — **836**
- C.14 Olivier and his Family — **836**
- C.14.1 The distribution of the name *Olivier* until 1060 — **837**
- C.14.1.1 The south — **837**
- C.14.1.2 The west — **842**
- C.14.1.3 The north — **845**
- C.14.2 Summary of the early period, further dissemination — **845**
- C.14.3 Could the name *Olivier* be derived from another name? — **849**
- C.14.4 The symbolism behind the name — **854**
- C.14.5 This name-type and its productivity in Galloromania — **860**
- C.14.6 This name and the Peace of God movement — **862**
- C.14.7 Olivier's epic family — **867**
- C.14.7.1 Olivier's epic family around and shortly after 1200 — **867**
- C.14.7.2 Olivier's epic family before 1200 (excluding the Song of Roland) — **869**
- C.14.7.3 Olivier's epic family in the Song of Roland — **873**
- C.14.8 Digression: Morant de Rivières — **877**
- C.14.9 Back to the prehistory of the name Olivier – and some facts of Burgundian history — **880**
- C.14.10 Review of Olivier — **885**
- C.15 Roland — **886**
- C.15.1 The relevance of the defeat in 778 — **886**
- C.15.2 The historicity of Roland — **898**
- C.15.2.1 Roland in Charlemagne's charter from the year 772 — **899**
- C.15.2.2 The dinars with the names of Roland and Charlemagne — **902**

- C.15.2.3 Roland in Einhart's *Vita Karoli* — **921**
- C.15.3 Review of the historicity of Roland — **935**
- C.15.4 Why not Eggihard or Anselm? — **935**
- C.15.5 Was Roland related to the Carolingians? — **941**
- C.15.6 Arguments on the probability of an early, rudimentary Roland legend in northern France — **949**
- C.15.6.1 The forged donation by Abbot Fulrad mentioning *Rotlanus comes* — **949**
- C.15.6.2 The Roland episode in Dudo of Saint-Quentin — **953**
- C.15.7 The distribution of the name *Roland* — **965**
- C.15.7.1 Outside Galloromania — **966**
- C.15.7.1.1 The High German-speaking area — **966**
- C.15.7.1.2 Italy — **968**
- C.15.7.2 *Galloromania*, 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> century — **969**
- C.15.7.3 *Galloromania*, 10<sup>th</sup> century — **972**
- C.15.7.4 The question of root causes — **979**
- C.15.7.5 *Galloromania*, 11<sup>th</sup> century — **986**
- C.15.8 Review of Roland — **995**
- C.16 Gefreid d'Anjou and his brother Tierri/Gaydon — **996**
- C.16.1 Gefreid d'Anjou — **996**
- C.16.2 *Tierri d'Anjou* — **1001**
- C.16.3 *Par anceisurs* – and Angevin history once again — **1005**
- C.16.4 *Gaydon* — **1009**
- C.17 Charlemagne — **1021**
- C.17.1 The name in medieval dynasties — **1021**
- C.17.2 The name in the wider population — **1026**
- C.17.3 The image of Charlemagne: bipolarity of the character, the title and the name — **1027**

## **D Appendix**

- D.1 Abbreviations — **1031**
  - Books of the Vulgate Cited — **1031**
- D.2 Literature cited — **1035**
- D.3.1 Proper names in the Song of Roland — **1103**
- D.3.2 Authors and texts from before 1600 — **1113**