

**Transmission and Adaptation of the Trojan Narrative
in Frankish History between the Sixth and Tenth Centuries**

Nurgül Kıvılcım Yavuz

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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in memoriam Deniz Şengel

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Abstract

This study involves a close examination of the story of the Trojan origin of the Franks in the following works: the *Chronicle of Fredegar*, the *Liber historiae Francorum*, the *Aethici philosophi Scythae cosmographia* attributed to Saint Jerome, the *Historia vel gesta Francorum*, the *Historia de origine Francorum* attributed to Dares of Phrygia, the *Chronicon universale usque ad annum 741*, Paul the Deacon's *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, Frechulf of Lisieux's *Historiarum libri XII*, and Aimoin of Fleury's *Historia Francorum libri IV*. It traces the continuity and differences, the similarities and influences among these works that utilise the Trojan narrative in order to construct a genealogy for the Franks. The study indicates a high point in the engagement with the story between the 720s and the 770s, a period of great transformation for the Frankish world. Furthermore, not only does the analysis of the different versions of the story in these works reveal that they are heavily interconnected in terms of textuality but the manuscript evidence additionally suggests that much more complex relationships were at play as they circulated throughout the Frankish region in the ninth century. In approaching the Trojan narrative as a whole, this study not only contributes to a neglected topic in the field of medieval studies but also brings together the textual and manuscript evidence in order to reach a full understanding of its significance with regard to early Frankish history. Thus, in addition to analyses of the texts and textual comparisons among the works this study also integrates research gathered from manuscripts that include one or more of these works. In doing so, it presents interrelationships among the works that are not obvious to the modern reader and contextualises them in the broader framework of the Trojan narrative.

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List of Abbreviations

Publications

- Becker, *CBA* Gustav Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* (Bonn: M. Cohen and Son, 1885)
- Bischoff, *Katalog* Bernhard Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für die Herausgabe der mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz, 3 vols (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998–2014)
- Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography* Bernhard Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trans. by Dáibhí Ó Cróinín and David Ganz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990)
- Bischoff, *Manuscripts* Bernhard Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne*, trans. by Michael M. Gorman, Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology, 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 1991, 2007)
- Bischoff, *Südostdeutschen Schreibschule* Bernhard Bischoff, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschule und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit*, 2 vols (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1960–1980)
- CGM* *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements*, 7 vols (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1849–1885)
- CGMF* *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1886–)

- Delisle, *Cabinet* Léopold Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la bibliothèque impériale: Étude sur la formation de ce dépôt, comprenant les éléments d'une histoire de la calligraphie, de la miniature, de la reliure, et du commerce des livres à Paris avant l'invention de l'imprimerie*, 3 vols (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1868–1881)
- Faivre d'Arcier, *Histoire* Louis Faivre d'Arcier, *Histoire et géographie d'un mythe: La circulation des manuscrits du 'De Excidio Troiae' de Darès le Phrygien (VIIIe–XVe siècles)*, Mémoires et documents de l'École des chartes, 82 (Paris: École des chartes, 2006)
- Gottlieb, *Bibliotheken* Theodor Gottlieb, *Ueber mittelalterliche Bibliotheken* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1890)
- Lowe, *CLA* E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores: A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century*, 12 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934–1971)
- MBKDS, ed. by Lehmann and others *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, ed. by Paul Lehmann and others, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge*, 4 vols (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1918–1979)
- Mostert, *Fleury* Marco Mostert, *The Library of Fleury: A Provisional List of Manuscripts*, *Middeleeuwse Studies en Bronnen/Medieval Studies and Sources*, 3 (Hilversum: Verloren, 1989)
- Munk Olsen, *L'étude* Birger Munk Olsen, *L'étude des auteurs classiques latins aux XIe et XIIIe siècles*, Documents, études et répertoires, 4 vols (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1982–2014)

Te.Tra., ed. by Chiesa and Castaldi *La Trasmissione dei Testi Latini del Medioevo / Medieval Latin Texts and Their Transmission. Te.Tra.*, ed. by Paolo Chiesa and Lucia Castaldi, *Millennio medievale*, 50, 57, 75, 94, 98, *Strumenti e studi. Nuova serie*, 8, 10, 18, 32, 35, 5 vols (Florence: SISMEL – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2004–2013)

Publication Series

BSGRT	Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana
CCAMA	Corpus Christianorum Autographa Medii Aevi
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
MGH AA	Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Auctores antiquissimi
MGH PL	Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Poetae Latini medii aevi
MGH QGM	Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters
MGH SRG	Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Germanicum in usum scholarum separatim editi
MGH SRLI	Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum
MGH SRM	Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum
MGH SS	Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores in folio
SCBO	Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis

Manuscript Repositories

ACA	Archivo de la Corona de Aragón
ADR	Archives Départementales du Haut-Rhin
BA	Biblioteca Ambrosiana
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BB	Burgerbibliothek
BBB	Biblioteca del Conte Baldeschi-Balleani
BCL	Biblioteca Capitolare Lolliniana
BEU	Biblioteca Estense universitaria
BHS	Bayerische Hauptstaatsarchiv
BIM	Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Section Médecine
BL	British Library
BLB	Badische Landesbibliothek
BM	Biblioteca Marciana
BML	Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana
BMu	Bibliothèque municipale
BMe	Bibliothèques médiathèques
BN	Bibliothèque nationale
BNaU	Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire
BNC	Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale
BNE	Biblioteca Nacional de España
BNF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
BNU	Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria
BoL	Bodleian Library
BRi	Biblioteca Riccardiana
BSA	Basilica di Sant' Ambrogio, Archivio Capitolare
BSB	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
BU	Biblioteka Uniwersytecka
BZB	Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek
CCC	Corpus Christi College
CL	Cathedral Library
DCL	Dean and Chapter Library
DMR	David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library

GSB	Gräfllich Schönbornsche Bibliothek
HAB	Herzog-August Bibliothek
HLB	Hessische Landesbibliothek
JC	Jesus College
KB	Koninklijke Bibliotheek
KBE	Klosterbibliothek der Erzabtei
KBR	Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België/Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique
MC	Magdalen College
MPM	Museum Plantin-Moretus
NLS	National Library of Scotland
ÖNB	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
PC	Pembroke College
RBE	Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo de El Escorial
RNB	Russische Nationalbibliothek I Saltykova-Shchedrina-Biblioteka
SRB	Stadt- und Regionalbibliothek Erfurt
StaB	Staatsbibliothek
StiB	Stiftsbibliothek
StuB	Studienbibliothek
SS	Séminaire de Salzennes
SSB	Staats- und Stadtbibliothek
SUB	Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek
UB	Universitätsbibliothek
UBG	Universiteitsbibliotheek Ghent
UBL	Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden
UBU	Universitetsbibliothek Uppsala
UL	University Library
ZB	Zentralbibliothek

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Notes

Manuscripts are listed by the modern English name of the city in which they are currently being held. This is followed by the name of the repository and the shelfmark. If the shelfmark of a manuscript has changed, the older shelfmark is also provided in square brackets especially if it is still in use in scholarship; however, small changes in the name of the repositories are not indicated. In the case of missing or destroyed manuscripts, last known details are provided. Manuscripts that survived to modern times which are no longer available are indicated with an asterisk (*) after the shelfmark. Manuscripts are dated either by year in Arabic numerals or by century in Roman numerals. Whenever possible, further details about the century are provided in superscripts: (ⁱⁿ) refers to the first 25 years of a century; (^{ex}) to the last 25 years, (^{med}) to the years 26–74, (¹) to the first half, (²) to the second half, (^{1/3}) to the first third, (^{1/4}) to the first quarter and so on. A lacuna in the text is signalled with [///]. For translations from Latin, available translations were utilised but almost in every occasion, they were altered for the sake of overall consistency.

Introduction

Troy and Transtextuality in the Middle Ages

The past is never dead. It's not even past.
William Faulkner, *Requiem for a Nun*

The Trojan War, which is traditionally considered to have occurred in the twelfth century BCE, has been one of the most exploited subjects throughout European culture and history. Not only did it provide some of the most important literary motifs for ancient Greek and Roman culture, it also played a role in the genesis of the nations of early medieval Europe and continues to touch us in the modern day. The Trojans had an afterlife that connected them to multitudes of subsequent peoples. Such tales are first found in classical Roman sources used primarily to promote Trojan origins of the Romans. Subsequently, after the fall of the western Roman Empire at the end of the fifth century, through chronicles, genealogies, annals, and universal histories, stories of Trojan origins connected most of the European peoples to Troy. From the seventh century onwards, the Franks (and later the French) along with the Macedonians, the Turks, the British, the Normans, the Danes and even the Icelanders, were also traced back to the migrant Trojans. From the twelfth century onwards, stories of Trojan origins multiplied even faster; they are not only found in historical accounts but also in vernacular poems and romances.

In line with the popularity of the Trojan War in European culture, since the eighteenth century, there has been an amazingly high number of scholarly publications on the topic of the fall of Troy. Whereas some of these studies focus solely on the archaeological site of Troy and the material findings on the site, a good number of them concentrate on analyses of individual written works that deal with the story of Troy, particularly, as one might expect, with Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.¹ In the past decades,

¹ The literature on Homer is vast. Among the most recent studies, see, for example, *The Homer Encyclopedia*, ed. by Margalit Finkelberg, 3 vols (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011); Lawrence Kim, *Homer Between History and Fiction in Imperial Greek Literature*, Greek Culture in the Roman World (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Jonathan Gottschall, *The Rape of Troy: Evolution, Violence, and the World of Homer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Maureen Alden, *Homer Beside Himself: Para-Narratives in the 'Iliad'* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

there have also been studies that utilise literary and historical accounts on the Trojan War in order to interpret archaeological evidence, or vice versa.² There are also comprehensive surveys of the story of Troy in relation to both literary works and art, however, by their nature, these do not concern themselves with detailed investigation of the written culture.³ It may be argued that with regard to the Trojan narrative in the Middle Ages, scholarly research has focused for the most part on the later medieval period and vernacular works, and hence the works that are at the heart of the present study are largely neglected.⁴ Thus, although various aspects of the story of Troy both in the classical period and in the later medieval period and beyond have elicited attention from scholars, the development of the Trojan narrative in the transition from Antiquity to the Middle Ages and its reception during the early medieval period, which culminated in the full development of the story of Trojan origins, is yet to be studied. This, roughly the period from the sixth through the tenth centuries, is the chronological scope of this study.

² See, for example, Joachim Latacz, *Troy and Homer: Towards a Solution of an Old Mystery*, trans. by Kevin Windle and Rosh Ireland (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Trevor R. Bryce, *The Trojans and Their Neighbours* (London: Routledge, 2005); Rodney Castleden, *Attack on Troy* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Military, 2006).

³ Few prominent examples include the following: Margaret R. Scherer, *The Legends of Troy in Art and Literature*, 2nd edn (New York: Phaidon Press for the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1964); Arthur M. Young, *Troy and Her Legend* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1971); Susan Woodford, *The Trojan War in Ancient Art* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993); Michael J. Anderson, *The Fall of Troy in Early Greek Poetry and Art*, Oxford Classical Monographs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997); Guy Hedreen, *Capturing Troy: The Narrative Functions of Landscape in Archaic and Early Classical Greek Art* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2000).

⁴ Among these works, some of the important ones are: C. David Benson, *The History of Troy in Middle English Literature: Guido delle Colonne's 'Historia destructionis Troiae' in Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1980); Christopher Baswell, *Virgil in Medieval England: Figuring the 'Aeneid' from the Twelfth Century to Chaucer*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 24 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Marc-René Jung, *La légende de Troie en France au moyen âge: Analyse des versions françaises et bibliographie raisonnée des manuscrits*, Romanica Helvetica, 114 (Basel: Francke, 1996); Sylvia Federico, *New Troy: Fantasies of Empire in the Late Middle Ages*, Medieval Cultures, 36 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003); Kordula Wolf, *Troja—Metamorphosen eines Mythos. Französische, englische und italienische Überlieferungen des 12. Jahrhunderts im Vergleich*, Europa im Mittelalter, 13 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2009). See also the articles in *Fantasies of Troy: Classical Tales and the Social Imaginary in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Alan Shepard and Stephen D. Powell, Essays and Studies, 5 (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2004).

Hitherto, there have been few studies concerning the origin stories of the European peoples that include the story of the Trojan origins.⁵ To date, origin stories including that of the Trojans are almost exclusively examined as part of studies on ethnicity, which gained prominence especially in the past decades.⁶ These studies, by their nature, do not take the broader Trojan narrative into consideration in their analyses as they relate to the story of Trojan origins.⁷ Other important works published in the past thirty years on the history of the Franks are again partly devoted to the story of the Trojan origins; these, however, deal with the late medieval and early modern periods.⁸ Thus, no comprehensive study that is particularly devoted to the Trojan narrative in Frankish history during the early Middle Ages yet has been undertaken.

In looking at the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks, the present study approaches the Trojan narrative as a whole and considers the transmission and adaptation of the narrative as a continuous process. It understands the concept of continuity in the manner that it was used by Reiss, that is, ‘continuity does suppose that the one(s) came from the other(s)’:

⁵ The most significant work to date is Patrick J. Geary, *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002). See also Magali Coumert, *Origines des peuples: Les récits du Haut Moyen Âge occidental (550–850)*, Collection des Études Augustiniennes: Série Moyen Âge et Temps modernes, 42 (Paris: Institut d’Études Augustiniennes, 2007), which has a narrower scope on the same topic. Both include chapters on the Trojan ancestry of the Franks.

⁶ For the general framework of ethnicity, see especially Patrick J. Geary, ‘Ethnicity as a Situational Construct in the Early Middle Ages’, *Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, 113 (1983), 15–26; Herwig Wolfram, ‘*Origo et Religio*. Ethnic Traditions and Literature in Early Medieval Texts’, *Early Medieval Europe*, 3 (1994), 19–38; Walter Pohl, ‘Conceptions of Ethnicity in Early Medieval Studies’, in *Debating the Middle Ages: Issues and Readings*, ed. by Lester K. Little and Barbara H. Rosenwein (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), pp. 15–24. See also the collected essays in *Strategies of Distinction: The Construction of the Ethnic Communities, 300-800*, ed. by Walter Pohl and Helmut Reimitz, *The Transformation of the Roman World*, 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1998); *Regna and Gentes: The Relationship Between Late Antique and Early Medieval Peoples and Kingdoms in the Transformation of the Roman World*, ed. by Hans-Werner Goetz, Jörg Jarnut, and Walter Pohl, *The Transformation of the Roman World*, 13 (Leiden: Brill, 2003); *Franks, Northmen, and Slavs: Identities and State Formation in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. by Ildar H. Garipzanov, Patrick J. Geary, and Przemysław Urbańczyk, *Cursor Mundi*, 5 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008).

⁷ See, for example, Hans-Werner Goetz, ‘*Gens, Kings, and Kingdoms: The Franks*’, in *Regna and Gentes*, ed. by Goetz, Jarnut, and Pohl, pp. 307–44.

⁸ For example, R. Howard Bloch, *Etymologies and Genealogies: A Literary Anthropology of the French Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983); Colette Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late-Medieval France*, ed. by Fredric L. Cheyette, trans. by Susan Ross Huston (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); R. E. Asher, *National Myths in Renaissance France: Francus, Samothès and the Druids* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993); Suzanne Citron, *Le mythe national: L’histoire de France revisitée*, new edn (Paris: Atelier, 2008).

‘Continuity’ [...] speaks to the understanding of why certain cultural paths were taken, to the tracing of their routes, winding and forking as they were, and to some grasp of where they led—and still lead. It does not assume similarities—far less identities—of ‘concept’, ‘method’, ‘logic’ or whatever from one time to another. Continuity does suppose that the one(s) came from the other(s). [...] In this regard, it can and does just as powerfully concern differences, provided it enables us to see how such differences came about, what they meant and mean, what they did and continue to do.⁹

Thus, in terms of textual studies, continuity occurs not only with the usage of direct quotations or allusions to previous works but also with re-visions, re-assumptions, and, more importantly, re-writings of the previous notions and forms, and their adaptation to contemporary socio-cultural history. Every work is a product of cultural exchange and is ‘original’ as much as it continues and rewrites the previous ones. In Kristeva’s words, ‘each word (text) is an intersection of words (texts) where at least one other word (text) can be read’.¹⁰ However, rewriting should not be understood as something that obliterates what comes before; on the contrary, it augments the existing texts. In this respect, the Trojan narrative is nothing but a continuous rewriting, with every new work amplifying its impact.

The Author, the Text and the Manuscript

One of the most enduring ideas in literary theory is that the meaning of the work is defined by the author, that is, by the intention of the author. This approach is especially welcomed by historians, albeit almost always implicitly, as they seek to reconstruct past events by analysing texts. The great majority of the works discussed in this study cannot, however, be securely attributed to a specific author; similarly, when and where they were composed are still debated. For the rest, even when one has the name of an author, this information helps very little—if at all—to identify the intentions of the author. And, even when one believes that the intentions of the author are clearly identifiable, whether or not this helps an examination of the transmission and reception

⁹ Timothy J. Reiss, *Knowledge, Discovery and Imagination in Early Modern Europe: The Rise of Aesthetic Rationalism*, Cambridge Studies in Renaissance Literature and Culture (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 4.

¹⁰ Julia Kristeva, ‘Word, Dialogue, and Novel’, in *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art*, ed. by Leon S. Roudiez, trans. by Tom Gora and Alice Jardin (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), pp. 64–91 (p. 66).

of the text is questionable. Therefore, even though the present study acknowledges the importance of the author and even more so the concept of *auctoritas* in its broader sense, its primary concern is neither the authors of the works themselves nor the authorial intentions at the time when the works in question are composed. The reason behind this is simply because the reader's perception of the authority (or, the author) of the text is more determinative in the reception of the text than the author's intentions.¹¹ In the context of medieval works, the definition of the 'the reader' extends to the scribes and compilers of manuscripts as well. Thus, the present study is more interested in the texts-qua-texts, in the ways they were recorded, preserved, copied and transmitted. In addition to looking at the texts themselves, this study particularly focuses on the relations between texts, the ways they were read, written, reread and rewritten as well as the ways they reread and rewrote one another.¹²

In terms of its approach to the examination of texts, the starting point of this study is a concept developed by Genette: transtextuality.¹³ In the early 1980s, Genette defined transtextuality as 'all that sets the text in a relationship, whether obvious or concealed, with other texts'.¹⁴ In his *Palimpsests*, he further elaborates on the types of relationships and provides a list of five different transtextual relationships:¹⁵ intertextuality,¹⁶

¹¹ Michel Foucault, 'What Is an Author?', in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, ed. by Donald F. Bouchard, trans. by Donald F. Bouchard and Sherry Simon (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977), pp. 124–27 and Roland Barthes, 'The Death of the Author', in *Image, Music, Text*, trans. by Stephen Heath (London: Fontana, 1977), pp. 142–48.

¹² Obviously, neither looking at textual relationships nor looking at texts as rewrites, for that matter, is something new in the fields of classical, late antique and medieval studies. For example, Peter Dronke's collected essays in *Sources of Inspiration: Studies in Literary Transformation, 400–1500* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1997) entirely focus on rewriting during Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. In the 'Preface' (p. 9), he describes his focus as 'the imaginative transformation by writers of the materials they had to hand, assimilated and recalled' but does not go further than that in defining the scope of his work.

¹³ The concept was fully developed by Gérard Genette in *Palimpsestes: La littérature au second degré* (Paris: Seuil, 1982); all quotations are from the English edition: *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, trans. by Channa Newman and Claude Doubinsky, Stages, 8 (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1997).

¹⁴ Genette, *Palimpsests*, p. 1.

¹⁵ Genette, *Palimpsests*, pp. 1–6.

¹⁶ Intertextuality as a term was first used by Julia Kristeva and first appeared as part of her collected essays: *Séméiotikè. Recherches pour une sémanalyse* (Paris: Seuil, 1969). See Kristeva, 'The Bounded Text' and 'Word, Dialogue, and Novel', in *Desire in Language*, ed. by Roudiez, trans. by Gora and Jardin, pp. 36–63 and 64–91 respectively. It was later employed by various theorists including Genette and is still used in differing meanings. At the very least, Genette's definition of intertextuality, as he himself also admits, is narrower and more specific than that of Kristeva, and it is in this context the term is used in the present study. For a brief

paratextuality,¹⁷ metatextuality, hypertextuality, and architextuality. According to Genette, intertextuality is the ‘relationship of copresence between two texts or among several texts: that is to say, eidetically and typically as the actual presence of one text within another’ and thus comprises quoting, plagiarism in the sense of undeclared literal borrowings, and allusion.¹⁸ Paratextuality is the relationship that is brought forth with a series of other texts that surround the text itself, such as titles, subtitles, marginal notes, corrections, and so on that may be autographic or introduced by someone else. Metatextuality is the relationship between a text and what may be considered its commentary. Hypertextuality, on the other hand, is defined as any relationship uniting a text (the hypertext) to an earlier text (the hypotext), ‘upon which it is grafted in a manner that is not that of commentary’.¹⁹ Finally, architextuality denotes ‘the entire set of general or transcendent categories—types of discourse, modes of enunciation, literary genres—from which emerges each singular text’.²⁰

These categories essentially refer to different ways of interaction among texts and how these interactions influence the reader’s reception.²¹ This perspective leads to the

history of the concept of intertextuality, see María Jesús Martínez Alfaro, ‘Intertextuality: Origins and Development of the Concept’, *Atlantis*, 18 (1996), 268–85.

¹⁷ Note that Genette previously uses the term paratextuality in a different sense.

¹⁸ Genette, *Palimpsests*, pp. 1–2.

¹⁹ Genette, *Palimpsests*, p. 5.

²⁰ Genette, *Palimpsests*, p. 1.

²¹ Even though it is clear that this framework of thinking would be helpful in defining the extent of relationships between texts, to this day, the terminology associated with rewriting has been rarely employed in the fields of classical, late antique and medieval Studies. Few works that used the terminology in the past have limited themselves to ‘intertextuality’. See, for example, *Dante and Ovid: Essays in Intertextuality*, ed. by Madison U. Sowell, Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 82 (Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1991); Richard F. Thomas, *Reading Virgil and His Texts: Studies in Intertextuality* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1999); Lowell Edmunds, *Intertextuality and the Reading of Roman Poetry* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001). More recently, Goulet and Heinzelman have employed Genette’s terminology and explained their position in their ‘Avant-propos’, in *La réécriture hagiographique dans l’Occident médiéval: Transformations formelles et idéologiques*, ed. by Monique Goulet and Martin Heinzelmänn, Beihefte der Francia, 58 (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2003), pp. 7–14. However, this work has met with some criticism. Head, for example, states that not all of the works included in the volume commit to the ‘vocabulary’ and that ‘most of the analyses offered could have been composed with none of the new terminology’. He further criticises that ‘nor does the novel methodology, as practiced here, alter any fundamental scholarly assumptions’. See Thomas Head, ‘Review of *La Réécriture Hagiographique Dans l’Occident Médiéval: Transformations Formelles et Idéologiques* by Monique Goulet, Martin Heinzelmänn; *Adsonis Dervensis Opera Hagiographica* by Adso Dervensis, Monique Goulet; *L’œuvre Hagiographique En Prose d’Alcuin: Vitae Willibrordi, Vedasti, Richarii* by Alcuin, Christiane Veyrard-Cosme’, *Speculum*, 80 (2005), 1288–91. Nevertheless, few more works appeared since then: Monique Goulet, *Ecriture et réécriture hagiographiques. Essai sur les réécritures de Vies de saints dans l’Occident latin médiéval*

conclusion that any writing is *rewriting* and that literature—in its widest sense—is always in the second degree. As Prince puts it succinctly, ‘any text is a hypertext, grafting itself onto a hypotext, an earlier text that it imitates or transforms; any writing is rewriting; and literature is always in the second degree’.²² Thus, all works regardless of their genre and language inevitably become part of the same story, and even when they do not directly or indirectly refer to a certain work, any text on the subject relies on and invokes other texts. This approach is especially applicable to the Trojan narrative. In the context of ancient and medieval works, moreover, there is a further aspect to consider in terms of transtextuality: manuscripts. The materiality of the manuscripts offers another set of relationships to be considered: the relationship among texts that have no textual relationship according to the aforementioned categories but nonetheless are found in the same manuscript.

None of the works examined in the present study survive in autograph or authorially sanctioned manuscripts. In best cases, the earliest copies are removed from what is thought to be the original date of composition by a generation. In other cases, they survive in copies of copies that were produced some centuries later. Therefore, investigating manuscripts in order to reveal processes of production, dissemination and reception is all the more important. This way of looking at manuscripts, which is advocated by material philology, is also substantially different from traditional textual criticism which is interested in tracking down the existing witnesses of a text in order to reconstruct an *Urtext*, that is the earliest, ‘original version’ of the work.²³ During this process, all the variants are noted but the editor ultimately chooses what s/he thinks is the ‘best’ representative in order to establish this ‘original version’. However, as

(VIIIe–XIIIe s.), Hagiologia, 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005); Marek Thue Kretschmer, *Rewriting Roman History in the Middle Ages: The ‘Historia Romana’ and the Manuscript Bamberg, Hist. 3* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), Jane H. M. Taylor, *Rewriting Arthurian Romance in Renaissance France: From Manuscript to Printed Book* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2014). See also the edited volumes: *Écriture et réécriture des textes philosophiques médiévaux: Volume d’hommage offert à Colette Sirat*, ed. by J. Hamesse and O. Weijers, *Textes et études du moyen âge*, 34 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006) and *Citation, Intertextuality and Memory in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. by Yolanda Plumley, Giuliano Di Bacco, and Stafano Jossa, *Exeter Studies in Medieval Europe: History, Society and the Arts*, 2 vols (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2011–2013).

²² Gerald Prince, ‘Foreword’, in Genette, *Palimpsests*, pp. ix–xi (p. ix).

²³ For an overview of the development of material philology and its principles, see Matthew James Driscoll, ‘The Words on the Page: Thoughts on Philology, Old and New’, in *Creating the Medieval Saga: Versions, Variability, and Editorial Interpretations of Old Norse Saga Literature*, ed. by Judy Quinn and Emily Lethbridge (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2010), pp. 85–102.

Cerquiglini underlines, ‘medieval writing does not produce variants; *it is variance*’.²⁴ Thus the endless rewriting to which medieval textuality is subjected through manuscript production in addition to composition of new works may only be uncovered by application of the principles of material philology, which values the manuscript in itself and believes in the study of manuscripts as artefacts.²⁵

Thanks to the meticulous work of Lowe, it is estimated that some 1,900 manuscripts survive from the period prior to the ninth century.²⁶ On the other hand, based on Bischoff’s work, an estimated 8,200 continental manuscripts survive from the ninth century.²⁷ According to a recent study conducted by Buringh, however, estimated total manuscript production in the Latin west during the sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth centuries is 13,552, 10,639, 43,702 and 201,742 respectively.²⁸ Even when these figures are taken with caution, it is clear that modern scholars are looking at a fraction of what was available to late antique and medieval audiences. These estimates not only show what was lost but also underline how imperative it is to study manuscripts, and to consider surviving manuscript evidence in scholarship. Furthermore, as Reimitz states, ‘some of the most important Frankish historical sources have come down to us via different routes of transmission and in a number of (either abbreviated or augmented) versions. They have also often been combined with other texts so as to form greater historical *compendia*.’²⁹

²⁴ Emphasis is mine. Bernard Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la variante: Histoire critique de la philologie* (Paris: Seuil, 1989); the quotation is from the English edition: *In Praise of the Variant: A Critical History of Philology*, trans. by Betsy Wing (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), p. 77.

²⁵ For an exploration of the ramifications of textual variance, see David C. Greetham, *The Pleasures of Contamination: Evidence, Text, and Voice in Textual Studies*, Textual Cultures: Theory and Praxis (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010).

²⁶ Lowe has counted some 1811 manuscripts in *CLA*. For further additions to this list, see Bernhard Bischoff and Virginia Brown, ‘Addenda to *Codices Latini Antiquiores*’, *Medieval Studies*, 47 (1985), 317–66; Bernhard Bischoff, Virginia Brown, and James J. John, ‘Addenda to *Codices Latini Antiquiores* (II)’, *Mediaeval Studies*, 54 (1992), 286–307; Hope Mayo and Sunil Sharma, ‘The E. A. Lowe Papers at the Pierpont Morgan Library’, *Scriptorium*, 46 (1992), 90–107.

²⁷ Bischoff, *Katalog*.

²⁸ Eltjo Buringh, *Medieval Manuscript Production in the Latin West: Explorations with a Global Database*, Global Economic History, 6 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), see especially pp. 261–62, Tables 5.5 and 5.6.

²⁹ Helmut Reimitz, ‘The Art of Truth. Historiography and Identity in the Frankish World’, in *Texts and Identities in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Richard Corradini and others (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2006), pp. 87–104 (p. 88).

The Present Study

In light of this brief background, the methodological approach of the present study is to expand on the concept of rewriting and Genette's theory of transtextuality by applying ideas derived from material philology in order to investigate the transmission and adaptation of the Trojan narrative in Frankish history between the sixth and tenth centuries. The first chapter, 'Troy in Late Antique and Early Medieval Imagination', provides a general background on the expansiveness of the Trojan narrative in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages with an emphasis on the historicity of Troy, the Trojans and the Trojan War. It argues that pieces of information such as who the Trojans were, where Troy was and when the Trojan War happened were common knowledge for late antique and early medieval audiences and that these were regarded as historical facts rather than as part of a *mythical* past. This chapter also includes a brief analysis of the depiction of the Trojans as migrants to Europe in sources that were composed prior to the first surviving written accounts that portray the Franks as descendants of the migrant Trojans. The result of this analysis strongly suggests that the *origin* of the story of Trojan origins of the Franks lies in the accumulated Gallo-Roman tradition that the Franks acquired.

The second chapter, 'Major Works in Circulation during the Early Middle Ages', investigates the main sources on Troy that were available to the early medieval audience. Five works that are selected for closer examination, namely, the *Ilias Latina* attributed to Homer, Virgil's *Aeneid*, the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani* attributed to Dictys of Crete, the *De excidio Troiae historia* attributed to Dares of Phrygia, and the anonymous *Excidium Troie*, are exclusively devoted to the matter of Troy albeit in different styles and with different scopes. Concentrating on the manuscript evidence, the focus of the chapter is the reception and transmission of these works before the twelfth century. It is argued that the interest in the Trojan narrative in the Frankish world noticeably influenced the production and circulation of all of these five works. In turn, these works, and especially the *De excidio Troiae historia*, not only played a crucial role in preserving the memory of the Trojan War in the Latin Middle Ages but also supported the flourishing of the story of Trojan origins of the European peoples, most notably of the Franks.

The third chapter, ‘The Trojan Origins of the Franks’, is devoted to the first written appearance of the Frankish claim to Trojan descent. Found in the seventh-century *Chronicle of Fredegar*, the story connecting the Franks to the Trojans appears in two sections of the work. In the compilation, one of these accounts is attributed to Saint Jerome and the other to Gregory of Tours. Even though Jerome and Gregory did not associate the Franks with the Trojans in their respective accounts, the present study argues that the attribution of the story to their *auctoritas* in the *Chronicle of Fredegar* had a significant impact on the credibility of the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks in later centuries. Finally, it is argued that the two accounts found in the *Chronicle of Fredegar* are essential, not only because they signal the beginning of the story but also because of their later circulation and adaptation.

Entitled ‘The Trojan Heritage from the Merovingians to the Carolingians and the Capetians’, the fourth chapter surveys the works that include the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks from the eighth through the tenth centuries. Here the Merovingians, Carolingians and Capetians are principally used to denote the periods that correspond to the years 450–751, 751–987 and 987–1328 respectively. The use of these terms also signals the continued appropriation of the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks despite changes in political power. The first six works examined in this chapter, namely the *Liber historiae Francorum*, Ps. Jerome’s *Aethici philosophi Scythae cosmographia*, the *Historia vel gesta Francorum*, the *Historia de origine Francorum* attributed to Dares of Phrygia, the *Chronicon universale usque ad annum 741* and Paul the Deacon’s *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, are composed during the eighth century. Following a discussion on Frechulf of Lisieux’s *Historiarum libri XII*, which was the only ‘new’ work that was composed in the ninth century, the rest of the chapter briefly considers how the narrative developed in the tenth century and beyond beginning with Aimoin of Fleury’s *Historia Francorum libri IV*. A closer examination of the Trojan narrative in these works indicate a high point in the engagement with the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks that occurred between the years 720s and 770s, a period of great transformation for the Frankish world. Furthermore, not only does the analysis of the different versions of the story in these works reveal that they are heavily interconnected but the manuscript evidence additionally suggests that they circulated at the same times.

Finally, the fifth chapter, 'The Complex Network of Texts', reflects on the dissemination of the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks in light of the manuscript evidence laid out in the previous chapters. The surviving manuscripts display the extent of the spreading of the story throughout the Frankish realm by the beginning of the tenth century. In addition, the manners in which the Trojan narrative is employed in the earliest Frankish manuscript compilations are considered by examining as case studies three compilations that include works that have no intertextual relationships: Paris, BNF, lat. 7906 (Part III) + Paris, BNF, lat. 5018 (Part II), London, BL, Arundel 375 and Leiden, UBL, VLQ 5 + Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 713. The investigation into these manuscript compilations provides further proof that any consideration of the Trojan narrative should be undertaken from a more encompassing point of view.

Chapter 1

Troy in Late Antique and Early Medieval Imagination

When was Troy taken? ‘Sometime’ in the past.
Aristotle, *Physica auscultationes*

For the past three millennia, the stories surrounding the fall of Troy have been a popular topic in European culture.¹ Today, the ancient site of Troy is believed to be located in the north-western part of Turkey. The site was included in the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1998, and excavations have continued since its re-discovery in 1793 by Franz Kauffer. The archaeological evidence found so far suggest that human occupation on the site of Troy began in the early Bronze Age—that is the late 4000 BCE—and that the first defensive wall around the citadel was built around 3000 BCE. Was there a Trojan War? Korfmann (1942–2005), who had worked on the site from 1988 onwards, states that ‘Troy appears to have been destroyed around 1180 BC [...] probably by a war the city lost’.² Indeed, that there can be ‘no doubt’ that ‘there really was an actual historical Trojan War’ had already been passionately defended by Blegen, excavator of Troy in 1932–1938.³ Some scholars, however, argue that an actual war never took place in Troy and that the associated narratives are purely fictitious despite the depiction of the story of Troy on artefacts as well as works of art and its persistent existence in various contexts in literary works and historical accounts alike throughout the centuries.⁴

While the exact location of Troy and the dating of the Trojan War is not the primary concern of this study, it should be underlined that for late antique and early medieval people, pieces of information such as who the Trojans were, where Troy was,

¹ For a general survey, see Diane P. Thompson, *The Trojan War: Literature and Legends from the Bronze Age to the Present*, 2nd edn (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2013).

² Manfred Korfmann, ‘Was There a Trojan War?’, *Archaeology*, 57 (2004), 36–38 (p. 36).

³ Carl William Blegen, *Troy and the Trojans*, Ancient Peoples and Places, 32 (London: Thames & Hudson, 1963), p. 20.

⁴ For a brief overview about differing opinions, see Kurt A. Raaflaub, ‘Homer, the Trojan War, and History’, *The Classical World*, 91 (1998), 386–403. For arguments about archaeological evidence not supporting a war taking place in Troy, see, for example, M. I. Finley, J. L. Caskey, G. S. Kirk, and D. L. Page, ‘The Trojan War’, *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 84 (1964), 1–20. For a recent evaluation of the archaeological evidence, see also Charles Brian Rose, *The Archaeology of Greek and Roman Troy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

when the Trojan War happened were common knowledge and that these constituted facts. In addition, from oral to material culture the omnipresence of the Trojan narrative prior to the appearance of the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks should be appreciated.

1.1 The Historicity of Troy, the Trojans and the Trojan War

Keitel states that ‘for the ancients, Troy was the *urbs capta exemplum* par excellence’.⁵ Yet, Troy was much more than that. In European memory, the Trojan War always was very much a part of world history and represented a crucial milestone in the development of time. From the early years of Antiquity, authors have not only dated the Trojan War but also connected many other events of significance to the date of the War and dated them accordingly. As early as the fifth century BCE, Herodotus, who was famously called the ‘father of history’ by Cicero, not only dated the Trojan War but also, on several occasions, related many events in connection with the date of the War.⁶ In the later centuries, numerous authors followed this model and using the date of the Trojan War as a historical marker became very common among authors. For example, both the early second-century author Appian and the third-century author Diogenes of Laertia related various historical events to the date of the fall of Troy:

The Phoenicians founded Carthage, in Africa, fifty years before the capture of Troy.⁷

The date of the Magians, beginning with Zoroaster the Persian, was 5000 years before the fall of Troy.⁸

He [Plato] says that the Lesser Diacosmos was compiled 730 years after the capture of Troy.⁹

⁵ Elizabeth Keitel, ‘The Art of Losing: Tacitus and the Disaster Narrative’, in *Ancient Historiography and Its Contexts: Studies in Honour of A. J. Woodman*, ed. by Christina S. Kraus, John Marincola, and Christopher Pelling (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 331–52 (p. 331).

⁶ Herodotus, *The Histories of Herodotus*, ed. by E. H. Blakeney, trans. by George Rawlinson (London: Dent, 1964).

⁷ Appian, *Roman History*, trans. by Horace White, LCL, 2, 3, 4, 5, 4 vols (London: Heinemann; New York: Macmillan, 1912–1913), I (1912), VIII.1.

⁸ Diogenes of Laertia, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, trans. by R. D. Hicks, LCL, 184, 185, 2 vols (London: Heinemann; New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1925), I, I.Prologue.4.

⁹ Diogenes of Laertia, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, II, IX.7.41.

The idea of the Trojan War as a chronological milestone continued into Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Many authors of chronicles and histories of the late antique and early medieval period also devoted a place to the Trojan War in the chronology of events and associated other events to its date. It may be argued that Troy as a milestone transferred into Christian historical writing with Eusebius and Jerome in the fourth century. In the so-called *Eusebius-Jerome Chronicle*, not only the Trojan War is used as a milestone but also in the surviving manuscripts of the work a special place is devoted to the part in which the fall of Troy is narrated.¹⁰ Here, the usual synchronised and tabular layout of the chronicle is interrupted in order to indicate the significance of the fall of Troy (see Figure 1.1). The reason, as Jung underlines, is that ‘la chute de Troie est donc *le* grand événement de l’histoire universelle’.¹¹ Following Eusebius and Jerome, other prominent authors of chronicles and histories, including Eutropius in the fourth, Orosius in the fifth, Jordanes in the sixth, Isidore in the seventh, and Bede in the eighth century, also devoted a place to the Trojan War in the chronology of events and associated other events to its date.¹²

Similarly, information regarding the geographical location of Troy as well as the people(s) who migrated to Europe after the fall of Troy already were engraved in memory for centuries when the story of Trojan origins of the Franks was put down into writing in the mid-seventh century. In his *Naturalis historia* dated to the first century, Pliny the Elder describes the location as follows:

Phrygia Troadi superiecta populisque a promunturio Lecto ad flumen Echeleum praedictis septentrionali sui parte Galatae contermina, meridiana Lycaoniae, Pisidiae Mygdoniaeque, ab oriente Cappadociam attingit. Oppida ibi celeberrima praeter iam dicta Ancyra, Andria, Celaenae, Colossae, Carina, Cotaion, Ceraine, Conium, Midaium.

¹⁰ For the edition, see *Eusebius Caesariensis. Werke. 7: Die Chronik des Hieronymus / Hieronymi Chronicon*, ed. by Rudolf Helm, Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte, 47 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1956).

¹¹ Marc-René Jung, ‘L’histoire grecque: Darès et les suites’, in *Entre fiction et histoire: Troie et Rome au moyen âge*, ed. by Emmanuèle Baumgartner and Laurence Harf-Lancner (Paris: Presses de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, 1997), pp. 185–206 (p. 186). Emphasis belongs to Jung, who also stresses that ‘La chute de Troie est mieux mise en valeur que la naissance du Christ!’ (p. 200, n. 6).

¹² For influence of these works during the early Middle Ages, see Lars Boje Mortensen, ‘The Diffusion of Roman Histories in the Middle Ages. A List of Orosius, Eutropius, Paulus Diaconus, and Landolfus Sagax Manuscripts’, *Filologia Mediolatina*, 6–7 (1999), 101–200; Carmen Condñer, José Carlos Martín and Adelaida Andrés, ‘Isidorus Hispalensis Ep., *Chronica*’, in *Te.Tra*, ed. by Chiesa and Castaldi, II, 362–69; Michael Lapidge, ‘Beda Venerabilis 2. Opera historica’, in *Te.Tra*, ed. by Chiesa and Castaldi, III, 69–111.

Phrygia lies behind Troad and the peoples already mentioned between Cape Lectum and the river Echeleus. On its northern side, it marches with Galatia, on its southern side with Lycaonia, Pisidia and Mygdonia, and on the east it extends to Cappadocia. Its most famous towns beside the ones already mentioned are Ancyra, Andria, Celaenae, Cobossae, Carina, Cotyaion, Ceraine, Coniuni and Midaiuni.¹³

In a similar fashion, in the seventh century, Isidore of Seville (c.560–636) describes where Troy is and even how it got its name in his *Etymologiae*:

Est autem regio [Phrygia] Troadi superiecta ab Aquilonis parte Galatiae; a meridiana vicina est Lycaoniae; ab oriente Lydiae adhaeret; ab occidente Hellesponto mari terminatur. Huius regio Troia est, quam ex suo nomine appellavit Tros, Troianorum rex, Ganymedis pater. Duae sunt autem Phrygiae: maior et minor. Maior Phrygia Smyrnam habet, minor vero Ilium.

This territory [Phrygia] is situated above the Troad, with the region of Galatia to the north; in the south it is a neighbour of Lyconia, it borders Lydia in the east, and in the west it is bounded by the Hellespont. It contains the region of Troy, which Tros, the king of the Trojans and father of Ganymede, named after himself. There are two Phrygias: Phrygia Major and Phrygia Minor. Smyrna lies in Phrygia Major and Ilium in Phrygia Minor.¹⁴

It should be pointed out that this description provided by Isidore pretty much describes where the ancient site of Troy is believed to be located today. Comparable accounts by both Greek and Roman historians may be found. For example, when he is talking about Julius Caesar's journey, Lucan describes the location of Troy and mentions Caesar visiting Troy.¹⁵ Arrian, on the other hand, narrates Alexander's visit to Troy.¹⁶ Further examples of various other historical figures visiting Troy are also found in other accounts.¹⁷

¹³ *Natural History*, trans. by H. Rackham and others, LCL, 330, 352, 353, 370, 371, 392, 393, 418, 394, 419, rev. edn, 10 vols (London: Heinemann; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1938–1956), II (1942), V.41.

¹⁴ *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi. Etymologiarum sive originum: libri XX*, ed. by W. M. Lindsay, SCBO, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), XIV.3.40. References henceforward will be indicated by book, section and sentence numbers in the text. For the translation, see *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, trans. by Stephen A. Barney and others (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). Translations are altered for the sake of overall consistency.

¹⁵ Lucan, *The Civil War*, trans. by J. D. Duff, LCL, 220 (London: Heinemann; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1928), IX.950–975.

¹⁶ Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander*, trans. by P. A. Brunt, LCL, 236, 269, rev. edn, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976–1983), I, I.11–12.

¹⁷ See Michael Sage, 'Roman Visitors to Ilium in the Roman Imperial and Late Antique Period: The Symbolic Functions of a Landscape', *Studia Troica*, 10 (2000), 211–31.

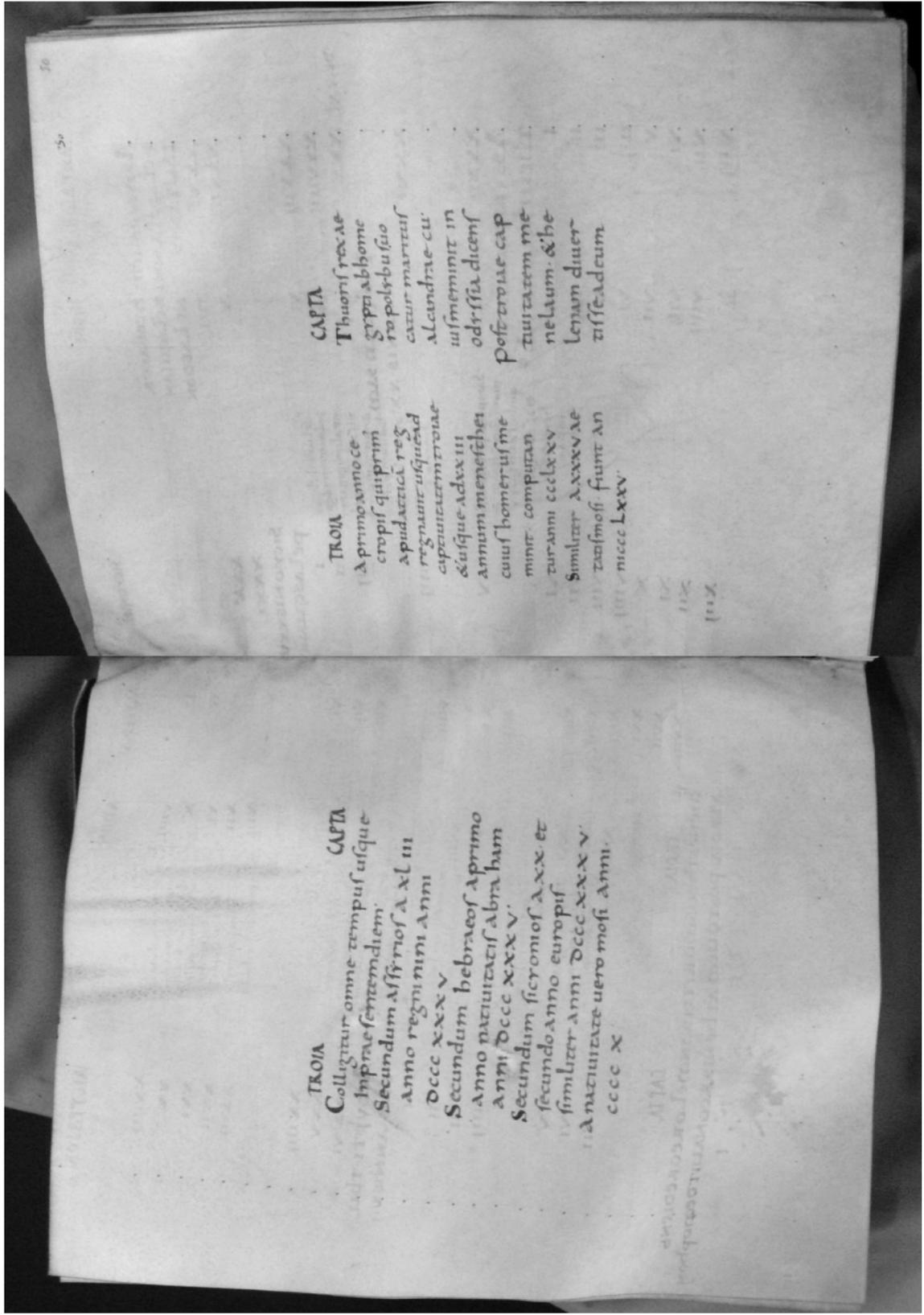


Figure 1.1 'Troia capta' in the *Eusebius-Jerome Chronicle*, Leiden, UBL, VLQ 110, fols. 49v–50r (photo by the author)

In addition to the knowledge of the location of Troy and mentions of several important figures visiting Troy, it is also recorded that emperor Constantine initially intended to build a city at the site of Troy before he decided on Byzantium. This account is first narrated by Sozomen in the mid-fifth century as follows:

when he [Constantine] had settled the affairs of the empire according to his own mind, and had rectified foreign affairs by wars and treaties, he resolved upon founding a city which should be called by his own name, and should be equal in celebrity to Rome. With this intention, he repaired to a plain at the foot of Troy, near the Hellespont, above the tomb of Ajax, where, it is said, the Achaeans had their naval stations and tents while besieging Troy; and here he laid the plan of a large and beautiful city, and built the gates on an elevated spot of ground, whence they are still visible from the sea to those sailing by. But when he had advanced thus far, God appeared to him by night, and commanded him to seek another spot. Led by the hand of God, he arrived at Byzantium in Thrace, beyond Chalcedon in Bithynia, and here he was desired to build his city and to render it worthy of the name of Constantine. In obedience to the words of God, he therefore enlarged the city formerly called Byzantium, and surrounded it with high walls.¹⁸

The same story albeit more briefly is also narrated by Theophanes the Confessor in the beginning of the ninth century.¹⁹ More importantly, it is found in the *Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita* dated to the sixth century, which was widespread in the Latin west.²⁰ The *Historia Tripartita* is a compilation and a translation into Latin of three fifth-century works written by Theodoret the Lector, Socrates Scolasticus and Sozomen. The work in Greek is thought to be compiled by Cassiodorus and then translated into Latin by Epiphanius. The excerpts taken from all three authors are almost verbatim translations, and therefore, the event is narrated almost exactly as it is found in the *Historia* of Sozomen with further information added from Socrates regarding the choice of Byzantium.

¹⁸ *The Ecclesiastical History of Sozomen: Comprising a History of the Church from A.D. 324 to A.D. 440*, trans. by Edward Walford (London: Bohn, 1855), II.3.

¹⁹ *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History, AD 284–813*, trans by Cyril Mango and Roger Scott (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 37.

²⁰ *Cassiodori-Epiphanii Historia ecclesiastica tripartita: Historiae ecclesiasticae ex Socrate, Sozomeno et Theoderito in unum collectae et nuper de Graeco in Latinum translatae libri numero duodecim*, ed. by Walter Jacob and Rudolf Hanslik, CSEL, 71 (Vienna: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1952), II.17. For a recent survey of the manuscript transmission of the work, see Désirée Scholten, 'The History of a *Historia*: Manuscript Transmission of the *Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita* by Epiphanius-Cassiodorus' (unpublished master's thesis, Utrecht University, 2010).

1.2 The Depiction of the Trojans as Migrants from Asia to Europe

Among the works that narrate the travels of the Trojans after the fall of the city, the most famous is undoubtedly Virgil's *Aeneid*.²¹ However, the story of Trojan origins of the Romans was already very well established by the time Virgil (70 BCE–19 BCE) undertook the *Aeneid* and it may be argued that the *Aeneid* was in fact the peak point for the story.²² Writing during Virgil's lifetime, for example, Sallust (86 BCE–c.35 BCE) digresses from his main focus to give a brief account of the foundation of Rome and the Roman people in the opening chapters of the *Bellum Catilinae*, which was written c.41–40 BCE and which is mainly concerned with the events of 63–62 BCE:

Urbem Romam, sicuti ego accepi, condidere atque habuere initio Troiani, qui Aenea duce profugi sedibus incertis vagabantur, cumque eis Aborigines, genus hominum agreste, sine legibus, sine imperio, liberum atque solutum. Hi postquam in una moenia convenere, dispari genere, dissimili lingua, alius alio more viventes, incredibile memoratu est quam facile coaluerint; ita brevi multitudo divorsa atque vaga concordia civitas facta erat.

The city of Rome, as I understand it, was at the outset founded and inhabited by the Trojans, who were wandering about in exile under the leadership of Aeneas and had no fixed abode; they were joined by the Aborigines, a rustic folk, without laws or government, free and unrestrained. After these two peoples, different in race, unlike in speech and mode of life, were united within the same walls, they were merged into one with incredible facility, so quickly did harmony change a heterogeneous and roving band into a commonwealth.²³

The important point of Sallust's story is that Rome was founded and (at first) inhabited by the Trojans but that the 'Romans' are a mix of the Trojans and the Aborigines. Not

²¹ The authoritative edition is *P. Vergili Maronis Opera*, ed. by R. A. B. Mynors, SCBO (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969). The following latest editions are also consulted: *Aeneis*, ed. by Gian Biagio Conte, BSGRT (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009) and Publius Vergilius Maro, *Bucolica et Georgica*, ed. by Silvia Ottaviano and Gian Biagio Conte, BSGRT (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2013). References to the *Aeneid* henceforward will be indicated by book and line numbers in the text.

²² The most comprehensive work on this topic was undertaken by Jacques Perret in *Les origines de la légende Troyenne de Rome (281–31)*, Collection d'études anciennes (Paris: Société d'édition 'Les Belles lettres', 1942). See also H. J. Edwards, 'The Legends Connected with the Foundation of Rome', in *Livy, Book I*, ed. by H. J. Edwards (1912. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968; 2013), pp. xxiii–xxviii.

²³ Sallust, *The War with Catiline, The War with Jugurtha*, trans. by John C. Rolfe, LCL, 116, rev. edn (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), 6.

long after Sallust, writing around the year 25 BCE, Livy, opens his *Ab urbe condita libri* with the story of the Trojan War and it is worth quoting it at length here:

Iam primum omnium satis constat Troia capta in ceteros saevitum esse Troianos: duobus, Aeneae Antenorque, et vetusti iure hospitii et quia pacis reddendaeque Helenae semper auctores fuerunt, omne ius belli Achivos abstinuisse; casibus deinde variis Antenorem cum multitudine Enetum, qui seditione ex Paphlagonia pulsi et sedes et ducem rege Pylaemene ad Troiam amisso quaerebant, venisse in intimum maris Hadriatici sinum, Euganeisque, qui inter mare Alpesque incolebant, pulsos, Enetos Troianosque eas tenuisse terras. Et in quem primum egressi sunt locum Troia vocatur, pagoque inde Troiano nomen est: gens universa Veneti appellati. Aeneam ab simili clade domo profugum, sed ad maiora rerum initia ducentibus fati, primo in Macedoniam venisse, inde in Siciliam quaerentem sedes delatum, ab Sicilia classe ad Laurentem agrum tenuisse. Troia et huic loco nomen est. Ibi egressi Troiani, ut quibus ab immenso prope errore nihil praeter arma et naves superesset, cum praedam ex agris agerent, Latinus rex Aboriginesque, qui tum ea tenebant loca, ad arcendam vim advenarum armati ex urbe atque agris concurrunt. Duplex inde fama est. Alii proelio victum Latinum pacem cum Aenea, deinde affinitatem iunxisse tradunt: alii, cum instructae acies constitissent, priusquam signa canerent processisse Latinum inter primores ducemque advenarum evocasse ad conloquium; percunctatum deinde qui mortales essent, unde aut quo casu profecti domo quidve quaerentes in agrum Laurentinum exissent, postquam audierit multitudinem Troianos esse, ducem Aeneam, filium Anchisae et Veneris, cremata patria domo profugos sedem condendaeque urbi locum quaerere, et nobilitatem admiratum gentis virique et animum vel bello vel paci paratum, dextra data fidem futurae amicitiae sanxisse. Inde foedus ictum inter duces, inter exercitus salutationem factam; Aeneam apud Latinum fuisse in hospitio; ibi Latinum apud penates deos domesticum publico adiunxisse foedus filia Aeneae in matrimonium data. Ea res utique Troianis spem adfirmat tandem stabili certaue sede finiendi erroris. Oppidum condunt; Aeneas ab nomine uxoris Lavinium appellat. Brevi stirpis quoque virilis ex novo matrimonio fuit, cui Ascanium parentes dixere nomen.

First of all, then, it is generally agreed that when Troy was taken vengeance was wreaked upon the other Trojans, but that two, Aeneas and Antenor, were spared all the penalties of war by the Achivi, owing to long-standing claims of hospitality, and because they had always advocated peace and the giving back of Helen. They then experienced various vicissitudes. Antenor, with a company of Eneti who had been expelled from Paphlagonia in a revolution and were looking for a home and a leader—for they had lost their king, Pylaemenes, at Troy—came to the inmost bay of the Adriatic. There, driving out the Euganei, who dwelt between the sea and the Alps, the Eneti and the Trojans took possession of those lands. And in fact the place where they first landed is called Troy, and the district is therefore known as Trojan, while the people as a whole are called the Veneti. Aeneas, driven from home by a similar misfortune, but guided by fate to undertakings of greater

consequence, came first to Macedonia; thence was carried, in his quest of a place of settlement, to Sicily; and from Sicily laid his course towards the land of Laurentum. This place too is called Troy. Landing there, the Trojans, as men who, after their all but immeasurable wanderings, had nothing left but their swords and ships, were driving booty from the fields, when King Latinus and the Aborigines, who then occupied that country, rushed down from their city and their fields to repel with arms the violence of the invaders. From this point the tradition follows two lines. Some say that Latinus, having been defeated in the battle, made a peace with Aeneas, and later an alliance of marriage.²⁴ Others maintain that when the opposing lines had been drawn up, Latinus did not wait for the charge to sound, but advanced amidst his chieftains and summoned the captain of the strangers to a parley. He then inquired what men they were, whence they had come, what mishap had caused them to leave their home, and what they sought in landing on the coast of Laurentum. He was told that the people were the Trojans and their leader Aeneas, son of Anchises and Venus; that their city had been burnt, and that, driven from home, they were looking for a dwelling-place and a site where they might build a city. Filled with wonder at the renown of the race and the hero, and at his spirit, prepared alike for war or peace, he gave him his right hand in solemn pledge of lasting friendship. The commanders then made a treaty, and the armies saluted each other. Aeneas became a guest in the house of Latinus; there the latter, in the presence of his household gods, added a domestic treaty to the public one, by giving his daughter in marriage to Aeneas. This event removed any doubt in the minds of the Trojans that they had brought their wanderings to an end at last in a permanent and settled habitation. They founded a town, which Aeneas named Lavinium, after his wife. In a short time, moreover, there was a male scion of the new marriage, to whom his parents gave the name of Ascanius.²⁵

In Livy's version of events, the reader learns about not one but two Trojan leaders, Aeneas and Antenor, who migrated to Europe with a group of Trojans, and who settled down in different places in Europe. It is also mentioned that the places the Trojans landed, and the cities they built were named after Troy. It is important to note that, as is seen here, the Trojans leaving the city following the war, wandering in Europe and founding cities named Troy and further populating Europe, is not exclusively a Roman origin story. And, Livy is certainly not the only historian talking about the immigrant Trojans other than the Romans in Europe.

Even in the *Aeneid*, other groups of Trojans are mentioned. In addition to Aeneas's epic journey, Virgil gives an account of the travels of Antenor too. The reader

²⁴ This is in fact the version narrated by Virgil in *Aeneid*, Books VII–XII.

²⁵ Livy, *History of Rome*, trans. by B. O. Foster and others, LCL, 114, 133, 172, 191, 223, 355, 367, 381, 295, 301, 313, 332, 396, 404, 14 vols (London: Heinemann, 1919–1959), I (1919), I.1.

learns that after the arduous journey, Antenor and the group of Trojans with him settle down and found the city of Patavium.²⁶ In the third century, in his *Varia historia*, Aelian also talks about the Greeks allowing the Trojans to leave the city after the fall of Troy:

When Troy was captured the Greeks felt pity at the fate of the captives and issued a typically Greek proclamation: that each free citizen should take away with him one of his possessions, whichever he wanted. Aeneas disregarded everything else and picked up the ancestral deities to carry away. The Greeks were enchanted by his display of piety and allowed him to take a second object. He raised his very aged father on to his shoulders and carried him away. This too caused no small amazement, and they granted him all his private property, demonstrating that even traditional enemies become mild in the face of pious men who respect the gods and their parents.²⁷

In another work, in his *De animalium natura*, this time Aelian does not only mention the Trojans departing Troy after the fall of the city but also the foundation of cities by the Trojans. He first elaborates on the foundation of Lavinium by Aeneas and calls it ‘the grandmother of Rome’:

At any rate in the town of Lavinium, which is in Latium—it is so named after Lavinia the daughter of Latinus at the time when he fought as an ally of Aeneas against the people called Rutulians and overcame them. And Aeneas of Troy, son of Anchises, founded the aforesaid town; and it might be, in a manner of speaking, the grandmother of Rome, because it was from Rome that Ascanius, the son of Aeneas and Creusa the Trojan, set out to found Alba, and Rome was a colony of Alba.²⁸

At a later part of the work, Aelian elaborates on the foundation of Patavium by Antenor:

There is an Italian city in the regions towards the west, and its name is Patavium. They say that the city was the work of Antenor the Trojan. He

²⁶ Patavium is associated with modern Padua, in Italy. The account in the *Aeneid*, I.242–252 is as follows: Antenor potuit, mediis elapsus Achivis, / Illyricos penetrare sinus, atque intima tutus / regna Liburnorum, et fontem superare Timavi, / unde per ora novem vasto cum murmure montis / it mare proruptum et pelago premit arva sonanti. / Hic tamen ille urbem Patavi sedesque locavit / Teucrorum, et genti nomen dedit, armaque fixit / Troia; nunc placida compositus pace quiescit: / nos, tua progenies, caeli quibus adnuis arcem, / navibus (infandum!) amissis, unius ob iram / prodimur atque Italis longe disiungimur oris.

²⁷ Aelian, *Historical Miscellany*, trans. by Nigel Guy Wilson, LCL, 486 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), III.22.

²⁸ Aelian, *On Animals*, trans. by A. F. Scholfield, LCL, 446, 448, 449, 3 vols (London: Heinemann; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958–1959), II (1959), XI.16.

founded it, having escaped with his life from his home when he left his native land after the capture of Troy, because the Greeks had compassion on him, since he saved Menelaus who came with Odysseus as ambassador to treat about Helen, when Antimachus advised that they should be put to death. (IV.8)

According to the fragmentary testimony, events relating to Aeneas's arrival to Italy and foundation of Lavinium are also mentioned by Dio Cassius, Aelian's contemporary, in his *Historia Romana*.²⁹ In the third century again, Diogenes of Laertia quotes a letter from Plato to Archytas, where Plato mentions 'those emigrated from Troy':

Plato to Archytas greeting.

I was overjoyed to get the memoirs which you sent, and I am very greatly pleased with the writer of them; he seems to be a right worthy descendant of his distant forbears. They came, so it is said, from Myra, and were among those who emigrated from Troy in Laomedon's time, really good men, as the traditional story shows. Those memoirs of mine about which you wrote are not yet in a fit state; but such as they are I have sent them on to you. We both agree about their custody, so I need not give any advice on that head. Farewell.³⁰

In his Book III of the *De civitate Dei*, which is devoted to 'deos falsos', Augustine of Hippo has a chapter on 'whether the gods worshipped alike by the Greeks and the Romans were justified in allowing the destruction of Ilium'.³¹ He begins his discussion by stating that the origin of the Roman people is Troy: 'Primum ipsa Troia vel Ilium, unde origo est populi Romani'. In the following chapter, he goes on to quote Sallust as he elaborates on the relationship of the Romans with the Trojans:

'Urbem Romam', inquit Sallustius, 'sicuti ego accepi, condidere atque habuere initio Troiani, qui Aenea duce profugi sedibus incertis vagabantur'.

'The city of Rome', says Sallust, 'as I understand, was founded and inhabited at first by the Trojans who, as exiles under Aeneas's leadership, wandered about without fixed homes'. (III.3)

²⁹ See the fragmentary testimony from later accounts in Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, trans. by Earnest Cary and Herbert B. Foster, LCL, 32, 37, 53, 66, 82, 83, 175, 176, 177, 9 vols (London: Heinemann; New York: Macmillan, 1914–1927), I (1914), Book I (especially pp. 2–5).

³⁰ Diogenes of Laertia, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, II, 8.4.81.

³¹ Augustine of Hippo, *City of God*, trans. by George E. McCracken and others, LCL, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 7 vols (London: Heinemann, 1957–1972), I (1957), III.2. Chapters 2 to 8 of Book III are devoted to discussion of 'Trojan Gods' and whether what happened to Troy, and later to Rome could be attributed to them in any way. Augustine discusses similar topics elsewhere in the work as well; see especially I.2–3. References henceforward will be indicated by book and chapter numbers in the text.

In later parts of the *De civitate Dei*, Augustine provides further details about the arrival of the Trojans to Italy as well as the rule of Aeneas:

Quod eo tempore Aeneas in Italiam venerit quo Labdon iudex praesidebat Hebraeis.

Eo tempore post captam Troiam atque deletam Aeneas cum viginti navibus, quibus portabantur reliquiae Troianorum, in Italiam venit, regnante ibi Latino et apud Athenienses Menestheo, apud Sicyonios Polyphide, apud Assyrios Tautane, apud Hebraeos autem iudex Labdon fuit. Mortuo autem Latino regnavit Aeneas tribus annis, eisdem in supradictis locis manentibus regibus, nisi quod Sicyoniorum iam Pelasgus erat et Hebraeorum iudex Samson; qui cum mirabiliter fortis esset, putatus est Hercules.

That Aeneas came to Italy at the time when Labdon ruled the Hebrews as judge.

At this time, after Troy was captured and destroyed, Aeneas with twenty ships in which the survivors of the Trojans were embarked, came to Italy, when Latinus reigned there and Menestheus was king over the Athenians, Polyphides over the Sicyonians, Tautanes over the Assyrians and Labdon was judge over the Hebrews. Moreover, after Latinus died, Aeneas reigned for three years, while the same kings ruled in the places mentioned above, except that Pelasgus was now ruler of the Sicyonians and Samson judge of the Hebrew's; the latter was so marvellously strong that he has been thought to be Hercules. (XVIII.19)

Even though, as one may expect, Augustine criticises authors who connect every event related to the Trojan War with the gods, and questions their credibility, in no instance does he question the historicity of the Trojan War or the relationship of the Romans with the Trojans. He also mentions the later, much recent—at least according to Augustine—devastation of Troy by Fimbria (III.7).³²

Not only were the stories of the wandering Trojans after the fall of the city common, different peoples of Gaul were also associated with the Trojans. When narrating the undertakings of the emperor in the region of Gaul, in his *Rerum gestarum libri*, the fourth-century historian Ammianus Marcellinus (c.330–c.391) tells that when Troy was sacked by the Greeks some of the Trojans who managed to escape fled to Gaul:

Aiunt quidam paucos post excidium Troiae fugitantes Graecos ubique dispersos loca haec occupasse tunc vacua.

³² Gaius Flavius Fimbria reportedly started a revolt in Asia and, among other things, burnt Troy down and massacred its people around 86–84 BCE.

Some assert that after the destruction of Troy a few of those who fled from the Greeks and were scattered everywhere occupied those regions [in Gaul], which were then deserted.³³

This information comes in a section entitled ‘De origine Gallorum; et unde dicti Celtae ac Galatae; deque eorum doctoribus’: ‘Of the origin of the Gauls; and why the Celts and Galatians were so called; and of their learned men’. Ammianus reports that he is taking most of his information about the origins of the Gauls from a now lost work by Timagenes.³⁴ Despite the fact that he mentions the Franks as a people at other parts of his *Rerum gestarum libri*, as far as the surviving part of his work suggests, Ammianus does not link the Franks with this band of Trojans in Gaul.³⁵

On the other hand, Ammianus does link the Burgundians with the Romans. He reports that emperor Valentinian decided to use the Burgundians in order to suppress the Alamanni.³⁶ As he tells that the request of the emperor was received well, Ammianus explains that this was primarily because Burgundians were ‘descendants of the Romans’:

Gratanter ratione gemina principis acceptae sunt litterae: prima quod iam inde a temporibus priscis subolem se esse Romanam Burgundii sciunt, dein quod salinarum finiumque causa Alamannis saepe iurgabant.

The emperor’s letters were gladly received for two reasons: first, because the Burgundians know that they are descendants of the Romans from ancient times; and then, since they frequently quarrelled with the Alamanni about salt-pits and boundaries. (XXVIII.5.11)

³³ Ammianus Marcellinus, *History*, trans. by John C. Rolfe, LCL, 300, 315, 331, 3 vols (London: Heinemann; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1935–1940), I (1935), XV.9.5.

³⁴ Ammianus, *History*, I (1935), XV.9.2. It also should be noted that this section begins with a quotation from the *Aeneid*, VIII.44–45.

³⁵ The original work is thought to have comprised either thirty-one or thirty-six books; only the last eighteen survive.

³⁶ Ammianus, *History*, III (1940), XXVIII.5.9: ‘Immanis enim natio iam inde ab incunabulis primis varietate casuum imminuta, ita saepius adulescit, ut fuisse longis saeculis aestimetur intacta. Seditque consilia alia post alia imperatori probanti, Burgundios in eorum excitari perniciem, bellicosos et pubis immensae viribus affluentes, ideoque metuendos finitimis universis.’: ‘For this savage nation [the Alamanni], although from its very cradle weakened by a variety of disasters, so often recovers its youthful strength, that people think it has been unassailed for long ages. And the emperor [Valentinian] finally decided, after favouring first one plan and then another, to bring about their destruction through the Burgundians, a warlike people, rich in the strength of countless young warriors, and therefore a cause of terror to all their neighbours.’

In Julius Caesar's *Commentarii de bello Gallico*, it is mentioned that the Aedui were called 'fratres consanguineosque' by the Roman Senate 'saepe numero'.³⁷ Caesar also refers to the Aedui as 'fraternum [...] populi Romani' in other parts of his work.³⁸ That the Aedui were related to the Romans by 'blood'³⁹ and that this was brought by the Senate 'often times' is significant and, more importantly, signals to the fact that this information was commonplace. The events described in the work, those surrounding the Gallic War, are thought to have taken place between 58 BCE and 50 BCE. Cicero (106 BCE–43 BCE), who was writing around the same time, also refers to the Aedui as 'fratres nostri': 'our brothers' in at least two different occasions, first in a letter to Atticus written in 60 BCE, and later in a letter to Trebatius written in 54 BCE.⁴⁰ In addition, in one of the papyrus fragments of Livy's *Ab urbe condita*, the Aedui are also referred to as 'sociorum populi Romani'.⁴¹ The word 'socius', although usually translated as 'ally' has also connotations of shared blood relations.

³⁷ Julius Caesar, *The Gallic War*, trans. by H. J. Edwards, LCL, 72 (London: Heinemann; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1919), I.33: 'in primis, quod Aeduos, fratres consanguineosque saepe numero a senatu appellatos, in servitute atque in ditione videbat Germanorum teneri eorumque obsides esse apud Ariovistum ac Sequanos intellegebat; quod in tanto imperio populi Romani turpissimum sibi et rei publicae esse arbitrabatur.' 'In the first place, he could see that the Aedui, often hailed by the Senate as brethren and kinsmen, were fast bound in slavery and subjection to the Germans, and he was aware that their hostages were with Ariovistus and the Sequani. This, considering the greatness of the Roman Empire, he deemed to be an utter disgrace to himself and to the state.'

³⁸ Caesar, *Gallic War*, I.36; see also I.43, I.44 and VII.77 for other references of affinity between the Aedui and the Romans.

³⁹ The word 'consanguineus' (of the same blood) is used only on a few occasions throughout the work: the Ambarri are 'consanguineus' of the Aedui (I.11); the Remi are 'fratres consanguineosque' of the Suesiones (II.3).

⁴⁰ Cicero, *Letters to Atticus*, trans. by D. R. Shackleton Bailey, LCL, 7, 8, 97, 491, 4 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), I, 19.2: 'nam Haedui, fratres nostri, pugnam nuper malam pugnarunt et Helvetii sine dubio sunt in armis excursionesque in provinciam faciunt.' 'Our brothers, the Aedui, have recently taken a beating, and there is no doubt that the Helvetii are up in arms and raiding the Province.' Cicero, *Letters to Friends*, trans. by D. R. Shackleton Bailey, LCL, 205, 216, 230, 3 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), I, 33.4 (VIII.10.4): 'una mehercule nostra vel severa vel iocosa congressio pluris erit quam non modo hostes sed etiam fratres nostri Haedui.' 'I'll be bound that a single meeting of ours, serious or jocular, will be worth more than all our brothers, the Aedui, to say nothing of the enemy.'

⁴¹ Livy, *History of Rome*, XIV (1959), LXI: 'Quibus bellum inferendi causa fuit, quod Toutomotulum Salluviorum regem fugientem recepissent et omni ope iuissent, quodque Aeduorum agros, sociorum populi Romani, vastassent': 'The reason for waging war on them was that they received Toutomotulus the king of the Salluvii, when he had fled, and assisted him with all their power; also that they had devastated the land of the Aedui, allies of the Roman People'.

Another group of people, the Arverni are also linked with the Trojans. The association of the Arverni with the Trojans may be traced back to Lucan's *De bello civili*:⁴²

Arvernique ausi Latio se fingere fratres
Sanguine ab Iliaco populi,

and to the Arverni who falsely claim descent from Troy
and brotherhood with Rome.

Even though here Lucan stresses that the Arverni are making false claims, it was not how it was remembered in the later centuries. For example, in his letter to Bishop Graecus dated to 474–475, Sidonius Apollinaris reclaims the Arvernian assertion, not least by quoting Lucan:⁴³

Facta est servitus nostra pretium securitatis alienae. Arvernorum, pro dolor, servitus, qui, si prisca replicarentur, audebant se quondam fratres Latio dicere et sanguine ab Iliaco populos computare. si recentia memorabuntur, hi sunt, qui viribus propriis hostium publicorum arma remorati sunt; cui saepe populo Gothus non fuit clauso intra moenia formidini, cum vicissim ipse fieret oppugnatoribus positus intra castra terrori. hi sunt, qui sibi adversus vicinorum aciem tam duces fuere quam milites; de quorum tamen sorte certaminum si quid prosperum cessit, vos secunda solata sunt, si quid contrarium, illos adversa fregerunt, illi amore rei publicae Seronatum barbaris provincias propinquantem non timuerunt legibus tradere, quem convictum deinceps res publica vix praesumpsit occidere.

Our freedom has been bartered for the security of others, the freedom of the Arverni (O the pity of it!) who, if ancient story be recalled, dared once to call themselves 'brothers to Latium' and counted themselves 'a people sprung from Trojan blood'. If recent events be brought to mind these are the men who by their unaided strength checked the arms of the common enemy; these are the people who many a time, though besieged within their walls, felt no fear of the Goth, but in their turn struck terror into their assailants even when these were in their own camp: these are the men who, in facing the enemy host at their gates, were their own leaders as well as soldiers, and yet when their arms had any success their triumph benefited you, whereas if they were worsted it was only they who were crushed by the blow. It was they who, out of love for the State, feared not to hand over Seronatus to the law when he was lavishing whole provinces on the barbarians; and the State in its turn scarcely had the courage to put him to death after his conviction.

⁴² Lucan, *Civil War*, I.427–28.

⁴³ Sidonius Apollinaris, *Letters: Books 3–9*, trans. by W. B. Anderson, LCL, 420 (London: Heinemann, 1965), VII.7.2.

This reference comes shortly before Clermont was surrendered to the Goths in June 475. Not only does this allusion show an awareness about the Trojan identity in late-fifth-century Gaul, but also, as Mratschek points out, makes ‘the besieged Arverni and their leader, Sidonius, into reflections of Aeneas and his Trojan host’.⁴⁴

1.3 Conclusion

The first chapter, ‘Troy in Late Antique and Early Medieval Imagination’, provided a general background on the expansiveness of the Trojan narrative roughly until the mid-seventh century, the period in which the first written accounts that portray the Franks as descendants of the migrant Trojans survive. Beginning with Herodotus, ancient and medieval authors alike used the date of the Trojan War as a historical marker. The importance given to the Trojan War and the fall of Troy is best exemplified in the manuscripts of the *Eusebius-Jerome Chronicle*, where the tabular layout is interrupted to emphasise this crucial turning point in history. In addition to the idea of the Trojan War as a chronological milestone, with which other events of historical significance were connected, the geographical location of Troy was also of concern to authors. From Pliny in the first century to Isidore in the seventh, the location of Troy, and even why the city is called Troy, was well known. Furthermore, visits to Troy by several, very much historical figures such as Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar and Constantine are recorded in different accounts. Thus, just like the ten-year war was not of mythical nature, the city itself was very much a real place.

Similarly, several classical and late antique accounts attest that the Trojans migrated to different parts of Europe following the war. In addition to the Trojans ‘wandering in Europe’, the readers are also told that the migrant Trojans built cities, most of which were named after Troy. The majority of these accounts narrate the origins of the Roman people and their connection to the Trojans. It is seen that even such authors like Saint Augustine did not question the historicity of the Trojan War or the relationship of the Romans with the Trojans. More importantly for the purposes of the present study, in these stories, not only the Romans but also other peoples, especially those living in the region of Gaul and what was going to become the wider

⁴⁴ Sigrid Mratschek, ‘Creating Identity from the Past: The Construction of History in the Letters of Sidonius’, in *New Approaches to Sidonius Apollinaris*, ed. by Johannes A. van Waarden and Gavin Kelly (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), pp. 249–71 (p. 256).

Frankish territory, are associated with the Trojans. Thus, it is found that the Trojans live in the region of Gaul and that, for example, the Burgundians, Aedui and Arverni are associated with the Trojans, although this is sometimes indicated through their common blood with the Romans. The result of this analysis, therefore, strongly suggests that the *origin* of the story of Trojan origins of the Franks lies in the accumulated Gallo-Roman tradition that the Franks acquired.

Chapter 2

Major Works in Circulation during the Early Middle Ages

[L]'histoire est entièrement vraie,
puisque je l'ai imaginée d'un bout à l'autre.
Boris Vian, *L'écume des jours*

From among the wealth of written materials some of which are mentioned in Chapter 1 above, five works that are exclusively devoted to the matter of Troy deserve a closer look as they were the major sources in circulation during the early Middle Ages, especially in the Frankish realm. The story of Troy—its date, its location, the peoples involved, and its war with the Greeks—is certainly best known to modern generations through Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Although these works are well known today, they did not circulate during the Latin Middle Ages, and it may even be argued that an anti-Homeric spirit dominated the European world during the late antique and early medieval periods. Even though it is difficult to imagine Western literature or history without these two canonical works, in the Middle Ages the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were not the major sources about Troy.¹ Homer was chiefly known through the short Latin translation of the *Iliad*, which is also known as the *Ilias Latina* in modern scholarship.² In addition to Homer, it may be argued that the authority on Troy was Virgil. And, Virgil's *Aeneid* was undeniably one of the most popular works throughout the Middle

¹ See, for example, *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. by Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth, 3rd rev. edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), where the entry for the 'Trojan War' simply reads: 'See HOMER; TROY'.

² The first modern edition of the *Ilias Latina* appeared as part of an edition of minor Latin poems: 'Italici *Ilias Latina*', in *Poetae Latini Minores*, ed. by Emil Baehrens, BSGRT, 6 vols (Leipzig: Teubner, 1879–1883), 3 (1881), 3–59. Shortly after this, a more detailed study of the work appeared: *Italici 'Ilias Latina'*, ed. by Frédéric Plessis (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1885), and in the beginning of the twentieth century, another edition was published albeit with no critical apparatus: *Ilias Latina*, ed. by W. H. S. Jones (London: Blackie & Son Limited, 1906). The most recent editions, which are accompanied with translations into Italian and English respectively, are the following: *Baebii Italici 'Ilias Latina'*, ed. and trans. by Marco Scaffai, Edizioni e saggi universitari di filologia classica, 28 (Bologna: Pàtron, 1982) and *The Latin Iliad*, ed. and trans. by George A. Kennedy (Fort Collins: G. A. Kennedy, 1998). According to Dickey, Kennedy's edition 'appears to be derived from the works of Scaffai and his predecessors rather than from re-examination of the manuscripts'. See Eleanor Dickey, 'Review of *The Latin Iliad. Introduction, Text, Translation, and Notes*, by George A. Kennedy', *Bryn Mawr Classical Review*, 1999 <<http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/1999/1999-01-06.html>> [accessed 2 April 2012]. References are therefore to Scaffai's edition and will be indicated by line numbers in the text.

Ages. Moreover, the *Aeneid*'s impact was further amplified with the late antique and early medieval commentaries that often accompanied the work. In addition to Homer and Virgil's verses, three late antique prose works that were exclusively devoted to the matter of Troy were in circulation in the early Middle Ages: the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani* attributed to Dictys of Crete, the *De excidio Troiae historia* attributed to Dares of Phrygia,³ and the *Excidium Troie*.⁴ The *De excidio Troiae historia* was by far the most popular work among these three late antique accounts and it had a significant impression on early medieval Frankish historiographical writing.

A detailed and thorough analysis of all of these five works is beyond the scope of the present study; therefore, this chapter briefly investigates their reception during the early Middle Ages as well as the relationship among them focusing on the manuscript evidence. These works shaped the perception of the Trojan War and its principal actors and enabled the transmission of the Trojan narrative in the west, first in Latin and later in vernacular languages. Heavily dismissed in modern scholarship, the three late antique works especially played a crucial role, perhaps much more than the *Ilias Latina* and the *Aeneid*. They relate to a very well known narrative but were composed independently from one another during a period of European transformation. They include different

³ Initially, the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani* and the *De excidio Troiae historia* were edited by Meister and published consecutively by Teubner in the second half of the nineteenth century: *Dictys Cretensis. Ephemeridos belli Troiani. Libri sex*, ed. by Ferdinand Meister, BSGRT (Leipzig: Teubner, 1872) and *Daretis Phrygii de excidio Troiae historia*, ed. by Ferdinand Meister, BSGRT (Leipzig: Teubner, 1873). Following the discovery of two papyri fragments in 1899 and 1966 respectively, there have been two more editions of the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani* by Eisenhut in 1958 and 1973 respectively. The most recent edition is *Dictys Cretensis. Ephemeridos belli Troiani Libri a Lucio Septimio ex Graeco in Latinum Sermonem Translati. Accedunt papyri Dictys Graeci in Aegypto inventae*, ed. by Werner Eisenhut, BSGRT, 2nd edn (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1973; 1994). Both works have been translated into English based on the Teubner editions as a single book: *The Trojan War: The Chronicles of Dictys of Crete and Dares the Phrygian*, trans. by Richard M. Frazer, Jr., Indiana University Greek and Latin Classics (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966); see 'A Journal of the Trojan War by Dictys of Crete', pp. 17–130 and 'The Fall of Troy: A History by Dares the Phrygian', pp. 131–68. More recently, two more translations of the *De excidio Troiae historia* into English based on the same 1873 edition were published as part of a master's thesis: Jonathan Cornil, 'Dares Phrygius' *De Excidio Troiae Historia: Philological Commentary and Translation*' (unpublished master's thesis, Ghent University, 2012), pp. 50–72 and 73–93. Unless otherwise stated, all references are to the Teubner editions and will be indicated by chapter numbers in the text.

⁴ The first modern edition of the work was *Excidium Troiae*, ed. by E. Bagby Atwood and Virgil K. Whitaker (Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1944). A newer edition based on a more comprehensive selection of manuscripts was undertaken about three decades ago: *Excidium Troie*, ed. by Alan Keith Bate, *Lateinische Sprache und Literatur des Mittelalters*, 23 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1986). All references are to Bate's edition and will be indicated by chapter numbers in the text. There are no translations of the work into English or any other modern language to my knowledge.

details and contradict one another at times but they all circulated during the same periods—and even sometimes travelled together in the same manuscripts. Especially the *Excidium Troie* and the *De excidio Troiae historia* are also associated with other, seemingly unrelated works in a number of manuscripts, examples of which are discussed in detail in Chapter 5. They were also translated and freely adapted into various vernacular languages with the beginning of the twelfth century, which in turn created separate ‘new’ works, but even then their own circulation did not come to an end. As it is clear from the discussion below, the interest in the Trojan narrative in the Frankish world noticeably influenced the production and circulation of all of these five works. In turn, these works, and especially the *De excidio Troiae historia*, not only played a crucial role in preserving the memory of the Trojan War in the Latin Middle Ages but also supported the flourishing of the story of the Trojan origins of the European peoples, most notably of the Franks.

2.1 Homer and the *Ilias Latina*

Homer’s *Iliad* is thought to be composed around the late eighth century BCE,⁵ and the written evidence for criticisms with regard to Homer and his narration about the Trojan War go back as early as to Plato’s *Republic*, which is dated to around 380 BCE.⁶ As much as Plato acknowledges Homer’s accomplishments as a poet and accepts his popularity and influence on masses, accusing him for composing ‘false stories’, Plato criticises Homer’s depiction of the gods and thus finds his writings ‘harmful’ in terms of education:⁷

⁵ For the English translation, for the most part, the following edition with a prose translation is consulted: *The Iliad*, trans. by Augustus Taber Murray, LCL, 170, 171, 2 vols (London: Heinemann, 1924–1925). However, all references to the *Iliad* will be indicated by the conventional book and line numbers in the text.

⁶ *Plato’s Republic*, trans. by Paul Shorey, LCL, 237, 276, 2 vols (London: Heinemann; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1937–1962).

⁷ See Books II and III, especially 377–394 in the *Republic* for the development of the discussion and further similar comments. In the second half of the *Republic*, Plato moves on from the contents of Homer’s verse to arguments with regard to the nature of poetry as a whole (Book VI). For a detailed discussion on Plato’s views on Homer, see Jules Labarbe, *L’Homère de Platon*, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de philosophie et lettres de l’Université de Liège, 117 (Liège: Faculté de philosophie et lettres, 1949).

We will beg Homer and the other poets not to be angry if we cancel those and all similar passages, not that they are not poetic and pleasing to most hearers, but because the more poetic they are the less are they suited to the ears of boys and men. (III.387b)

Shorey states that the ‘expurgation of Homer and Homeric mythology holds a place that may weary the modern reader but is not disproportionate to the importance of the matter for Plato’s generation and for the Christian Fathers who quote it almost entire’.⁸ Indeed, perhaps the most influential author on matters of Christianity, Augustine of Hippo, who capitalises on the story of Troy in various contexts in his *De civitate Dei* as briefly exemplified in Chapter 1 above, also criticises Homer and openly cite classical authors such as Cicero in support of his arguments:

Sed ‘fingebat haec Homerus’, ait Tullius, ‘et humana ad deos transferebat: divina mallem ad nos’. Merito displicuit viro gravi divinorum criminum poeta confictor.

But Cicero writes: ‘Homer invented these stories and transferred human qualities to the gods. I would rather he had transferred divine qualities to us.’ This responsible man rightly disapproved of a poet who made up stories about the misdeeds of the gods. (IV.26)

In the centuries following Plato and Cicero, especially during the period called the Second Sophistic (from around the mid-first through the mid-third centuries), criticism of Homer crystallised in the arguments of philosophers such as Dio Chrysostom (c.40–120),⁹ who practically devotes himself to display how Homer misrepresented the story of the Trojan War. In addition to criticisms about Homer’s treatment of the story, there were also problems concerning placing Homer securely at a certain time period. In his translation of Eusebius of Caesarea’s *Chronicon*, Jerome, for example, notes the following entry where it corresponds to the year 1104 BCE:

Homerus secundum quorundam opinionem his fuisse temporibus iudicatur. Quanta autem de eo apud veteres dissonantia fuerit, manifestum esse poterit ex sequentibus. Quidam eum, ex quibus Crates, ante descensum Heraclidarum ponunt LXXX annos post bellum Trojanum. Eratosthenes

⁸ Shorey, ‘Introduction’, in *Plato’s Republic*, I (1937), pp. vii–lv (pp. xiv–xv).

⁹ For a detailed discussion see Walter Alexander Montgomery, *Dio Chrysostom as a Homeric Critic* (Baltimore: John Murphy Company, 1901); Richard Hunter, ‘The Trojan Oration of Dio Chrysostom and Ancient Homeric Criticism’, in *Narratology and Interpretation: The Content of Narrative Form in Ancient Literature*, ed. by Jonas Grethlein and Antonios Rengakos (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), pp. 43–62.

post C annos Trojanae captivitatis. Aristarchus Ionica emigratione, sive post annos C<CXL>. Philochorus post emigrationem Ionicam sub Archippo Atheniensium magistratu, et post captam Trojam annos CLXXX. Apollodorus Atheniensis CCXL anno eversionis Ilii. Exstiterunt alii, qui modico tempore antequam olympiades inciperent, CD retro annis Trojanae captivitatis eum fuisse putent, licet Archilochus XXIII olympiadem, et quingentesimum Trojanae eversionis annum supputet.

According to the opinion of some, Homer is judged to have been in these times. However, how much disagreement there was among the ancients about him, can be revealed from the following. Some, among them Crates, place him before the descent of the Heraclids, 80 years after the Trojan War. Eratosthenes, after 100 years from the Trojan captivity. Aristarchus, at the time of the Ionian migration, or after 100 <140> years. Philochorus, after the Ionian migration at the time when Archippus held the magistracy of the Athenians and 180 years after the capture of Troy. Apollodorus the Athenian, 240 years after the overthrow of Ilium. Others have come forward, who think that he lived earlier, a short time before the Olympiads began, 400 years from the Trojan captivity, granted that Archilochus calculates the year as the 23rd Olympiad and the 500th from the Trojan collapse.

This entry is found among other entries where he keeps mentioning that Homer *perhaps* lived ‘in these times’.¹⁰

As Homer and his work continued to be questioned, the consideration of Homer as a ‘liar’ also found its way to various texts, becoming even stronger after Late Antiquity and remaining throughout the Middle Ages. In Book I.6 of the *Divinae institutiones*, Lactantius (c.250–c.325) provides the following information:¹¹

quintam Erythraeam, quam Apollodorus Erythraeus affirmat suam fuisse civem, eamque Graiis [*sic*], Ilium petentibus vaticinatam, et perituram esse Troiam, et Homerum mendacia scripturum.

¹⁰ Jerome brings in Homer throughout the text only a few times, and when it is not about when he might have lived, it is only to explain that a certain character Jerome mentions is named differently by Homer. Other references are as follows: 1160 BCE: ‘certain men say that Homer lived at this time’; 1017 BCE: ‘Some say Homer and Hesiod lived in these times’; 1036 BCE: ‘The Ionian emigration, in which some write that Homer participated’; 913 BCE: ‘In the Latin history we discover these things written word-for-word: “When Agrippa is reigning among the Latins, the poet Homer is important in Greece,” as Apollodorus the Grammarian and Euphorbus the Historian testify, 124 years before the founding of Rome, and so Cornelius Nepos says, 100 years before the first Olympiad’. See *Hieronymi Chronicon*, ed. by Helm.

¹¹ Lactantius, ‘*Divinae Institutiones*’, in *Firmiani Lactantii Opera*, ed. by Otto Fridolin Fritzsche, *Bibliotheca patrum ecclesiasticorum latinorum selecta*, 10, 11, 2 vols (Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1842), I, 1–114 (p. 14).

the fifth of Erythraea, whom Apollodorus of Erythraea affirms to have been his own countrywoman, and that she foretold to the Greeks when they were setting out for Ilium, both that Troy was doomed to destruction, and that Homer would write lies.

This passage, for instance, would then find its way almost verbatim in Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* in the seventh century:

quinta Erythraea nomine Herophila in Babylone orta, quae Graecis Ilium petentibus vaticinata est perituram esse Troiam, et Homerum mendacia scripturum. (VIII.8.4)

Starting at least with the early fourth century BCE, Homer had been criticised for portraying gods as thieves and adulterers as well as for picturing them fighting with mortals, for including supernatural elements in the story and thus not being credible as an historical account, and for being biased and favouring certain heroes. As it is discussed below, Homer is also challenged in the preface of the *De excidio Troiae historia* attributed to Dares of Phrygia. Thus, Homer's name may have served as an inspiration for poets yet his version of the story was often disregarded throughout the Middle Ages especially by authors who were in pursuit of historical accuracy.

Not only the Middle Ages sustained this anti-Homeric spirit but also neither the *Iliad* nor the *Odyssey* as they are known today circulated in the Latin West; they were not translated into Latin and remained largely unknown especially due to the decline of the knowledge of Greek language starting with Late Antiquity.¹² It would take until the mid-fourteenth century for these works to be completely translated into Latin. Even then, upon receiving a Greek manuscript of Homer from Nicolas Sigeros, the Byzantine ambassador in Italy at the time, humanist scholar Francesco Petrarca (1304–1371) would comment: 'Homerus tuus apud me mutus, imo vero ego apud illum surdus sum': Your Homer is mute as far as I am concerned, or rather I am deaf as far as he is concerned.¹³ Petrarca would later persuade Leontius Pilatus to translate the *Iliad*

¹² For a brief survey on translations from Greek into Latin, see Dean P. Lockwood, 'Two Thousand Years of Latin Translation from the Greek', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 49 (1918), 115–29.

¹³ Cited from *Rerum familiarum liber*, XVIII. 2 in Pierre de Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, Bibliothèque littéraire de la Renaissance, new edn, 2 vols (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1907), II, 133.

together with the *Odyssey* into Latin.¹⁴ Nevertheless, despite the full translation he had done into Latin, there is evidence that even Petrarca had not relied solely on Homer but interpolated information from other sources on the Trojan War for his own writing, including the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani* and the *De excidio Troiae historia*.¹⁵

Until these translations appeared in the second half of the fourteenth century, Homer's narrative was chiefly known through the *Ilias Latina* in the Latin Middle Ages. Once attributed to Pindar, and now attributed to Baebius Italicus, the *Ilias Latina* is dated to the first century, sometime before the year 68.¹⁶ Twenty-four books, which amount to 15,000 lines, of the Greek *Iliad* are shortened into 1,070 Latin hexameter lines in the *Ilias Latina*, where the first five books occupy half of the verse.¹⁷ As is clear from the length of the work, a number of the passages such as the description of Zeus and Poseidon (*Iliad*, XIII. 345–60) and the long speeches as well as the presence of gods are completely omitted and supernatural events are greatly reduced in the *Ilias Latina*. Despite these omissions and reductions—and some additions—however, the *Ilias Latina* follows the order of the narrative of the *Iliad*.

¹⁴ For further information on Petrarca's involvement in the translation of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* into Latin, see de Nolhac, 'Pétrarque et les auteurs Grecs', in *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, II, 127–88. Two manuscripts of this translation both belonging to Petrarch himself and both dated to 1369 survive to date.

¹⁵ See de Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, especially II, 43, 177, 240. See also Valentina Proserpi, "Even Children and the Uneducated Know Them": The Medieval Trojan Legends in Dante's *Commedia*, *Medievalia et Humanistica: Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Culture*, New Series, 40 (2015), 83–112 and 'The Trojan Chronicles of Dictys and Dares in the Early Italian Humanism: A Reassessment', *Atlantide*, 2 (2014) <<http://atlantide.univ-nantes.fr/The-trojan-Chronicles-of-Dictys>> [accessed 5 January 2015].

¹⁶ The reason for the attribution to Pindar during the later Middle Ages is rather mysterious. The modern attribution to Baebius Italicus, on the other hand, is mainly based on the acrostics at the beginning (lines 1–8) and the end (lines 1063–1070) of the work that read 'Italicus scripsit': Italicus wrote. See Scaffai, 'Introduzione', in *Baebii Italici 'Ilias Latina'*, ed. and trans. by Scaffai, pp. 1–80 (pp. 57–65).

¹⁷ For the division of the work, see Scaffai, 'Introduzione', in *Baebii Italici 'Ilias Latina'*, ed. and trans. by Scaffai, pp. 1–80 (pp. 46–48). The following translations have also been utilised: Welcome A. Tilroe, 'The *Ilias Latina*: A Study of the Latin *Iliad*, Including Translation, Commentary, and Concordance' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Southern California, 1939), pp. 133–223; 'The Medieval Homer: The *Ilias Latina*', trans. by Kathryn L. McKinley, *Allegorica: A Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, 19 (1998), 3–61; *Achilles in Rome: The Latin 'Iliad' of Baebius Italicus*, trans. by Steven R. Perkins (Morrisville: Lulu Press, 2006). Also, see the correspondence table provided by Perkins in his translation: *Achilles in Rome*, p. 72.

Although neither of Homer's epic poems was available in Latin during the most of the Middle Ages, this shorter version of the *Iliad* circulated in the Latin West under the name of Homer. Not only Homer's name is mentioned towards the very end of the poem, on line 1066,¹⁸ but also the surviving manuscript evidence suggests that it was exclusively introduced as belonging to Homer (see Table 2.1).¹⁹ Out of the surviving thirteen witnesses that are dated to before the twelfth century, ten witnesses identify the text as Homer's either in their incipits or explicits. Both the beginning and the end of the text are missing from the remaining three witnesses; however, there is no reason to suspect that these also once had similar incipits or explicits. Scaffai attributes the survival of the *Ilias Latina* to its short length and 'Virgilian flavour' even though he also thinks it is a mystery how the work survived the first centuries of the Common Era, when Greek was still known in the West.²⁰

Scholars agree that the *Ilias Latina* was intended as a school book and Haight states 'its evident purpose as a reader's digest of heroic stories'.²¹ In his short introduction to his edition of the work, Jones argues that the *Ilias Latina* 'appears to have been much used in schools during the later Roman Empire'.²² Perkins further states that there are 'continual references to the work from the sixth through the thirteenth centuries'.²³ Perhaps in contrast to its attributed popularity during the late antique and early medieval periods by modern scholars, the earliest witness to *Ilias Latina*, now housed in Brussels, belongs to the end of the tenth century and is merely a folio fragment used as a pastedown for the binding of another manuscript (see Table 2.1).

¹⁸ The line reads: *Iamque tenet portum metamque potentis Homeri.*

¹⁹ For more information about the manuscripts and the manuscript tradition, see Marco Scaffai, 'Tradizione manoscritta dell'*Ilias Latina*', in *In verbis verum amare: miscellanea dell'Istituto di filologia latina e medioevale*, Università di Bologna, ed. by Paolo Serra Zanetti, Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di magistero, nuova serie, 5 (Florence: La nuova Italia, 1980), pp. 205–77 and Scaffai, 'Introduzione', in *Baebii Italici 'Ilias Latina'*, ed. and trans. by Scaffai, pp. 1–80 (pp. 29–56).

²⁰ Scaffai, 'Introduzione', in *Baebii Italici 'Ilias Latina'*, ed. and trans. by Scaffai, pp. 1–80 (p. 29).

²¹ Elizabeth Hazelton Haight, 'The Tale of Troy: An Early Romantic Approach', *The Classical Journal*, 42 (1947), 261–69 (p. 269).

²² Jones, 'Introduction', in *Ilias Latina*, ed. by Jones, pp. iii–v (p. iii).

²³ Perkins, 'Introduction', in *Achilles in Rome*, pp. vii–xxi (p. xvii).

Table 2.1 Earliest Witnesses of the *Ilias Latina*

Manuscript	Date	Origin	Incipit and Explicit
Brussels, KBR, 4343–4344 (Part II) ²⁴	X ^{ex}	northern France	<i>N/A: beginning missing</i> FINIT HOMERI LIBER
Antwerp, MPM, M 82 [66] (Part II) ²⁵	X/XI	north-eastern France or Flanders	INCIPIT LIBER HOMERI POETAE EXPLICIT LIBER HOMERI POETAE
Regensburg, BZB, s. n. ²⁶	X/XI	southern Germany	<i>N/A: beginning and end missing</i>
Valenciennes, BMu, 448 [420] ²⁷	X/XI	north-eastern France or Flanders	INCIPIT LIBER HOMERI POETAE FINIT HOMERI LIBER
Florence, BML, Plut.68.24 ²⁸	XI	central France	INCIPIT LIBER HOMERI EXPLICIT LIBER HOMERI
Turin, BNU, E.V.20 ²⁹	XI	France	<i>N/A: beginning and end missing</i>
Wolfenbüttel, HAB, 797 Novi ³⁰	XI	France (?)	<i>N/A: beginning and end missing</i>

²⁴ Scaffai indicates that this witness was written in tenth- or eleventh-century Caroline miniscule in ‘Tradizione manoscritta’, in *In verbis verum amare*, ed. by Zanetti, pp. 205–77 (p. 240); however, he dates it to the tenth century in ‘Conspectus Siglorum’, in *Baebii Italici ‘Ilias Latina’*, ed. and trans. by Scaffai, pp. 80–81 (p. 81).

²⁵ Scaffai, ‘Tradizione manoscritta’, in *In verbis verum amare*, ed. by Zanetti, pp. 205–77 (pp. 219–20) and ‘Introduzione’, in *Baebii Italici ‘Ilias Latina’*, ed. and trans. by Scaffai, pp. 1–80 (p. 36).

²⁶ Scaffai, ‘Tradizione manoscritta’, in *In verbis verum amare*, ed. by Zanetti, pp. 205–77 (p. 221) and ‘Introduzione’, in *Baebii Italici ‘Ilias Latina’*, ed. and trans. by Scaffai, pp. 1–80 (p. 40).

²⁷ Scaffai, ‘Tradizione manoscritta’, in *In verbis verum amare*, ed. by Zanetti, pp. 205–77 (pp. 225–26) and ‘Introduzione’, in *Baebii Italici ‘Ilias Latina’*, ed. and trans. by Scaffai, pp. 1–80 (p. 37).

²⁸ Scaffai, ‘Tradizione manoscritta’, in *In verbis verum amare*, ed. by Zanetti, pp. 205–77 (pp. 213–14) and ‘Introduzione’, in *Baebii Italici ‘Ilias Latina’*, ed. and trans. by Scaffai, pp. 1–80 (p. 39).

²⁹ Scaffai, ‘Tradizione manoscritta’, in *In verbis verum amare*, ed. by Zanetti, pp. 205–77 (pp. 238–39) and ‘Introduzione’, in *Baebii Italici ‘Ilias Latina’*, ed. and trans. by Scaffai, pp. 1–80 (pp. 39–40).

³⁰ This is a folio fragment that was used as binding material of a sixteenth-century manuscript and contains only ll. 658–86 and 988–1019. See Hans Butzmann, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Gruppen Extravagantes, Novi und Novissimi*, Kataloge der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, 15 (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 1972), pp. 390–92. See

Manuscript	Date	Origin	Incipit and Explicit
Saint-Claude, BMu, 2 (Part III) ³¹	XI	central France	INCIPIT LIBER HOMERI EXPLICIT LIBER HOMERI
Leiden, UBL, VLO 89 ³²	XI ²	central-northern France	INCIPIT LIBER HOMERI EXPLICIT
Oxford, BoL, Rawlinson G. 57 [14788] ³³	XI ²	England	HIC INCIPIT LIBER HOMERI <i>No explicit</i>
Oxford, BoL, Auct. F. 2. 14 [2657] ³⁴	XI ²	England	INCIPIT LIBER PRIMVS HOMERI POETAE DE TROIANO BELLO <i>No explicit</i>
Venice, BM, Lat. Z. 497 [1811] ³⁵	XI ^{ex}	central-southern Italy	INCIPIT OMERI POETAE LIBER PRIMUS <i>No explicit</i>
Erfurt, SRB, Ampl. 12. 20 ³⁶	XI/XII	southern Germany	INCIPIT LIBER HOMERI <i>No explicit</i>

also Scaffai, ‘Tradizione manoscritta’, in *In verbis verum amare*, ed. by Zanetti, pp. 205–77 (p. 241).

³¹ Scaffai, ‘Tradizione manoscritta’, in *In verbis verum amare*, ed. by Zanetti, pp. 205–77 (pp. 210–11) and ‘Introduzione’, in *Baebii Italici ‘Ilias Latina’*, ed. and trans. by Scaffai, pp. 1–80 (pp. 38–39); Faivre d’Arcier, *Histoire*, p. 108. Bate (‘Introduction’, in *Excidium Troie*, ed. by Bate, pp. 5–19 (p. 11)) dates the manuscript to either the tenth or the eleventh century.

³² Scaffai, ‘Tradizione manoscritta’, in *In verbis verum amare*, ed. by Zanetti, pp. 205–77 (pp. 215–16) and ‘Introduzione’, in *Baebii Italici ‘Ilias Latina’*, ed. and trans. by Scaffai, pp. 1–80 (pp. 40–41).

³³ Scaffai, ‘Tradizione manoscritta’, in *In verbis verum amare*, ed. by Zanetti, pp. 205–77 (pp. 218–19) and ‘Introduzione’, in *Baebii Italici ‘Ilias Latina’*, ed. and trans. by Scaffai, pp. 1–80 (p. 37).

³⁴ Scaffai, ‘Tradizione manoscritta’, in *In verbis verum amare*, ed. by Zanetti, pp. 205–77 (pp. 226–29) and ‘Introduzione’, in *Baebii Italici ‘Ilias Latina’*, ed. and trans. by Scaffai, pp. 1–80 (pp. 37–38).

³⁵ Scaffai, ‘Tradizione manoscritta’, in *In verbis verum amare*, ed. by Zanetti, pp. 205–77 (pp. 222–25) and ‘Introduzione’, in *Baebii Italici ‘Ilias Latina’*, ed. and trans. by Scaffai, pp. 1–80 (p. 40).

³⁶ Scaffai, ‘Tradizione manoscritta’, in *In verbis verum amare*, ed. by Zanetti, pp. 205–77 (pp. 212–13) and ‘Introduzione’, in *Baebii Italici ‘Ilias Latina’*, ed. and trans. by Scaffai, pp. 1–80 (p. 41).

As the manuscript evidence shows, before the second half of the eleventh century, the *Ilias Latina* exclusively circulated in the Frankish region. The first traceable reference to the *Ilias Latina* is found in the commentary to the *Thebaid* by Publius Papinius Statius (c.45–c.96), which is attributed to Lactantius Placidus (c.350 – c.400).³⁷ Later in the mid-ninth century, it is quoted by Ermenrich of Ellwangen in a letter to Abbot Grimalt along with mentions of a series of classical and late antique authors including Virgil, Servius, Ausonius and Fulgentius.³⁸ Ermenrich was a monk in Reichenau and Grimalt was based in St Gall between 841 and 872; thus, the exchange was between two prominent Frankish centres of learning and manuscript production. Even though it is clear that the *Ilias Latina* was known and circulated in the Frankish world, it had no direct impact on the development of the Trojan origin story of the Franks.

2.2 Virgil's *Aeneid* and its Commentaries

They [the Romans] read him [Virgil] in their early years precisely in order, yes, in order that when their tender minds have been soaked in the great poet, surpassing all in fame, it may not be easy for him to vanish from their memory.³⁹

These words come from Augustine's *De civitate Dei*. They are, as to be expected, taken from a passage where Augustine criticises the pagan gods, and blames Virgil for disseminating these false stories. Despite his harsh criticism, throughout his works, Augustine himself directly quotes Virgil, especially the *Aeneid* several times. And, Augustine is certainly not alone in doing this. Beginning with the first century, Virgil's

³⁷ In her short introduction to her translation of the *Ilias Latina*, McKinley not only wrongly ascribes Lactantius Placidus to the sixth century but also provides non-existing lines of the *Ilias Latina* for the quotation: 'The *Ilias Latina* first appears in the work of another author in the sixth century: Lactantius Placidus (quoting Il. 1148–50).' See 'The Medieval Homer', pp. 3–61 (p. 3). Scaffai also places Lactantius Placidus in the sixth century in 'Introduzione', in *Baebii Italici 'Ilias Latina'*, ed. and trans. by Scaffai, pp. 1–80 (p. 29).

³⁸ 'Ermenrici Elwangensis epistola ad Grimaldum abbatem', in *Epistolae Karolini Aevi. Tomus III*, ed. by Ernst Dümmler and others, MGH Epistolae, 5 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1899), pp. 534–79.

³⁹ The sentence in full reads as follows: 'Nempe apud Vergilium, quem propterea parvuli legunt ut videlicet poeta magnus omniumque praeclarissimus atque optimus teneris ebibitus animis non facile oblivione possit aboleri, secundum illud Horatii: Quo semel est inbuta recens servabit odorem Testa diu—apud hunc ergo Vergilium nempe Iuno inducitur infesta Troianis Aeolo ventorum regi adversus eos inritando dicere: Gens inimica mihi Tyrrhenum navigat aequor, Ilium in Italiam portans victosque penates.' *City of God*, I (1957), I.3.

profound effect on Western letters is undeniable.⁴⁰ Not only his works are quoted extensively by the Church Fathers and other authors alike but also they are present as part of grammar books and are extensively used in schools. Achieving acclaim even during his lifetime,⁴¹ throughout the Middle Ages, in Macrobius's words, Virgil was considered 'an authority in every branch of learning' and indeed he did not vanish from the memory of the medieval Latin world.⁴²

Composed of twelve books the *Aeneid* narrates the story of the Trojan Aeneas, who is depicted as the ancestor of the Romans destined to found Rome. The subjects of the books may roughly be divided as follows: Books I–V tell the journey of Aeneas and the Trojans in which the stories relating to the fall of Troy are also told through flashbacks; Book VI includes Aeneas's travel to the underworld and Books VII–XII consist of the story of the foundation of Rome. As Barlow points out, 'the journey of the Trojan exiles was a metaphor for the transportation of civilisation and the "Aeneid" was the fundamental expression of Roman cultural identity and ideology'.⁴³ As early as the end of the third century BCE, Aeneas was associated with the foundations of many city-states in and around Italy.⁴⁴ The prominent one among these was of course Rome. Yet, in the later centuries, the story of the Trojan Aeneas came to be known almost exclusively with the story as narrated by Virgil in the *Aeneid*. As Farrow puts it, 'Virgil [...] had made a hero out of a family man, forging him as a link between a divine power

⁴⁰ Numerous works have been written on Virgil's reception in the Middle Ages, which is beyond the scope of this study. The leading study is still Domenico Comparetti, *Virgil in the Middle Ages*, trans. by E. F. M. Benecke (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1895). A recent and thorough examination may also be found in *The Virgilian Tradition: The First Fifteen Hundred Years*, ed. by Jan M. Ziolkowski and Michael C. J. Putnam (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008). See also Baswell, *Virgil in Medieval England*.

⁴¹ For the early influence of Virgil, see Robert A. Kaster, *Guardians of Language: The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity*, The Transformation of the Classical Heritage, 11 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

⁴² 'Maro omnium disciplinarum peritus': *Ambrosii Theodosii Macrobiani Saturnalia*, ed. by James Willis, BSGRT (Leipzig: Teubner, 1963); *The Saturnalia*, trans. by Percival Vaughan Davies, Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies, 79 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), I.16.12.

⁴³ Jonathan Barlow, 'Gregory of Tours and the Myth of the Trojan Origins of the Franks', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 29 (1995), 86–95 (p. 87).

⁴⁴ Perret, *Les origines de la légende Troyenne de Rome*, p. 31; Jan Bremmer and Nicholas Horsfall, *Roman Myth and Mythography*, Institute of Classical Studies, 52 (London: University of London Institute of Classical Studies, 1987), p. 13; Jacques Poucet, *Les origines de Rome: tradition et histoire*, Publications des facultés universitaires Saint-Louis, 38 (Brussels: Facultés universitaires Saint-Louis, 1985), p. 184–86.

and a chosen people'.⁴⁵ Furthermore, in the case of *Aeneid*, not only was the text in circulation in full but also there were commentaries on the text as well as classroom materials, *florilegia* and various additional material such as lives of Virgil.⁴⁶

What is of interest to the present study is the knowledge and circulation of Virgil's *Aeneid* in the early Middle Ages as well as its relationship with the other works, which is briefly discussed below. In his comprehensive study, Munk Olsen lists over three hundred witnesses dated to from the ninth through the twelfth centuries that include works by Virgil.⁴⁷ The majority of these include the *Aeneid*. Compared to this vast number, the surviving witnesses that are dated to from before the ninth century are very few (see Table 2.2). In addition to surviving early witnesses of Virgil's works, Holtz draws attention to surviving commentaries of Virgil produced in Francia before 800.⁴⁸ Indeed two examples survive; a copy of Donatus's commentaries produced in Tours and those by Servius in Corbie.⁴⁹ It may be surmised that these works have accompanied Virgil's own works and that these centres must have had copies of Virgil's *opera*, whether they were produced in these centres or brought from somewhere else. It is known, for example, that copies of Virgil's works including the *Aeneid* that were produced in Italy at earlier dates were also circulating in the Frankish regions and were part of the collections of Frankish libraries. For example, dated to the fifth century and

⁴⁵ James G. Farrow, 'Aeneas and Rome: Pseudepigrapha and Politics', *The Classical Journal*, 87 (1992), 339–59 (p. 341).

⁴⁶ For the biographies of Virgil, see *The Virgilian Tradition*, ed. by Ziolkowski and Putnam, pp. 179–468; for the commentaries, see, pp. 623–824. Especially on knowledge of Virgil in the Carolingian times, see also John J. Contreni, 'Getting to Know Virgil in the Carolingian Age: The *Vita Publii Virgilii*', in *Rome and Religion in the Medieval World. Studies in Honor of Thomas F. X. Noble*, ed. by Valerie L. Garver and Owen M. Phelan, Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 21–46.

⁴⁷ Munk Olsen, *L'étude*, II, 673–826 and III.2, 138–53.

⁴⁸ Louis Holtz, 'La redécouverte de Virgile aux VIIIe et IXe siècles d'après les manuscrits conservés', in *Lectures médiévales de Virgile. Actes du colloque de Rome (25–28 octobre 1982)*, Publications de l'École française de Rome, 80 (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1985), pp. 9–30 (p. 14–15).

⁴⁹ Edward Kennard Rand, *A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours*, Studies in the Script of Tours, 1, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1929); David Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*, Beihefte der Francia, 20 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1990), pp. 47, 74, 137. For the editions of the commentaries, see *Ad Tiberium Claudium Maximum Donatianum filium suum interpretationes Vergilianae: Primum ad vetustissimorum codicum fidem recognitas*, ed. Heinrich Georges, 2 vols (Leipzig: Teubner, 1905–1906) and *Servii Grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina commentarii*, ed. by Georg Thilo and Hermann Hagen, 3 vols (Leipzig: Teubner, 1881–1902).

produced in Italy, Vatican City, BAV, Pal. lat. 1631, was brought to the library of the Lorsch Abbey some time in the ninth century.⁵⁰

In the great majority of the surviving witnesses from across the Middle Ages, it is seen that the works by Virgil, the *Eclogues*, the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid* have been treated like a trilogy. Not only they are found together but also they are always presented in this order in the manuscripts.⁵¹ The two surviving eighth-century witnesses, however, only contain the *Aeneid* by Virgil and not the *Eclogues* or the *Georgics*.⁵² At least one of these, Paris, BNF, lat. 7906 (Part III) + Paris, BNF, lat. 5018 (Part II), presents an interesting case, which is discussed in detail in Chapter 5 below.

While the *Aeneid* certainly contributed to the reputation of the Trojan War during the Middle Ages and perhaps served as an inspiration for European peoples for deriving their roots from Troy, Virgil was not the ‘authority’ on the subject matter. In one of the twelfth-century commentaries on the *Aeneid*, which is attributed to Bernard Silvestris, the story of Dares, which is discussed in detail below, is directly compared with that of Virgil:

Intendit itaque casus Enee aliorumque Troianorum errantium labores evolvere atque hoc non usque secundum historie veritatem, quod Frigius describit; sed ubique ut Augusti Cesaris gratiam lucraretur, Enee facta fugamque ficmentis extollit.

Virgil tells the story of Aeneas and the Trojans, though not always according to the historical truth which the Phrygian [Dares of Phrygia] describes; but everywhere, so that he might enjoy the favour of Augustus Caesar, he praises Aeneas’s deeds and flight by means of fictions.⁵³

Here, not only is the account by Dares of Phrygia described as ‘historically true’, but also Virgil’s version of events is explicitly regarded as ‘fictitious’.

⁵⁰ Bernhard Bischoff, *Lorsch im Spiegel seiner Handschriften*, Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung: Beiheft (Munich: Arbo-Gesellschaft, 1974), pp. 118–21.

⁵¹ For an overview, see Holtz, ‘La redécouverte de Virgile’, in *Lectures médiévales*, pp. 9–30.

⁵² There are no surviving witnesses of either the *Eclogues* or the *Georgics* from the eighth century.

⁵³ *The Commentary on the First Six Books of the ‘Aeneid’ Commonly Attributed to Bernard Silvestris*, ed. by Julian Ward Jones and Elizabeth Frances Jones (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1977), p. 1.

Table 2.2 Earliest Witnesses of the *Aeneid*⁵⁴

Manuscript	Date	Origin	Contents
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 3225 (Part I)	IV ^{ex}	Italy (?)	<i>Aeneid</i> with <i>Georgics</i>
Milan, BA, L 120 sup.	V	?	<i>Aeneid</i> ; palimpsest
Vatican City, BAV, Pal. lat. 1631 (Part I)	V	Italy (?)	<i>Aeneid</i> with <i>Eclogues</i> and <i>Georgics</i>
Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, XL [38]	V	?	<i>Aeneid</i> with <i>Eclogues</i> and <i>Georgics</i>
Florence, BML, Plut.39.01	V ^{ex}	Rome (?), Italy	<i>Aeneid</i> with <i>Eclogues</i> and <i>Georgics</i>
St Gall, StiB, Cod. Sang. 1394	V ^{ex} /VI ⁱⁿ	Italy	<i>Aeneid</i> with <i>Georgics</i>
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 3256 + Berlin, StaB, lat. fol. 416	V ^{ex} /VI ⁱⁿ	Italy (?)	<i>Aeneid</i> with <i>Georgics</i>
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 3867	VI ⁱⁿ	?	<i>Aeneid</i> with <i>Eclogues</i> and <i>Georgics</i>
Paris, BNF, lat. 7906 (Part III) + Paris, BNF, lat. 5018 (Part II) ⁵⁵	VIII ^{ex} (780s)	Lorsch (?), Germany	<i>Aeneid</i> ; incomplete
Munich, BSB, Clm 29216/7 [Clm 29005/3 Nr. 18] ⁵⁶	VIII ^{ex}	northern Italy	<i>Aeneid</i> ; fragmentary

⁵⁴ For descriptions, see Munk Olsen, *L'étude*, II, 698–826 and Conte, 'Praefatio', in *Aeneis*, ed. by Conte, pp. vii–xliii, which is entirely devoted to the discussion of earliest manuscripts.

⁵⁵ Both Lowe (*CLA*, XII, p. 22, no. 1744) and Bischoff (*Katalog*, III, p. 135, no. 4512) state that the manuscript was probably written in Lorsch. See also Faivre d'Arcier, *Histoire*, pp. 67–68 and Richard A. Gerberding, 'Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Latin 7906: An Unnoticed Very Early Fragment of the *Liber Historiae Francorum*', *Traditio*, 43 (1987), 381–86 (especially p. 382 for the dating).

⁵⁶ Bischoff, *Katalog*, II, 276, although he maintains that it could also be from the ninth century.

2.3 Dictys of Crete's *Ephemeridos belli Troiani*

A short prose narrative about the collapse of Troy, the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani* is thought to be the earliest of the three late antique accounts discussed in this chapter. The Latin version of the work is dated to either the third or the fourth century.⁵⁷ This work is also the only one among the three that has been proven to have a Greek original.⁵⁸ In the surviving manuscripts, the work opens with either the preface of the translator or a general prologue. In both cases, in the opening of the work it is stated that the text was translated from Greek into Latin, and that the author, 'Dictys Cretensis', was an eyewitness to the war.⁵⁹ Dictys identifies himself as a follower of Idomeneus, the leader of the Cretans, thus indicating that he is writing from the point of view of the Greeks. Stating that he lived during the era of the Trojan War, the author implicitly claims that he lived before Homer and that his account therefore antedates that of Homer's.

Manuscripts of *Ephemeridos Belli Troiani* by Dictys Cretensis are conventionally divided roughly into two groups: one is introduced with a letter signed by Lucius Septimius to Quintus Aradius Rufinus (serving as the preface) containing information about the work and its translation, whereas the other includes a prologue providing relatively more detailed information about the text. Septimius, the translator of Dictys as he puts himself, writes in the preface that, after finding the books, as an 'avidus verae historiae' ('enthusiast of true history'), he wanted to translate the work into Latin. Septimius further states that he translated the first five volumes, which were about the siege of Troy and the war itself, without abridgement, and summarized the remaining volumes, which were about the return of the Greeks, in one volume.

⁵⁷ The most recent study is: Stefan Merkle, *Die Ephemeris belli Troiani des Diktys von Kreta*, Studien zur klassischen Philologie, 44 (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1989). See also Merkle, 'The Truth and Nothing but the Truth: Dictys and Dares', in *The Novel in the Ancient World*, ed. by Gareth L. Schmeling, Mnemosyne, Supplements, The Classical Tradition, 159, rev. edn (Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. 563–80, and Nathaniel E. Griffin, *Dares and Dictys: An Introduction to the Study of Medieval Versions of the Story of Troy* (Baltimore: J. H. Furst Company, 1907). Despite its title, Griffin's book is almost entirely devoted to the study of the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani*.

⁵⁸ For the discovery of the first Greek fragment, see Griffin, 'The Greek Dictys', *The American Journal of Philology*, 29 (1908), 329–35.

⁵⁹ For a line-by-line, detailed study of the beginning of the work, see Nicholas Horsfall, 'Dictys's *Ephemeris* and the Parody of Scholarship', *Illinois Classical Studies*, 33–34 (2008–2009), 41–63.

Thus divided into six books, the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani* narrates the Trojan War in the first five books and the return of the Greeks in the final sixth book. The account begins with the abduction of Helen and ends with the death of Ulysses. In the prologue of the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani*, the reader is also told that the text was initially written in the Phoenician language and was translated into Greek during the reign of Nero (54–68). It also is claimed that the ‘original’ books were found in the thirteenth year of Nero’s reign, which corresponds to 66 CE. Even though the story narrated in the prologue and translator’s preface is regarded as a fabrication by modern scholars, the dating to Nero’s reign is usually taken as the dating for the ‘original’ Greek version in the very same discussions. It is argued that the Greek version of the story, which survives only in fragments and on which the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani* is based, also circulated in the Greek-speaking world and was used by authors such as Joannes Malalas in the sixth century, Joannes Antiochenos in the seventh century, and Georgias Kedrenos in the eleventh century.⁶⁰

Although over seventy surviving witnesses of the *Ephemeridos* have been identified by various scholars, no comprehensive work has been undertaken with regard to its manuscript transmission.⁶¹ In his 1872 edition, Meister used a selection of six manuscripts of which only one is dated to before the thirteenth century.⁶² In his later edition, Eisenhut increased the number of witnesses to fifteen, one of which had already been destroyed in a fire in 1870 in Strasbourg, presumably during the bombardment of the city in the Franco-Prussian War.⁶³ He further enumerated sixteen other witnesses he knew of in different repositories.⁶⁴ Fourteen of these sixteen manuscripts are dated to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. One is dated to the twelfth century and is only a summary of the last two books, and the other one, which is dated to the sixteenth century, is a copy from a printed version. In a short note published in 1978, Speck drew attention to six other fifteenth-century manuscripts at the Biblioteca Apostolica

⁶⁰ Griffin, *Dares and Dictys*, pp. 34–108.

⁶¹ It is likely that there are more witnesses, which remain unidentified, especially dated to after the twelfth century.

⁶² See Meister, ‘Praefatio’, in *Dictys Cretensis. Ephemeridos belli Troiani*, ed. by Meister, pp. v–xv.

⁶³ The dating is not known; Eisenhut, however, states that it was a late medieval manuscript.

⁶⁴ For a discussion of the manuscript transmission as well as a partial *stemma codicum*, see Eisenhut, ‘Praefatio’, in *Dictys Cretensis. Ephemeridos belli Troiani*, ed. by Eisenhut, pp. v–lii; for a list of the manuscripts that are not used in the edition see pp. xxxix–xl.

Vaticana.⁶⁵ Speyer identified and edited another late witness dated to the fifteenth or the sixteenth century that contains a summary of all the six books.⁶⁶ More recently, Munk Olsen listed eleven witnesses that date before the end of the twelfth century.⁶⁷ In his list, Munk Olsen adds three more witnesses to the known manuscripts, two of which again contain the summary of the last two books and the third a partial selection.

Despite the great number of extant manuscripts, as Faivre d’Arcier also acknowledges, until the end of the thirteenth century, one may only talk about a relatively small circulation and limited transmission of the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani*.⁶⁸ This is especially true when compared to the other two late antique accounts that are discussed below. About one sixth of the surviving witnesses to the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani*, twelve manuscripts, contain a partial summary of the work. This very short summary of the *Ephemeridos* has two sections entitled the *Item de Enea et Antenore* and the *De reditu Grecorum a Troia* and is neither attributed to nor associated with Dictys in any of the manuscripts.⁶⁹ Even though the remaining manuscripts, most of which do cite Dictys, still suggest that there was some awareness of the work in the early Middle Ages, the great majority of these witnesses to the *Ephemeridos* are from the end of the Middle Ages. Only ten witnesses of the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani* are dated to before the twelfth century (see Table 2.3). In only four of these witnesses, the name of Dictys appears in the incipit and explicits.

Among these ten earliest witnesses, two (Metz, BMu, 187* and St Gall, StIB, Cod. Sang. 197 (Part III)) contain the partial summary mentioned above, and the other one (Munich, BSB, Clm 601 (Part I)) only contains the prologue and a very short summary of contents on fols 1r–1v. The remaining seven seem to have contained the full text in the original compilation and they all belong to the same recension, with the

⁶⁵ Charles Speck, ‘Reg. Lat. 834 and Other Unstudied Manuscripts of Dictys Cretensis’, *The Classical Bulletin*, 55 (1978), 54.

⁶⁶ Wolfgang Speyer, ‘Die unbekannte Epitome des Dictys Cretensis im Codex Brixiensis 691’, *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, Neue Folge, 107 (1964), 76–92.

⁶⁷ This list is however not complete. See Munk Olsen, *L’étude*, I, 379–82 and III: 2, 56–57 (note that Munk Olsen skips number 5; therefore, even though his numbering goes to 12, he lists eleven witnesses). Further work has been undertaken most recently by Faivre d’Arcier as part of his investigation of the *De excidio Troiae historia*; however, he mostly deals with later witnesses. See *Histoire*, pp. 361–68.

⁶⁸ Faivre d’Arcier, *Histoire*, p. 362.

⁶⁹ In all the extant witnesses, this summary is found as an appendix to Dares of Phrygia’s *De excidio Troiae historia*. See the discussion below.

exception of Rome, BNC, Vitt. Em. 1631 [Florence, BBB, 7] (Part I).⁷⁰ Only three of these, however, contain the complete text; two are in fragments and two are incomplete. Furthermore, the majority of the surviving witnesses of the *Ephemeridos*, including all early witnesses except for the Rome manuscript, include the prologue and not the translator's preface.⁷¹ When the origins of the manuscripts are also taken into consideration along with the recension of the witnesses, the surviving evidence suggests that the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani* had a limited circulation that is concentrated around the St. Gall-Reichenau region.

The contents of these manuscripts also deserve closer examination. Zurich, ZB, Z.XIV.14 is a fragment of six folia that contains parts of the first three chapters of the text. Rome, BNC, Vitt. Em. 1631 [Florence, BBB, 7] is a composite codex that now also includes Tacitus's *Agricola* and *Germania*. Brussels, KBR, 3920–3923 is another composite manuscript. In all these three cases, it is difficult to ascertain what else might have been included in the 'original' compilations together with the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani*. Milan, BA, C 72 Inf., on the other hand, is a historical compilation that contains works on the histories of different peoples such as Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum* and Jordanes's *De origine actibusque Getarum* along with the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani*.⁷² Perhaps rather surprisingly, the remaining witnesses of the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani* that are dated to before the twelfth century are all—in one way or another—accompanied with the *De excidio Troiae historia*. The extent of the relationship of the two works in these manuscripts is discussed in more detail below.

⁷⁰ For a detailed discussion of the history of the manuscript before it was acquired by the BNC in 1994, see C. E Murgia and R. H. Rodgers, 'A Tale of Two Manuscripts', *Classical Philology*, 79 (1984), 145–53; especially pp. 152–53 for the description of the part that contains the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani*. See also Ezio Franceschini, 'Intorno alla tradizione manoscritta di Ditti Cretese', *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, 97 (1937–1938), 141–78 (repr. in *Scritti di filologia latina medievale, Medioevo e umanesimo*, 26–27, 2 vols (Padua: Antenore, 1976), I, 166–204).

⁷¹ Rome, BNC, Vitt. Em. 1631 [Florence, BBB, 7] (Part I) now contains both the translator's preface and the prologue due to fifteenth-century alterations. However, it should be noted that this is considered an anomaly among the surviving witnesses and that the translator's preface is found only in this witness and in some other fifteenth-century manuscripts.

⁷² For a detailed description of this compilation, see Franceschini, 'Intorno alla tradizione manoscritta di Ditti Cretese', pp. 141–78 (especially pp. 157–64).

Table 2.3 Earliest Witnesses of the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani*

Manuscript	Date	Origin	Incipit and Explicit
Metz, BMu, 187* ⁷³	IX	France	<i>N/A: summary of selected excerpt</i>
Zurich, ZB, Z.XIV.14 ⁷⁴	IX ⁱⁿ	Tours, France	<i>N/A: beginning and end missing</i>
Rome, BNC, Vitt. Em. 1631 [Florence, BBB, 7] (Part I) ⁷⁵	IX ^{2/3}	France	<i>N/A: beginning and end missing</i>
St Gall, StiB, Cod. Sang. 197 (Part I) ⁷⁶	IX ²	St Gall, Switzerland	<i>The preface begins without an incipit</i> HAEC INSUNT DICTYS EPHEMERIDOS BELLI TROANI LIBRI SEX <i>No explicit</i>
Munich, BSB, Clm 601 (Part I) ⁷⁷	X	western Germany or Switzerland	<i>The preface begins without an incipit</i> EXPLICIT PROLOGUS HAEC INSUNT DICTYS EPHEMERIDOS BELLI TROIANI LIBRI SEX QUORUM PRIMUS SIC INCIPIIT L. SEPTIMINI EPHEMERIDOS DICTYS BELLI TROIANI LIBER SEXTUS EXPLICIT

⁷³ Bischoff, *Katalog*, II, pp. 187, no. 2772; however, even though here the contents of the manuscript wrongly read as ‘Orosius; Dictys’, this witness is catalogued as only including a summary of a selected excerpt. See *CGM*, V (1879), 83–84.

⁷⁴ Bischoff, *Katalog*, III, p. 543, no. 543 and Munk Olsen, *L’étude*, I, 382. However, it is not included in Rand, *Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours*.

⁷⁵ Bischoff, *Katalog*, III, p. 279, no. 5347. See also Eisenhut, ‘Praefatio’, in *Dictys Cretensis. Ephemeridos belli Troiani*, ed. by Eisenhut, pp. v–lii (p. xxii–xxiii) and Munk Olsen, *L’étude*, I, 380–81, who dates the manuscript to the mid-ninth century. Even though this is a very early witness, it is rather problematic as parts of the text including the beginning and the end are supplemented in the fifteenth century. The fifteenth-century incipit reads: ‘INCIPIIT HISTORIA BELLI TROIANI QUAM DICTIS APUD GRECOS SCRIPSIT TRADUCTA PER SEPTIMIUM INCIPIIT PROLOGUS’.

⁷⁶ Bischoff, *Katalog*, III, p. 314, no. 5654. Munk Olsen (*L’étude*, I, 381–82) dates the manuscript to the mid-ninth century.

⁷⁷ Munk Olsen, *L’étude*, I, 381. The manuscript only contains the preface and a summary of contents on fols 1r–1v.

Manuscript	Date	Origin	Incipit and Explicit
St Gall, StiB, Cod. Sang. 197 (Part III) ⁷⁸	X ¹	St Gall, Switzerland	<i>N/A: summary of selected excerpt</i>
Darmstadt, HLB, 4216 [22] (Part I) ⁷⁹	XI ⁱⁿ	western Germany	<i>N/A: beginning and end missing</i>
Brussels, KBR, 3920–3923 (Part III) ⁸⁰	XI	Germany (?)	INCIPIT PROLOGVS HISTORIE DICTIS INCIPIT LIBER PRIMVS EXPLICITVS BELLII TROIANI OMNIS LIBELLVS
Strasbourg, BNaU, 14 (Part I) ⁸¹	XI	Germany	<i>incipit N/A: beginning missing</i> EXPLICIT BELLII TROIANI OMNIS LIBELLUS
Milan, BA, C 72 Inf. ⁸²	XI/XII	France	INCIPIT ISTORIA TROIANORUM PROLOGUS LIBRI PRAESCRIPTI EXPLICIT HEC INSUNT DICTIS EPHEMERIDOS BELLII TROIANI LIBRI SEX

⁷⁸ Bischoff, *Katalog*, III, p. 314. See also Munk Olsen, *L'étude*, I, 366–67 and Faivre d'Arcier, *Histoire*, p. 48.

⁷⁹ Johannes Staub, 'Zwei Fragmente einer Dares-Dictys-Handschrift vom Beginn des XI. Jahrhunderts, der Vorlage für die Kölner Erstdrucke der Autoren (Darmstadt, Hs4216 [22])', in *Fragmenta Darmstadiensia*, ed. by Walter Berschin and Kurt Hans Staub, Heidelberger Handschriften-Studien des Seminars für Lateinische Philologie des Mittelalters, 3 (Darmstadt: Technische Hochschule, 1997), pp. 53–62.

⁸⁰ Eisenhut, 'Praefatio', in *Dictys Cretensis. Ephemeridos belli Troiani*, ed. by Eisenhut, pp. v–lii (p. xix). Munk Olsen (*L'étude*, I, 380) dates the manuscript to the twelfth century.

⁸¹ *CGMF*, XLVII (1923), 5–6 and Munk Olsen, *L'étude*, I, 382. See also Faivre d'Arcier, *Histoire*, p. 89.

⁸² Munk Olsen, *L'étude*, I, 381.

A cursory study of the later witnesses reveals that there is no surviving witness to the full text of the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani* that is dated to the twelfth century and that there is only one witness from the thirteenth century.⁸³ Yet, the transmission of the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani* expands towards the end of the Middle Ages. Over fifty manuscripts are dated to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and an overwhelming majority of these later manuscripts are from fifteenth-century Italy.⁸⁴ This increase in interest during the later Middle Ages in Italy in particular is partly due to Petrarca, who was clearly interested in gathering material with regard to the Trojan narrative. Petrarca not only commissioned the translation of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* from Greek into Latin as mentioned above but he also had a copy the *Ephemeridos* made and revived the name of Dictys Cretensis together with Livy (59 BCE–17 CE) and Florus (second half of the first century CE–second half of the second century CE).⁸⁵

2.4 Dares of Phrygia's *De excidio Troiae historia*

Dares of Phrygia is now a long-forgotten name in popular culture, who provides scholars in historical and literary studies alike with just a peculiar footnote, along with his *De excidio Troiae historia*, the most influential and popular work about the Trojan War throughout the Latin Middle Ages and beyond. Nothing certain is known about Dares of Phrygia including the date and origin of the short prose work attributed to him, which is extant today only in manuscripts in Latin. Claiming to be an eyewitness account, the *De excidio Troiae historia* narrates the Trojan War in a brief manner that make up forty-four short chapters in the modern edition. The story, which includes events that extend over a period of more than ten years, opens with the expedition by Jason and the Argonauts to Colchis and concludes with the immediate aftermath of the

⁸³ This is Bern, BB, 367.

⁸⁴ Faivre d'Arcier provides a brief analysis and a list of manuscripts that belong to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in *Histoire*, pp. 362–68. However, this list is not only incomplete, as he also confesses, but also unreliable as there are duplicate entries and shelfmarks read wrong.

⁸⁵ For Petrarca's interest in the Trojan narrative, see Prosperi, "Even Children and the Uneducated Know Them", pp. 83–112 and 'The Trojan Chronicles of Dictys and Dares in the Early Italian Humanism: A Reassessment', n.p. Petrarca's copy of the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani* survives as Paris, BNF, lat. 5690 and the codex also includes Florus's *Historiarum Romanarum epitome* and Livy's *Historiarum decades prima, tertia et quarta*. See de Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, II, pp. 14–28 and Marie-Hélène Tesnière, 'Pétrarque, lecteur de Tite-Live: Les annotations du manuscrit latin 5690 de la Bibliothèque nationale de France', *Revue de la bibliothèque nationale de France*, 2 (1999), 37–41.

fall of Troy. The work is introduced by a letter that is addressed to Sallust ('Sallustius Crispus') by Cornelius Nepos—both of whom were authors of the first century BCE—serving as the preface of the translator into Latin. The narrative takes a clear stance against Homer beginning with the preface and the details throughout the work display almost a stark contrast to those of the Homeric tradition. The changes in the course of events and the characters involved with the Trojan War seem to be a deliberate and decisive act on the part of the composer of the text. Parallel to these changes is the attempt to present the Trojan War in a rational and reliable manner from the point of view of an active participant to the events. Although it is now known that the narrative was not composed during the time of the Trojan War and regardless of whatever the initial intentions of the actual composer of this piece of work were, it should be mentioned that the *De excidio Troiae historia* was considered an accurate historical source for over a millennium.

The faith with regard to the *authenticity* of Dares along with Dictys and their respective accounts was broken in the beginning of the eighteenth century.⁸⁶ Since then, the identity of Dares of Phrygia, as well as the origin and date of the *De excidio Troiae historia*, have been subjects of debate among scholars.⁸⁷ There have also been attempts to identify the sources for the extant version in Latin. The first reference to *any* person named Dares in relation to the Trojan narrative is a mention of *a* Dares, who is a 'priest of Hephaestus' with two sons on the Trojan side, in Homer's *Iliad* (V.9). It has been pointed out that there are references to a Dares, 'who wrote the *Iliad* before Homer', as early as the first century CE in works such as Ptolemy Chennos's *Kaine historia*.⁸⁸ There is another, perhaps a more explicit reference in the third-century historian Claudius Aelian's *Varia historia*, which was originally composed in Greek: 'Dares the Phrygian, whose [Phrygian] *Iliad* is to my knowledge still preserved, is also said to have lived before Homer'.⁸⁹ These early references were often employed to pinpoint the origin and date of the text.

⁸⁶ *Dictys Cretensis et Dares Phrygius de bello Trojano*, ed. by Samuel Dresemius, Delphin Classical Editions, 2 vols (London: A. J. Valpy, 1825).

⁸⁷ For a general discussion, see Meister, 'Praefatio', in *Daretis Phrygii de excidio Troiae historia*, ed. by Meister, pp. iii–l (especially pp. xiii–xvii).

⁸⁸ Frazer, Jr. takes this as a conclusive argument for determining the date of the text in his 'Introduction', in *The Trojan War*, pp. 3–15 (p. 12). For a discussion of the validity and dating of this reference see Farrow, 'Aeneas and Rome', pp. 339–59 (p. 344, n. 17).

⁸⁹ Aelian, *Historical Miscellany*, XI. 2.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Ferdinand Meister, editor of the latest edition of the *De excidio Troiae historia*, agreeing with the ‘viri docti’ before him, argued that the text must have been originally written in Greek. He further stated that, following this Greek version, there must have been a longer version in Latin and that the present work was an abridgement.⁹⁰ Although since then questions have been raised with regard to whether or not the text that survives today is an abridgement, it is now commonly assumed that the *De excidio Troiae historia* probably had a Greek ‘original’, which was probably composed during the first century.⁹¹ The arguments in favour of an earlier Greek version for the *De excidio Troiae historia* are mostly based on the evidence with regard to the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani* attributed to Dictys of Crete, which has been linked with the *De excidio Troiae historia* in the popular tradition. Although, as discussed above, the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani* is a translation of an earlier Greek text, partially known from papyri, and as much as the assumption of a Greek version of the *De excidio Troiae historia* is appealing, despite the early references to Dares of Phrygia, the extant evidence does not in fact allow for a certain conclusion.⁹² Even if there is indeed an earlier Greek text attributed to Dares of Phrygia, it is not possible to determine to what extent the extant Latin ‘translation’ reflects this ‘original’. It is important to note that no Greek text or fragment that may be associated with the *De excidio Troiae historia* has been identified to date.

Although the *De excidio Troiae historia* and the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani* are almost always discussed together by modern scholars, and they seem to be similar because of the topic, the content and style of the works as well as their transmission are quite different. The *De excidio Troiae historia*, for example, is written mostly in the first person plural and includes references to the author in the third person even though

⁹⁰ Meister, ‘Praefatio’, in *Daretis Phrygii de excidio Troiae historia*, ed. by Meister, pp. iii–l (pp. xv–xvi, xlv).

⁹¹ For discussions on whether or not there was a Greek version and the possible sources for the Latin text, see Griffin, *Dares and Dictys*, p. 5; Otmar Schissel von Fleschenberg, *Dares-Studien* (Halle a. S.: Verlag von Max Niemeyer, 1908), pp. 84–157; Frazer, Jr., ‘Introduction’, in *The Trojan War*, pp. 3–15 (pp. 3, 12–15). Also note that Gilbert Highet dates the ‘original’ to the second or the third century in *The Classical Tradition: Greek and Roman Influences on Western Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949; repr. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 51.

⁹² Only Eisenhut denies the existence of a Greek version; Werner Eisenhut, ‘Spätantike Troja-Erzählungen—mit einem Ausblick auf die mittelalterliche Troja-Literatur’, *Mittelalterliches Jahrbuch*, 18 (1983), 1–28 (p. 18). Bate also speculates that perhaps ‘the original work of which Dares’ prose text is a condensation was written, not in Greek, but in Latin hexameters’; Alan Keith Bate, ‘Review of *Una Redazione Poetica Latina Medievale della Storia ‘De Excidio Troiae’ di Darete Frigio*, by Marcello Godi’, *Medium Aevum*, 38 (1969), 345–47 (p. 47).

it also claims to be an eyewitness account. On the other hand, the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani* is written literally like a diary in the first person singular. Furthermore, the research undertaken for this study suggests that the impact of the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani* on the Latin Middle Ages might have been exaggerated due to its similarity to (and assumed co-presence with) the *De excidio Troiae historia*.

The first known and quite an early reference in a medieval Latin context to ‘Dares Phrygius’ comes from Isidore of Seville in the first half of the seventh century. In his *Etymologiae*, when referring to the first authors of histories Isidore writes as follows:

Historiam autem apud nos primus Moyses de initio mundi conscripsit. Apud gentiles vero primus Dares Phrygius de Graecis et Troianis historiam edidit, quam in foliis palmarum ab eo conscriptam esse ferunt. Post Daretem autem in Graecia Herodotus historiam primus habitus est. Post quem Pherecydes claruit his temporibus quibus Esdras legem scripsit. (I.42.1–2)

Among us Christians Moses was the first to write a history, on the world’s creation. But among the pagans, Dares of Phrygia was first to produce a history, on the Greeks and the Trojans, which they say he wrote down on palm leaves. After Dares, Herodotus is held as the first to write history in Greece. After him Pherecydes was renowned, at the time when Ezra wrote the law.

This reference, which is found in the passage entitled ‘De primis auctoribus historiarum’ (‘The first authors of histories’), is crucial in many aspects. First and foremost, it is a fairly straightforward statement in the sense that in just one sentence it gives all the information the reader needs: there was a Dares, he was from Phrygia, he prepared a history, he wrote it (himself) on palm leaves and it was about the Greeks and the Trojans. Moreover, this is the first history about the Greeks and the Trojans. To a medieval mind, this must have been as clear as it is to the reader now. In this short passage on the first authors of history, Moses is indicated as the authoritative source for the Christians and Herodotus—who is, even today, called the ‘father of history’—as the first to write a history in Greece, but only ‘after Dares’.

Even though the phenomenon of writing on palm leaves might surprise the modern reader and convince one more about the fictitiousness of the story, this is certainly not the case. The practice of writing on palm leaves, especially in Asia, is not only well-documented but it has also continued well beyond the ancient and medieval

times and there are extant manuscripts dated to as early as the fourth century.⁹³ In his *Naturalis historia*, Pliny, for example, considers the use of palm leaves as the most ancient.⁹⁴

in palmarum foliis primo scriptitatum, dein quarundam arborum libris, postea publica monumenta plumbeis voluminibus, mox et privata linteis confici coepta aut ceris: pugillarium enim usum fuisse etiam ante Troiana tempora invenimus apud Homerum.

First of all people used to write on palm-leaves and then on the bark of certain trees, and afterwards folding sheets of lead began to be employed for official muniments, and then also sheets of linen or tablets of wax for private documents; for we find in Homer⁹⁵ that the use of writing-tablets existed even before the Trojan period. (XIII.21)

The fact that Dares of Phrygia is explicitly identified as the ‘first historian’ who wrote on the Greeks and the Trojans at such an early date is noteworthy. Furthermore, it is the *Etymologiae*, ‘arguably the most influential book, after the Bible, in the learned world of the Latin West for nearly a thousand years’,⁹⁶ where Dares of Phrygia was mentioned and it is Isidore of Seville who acknowledged him as an *auctor*. Apart from all else, that this information is in an encyclopaedic work of such authority must have secured Dares’s credibility as an author/historian throughout the Middle Ages. This significant reference also provides a *terminus ante quem* with regard to the date of the present Latin text of the *De excidio Troiae historia*. Whereas von Fleschenberg and Frazer, Jr. provide roughly the sixth century for the dating of the *De excidio Troiae historia*,⁹⁷ scholars such as Griffin, Schlauch and Hazelton Haight fix the date to sometime around the first half of the sixth century.⁹⁸ However, more recently, Merkle argued that the extant text is ‘most likely to be dated to the fifth century’.⁹⁹

⁹³ For a detailed survey, see David Diringer, *The Book Before Printing: Ancient, Mediaeval and Oriental* (New York: Dover Publications, 1986), especially pp. 53–60 and 336–80.

⁹⁴ Moreover, XIII.6–9 are exclusively devoted to palm trees. Pliny mentions the sturdiness and use of palm leaves especially in the East in other parts of the work as well. See, for example, *Natural History*, IV (1945), XIII.30 and XVI.37.

⁹⁵ See *Iliad*, II.VI.168

⁹⁶ Barney and others, ‘Introduction’, in *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, pp. 3–31 (p. 3).

⁹⁷ Schissel von Fleschenberg, *Dares-Studien*, especially p. 169, Frazer, Jr., ‘Introduction’, in *The Trojan War*, pp. 3–15 (p. 13).

⁹⁸ Griffin, *Dares and Dictys*, p. 5; Margaret Schlauch, ‘Introduction to the Tale of Troy’, in *Medieval Narrative: A Book of Translations*, trans. by Margaret Schlauch (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1928), p. 245 (p. 245); Haight, ‘The Tale of Troy’, pp. 261–69 (p. 267).

⁹⁹ Merkle, ‘The Truth and Nothing but the Truth’, in *Novel in the Ancient World*, ed. by Schmeling, pp. 563–80 (p. 577).

The dating of the *eyewitness account* of the Trojan War to the threshold between Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages has led the *De excidio Troiae historia* to be condemned as a ‘shameless literary forgery, purporting to be a translation from the Greek’ in modern times.¹⁰⁰ For the past couple of centuries the *De excidio Troiae historia* received almost no favourable attention—if at all—from scholars. Aside being a ‘forgery’, the work was also criticised in terms of the use of the Latin language and style of narration.¹⁰¹ Highet, for example, describes the work as follows: ‘As we have it, it is a short work in bad, flat Latin prose of extreme simplicity, verging on stupidity, obviously written very late in the decline of Latin literature’.¹⁰²

Given that the *De excidio Troiae historia* was an obvious ‘forgery’, and that its Latin was ‘barbaric’, and that the narration was ‘monotonous’, modern scholars have had difficulty commenting on the reason why this work was so popular and influenced so many others at least up until the beginning of the eighteenth century. This resulted in incidental mentions of the popularity of the work or with rather apologetic explanations regarding its existence. In 1880, in his 195-page book dedicated to the story of Troy, Benjamin glossed over Dares by simply pointing out that it ‘seem[s] to have possessed a peculiar attraction for the intellects of the Middle Ages’.¹⁰³ Since then, the scholarly opinion has not changed much. Schlauch, who was the first person to attempt a modern translation into English, introduced the work as follows: ‘Probably no dull and tasteless narrative has had so distinguished a later history as the story of the fall of Troy by “Dares the Phrygian”’.¹⁰⁴ More recently and on the more popular front, in a famous book entitled *In Search of the Trojan War*, which is the result of a six-hour-long so-called historical detective series for the BBC and which has been printed again and again since its first publication in 1985, Wood states that ‘[i]t is one of the curiosities of

¹⁰⁰ Schlauch, ‘Introduction to the Tale of Troy’, p. 245 (p. 245).

¹⁰¹ See, for example, Griffin, *Dares and Dictys*, pp. 4–5; *Le roman de Troie par Benoît de Sainte-Maure*, ed. by Léopold Constans, 6 vols (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1904), VI, 193; Frazer, Jr., ‘Introduction’, in *The Trojan War*, pp. 3–15 (p. 15); Dennis R. Bradley, ‘Troy Revisited’, *Hermes*, 119 (1991), 232–46 (p. 233); Penny Eley, ‘The Myth of Trojan Descent and Perceptions of National Identity: The Case of *Eneas* and the *Roman De Troie*’, *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 35 (1991), 27–40 (p. 30).

¹⁰² Highet, *The Classical Tradition*, p. 51.

¹⁰³ Benjamin obviously did not know much about the work. There are references to Dares only in three footnotes on pp. 66, 68 and 69 throughout the entire work apart from a couple of sentences on one page where further information, albeit erroneous, on Dares is included in the text itself. See Samuel G. W. Benjamin, *Troy: Its Legend, History and Literature. With a Sketch of the Topography of the Troad in the Light of Recent Investigation* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1880), p. 110.

¹⁰⁴ Schlauch, ‘Introduction to the Tale of Troy’, p. 245 (p. 245).

historiography that during this period these *two worthless pieces of fiction* [by Dares of Phrygia and Dictys of Crete] had pride of place as authorities for the Trojan War, which they were thought to have actually witnessed'.¹⁰⁵

As modern scholars were more involved in searching for the 'original' version of the Latin work and were more interested in analysing the work on a linguistic level in order to determine its sources, comments such as those quoted above caused a general underestimation and neglect of the *De excidio Troiae historia* especially with regard to its significance throughout the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, the impact of Dares of Phrygia's *De excidio Troiae historia* in European literature and culture may be easily displayed by looking at some of the prominent works of the later Middle Ages and Renaissance.¹⁰⁶ The authors of the later Middle Ages and the Renaissance, whether they directly consulted the *De excidio Troiae historia* as it survives today or used intermediary sources, definitely know of and relied on Dares of Phrygia as an authority on the Trojan War. As much as these works contributed to the circulation of Dares's version of the story, it should be mentioned that the *De excidio Troiae historia* also circulated on its own—perhaps even more widely than these works—even during the centuries when these adaptations were undertaken. However, for example, Frazer, Jr. states that 'Benoit's poem [...] was largely responsible for spreading the accounts of Dictys and Dares throughout Western Europe'.¹⁰⁷ This certainly does not seem to be the case with regard to neither the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani* discussed above nor the *De excidio Troiae historia*. Furthermore, some of the noticeable themes in relation to the Trojan narrative are also all based on the accounts in the *De excidio Troiae historia*.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ Emphasis is mine. The first edition of the book was published in the same year as the first broadcast of the series. Michael Wood, *In Search of the Trojan War*, rev. edn (London: BBC Books, 2005), p. 42.

¹⁰⁶ As early as the mid-twelfth century, Benoît de Sainte-Maure based his *Le roman de Troie* in French on the *De excidio Troiae historia*; this is the first vernacular treatment of the work.

¹⁰⁷ Frazer, Jr., 'Introduction', in *The Trojan War*, pp. 3–15 (p. 4).

¹⁰⁸ Starting with Benoît de Sainte-Maure's account, the fact that the story of Troilus and Briseida (later also known as Criseyde and Cressida) is created on the basis of the passages in Dares's work is now well established. See especially Karl Young, *The Origin and Development of the Story of Troilus and Criseyde*, Chaucer Society Publications, Second Series, 40 (London: The Chaucer Society, 1908); Sally L. Mapstone, 'The Origins of Criseyde', in *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain. Essays for Felicity Riddy*, ed. by Jocelyn Wogan-Browne and others, *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts*, 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 131–47; for Shakespeare's possible sources see Geoffrey Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare. Other Classical Plays: 'Titus Andronicus', 'Troilus and Cressida', 'Timon of Athens', 'Pericles', 'Prince of Tyre'*, 8 vols (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1957–1975), VI (1966).

To this day, however, no satisfactory argument has been made as to why Dares of Phrygia's *De excidio Troiae historia*, 'an utterly uninspired work',¹⁰⁹ has been so popular, widely read, copied, relied on and in turn inspired so many other works for over a millennium. Neither has there been any detailed research with regard to the early transmission of the *De excidio Troiae historia*, which undoubtedly led to its celebrity during and after the twelfth century.¹¹⁰

As mentioned above, in the modern edition the work consists of forty-four short chapters introduced by a letter serving as the preface. Narrating the developments prior to and reasons behind the decade-long Trojan War, the first eleven chapters comprise something of an introduction to the actual events witnessed by the author. The story opens with King Pelias asking Jason to recover the Golden Fleece. After the reader is introduced to the background of the war, the account continues with a list of main heroes and heroines from both the Trojan and the Greek sides together with detailed descriptions in Chapters 12 and 13. Chapter 14 further lists the Greek leaders and the ships they brought to Athens whereas similarly, most of the Chapter 18 is devoted to the list of leaders who brought armies to help the Trojans, and to their place of origin. The first attack against Troy, which would initiate the ten-year siege of the city and its eventual fall, is reported in Chapter 19, and from there on until Chapter 37 the story goes on with accounts of debates and councils on each side as well as fights, heroism, slaughter, casualties, burials and truces.¹¹¹ The remaining chapters narrate the final days leading to the fall of Troy and the book concludes with the total number of casualties on each side and a depiction of the Trojans departing from Troy in Chapter 44.

The *De excidio Troiae historia* not only deviates from the Homeric tradition but also differs in various respects from the other accounts on or related to the Trojan War in terms of its style and content. There is no mention of supernatural events, any divine intervention or personification of pagan gods, which are inherent parts of the classical Troy narrative. In the *De excidio Troiae historia*, gods come up only in relation to performing religious duties. Thus the drama and tragedy of the Trojan War are both scaled down to human levels. Although communication in general constitutes an

¹⁰⁹ Robert Kilburn Root, 'Chaucer's Dares', *Modern Philology*, 15 (1917), 1–22 (p. 1).

¹¹⁰ Recently, Merkle pointed the need for a thorough study in his article 'The Truth and Nothing but the Truth', in *Novel in the Ancient World*, ed. by Schmeling, pp. 563–80 (p. 563).

¹¹¹ There are eleven truces reported in Chapters 20, 22, 23 (two truces), 25, 26, 29, 31, 32, 33 and 34 throughout the narrative. The Trojans ask for truce only twice, and the truce period amounts to at least seven and a half years of the decade-long war.

important part of the text, whether in the form of negotiations between the Greeks and the Trojans or councils held on both sides, there are no dramatic monologues or long speeches except for the occasional reported speeches such as ‘inde Pylum ad Nestorem venit, dixit Nestori qua de causa venisset’ (Chapter 5) or ‘Priamus dixit, si cui displiceret bellum geri, suam voluntatem ediceret’ (Chapter 8). While the narrator is depicted as reporting from the side of the Trojans, the tone of the narration is neither condescending nor deifying with regard to specific characters. Both the Greeks and the Trojans are treated in a roughly similar way. Throughout the narrative, it is seen that characters from either side are portrayed as being courageous and good fighters. The narrator is not omniscient but rather observant. The language used is plain, straightforward and unornamented; there are no metaphors.¹¹²

As important as each of these individual details are—especially in terms of comparing the account with previous works and tracing its elements in later works—the most important part of the *De excidio Troiae historia* with regard to understanding its reception in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages is the presentation of the work in the prefatory letter:¹¹³

Cornelius Nepos Sallustio Crispo suo salutem. Cum multa ago Athenis curiose, inveni historiam Daretis Phrygii ipsius manu scriptam, ut titulus indicat, quam de Graecis et Troianis memoriae mandavit. quam ego summo amore complexus continuo transtuli. cui nihil adiciendum vel diminuendum rei reformatandae causa putavi, alioquin mea posset videri. optimum ergo duxi ita ut fuit vere et simpliciter perscripta, sic eam ad verbum in latinitatem transvertere, ut legentes cognoscere possint, quomodo res gestae essent: utrum verum magis esse existiment, quod Dares Frigijs memoriae commendavit, qui per id ipsum tempus vixit et militavit, dum Graeci Troianos obpugnarent, an Homero credendum, qui post multos annos natus est, quam bellum hoc gestum est. de qua re Athenis iudicium fuit, cum pro insano haberetur, quod deos cum hominibus belligerasse describeret. Sed hactenus ista: nunc ad pollicitum revertamur.

Cornelius Nepos greets his Sallustius Crispus. When I was doing many things in Athens, I discovered the history of Dares of Phrygia written by his own hand, as the title indicates, about the Greeks and the Trojans which he committed to posterity. Having been seized with the greatest love, I immediately translated it; to it I thought nothing should be added or

¹¹² A number of inconsistencies and ‘flaws’ in the narrative technique have been pointed out by scholars. See, for example, Griffin, *Dares and Dictys*, especially pp. 4–5; Bradley, ‘Troy Revisited’, pp. 232–46.

¹¹³ The amended version of the preface in Meister’s edition in the collation by Faivre d’Arcier in his *Histoire*, pp. 433–36 is used.

subtracted for the sake of reshaping the matter or otherwise it might seem mine [my own words]. Therefore, I regarded it was best that it was written out truly and simply and that it was translated into Latin word by word so that the readers might be able to know how the events were done: whether they should deem what Dares of Phrygia, who lived and served as a soldier during that very time when the Greeks attacked the Trojans, committed to posterity to be true or whether it should not be believed more than Homer, who was born after many years than this war was waged. Concerning which matter there was a judgement in Athens during which he [Homer] was considered insane for he wrote down that gods were at war with men. But enough of that [Homer]: now, we should return to the promise.

The letter appears to open with the salutation of Cornelius Nepos to Sallustius Crispus, both of whom were authors of the first century BCE.¹¹⁴ This very first sentence not only credits the text at hand to a known Roman author, Cornelius Nepos,¹¹⁵ but also fixes the date of the Latin text in a specific period in time, a time when Cornelius was writing and both Cornelius and Sallust were alive.¹¹⁶ Cornelius tells that he *discovered* the ‘historia’ of Dares in Athens, probably indicating that it is a Greek text from which he claims to have made the current translation into Latin.

The reader also learns, from the second sentence, that the ‘historia’ is about the Greeks and the Trojans and that Dares is from Phrygia. This is the first mention of Dares’s name, which appears only a few times throughout the text: twice in the preface, once in the beginning of Chapter 12 and twice in the last chapter. In each of these times, Dares is referred to in the third person as if the translator is interrupting Dares’s story and adding his own explanations. The fact that he is from Phrygia automatically indicates that he was from the Trojans’ side. This information is further elaborated in the text and the reader learns that he served as a soldier, ‘ait se militasse usque dum Troia capta est’ (says he served as a soldier all the way until Troy was captured) (Chapter 12), and that he remained with Antenor after the fall of Troy, ‘is ibidem cum Antenoris factione remansit’ (he remained there with Antenor’s party) (Chapter 44).

¹¹⁴ For the importance of Sallust during his life time as well as throughout Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, see the Rolfe, ‘General Introduction’, in Sallust, *War with Catiline*, pp. xv–lxv (especially pp. xix–xlii).

¹¹⁵ Cornelius Nepos is primarily known as a ‘biographer’ and has numerous works recorded but only a few of them survive today. For further information, see Joseph Geiger, *Cornelius Nepos and Ancient Political Biography*, *Historia*, 47 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1985); Peter K. Marshall, *The Manuscript Tradition of Cornelius Nepos*, *Institute of Classical Studies*, 37 (London: University of London Institute of Classical Studies, 1977).

¹¹⁶ Cornelius is thought to be lived from c.99 BCE to c.24 BCE and Sallust from 86 BCE to c.35 BCE.

Furthermore, it is stated that Dares of Phrygia wrote this ‘historia’ by his own hand (‘ipsius manu scriptam’). That Dares lived and served as a soldier during the Trojan War and recorded the events himself as an eyewitness is significant. In the beginning of Chapter 12, the reader is reassured once again that Dares ‘hanc historiam scripsit’ (wrote this history) and that ‘hos se vidisse’ (saw them) and ‘interfuisse’ (was present). He was present there, he saw it with his own eyes and he wrote this ‘historia’ himself. Similarly, in the last chapter the reader is told once again that Dares ‘mandavit litteris’ (committed to writing). The claim regarding the truthfulness of the account is further strengthened with the translator’s statement that he made an exact translation (‘ad verbum’) of this text which was written by Dares’s own hand and that he did not make any changes for the sake of reshaping the matter (‘nihil adiciendum vel diminuendum rei reformandae causa putavi’).

The second part of the preface is devoted to challenging Homer and his version of the story of the Trojan War. First of all, it is highlighted that Homer was born many years after the war. With this confrontation, the assertions that Dares lived during the war, witnessed the events and wrote the story himself and that the translator did not make any changes to his account and decided to convey the text ‘vere et simpliciter’ (truly and simply) become all the more important for the reader. Furthermore, every piece of information in the preface leads the reader to the concluding statement that Homer has been eventually found ‘insane’. Openly criticising Homer, the preface invites the readers to judge for themselves whether Dares or Homer told the ‘truth’ about the Trojan War. Thus the reader is provided with the information that Homer was not a witness of the events and that he was judged and ‘considered insane’ with regard to his depictions of the gods.¹¹⁷ As it is discussed above, the challenging of Homer in the preface of the *De excidio Troiae* was not a new concept but was based on a rather

¹¹⁷ Haight points out that the criticism of Homer for portraying Gods in such manner is ‘fair evidence’ that the writer of the letter is Christian; Haight, ‘The Tale of Troy’, pp. 261–69 (p. 267). However, there is abundant evidence that ‘pagan’ philosophers were just as critical of the poets’ depiction of the gods and it could even be argued that Christian critics borrowed most of their critique from these philosophers (see above the discussion on Plato’s criticism of Homer). Furthermore, I have not come across any other argument stating that the author of the preface and/or the text is a Christian. Nevertheless, it is obvious that each word and expression is carefully chosen throughout the preface. For example, ‘ipsius manu scriptam’ is not at all very common before the sixth century; almost always ‘sua’ is preferred instead of ‘ipsius’ in similar sentences and contexts. Likewise, the transmission of knowledge as ‘vere et simpliciter’ is found in the writings of Christian authors such as Augustine of Hippo (354–430) and John Cassian (c.360–c.435). Reaching any conclusion with regard to this aspect of the preface however, requires more research.

long tradition that would also continue long after Dares of Phrygia. Although it is not explicitly stated that Homer's account was *not true*, the argument that Dares's account is a 'historia' and that it is being transmitted as is enables the reader to reach that conclusion even without starting to read what Dares has put into letters.

The association of truth with historical accounts as well the emphasis on its importance in relation to history is certainly not peculiar to the preface of the *De excidio Troiae historia*. It had been already acknowledged as early as the first century BCE by Cicero (106 BCE–43 BCE) in his *De legibus*¹¹⁸ and was still of importance to writers such as Ammianus (c.330–c.391) in later centuries.¹¹⁹ Neither was the importance of being an eyewitness to the events that are being recorded a new topic. The value of witnessing the events themselves as well as gathering accounts from the eyewitnesses have always been a great concern to historians since Thucydides (c.460 BCE–c.395 BCE) and Herodotus (c.484 BCE–425 BCE) and it still was when Ammianus was writing his history.

In explaining his methodology of recording the events, for example, Ammianus states as follows: 'Utrumque potui veritatem scrutari, ea quae videre licuit per aetatem, vel perplexo interrogando versatos in medio scire, narravimus ordine casuum exposito diversorum' ('So far as I could investigate the truth, I have, after putting the various events in clear order, related what I myself was allowed to witness in the course of my life, or to learn by meticulous questioning of those directly concerned.') (XV.1.1). This is also what Dares is doing: 'Dares Phrygius, qui hanc historiam scripsit, ait se militasse usque dum Troia capta est, hos se vidisse, cum indutiae essent, partim proelio interfuisse, a Dardanis autem audisse qua facie et natura fuissent Castor et Pollux' (Dares of Phrygia, who wrote this history, says he served as a soldier all the way until Troy was captured and saw these people while there were truces or mostly when he was present on the battleground; on the other hand, for Castor and Pollux, he heard from the Dardanis how their look and character were) (Chapter 12).

It is also striking to find, again in Isidore's *Etymologiae*, an emphasis on *seeing* and *being present* in relation to *writing* history with the very same words that are used to portray Dares's methodology:

¹¹⁸ Cicero, *On the Republic, On the Laws*, trans. by Clinton W. Keyes, LCL, 213 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1928), see especially *De legibus*, I. 5.

¹¹⁹ See, for example, Ammianus Marcellinus, *History*, I (1935), XIV. 6. 2, XV.1.1 and XVI.1.3.

Historia est narratio rei gestae, per quam ea, quae in praeterito facta sunt, dinoscuntur. Dicta autem Graece historia ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰστορεῖν, id est a videre vel cognoscere. Apud veteres enim nemo conscribebat historiam, nisi is qui interfuisset, et ea quae conscribenda essent vidisset. Melius enim oculis quae fiunt deprehendimus, quam quae auditione colligimus. Quae enim videntur, sine mendacio proferuntur.

A history (*historia*) is a narration of deeds accomplished; through it what occurred in the past is sorted out. History is so called from the Greek term ἰστορεῖν (“inquire, observe”), that is from “seeing” or from “knowing”. Indeed among the ancients, no one would write a history unless he had been present and had seen what was to be written down, for we grasp with our eyes things that occur better than what we gather with our hearing, since what is seen is revealed without lies. (I.41.1–2)

In this passage entitled simply ‘De historia’ (‘History’), seeing is equalled with knowing and seeing comes first in comparison to hearing. The reader is told that ‘among the ancients, no one would write a history unless he had been present and had seen what was to be written down’ and that what is seen is revealed without a *lie*. The choice of the word *mendacium* here may also be significant as the same word is then used with reference to a sibyl foretelling that Homer would write *lies*:

quinta Erythraea nomine Herophila in Babylone orta, quae Graecis Ilium petentibus vaticinata est perituram esse Troiam, et Homerum mendacia scripturum.

the fifth, the Erythraean, Herophila by name, who came from Babylon - she foretold to the Greeks attacking Troy that it would perish and that Homer would write lies. (VIII.8.4)

It is not known why Isidore chose to name ‘Dares Phrygius’ as the first person to write a history on the Greeks and the Trojans. There is also no evidence that Isidore ever read Dares’s *De excidio Troiae historia*, or had Dares in mind while writing these passages for that matter. Nevertheless, in the passages quoted above Isidore manages to distil the concerns of the historians and authors both regarding the writing of history and sentiments about Homer for centuries to come. The short prefatory letter of the *De excidio Troiae historia* hence becomes all the more significant given the close association of seeing/witnessing with recording the truth especially when the fact that

Homer not only did not live during when the Trojan War took place but was also told to be blind is taken into consideration.¹²⁰

The material evidence with regard to the *De excidio Troiae historia* is abundant; there are at least 191 identified surviving witnesses of the work in Latin.¹²¹ Moreover, already in the twelfth century, for example, there were at least three translations into French, and there are seventy identified surviving witnesses that contain the different French translations of the work.¹²² Later on, with the developments of the printing press in the sixteenth century, the *De excidio Troiae historia* not only continued to be printed in Latin, but also continued to be translated and printed in vernacular languages.¹²³ Dares of Phrygia's *De excidio Troiae historia* was even included in the famous Delphin edition of the Classics in 1680 as an authentic classical work.¹²⁴

Despite the high number of witnesses, Meister only used a selection of eleven manuscripts in his 1873 edition, although he enumerated a number of other manuscripts, which he knew contained the *De excidio Troiae historia*.¹²⁵ Of these eleven manuscripts, six are from the early medieval period whereas the rest range from the twelfth through the fourteenth centuries. In the mid-twentieth century, Courtney studied a further twenty manuscripts of the *De excidio Troiae historia*, two in his master's thesis and eighteen in his doctoral dissertation respectively, which were not studied by

¹²⁰ The speculations about Homer being blind again go as far back as to Cicero. See, for example, *Tusculan Disputations*, trans. by J. E. King, LCL, 141 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927), V.114.

¹²¹ Faivre d'Arcier lists 190 witnesses in *Histoire*, pp. 33–110. However, Trinity College Library in Dublin has recently acquired another copy from private collectors through a Christies sale (Lot 5 / Sale 1568 dated to 19 November 2014). See Kirsty Blake Knox, '400-Year-Old Manuscript Safely Returned to Irish Shores', *Herald.ie: '400-Year-Old Manuscript Safely Returned to Irish Shores'*, 2015 <<http://www.herald.ie/news/400yearold-manuscript-safely-returned-to-irish-shores-31080897.html>> [accessed 25 March 2015].

¹²² Marc-René Jung, who describes seventy manuscripts in French, discusses the translations of the *De excidio Troiae historia* into French in great detail in his *La légende de Troie en France au moyen âge*.

¹²³ In the mid-sixteenth century, Mathurin Héret translated the work into French once again as *La Vraye et brève histoire de la guerre et ruine de Troie, anciennement escripte en grec, par Dares Phrygius*. Almost immediately, Thomas Paynell translated this French translation into English as *The faythfull and true storye of the destruction of Troye, compyled by Dares Phrygius, which was a souldier while the siege lasted*.

¹²⁴ There were only a few criticisms and questionings of the *De excidio Troiae historia* throughout the Renaissance and the early modern period. For a brief survey, see Frederic N. Clark, 'Authenticity, Antiquity, and Authority: Dares Phrygius in Early Modern Europe', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 72 (2011), 183–207.

¹²⁵ For a list and a brief discussion of the manuscripts used in the edition, see Meister, 'Praefatio', in *Daretis Phrygii de excidio Troiae historia*, ed. by Meister, pp. iii–l (especially pp. iii–vii).

Meister, and collated fourteen of these with the 1873 edition in his doctoral dissertation.¹²⁶ However, all of these manuscripts are dated to the twelfth century or after. More recently, Munk Olsen listed forty-nine manuscripts dated to the twelfth century or before.¹²⁷ The most comprehensive work, on the other hand, was carried out by Faivre d’Arcier, who identified 190 of the witnesses as well as creating a partial stemma.¹²⁸

Twenty-one known witnesses of the *De excidio Troiae historia* are dated to before the twelfth century (see Table 2.4). In the majority of the early medieval manuscripts that preserve Dares of Phrygia’s *De excidio Troiae historia* the texts bear traces of Merovingian Latin. The traces of Merovingian spellings is found especially in Paris, BNF, lat. 7906 (Part III) + lat. 5018 (Part II), which is the earliest extant manuscript dated to the end of the eighth century, as well as in Bern, BB, 427 and Leiden, UBL, VLF 113 (Part I).¹²⁹ Moreover, the majority of the earliest manuscripts were produced in some of the major centres of the Carolingian period, or in the surrounding regions along the River Rhine, such as Lorsch and St Gall. Considering that the copies made in Italy had Frankish exemplars, the evidence indicates an almost exclusively Frankish production and circulation in the early Middle Ages.

Five of these twenty-one witnesses only contain an excerpt of the *De excidio Troiae historia*, the final chapter of the work, and do not identify the work as such.¹³⁰ In all cases, the excerpt, which details the immediate aftermath of the Trojan War and the departure of the Trojans, is attached to the end of the *Ilias Latina*. This short text, however, stands alone in all the witnesses and always comes after the explicit that clearly states that Homer’s poem has ended.¹³¹ One of the manuscripts that contain this excerpt, Antwerp, MPM, M 82, is a composite manuscript that now also contains an eleventh-century witness to the full text of the *De excidio Troiae historia*.

¹²⁶ Humphrey James Courtney, ‘A Study of Two Vatican Manuscripts of Dares Phrygius’ (unpublished master’s thesis, Saint Louis University, 1955) and ‘A Study of Eighteen Manuscripts of Dares Phrygius’ (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Saint Louis University, 1959).

¹²⁷ This list is, however, not complete. See Munk Olsen, *L’étude*, I, 363–78 and III: 2, 54–56.

¹²⁸ He further lists fifty-four lost or destroyed manuscripts; see Faivre d’Arcier, *Histoire*, pp. 111–17. For the stemma, see p. 332.

¹²⁹ A number of spelling examples are provided in Faivre d’Arcier, *Histoire*, p. 226.

¹³⁰ These are Brussels, KBR, 4343–4344 (Part II), Antwerp, MPM, M 82 (Part II), Valenciennes, BMu, 448 [420], Saint-Claude, BMu, 2 (Part III), and Florence, BML, Plut.68.24. See also Table 2.1 above.

¹³¹ For the explicits see Table 2.1 above.

Table 2.4 Earliest Witnesses of the *De excidio Troiae historia*

Manuscript	Date	Origin	Incipit and Explicit
Paris, BNF, lat. 7906 (Part III) + Paris, BNF, lat. 5018 (Part II) ¹³²	VIII ^{ex} (780s)	Lorsch (?), Germany	DARETIS FRIGII HISTORIA DE VASTATIONE TROIAE A CORNILIONE POETE IN LATINUM SERMONEM TRANSLATA NUNC PROLOGUS EXPLICIT PROLOGUS EXPLICIT GESTA TROIANORUM
Metz, BMu, 187* ¹³³	IX	France	Incipit Historia belli Trojani Dareti Phrygio adscripta ¹³⁴ <i>explicit N/A: destroyed</i>
Karlsruhe, BLB, Aug. Fr. 141 ¹³⁵	IX ^{2/3}	Loire region, France	<i>incipit N/A: beginning missing</i> FINIT HISTORIA DARETIS FRIGII
Leiden, UBL, VLF 113 (Part I) ¹³⁶	IX ^{3/4}	Tours, France	<i>incipit N/A: beginning missing</i> EXPLICIT

¹³² Both Lowe (*CLA*, XII, p. 22, no. 1744) and Bischoff (*Katalog*, III, p. 135, no. 4512) state that the manuscript was probably written in Lorsch. For the dating, see Gerberding, ‘Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Latin 7906’, pp. 381–86 (especially p. 382). See also Munk Olsen, *L’étude*, I, 365 and Faivre d’Arcier, *Histoire*, pp. 67–68.

¹³³ Bischoff, *Katalog*, II, p. 187, no. 2772; however, here the contents of the manuscript wrongly read as ‘Orosius; Dictys’. See *CGM*, V (1879), 83–84.

¹³⁴ Supplemented from the catalogue; *CGM*, V (1879), 84. Yet, at the very least, the usage of ‘ph’ instead of an ‘f’ in the spelling of ‘Phrygia’ looks suspect.

¹³⁵ Bischoff, *Katalog*, I, p. 368, no. 1767. Quoting earlier work by Bischoff, both Munk Olsen (*L’étude*, I, 369) and Faivre d’Arcier (*Histoire*, p. 103) give the origin of the manuscript as Reichenau, Lake Constance, Germany; however, Bischoff retracts and revises this statement. Bischoff also denies the connection between this fragment and Zurich, ZB, Z.XIV.14, which contains a fragment of the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani*. See *Die Handschriften der Grossherzoglich Badischen Hof- und Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe. VI: Die Reichenauer Handschriften. Zweiter Band: Die Papierhandschriften, Fragmenta. Nachtraege*, ed. by Alfred Holder (Leipzig: Teubner, 1914; repr. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1971), p. 589.

¹³⁶ Bischoff, *Katalog*, II, pp. 55–56, no. 2209. The manuscript is assigned to the ‘mid-century’ in Rand, *Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours*, p. 154, no. 114. See also Munk Olsen, *L’étude*, I, 370, Faivre d’Arcier, *Histoire*, p. 103–04 and G. A. A. Kortekaas, ‘*Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*’: *Prolegomena, Text Edition of the Two Principal Latin Recensions, Bibliography, Indices and Appendices*, *Medievalia Groningana*, 3 (Groningen: Bouma, 1984), pp. 37–41, all of whom date the manuscript to the mid-ninth century after Rand.

Manuscript	Date	Origin	Incipit and Explicit
Bern, BB, 427 ¹³⁷	IX ^{3/3}	around Reims, France	DARETIS FRIGII HISTORIA DE UASTATIONE TROIAE A CORNILIONE POTE IN LATINU[M] SERMONE TRANSLATA HACTENUS PROLOGUS ITA NUNC AD POLLICITU[M] REVERTAMUR FINIT
Florence, BML, Plut.66.40 ¹³⁸	IX ^{ex}	Abbey of Monte Cassino, Italy	INCIP[IT] STOR[IA] DARETIS FRIGII DE EXITU TROIANORUM ITEM EPISTULA CORNELI NEPOTIS AD SALUSTIUM CRISPUM EXP[LICIT] EPIS[TULA] INCIP[IT] STORIA EXPAICIT IωHANNES SUBDIAC[ONUS] SCRIPSIT
Bamberg, StaB, Class. 31 [E.III.22] (Part I) ¹³⁹	IX ^{ex} /X ⁱⁿ	Italy (?)	DARETIS FRIGII HISTORIAE INCIPIT PROLOGUS INCIPIT TEXTUS <i>No explicit</i>

¹³⁷ Bischoff, *Katalog*, I, p. 127, no. 594. Both Munk Olsen (*L'étude*, I, 366, where incipit reads wrong) and Faivre d'Arcier (*Histoire*, p. 49) date the manuscript to the second half of the ninth century.

¹³⁸ Bischoff (*Katalog*, I, p. 262, no. 1236) gives the origin as Campania, Italy and states that the manuscript was perhaps written for a layperson. However, it is now accepted that the manuscript was produced in the Abbey of Monte Cassino. For a detailed discussion, see Kortekaas, '*Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*', pp. 24–29. See also Munk Olsen, *L'étude*, I, 368–69, III, 55 (but note that the incipit reads wrong) and Faivre d'Arcier, *Histoire*, pp. 45–46.

¹³⁹ Bischoff (*Katalog*, I, p. 47, no. 208) states that the origin is 'probably Italy' as well as noting possible Irish influence based on the ligatures and abbreviations used in the text. Both Munk Olsen (*L'étude*, I, 366) and Faivre d'Arcier (*Histoire*, p. 35) date the manuscript to the tenth century.

Manuscript	Date	Origin	Incipit and Explicit
St Gall, StB, Cod. Sang. 197 (Part III) ¹⁴⁰	X ¹	St Gall, Switzerland	INCIPIT PROLOGUS CORNELII IN HISTORIAM TROIANI BELLI EXPLICIT PROLOGUS INCIPIT HISTORIA DE TROIAE EXCIDIO ET BELLIS TROIANORUM CORNELII A DARETE PRIMUM COMPOSITA EXPLICIT DESTRUCTIO TROIAE
Brussels, KBR, 4343–4344 (Part II) ¹⁴¹	X ^{ex}	northern France	<i>N/A: selected excerpt</i>
Munich, BSB, Clm 601 (Part I) ¹⁴²	X	western Germany or Switzerland	INCIPIT PROLOGUS DARETIS FRIGII ET HISTORIA DE UASTATIONE TROIAE A CORNELIO NEPOTE IN LATINUM SERMONEM TRANSLATA INCIPIT IPSA HISTORIA DE EXCIDIO TROIANORUM FINIT HISTORIA DARETIS FRIGII
Paris, BNF, lat. 10307 (Part II) ¹⁴³	X/XI	Lorraine (?), north-eastern France	FABULA DE TROIA <i>explicit N/A: end missing</i>

¹⁴⁰ Bischoff, *Katalog*, III, p. 314. See also Munk Olsen, *L'étude*, I, 366–67 and Faivre d'Arcier, *Histoire*, p. 48.

¹⁴¹ Scaffai indicates that this witness was written in tenth- or eleventh-century Caroline miniscule in 'Tradizione manoscritta', in *In verbis verum amare*, ed. by Zanetti, pp. 205–77 (p. 240); however, he dates it to the tenth century in 'Conspectus Siglorum, in *Baebii Italici 'Ilias Latina'*, ed. and trans. Scaffai, pp. 80–81 (p. 81). Both Munk Olsen (*L'étude*, I, 367) and Faivre d'Arcier (*Histoire*, p. 108) wrongly date the manuscript to the twelfth century; the twelfth-century dating belongs to the manuscript for whose binding this folio fragment was used as a pastedown.

¹⁴² Munk Olsen, *L'étude*, I, 373, 381 and Faivre d'Arcier, *Histoire*, pp. 57–58.

¹⁴³ Faivre d'Arcier, *Histoire*, p. 105. Munk Olsen (*L'étude*, I, 376) wrongly reads 'S. IX'. The ninth-century dating belongs to the rest of the manuscript, which includes a copy of Virgil's *Aeneid* among others. See Bischoff, *Katalog*, III, pp. 160–61, no. 4627.

Manuscript	Date	Origin	Incipit and Explicit
Antwerp, MPM, M 82 [66] (Part II) ¹⁴⁴	X/XI	north-eastern France or Flanders	<i>N/A: selected excerpt</i>
Valenciennes, BMu, 448 [420] ¹⁴⁵	X/XI	north-eastern France or Flanders	<i>N/A: selected excerpt</i>
Saint-Claude, BMu, 2 (Part III) ¹⁴⁶	XI	central France	<i>N/A: selected excerpt</i>
Darmstadt, HLB, 4216 [22] (Part II) ¹⁴⁷	XI ⁱⁿ	western Germany	<i>N/A: beginning and end missing</i>
Florence, BML, Plut.68.24 ¹⁴⁸	XI	central France	<i>N/A: selected excerpt</i>
Antwerp, MPM, M 82 [66] (Part I) ¹⁴⁹	XI	northern France	INCIPIT LIB[ER] DARETIS FRIGII IN DESCRIPTIONE BELLO[RUM] GRECORUM [ET] TROIANORUM EXPLICIT LIBER DARETIS FRIGII

¹⁴⁴ Scaffai, ‘Tradizione manoscritta’, in *In verbis verum amare*, ed. by Zanetti, pp. 205–77 (pp. 219–20) and ‘Introduzione’, in *Baebii Italici ‘Ilias Latina’*, ed. and trans. Scaffai, pp. 1–80 (p. 36). Both Munk Olsen (*L’étude*, I, 365) and Faivre d’Arcier (*Histoire*, p. 108) date the manuscript to the eleventh century and Faivre d’Arcier gives the origin as northern France.

¹⁴⁵ Scaffai, ‘Tradizione manoscritta’, in *In verbis verum amare*, ed. by Zanetti, pp. 205–77 (pp. 225–26) and ‘Introduzione’, in *Baebii Italici ‘Ilias Latina’*, ed. and trans. Scaffai, pp. 1–80 (p. 37). Faivre d’Arcier (*Histoire*, p. 109) dates the manuscript to the eleventh century and gives the origin as northern France. See also Bischoff, *Katalog*, III, p. 401.

¹⁴⁶ Munk Olsen, *L’étude*, I, 376; Faivre d’Arcier, *Histoire*, p. 108; Scaffai, ‘Tradizione manoscritta’, in *In verbis verum amare*, ed. by Zanetti, pp. 205–77 (pp. 210–11) and ‘Introduzione’, in *Baebii Italici ‘Ilias Latina’*, ed. and trans. Scaffai, pp. 1–80 (pp. 38–39).

¹⁴⁷ Staub, ‘Zwei Fragmente einer Dares-Dictys-Handschrift’, in *Fragmenta Darmstadiensia*, ed. by Berschin and Staub, pp. 53–62. See also Faivre d’Arcier, *Histoire*, p. 102.

¹⁴⁸ Munk Olsen, *L’étude*, I, 369 and Faivre d’Arcier, *Histoire*, p. 108. See also Scaffai, ‘Tradizione manoscritta’, in *In verbis verum amare*, ed. by Zanetti, pp. 205–77 (pp. 213–14) and ‘Introduzione’, in *Baebii Italici ‘Ilias Latina’*, ed. and trans. Scaffai, pp. 1–80 (p. 39).

¹⁴⁹ Munk Olsen, *L’étude*, I, 365. Faivre d’Arcier (*Histoire*, p. 34) dates the manuscript to the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century.

Manuscript	Date	Origin	Incipit and Explicit
Paris, BNF, lat. 6503 (Part IV) ¹⁵⁰	XI	France	EP[ISTO]LA CORNELII NEPOTIS AD SALVSTIVM CRISPVM EXPLICIT EPISTOLA INCIPIT HISTORIA DARETIS FRIGII DE EXCIDIO TROIANORVM <i>N/A: end missing</i>
Strasbourg, BNaU, 14 (Part I) ¹⁵¹	XI	Germany	<i>The preface begins without an incipit</i> EXPLICIT PROLOGUS <i>The text begins without an incipit explicit N/A: end missing</i>
Paris, BNF, lat. 3359 (Part V) + Paris, BNF, lat. 2058 ¹⁵²	XI ^{ex}	Normandy, France	INCIPIT EP[ISTU]LA CORNELII AD CRISPU[M] SALUSTIU[M] IN TROIANORU[M] HISTORIA A DARETE GRECE SCRIPTA INCIPIT HISTORIA DARETIS FRIGII TROIANORUM HISTORIOGRAPHI DE GRECO TRANSLATA IN LATINU[M] A CORNELIO NEPOTE EXPLICIT EXCIDIVM TROIE FAMOSISSIMUM
Venice, BM, Lat. X, 198 [3251] ¹⁵³	XI/XII	Italy	INCIPIT PREPHACIO IN HISTORIA TROIANORUM INCIPIT HISTORIA FINIS

¹⁵⁰ Faivre d’Arcier, *Histoire*, pp. 104–05. Munk Olsen dates the manuscript to the eleventh or the twelfth century in *L’étude*, I, 375.

¹⁵¹ *CGMF*, XLVII (1923), 5–6, Munk Olsen, *L’étude*, I, 377, 382 and Faivre d’Arcier, *Histoire*, p. 89. The eleventh-century witness only contains the preface and the beginning of the text, until Chapter 3 on fols 29v–30r. The remainder of the text has been supplied by another hand in the fifteenth century (fols 30v–35r).

¹⁵² Munk Olsen, *L’étude*, I, 374–75 and Faivre d’Arcier, *Histoire*, p. 72.

¹⁵³ Munk Olsen, *L’étude*, I, 378 and Faivre d’Arcier, *Histoire*, p. 92. See also Annamaria Pavano, ‘A proposito di una presunta seconda redazione della *De excidio Troiae Historia* di Darete Frigio’, *Sileno*, 19 (1993), 229–75.

In addition to its association with the *Ilias Latina*, the *De excidio Troiae historia* is also found together with other works that contain the Trojan narrative in early witnesses including Virgil's *Aeneid* as well as Dictys's *Ephemeridos belli Troiani* and the *Excidium Troie*. In the earliest witness, Paris, BNF, lat. 7906 (Part III) + lat. 5018 (Part II), the *De excidio Troiae historia* is preceded by the first five books of the *Aeneid* and followed by the *Liber Historiae Francorum* and Bede's *Chronicon*. This witness is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5 below. In Paris, BNF, lat. 10307, the *Historia* is copied on the external columns of the codex which were left for commentaries next to a ninth-century text of the *Aeneid*. In Bern, BB, 427, on the other hand, the work follows a series of works by Fulgentius: the *Mythologiae*, the *Expositio sermonum antiquorum*, and the *Expositio Virgilianae contentiae*, which is an exposition on the works of Virgil including the *Aeneid*. In five manuscripts, the *De excidio Troiae historia* is associated with the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani* and in one ninth-century manuscript, Florence, BML, Plut.66.40, with the *Excidium Troie*. The extent of the relationship of the major works on Troy in these manuscripts is discussed in more detail below.

The rest of the witnesses have quite different combinations of works. Karlsruhe, BLB, Aug. Fr. 141 consists of two fragments that include parts of the text that correspond to Chapters 9 to 33 in the modern edition. Leiden, UBL, VLF 113 is a composite manuscript that contains the *Aethici philosophi Scythae Cosmographia* and the *Historia Apollonii regis Tryri* as well as a series of hagiographical works. Bamberg, StaB, Class. 31 is another composite manuscript that now contains Festus's *Breviarium rerum gestarum populi Romani* and Florus's *Epitome de Tito Livio*. Paris, BNF, lat. 6503 is yet another composite manuscript but the codicological unit that contains the *De excidio Troiae historia* also includes *Epistula Alexandri Macedonis ad Aristotelem*, a text which is associated with the Trojan narrative also in other manuscripts including another early composite witness, Venice, BM, Lat. X, 198. On the other hand, Paris, BNF, lat. 3359 (Part V) + lat. 2058 contains the *De excidio Troiae historia* and Augustine's *De civitate Dei*.

Most of the witnesses of the *De excidio Troiae historia*, 170 manuscripts, however, are from the later Middle Ages. And most of these later witnesses also survive in compilations. The work is often associated with such histories as Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britannie* and Ademar of Chabannes's *Chronicon*

Aquitanicum et Francicum.¹⁵⁴ The *De excidio Troiae historia* is also included in other historical compilations where the texts selected for the compilation are not simply copied but also edited. One such work is Guido of Pisa's six-book compilation entitled *De variis historiis*, which was completed in c.1119. In addition to Dares of Phrygia's *De excidio Troiae historia*, Guido's compilation includes historical works such as Paul the Deacon's *Historia Romana* as well as the *Excidium Troie*.¹⁵⁵

2.5 The *Excidium Troie*

The anonymous *Excidium Troie* narrates the story of the fall of Troy beginning with the wedding of Peleus and Thetis and ending with the times of emperor Augustus. It has received very little attention from modern scholars even though its influence on other works, especially from the twelfth century onwards, has been established for some time.¹⁵⁶ In both of its modern editions, it is argued that the story is divided into three parts: the destruction of Troy, the travels of Aeneas and the foundation of Rome.¹⁵⁷ Only one late-twelfth-century witness, however, has section divisions as such; in most witnesses, the text runs without any interruption, including section or chapter divisions.¹⁵⁸ The work contains an extended account of the so-called story of the judgement of Paris, 'the fullest narration in antiquity', and provides the wedding of Peleus and Thetis as the reason behind the beginning of the Trojan War.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁴ Julia C. Crick identifies twenty-seven manuscripts that include both Dares's *De excidio Troiae historia* and the *Historia regum Britannie* in *The 'Historia regum Britannie' of Geoffrey of Monmouth. IV. Dissemination and Reception in the Later Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1991), pp. 37–39. See also Faivre d'Arcier, *Histoire*, pp. 360–61.

¹⁵⁵ The earliest witness to the compilation is Brussels, KBR, 3897–3919 dated to the second half of the twelfth century. Unfortunately, there is no study of the transmission of Guido's compilation nor there is an edition. As far as I was able to establish, Florence, BRi, 881 and Wrocław, BU, IV F. 33, both of which are dated to the thirteenth to fourteenth century, are also copies of this compilation. Paris, BNF, lat. 5692 dated to the fourteenth century also seem to contain yet further reworked excerpts from one of the witnesses of Guido's compilation.

¹⁵⁶ Atwood and Whitaker, 'Introduction', in *Excidium Troiae*, ed. by Atwood and Whitaker, pp. xi–lxxxv (especially pp. xxi–xxx). See also Bate, 'Introduction', in *Excidium Troie*, ed. by Bate, pp. 5–19 (pp. 8–9).

¹⁵⁷ Atwood and Whitaker, 'Introduction', in *Excidium Troiae*, ed. by Atwood and Whitaker, pp. xi–lxxxv (p. xi); Bate, 'Introduction', in *Excidium Troie*, ed. by Bate, pp. 5–19 (p. 5).

¹⁵⁸ The witness is Evreux, BMu, 111.

¹⁵⁹ Bate, 'Introduction', in *Excidium Troie*, ed. by Bate, pp. 5–19 (pp. 5, 7).

The part that narrates the travels of Aeneas is derived from the *Aeneid* and there are several references to Virgil himself throughout the text.¹⁶⁰ Yet, this part should not be considered as a mere summary of events as they are narrated in the *Aeneid*. There are several details where the author of the *Excidium Troie* departs from the version of Virgil and some parts of the story, including the entire Book VI of the *Aeneid*, are omitted.¹⁶¹ Considering the length of this section in comparison to the full text of the *Excidium Troie*, Kretschmer argues that ‘the emphasis is on the wanderings of Aeneas’.¹⁶² Based on linguistic evidence, Bate suggests that ‘the author was using a Greek commentary alongside Virgil’s poem’.¹⁶³ With regard to the last section of the *Excidium Troie*, Bate also suggests that it ‘was probably based on a text of Greek origin’, stating that ‘its depiction of the early history of Rome has more in common with that of writers such as Plutarch and Dionysius Halicarnassus than of Livy or other Roman authors’.¹⁶⁴ Atwood and Whitaker also argue that the ‘narrative shows greater similarity to extant Greek accounts than to Latin ones’ and state that ‘the original author of the Latin version drew his account directly from a Greek source (or sources)’.¹⁶⁵

Apart from the reworkings of the *Aeneid*, despite the resemblance of different parts of the work to those of Greek accounts, the remainder of the sources for the *Excidium Troie* are unidentified.¹⁶⁶ Even though the claim that there was an earlier Greek version of the *Excidium Troie* remains suspect, Atwood and Whitaker ultimately maintain that the work ‘presents a [...] classical sequence of events, which agrees fairly closely with the ancient Greek epic’.¹⁶⁷ The work does not have any intertextual relationships with either the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani* or the *De excidio Troiae historia*, the two other late antique accounts in Latin. Indeed, the *Excidium Troie* provides such a significantly different version of events that Atwood and Whitaker

¹⁶⁰ This section is found on Chapters 24–70. For mentions of Virgil, see Chapters 15, 20, 22, 24, 26, 35, 43, 44, 70.

¹⁶¹ For a detailed discussion, see Atwood and Whitaker, ‘Introduction’, in *Excidium Troiae*, ed. by Atwood and Whitaker, pp. xi–lxxxv (pp. lix–lxxi).

¹⁶² Marek Thue Kretschmer, ‘Aeneas Without the Gods: A 10th-Century Abbreviation and Paraphrase of the *Excidium Troie*’, *Studi Medievali*, 3rd Series, 51 (2010), 307–27 (p. 309).

¹⁶³ Bate, ‘Introduction’, in *Excidium Troie*, ed. by Bate, pp. 5–19 (p. 6).

¹⁶⁴ Bate, ‘Introduction’, in *Excidium Troie*, ed. by Bate, pp. 5–19 (p. 6).

¹⁶⁵ Atwood and Whitaker, ‘Introduction’, in *Excidium Troiae*, ed. by Atwood and Whitaker, pp. xi–lxxxv (p. xvi).

¹⁶⁶ Atwood and Whitaker discuss possible sources at some great length in their ‘Introduction’, in *Excidium Troiae*, pp. xi–lxxxv. See also E. Bagby Atwood, ‘The Rawlinson *Excidium Troie* -- A Study of Source Problems in Mediaeval Troy Literature’, *Speculum*, 9 (1934), 379–404.

¹⁶⁷ Atwood and Whitaker, ‘Introduction’, in *Excidium Troiae*, ed. by Atwood and Whitaker, pp. xi–lxxxv (p. xi).

argue that the *Excidium Troie* ‘shows no relation whatever to the accounts of Dares and Dictys’.¹⁶⁸

Both the dating and the place of production of the *Excidium Troie* present a challenge. With regard to dating, Atwood and Whitaker state that ‘the most likely period for the composition of such a work was [...] from the fourth to the sixth centuries’.¹⁶⁹ Bate, on the other hand, assumes the sixth century, based again on linguistic evidence.¹⁷⁰ More recently, however, Kretschmer suggested that the work might have been written as late as the seventh century.¹⁷¹ Even though they refrain to pinpoint a place of production of the *Excidium Troie*, with regard to the purpose of the composition, Atwood and Whitaker argue that ‘its original Latin form was almost certainly intended as a handbook for the instruction of the young’.¹⁷² Bate also states that the work was ‘considered primarily as an educational aid by succeeding generations’.¹⁷³ There is however, no material evidence to support either of these claims and none of the extant manuscripts display such usage. Stating that the *Excidium Troie* presents a distinct tradition, Wallace-Hadrill suggests a ‘Gaulish composition’ for the work.¹⁷⁴ He, however, does not provide any grounds for this statement.

The interest in the *Excidium Troie* and its manuscripts is relatively recent, and there is no comprehensive study of the manuscript transmission.¹⁷⁵ The earliest edition, of Atwood and Whitaker in 1944, was based on three manuscripts.¹⁷⁶ In 1957, Finch identified two more manuscripts.¹⁷⁷ The most recent editor of the work, Bate, on the other hand, listed fourteen witnesses including the ones used by Atwood and

¹⁶⁸ Atwood and Whitaker, ‘Introduction’, in *Excidium Troiae*, ed. by Atwood and Whitaker, pp. xi–lxxxv (p. xi).

¹⁶⁹ Atwood and Whitaker, ‘Introduction’, in *Excidium Troiae*, ed. by Atwood and Whitaker, pp. xi–lxxxv (p. xv).

¹⁷⁰ Bate, ‘Introduction’, in *Excidium Troie*, ed. by Bate, pp. 5–19 (p. 6).

¹⁷¹ Kretschmer, ‘Aeneas Without the Gods’, pp. 307–27 (p. 307).

¹⁷² Atwood and Whitaker, ‘Introduction’, in *Excidium Troiae*, ed. by Atwood and Whitaker, pp. xi–lxxxv (p. xviii).

¹⁷³ Bate, ‘Introduction’, in *Excidium Troie*, ed. by Bate, pp. 5–19 (p. 8).

¹⁷⁴ John Michael Wallace-Hadrill, ‘Fredegar and the History of France’, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 40 (1958), 527–50 (p. 536).

¹⁷⁵ The interest in the *Excidium Troie* has only started with Atwood’s lengthy article about the ‘Rawlinson *Excidium Troie*’, where he argues that the *Excidium Troie* is one of the sources used for those works about Troy in vernacular literature from the twelfth century onwards. See ‘The Rawlinson *Excidium Troie*’, pp. 379–404. However, there has been very little interest in the work in the past eighty years.

¹⁷⁶ See Atwood and Whitaker, ‘Introduction’, in *Excidium Troiae*, ed. by Atwood and Whitaker, pp. xi–lxxxv (pp. lxxvii–lxxiv).

¹⁷⁷ Chauncey, E. Finch, ‘Two Vatican Manuscripts of the Anonymous *Excidium Troie*’, *Manuscripta*, 1 (1957), 131–49.

Whitaker.¹⁷⁸ More recently, Faivre d’Arcier drew attention to two more hitherto unstudied witnesses during his research on the *De excidio Troiae historia*, and Kretschmer to four witnesses that contain a summary version.¹⁷⁹

The research for this study has thus identified twenty witnesses, most of which are dated to the twelfth century or after.¹⁸⁰ In none of the witnesses the work is ascribed to an author. A number of them fall into distinct groups. The first group includes four manuscripts all of which contain a summary of the text.¹⁸¹ These seem to have descended from the same exemplar, a unique compilation made up of rather short summaries and paraphrases of historical texts including the *Liber historiae Francorum* and Paul the Deacon’s *Historia Romana*, in addition to the *Excidium Troie*, which Kretschmer dates to sometime in the mid-tenth century.¹⁸² Yet, only one witness, Bamberg, StaB, Hist. 3 (E.III.14), is dated to before the twelfth century. Dated to the mid-twelfth century, Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 1984 + Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 1984A also seems to have some connection with this group. Even though the text of the *Excidium Troie* is complete in this witness, it includes interpolations from the summary version.¹⁸³

A second group of four witnesses is the result of Guido of Pisa’s six-book compilation mentioned above. The version of the *Excidium Troie* in the *De variis*

¹⁷⁸ For a description of manuscripts, see Bate, ‘Introduction’, in *Excidium Troie*, ed. by Bate, pp. 5–19 (pp. 10–16).

¹⁷⁹ Faivre d’Arcier, *Histoire*, pp. 41 and 99–100, and Kretschmer, *Rewriting Roman History*, pp. 19, 22, 23 and 24.

¹⁸⁰ It is likely that there are more witnesses, which remain unidentified, especially dated to after the twelfth century.

¹⁸¹ These are: Bamberg, StaB, Hist. 3 (E.III.14), Oxford, MC, 14, Salisbury, CL, 80 and Vatican City, BAV, Urb. lat. 961. Oxford, MC, 14 is apparently a direct copy of Salisbury, CL, 80; however, none of the remaining manuscripts are direct descendants of any of the others. Kretschmer makes a brief analysis of the language used in the text of the *Excidium Troie* in the oldest witness, Bamberg, StaB, Hist. 3 (E.III.14), where he admits that this version is ‘mainly a summary’ that is ‘reduced to three folia’. See *Rewriting Roman History*, pp. 185–87. For a discussion and an edition of the summary version, see Kretschmer, ‘Aeneas Without the Gods’, pp. 307–27.

¹⁸² See especially Kretschmer, *Rewriting Roman History*, pp. 55–64.

¹⁸³ The remaining works in the manuscript, which is a historical compilation, also show similarities with those of the manuscripts that contain the summary version; however, the exact relationship remains to be investigated. See Kretschmer, *Rewriting Roman History*, pp. 46–55. Bate erroneously only gives Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 1984A as the witness in his list of manuscripts; however, the *Excidium Troie* is in Vat. lat. 1984 and, as it currently stands, Vat. lat. 1984A only includes a number of leaves that got detached from the original compilation over the course of years. Furthermore, even though Bate dates the manuscript to either the eleventh or the twelfth century, it is now dated to c.1150. For further information on the manuscript, see David Whitton, ‘The *Annales Romani* and Codex Vaticanus Latinus 1984’, *Bullettino dell’Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo*, 84 (1973), 125–43.

historiis also presents signs of reworking, such as re-edited sentences, alterations and additions albeit, to a much lesser extent than those of the first group that contain the summary version. Of the remaining witnesses, one is a very late copy, dated to the eighteenth century.¹⁸⁴ Five are dated to from the end of the twelfth through the fourteenth centuries and all include various interpolations to the text that are seemingly independent from Guido's compilation as well as from each other.¹⁸⁵ Thus, only six witnesses of the *Excidium Troie*, one of which is the oldest witness to the summary version, are dated to before the twelfth century (see Table 2.5).

Despite the smaller number of surviving witnesses, their earlier date suggests that the *Excidium Troie* was initially more widely disseminated than the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani*. In addition, given that Florence, BML, Plut.66.40 probably had a Frankish exemplar and the Carolingian dominion and influence in Italy in the ninth century, it also seems that the *Excidium Troie* was exclusively produced in Frankish centres until the twelfth century. Yet, unlike the case of the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani*, the places of production throughout the Frankish dominion for the witnesses of the *Excidium Troie* are more widespread. The evidence presented further suggests that the *Excidium Troie* is either associated with other Trojan material such as the commentaries of Servius (Boulogne-sur-Mer, BMu, 186) and the *Ilias Latina* (Saint-Claude, BMu, 2), or, more significantly, with historical works. In addition to being utilized as part of two historical compilations mentioned above, the *Excidium Troie* is found together with Jordanes's *De origine actibusque Getarum*, also known as *Getica*, in Vatican City, BAV, Ott. lat. 1346, and, more significantly, with the anonymous *Liber historiae Francorum* and the *Annales Mettenses priores* in London, BL, Arundel 375, which is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5 below. Moreover, in Florence, BML, Plut.66.40, the *Excidium Troie* is found together as part of the same compilation with Dares of Phrygia's *De excidio Troiae historia*, which was also considered a 'historical' account of the Trojan War up until the seventeenth century.

¹⁸⁴ This is Munich, BSB, Clm 11029.

¹⁸⁵ These are Charleville-Mézières, BMu, 275; Evreux, BMu, 111; Madrid, BNE, 10046; Oxford, BoL, Rawlinson D. 893 and Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 657. The version in the fourteenth-century Madrid, BNE, 10046 has been recently edited and translated into Spanish: *La Versión de 'Excidium Troie' de un Códice Toledano (Madrid, BN MS 10046)*, ed. and trans. by Helena de Carlos Villamarín, Papers of the Medieval Hispanic Research Seminar, 70 (London: Department of Iberian and Latin American Studies, Queen Mary, University of London, 2012).

Table 2.5 Earliest Witnesses of the *Excidium Troie*

Manuscript	Date	Origin	Incipit and Explicit
Vatican City, BAV, Ott. lat. 1346 ¹⁸⁶	IX ^{1-2/4}	France (?)	INCIPIT EXCIDIVM TROIE <i>N/A: end missing</i>
London, BL, Arundel 375 (Part II) ¹⁸⁷	IX ^{ex}	north-western France (?)	INCIPIT EXPOSICIO: EXSIDIVM TROIE EXPLICIT EXCIDIVM TROIE
Florence, BML, Plut.66.40 ¹⁸⁸	IX ^{ex}	Abbey of Monte Cassino, Cassino, Italy	INCIPIT EXCIDIVM TROIAE FINIT EXPOSITIO. DEO GRATIAS. AMEN
Boulogne-sur-Mer, BMu, 186 ¹⁸⁹	X	St Bertin, Saint-Omer, France	<i>N/A: beginning and missing</i>
Bamberg, StaB, Hist. 3 [E.III.14] ¹⁹⁰	XI ⁱⁿ (c.1000)	Halberstadt, Germany	<i>N/A: summary</i>
Saint-Claude, BMu, 2 (Part III) ¹⁹¹	XI	central France	<i>INCIPIT EXCIDIVM TROIE</i> <i>EXPLICIT</i>

¹⁸⁶ Bischoff, *Katalog* III, p. 405, no. 6442. Bate dates the manuscript to the beginning of the ninth century and states that it was written ‘in Italy or France in a precarolingian [*sic*] hand’ in ‘Introduction’, in *Excidium Troie*, ed. by Bate, pp. 5–19 (p. 14).

¹⁸⁷ Bischoff indicates that this part of the manuscript was written in the tenth century in *Katalog*, II, pp. 105–06, no. 2415. However, Hen, who worked on the manuscript most recently, dates it to the end of the ninth century and ascribes it to ‘northern parts of West Francia’. See Yitzhak Hen, ‘Canvassing for Charles: The Annals of Metz in Late Carolingian Francia’, in *Zwischen Niederschrift und Wiederschrift: Hagiographie und Historiographie im Spannungsfeld von Kompendienüberlieferung und Editionstechnik*, ed. by Richard Corradini, Max Diesenberger, and Meta Niederkorn-Bruck, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters*, 18 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010), pp. 139–45 (especially p. 141 for the dating and localisation). See also the discussion in Chapter 5 below.

¹⁸⁸ Bischoff (*Katalog*, I, p. 262, no. 1236) gives the origin as Campania, Italy and states that the manuscript was perhaps written for a layperson. However, it is now accepted that the manuscript was produced in the Abbey of Monte Cassino and that it had a Frankish exemplar produced in Peronne. For a detailed discussion, see Kortekaas, ‘*Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*’, pp. 24–29. See also Bate, ‘Introduction’, in *Excidium Troie*, ed. by Bate, pp. 5–19 (p. 12–13).

¹⁸⁹ Bate, ‘Introduction’, in *Excidium Troie*, ed. by Bate, pp. 5–19 (p. 11).

¹⁹⁰ Kretschmer, *Rewriting Roman History*, p. 19.

¹⁹¹ Bate (‘Introduction’, in *Excidium Troie*, ed. by Bate, pp. 5–19 (p. 11)) dates the manuscript to ‘the tenth or eleventh century’; however, see Munk Olsen, *L’étude*, I, 376; Faivre d’Arcier, *Histoire*, p. 108; Scaffai, ‘Tradizione manoscritta’, in *In verbis verum amare*, ed. by Zanetti, pp. 205–77 (pp. 210–11) and ‘Introduzione’, in *Baebii Italici ‘Ilias Latina’*, ed. and trans. Scaffai, pp. 1–80 (pp. 38–39).

2.6 A Comparative Look at the Manuscript Evidence

When compared to the *De excidio Troiae historia*, the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani* is generally identified as ‘the earlier and more comprehensive of the two’¹⁹² or ‘the longer and fuller work’ of the two.¹⁹³ However, as Griffin puts it, ‘[i]n general character and contents the *De Excidio Trojae [sic] Historia* of Dares Phrygius presents a marked contrast to Dictys’ *Ephemeris*’.¹⁹⁴ As mentioned above, this is also the case for the *Excidium Troie*. One example would suffice: the cause of the war is presented quite differently in each text. In the *De excidio Troiae historia* it is argued that Laomedon’s murder and Hesione’s abduction, following Laomedon’s inhospitable treatment during the expedition by the Argonauts, led to Helen’s abduction and in turn caused the Trojan War. And the reader is assured that Helen indeed went with Alexander willingly. In the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani*, Alexander abducts Helen for no apparent reason and commits a ‘crime’ (I.3). Furthermore, the Trojans are unhappy about Alexander’s behaviour and actions and Alexander kills his own people over this conflict (I.8). The *Excidium Troie*, on the other hand, provides the wedding of Peleus and Thetis as the reason behind the war. As mentioned above, the story presented in the *De excidio Troiae historia* also differs in many essential respects from the more familiar Homeric version. There are different levels of changes and alterations in the *De excidio Troiae historia* in comparison to both the Greek *Iliad* and the *Ilias Latina* as well. While there are minor changes in details such as from where Helen is taken, there are also major changes such as the inclusion of certain characters that do not play any role in the *Iliad* such as Troilus and Polyxena, or exclusion of certain elements of the story such as the friendship between Achilles and Patroclus, or the famous ‘wooden horse’.

Despite these differences briefly mentioned above with regard to the content and scope of the works, the manuscript evidence suggests that in more than one occasion, a number of these five works, though in different combinations, have been considered as part of the same compilation. When the surviving witnesses dated to before the twelfth century are examined, one observes that Dares of Phrygia’s *De excidio Troiae historia* has been associated with all of these works, namely, the *Ilias Latina*, Virgil’s *Aeneid*, the *Excidium Troie* and Dictys of Crete’s *Ephemeridos belli Troiani*. The *Excidium*

¹⁹² Griffin, *Dares and Dictys*, p. 1.

¹⁹³ Frazer, Jr., ‘Introduction’, in *The Trojan War*, pp. 3–15 (p. 3).

¹⁹⁴ Griffin, *Dares and Dictys*, p. 4.

Troie is further associated with the *Ilias Latina*, albeit only in one witness.¹⁹⁵ On the other hand, the *Aeneid* and the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani* are not found together with any of the works other than the *De excidio Troiae historia*.¹⁹⁶

Except for the *Aeneid*, there are no surviving witnesses dated to before the late eighth century that contain either the *Ilias Latina* or any of the late antique narratives about the Trojan War. There also seem to be no direct references to any of these works except for the explicit mention in Isidore's *Etymologies* regarding Dares, nor there are any mentions in library catalogues before the ninth century (see Table 2.6). Thus, there is almost no way of determining where and how these works circulated before the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks found their way to the *Chronicle of Fredegar* in the mid-seventh century. The three late antique accounts of the Trojan War are relatively short pieces, and because of that none of the texts comprise a codex by itself, although there is evidence (such as wear and tear in the first and final folia) to suggest that they may have also circulated in unbound quires, especially in the case of the *De excidio Troiae historia*. Thus, these works survive either as part of a compilation or as fragments on unbound leaves. In some cases, it might look like the late antique accounts are bound with the rest of the works in a manuscript for practical purposes, such as the preservation of part of an earlier compilation. For example, Bamberg, StaB, Class. 31, mentioned above, is a composite manuscript of three different codicological units. The first unit contains Dares's *De excidio Troiae historia*, the second Festus's *Breviarium rerum gestarum populi Romani* and the third Florus's *Epitome de Tito Livio*. Even though each part was produced on a separate occasion, it was clearly put together, possibly as early as the eleventh century, as an extended history of the Romans, who, as is known, were linked to the Trojans. In other cases, such as Paris, BNF, lat. 7906 (Part III) + lat. 5018 (Part II), the compilations seem to have a clearer thematic agenda in their original groupings.

The examination of surviving library inventories that date back to the Middle Ages as well as letters and other documents that contain lists of books, provide very little to add to the bigger picture (see Table 2.6). To begin with, the survival rate of such

¹⁹⁵ This is Saint-Claude, BMu, 2 (Part III), which also includes an excerpt from the *De excidio Troiae historia* attached to the end of the *Ilias Latina*. There are no other witnesses for such a compilation in the later Middle Ages.

¹⁹⁶ A slight exception to this may be the tenth-century Boulogne-sur-Mer, BMu, 186, where the *Excidium Troie* is preceded by Servius's Commentaries.

inventories is very low for the period before the twelfth century.¹⁹⁷ On the other hand, as Ott states with regard to the twelfth-century practices, ‘there is every reason to think that scholars in this period either had a good idea where the copies of texts they wanted resided, or knew where to begin looking’.¹⁹⁸ It is plausible to think that similar practices were carried out in earlier centuries and that exchange of books and therefore knowledge especially between those centres that were closely connected or that were in close proximity such as Reichenau and St Gall or Lorsch and Metz were common. Thus, it would be safe to assume that if a certain work was in a certain centre, more people had access to it than the immediate residents of that centre.

In the case of works related to Troy, in most instances, it is not clear to which work the entries in a library catalogue refer.¹⁹⁹ Furthermore, it is very difficult—if not impossible—to pinpoint the date of a given manuscript from a library catalogue, or whether or not it was written in that scriptorium, for that matter. Often, the inventories also do not indicate whether or not the said entry refers to a codex, with various designations such as ‘volumen’, ‘liber’, or even ‘rodale’, and when they do whether or not what is recorded in a given list is the only work in the codex. When the survival rates of medieval manuscripts are considered in addition to this, only in some rare cases, when the entry is detailed enough and the localisation and the dating of the list is certain enough, such as the inventory of the Rochester Cathedral dated to 1122/1123, it is possible to match a given entry with a surviving manuscript.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁷ For an overview of the testimony of medieval library catalogues, see James Stuart Beddie, ‘The Ancient Classics in the Mediaeval Libraries’, *Speculum*, 5 (1930), 3–20. Even though this article was published in 1930, general observations remain valid today. For a discussion of the library catalogues from the Carolingian Francia, see Rosamond McKitterick, ‘The Organization of Written Knowledge’, in *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 165–210.

¹⁹⁸ John S. Ott, *Bishops, Authority and Community in Northwestern Europe, c.1050–1150*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Fourth Series (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 53.

¹⁹⁹ In his survey, Manitius, for example, lists ambiguous book entries on Troy under both Dares and Dictys. Note that there have been several studies since this publication and that these lists cannot be regarded as complete or accurate. See Max Manitius, *Handschriften antiker Autoren in mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskatalogen*, ed. by Karl Manitius, Beiheft zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, 67 (Leipzig: Harrasowitz, 1935), pp. 123–25 for Homer, pp. 47–55 and 340 for Virgil, pp. 194–95 for Dictys, and pp. 262–64 for Dares.

²⁰⁰ The entry, ‘Solinus et Dares et liber Pergesis I de situ terrae Prisciani grammatici urbis Romae et vaticinium Sybillae et hystoriam Brittonum in I volumine’ is now thought to be London, BL, Royal 15 A + London, BL, Cotton Vespasian D XXI (Part I), which is dated to the beginning of the twelfth century. It contains Solinus’s *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, Dares of Phrygia’s *De excidio Troiae historia*, Dionysius Periegetes’s *Periegesis*, the *Sybilla Tiburtina*, the *Historia Brittonum* and the *Versus Segardi de miseria hominis et penis inferni*.

Table 2.6 Early Medieval References to Books on the Trojan Narrative²⁰¹

Date	Place	Mention
before VIII ^{med}	Abbey of St Gall, St Gall, Switzerland	Metr[um] Virg[ilii] in vol[umine] I. ²⁰²
before IX ⁱⁿ	Bobbio Abbey, Bobbio, Italy	Lib[ros] Virgiliti numero IIII. Lib[ros] Septimi Sereni II, unu[m] de ruralibus, alteru[m] de historia Troiana, in quo [et] habetur historia Daretis. Lib[rum] I Daretis de uastatione Troiae. ²⁰³
821–822	Reichenau Abbey, Lake Constance, Germany	Daretis Phrygii de origine Troianorum et de excidio Troiae volumen I. Merta Virgiliti Maronis in vol[umen] I. Item Virgiliti Georgicorum lib[ri] III et Aeneidos lib[ri] VI in cod[ice] I. ²⁰⁴

²⁰¹ The existing literature was scanned for entries that are dated to before the end of the twelfth century and that correspond to Homer, Virgil, Dictys and Dares as well as Troy; however, this list cannot be regarded as complete. Also note that explicit references only to either the *Eclogues* or the *Georgics* are omitted as well as those to the commentaries on Virgil's works.

²⁰² This entry is found in St Gall, StiB, Cod. Sang. 728 (p. 5), which includes the oldest book inventory for the Abbey. The volume of Virgil is among the thirty entries that are indicated to be written in insular script with the heading 'LIBRI SCOTTICE SCRIPTI'. Even though the manuscript itself is dated to the mid-ninth century, Clark argues that these volumes 'were either brought to St Gall, or were written there before the introduction of the Benedictine Rule, i.e. before the middle of the eighth century'. See J. M. Clark, *The Abbey of St. Gall as a Centre of Literature & Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926), p. 25. See also Gottlieb, *Bibliotheken*, no. 185, Becker, *CBA*, p. 43, no. 22.18, and *MBKDS*, ed. by Lehmann and others, I, no. 16, p. 71.

²⁰³ This list is preserved in Modena, BEU, Archivio Muratori, 23.3.a, which is an early eighteenth-century copy made by Lodovico Antonio Muratori of the now lost ancient catalogue of Bobbio. For the edition, see Michele Tosi, 'Il governo abbaziale di Gerberto a Bobbio', in *Gerberto: Scienza, storia e mito. Atti del Gerberti Symposium (Bobbio 25-27 luglio 1983)*, ed. by Michele Tosi, Archivum Bobiense – Studia, 2 (Bobbio: Editrice degli Archivi Storici Bobiensi, 1985), pp. 71–234 (pp. 197–214). See also Gottlieb, *Bibliotheken*, no. 530, and Becker, *CBA*, p. 68, nos. 32.356–61; pp. 69–70, nos. 32.466–467 and p. 70, no. 32.468. For the dating of the original catalogue, see Mario Esposito, 'The Ancient Bobbio Catalogue', *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 32 (1931), 337–44 and Tosi, 'Il governo abbaziale di Gerberto a Bobbio', in *Gerberto*, ed. by Tosi, pp. 71–234 (pp. 130–39 and 197–214).

²⁰⁴ The dating of this list is derived from the title of a now lost *rotulus*, which read: 'Brevis librorum qui sunt in coenobio Sindleothes-Auua, facta anno VIII Hludovici imperatoris': 'A summary of books that are in the monastery of the Reicheanu Island, made in the eighth year of Emperor Louis'. For the edition of the manuscript, see Trudpert Neugart, 'Appendix II', in *Episcopatus Constantiensis Alemannicus sub metropoli Moguntina, cum Vindonissensi, cui successit, in Burgundia Transiurana provinciae Vesontinae olim fundato, chronologice et diplomatice illustratus. Partis I. Tomus I* (St Blasien: Typis S. Blasii, 1803), pp. 536–52 (p. 539). See also Gottlieb, *Bibliotheken*, no. 175a, Becker, *CBA*, p. 8, no. 6.136 and p. 13, nos. 6.414 and 6.415, and *MBKDS*, ed. by Lehmann and others, I, no. 49, pp. 247, 252.

Date	Place	Mention
after 830	Bobbio Abbey, Bobbio, Italy	Lib[rum] Virgilii I. ²⁰⁵
831	Abbey of Saint- Riquier, Saint-Riquier, France	Virgilius. Historia Homeri ubi dicit et Dares Phrygius. ²⁰⁶
IX ^{2/3}	Unknown library (north-eastern France)	Exidium Troi[a]e. ²⁰⁷
c.840	Murbach Abbey, Murbach, France	Virgilius [...] lib[er] Eneydos. ²⁰⁸
before 842	Reichenau Abbey, Lake Constance, Germany	In XXXIV libro in quo continentur libri quinque historiarum gentis [///] Uuiniolorum qui et [///] et liber in quo habetur excidium Troiae civitatis. ²⁰⁹

²⁰⁵ This list is found in the same manuscript as above. See Tosi, ‘Il governo abbaziale di Gerberto a Bobbio’, in *Gerberto*, ed. by Tosi, pp. 71–234 (p. 209). See also Gottlieb, *Bibliotheken*, no. 530, and Becker, *CBA*, p. 71, no. 32.523.

²⁰⁶ This list is found as part of a long inventory of books that are told to be at the Abbey of Saint-Riquier in 831 in Hariulf of Oudenburg’s (c.1060–1143) *Chronicon Centulense*, whose first version was completed by 1088. For the edition, see *Chronique de l’abbaye de Saint Riquier (Ve siècle–1104)*, ed. by Ferdinand Lot (Paris: Picard, 1894), III.2 (p. 85). The second entry was apparently amended by Étienne Baluze (1630–1718) as ‘Dictys and Dares’ and since then has been accepted by modern scholars to denote a manuscript that contained works by both. However, there is no ground for the correction of ‘dicit’ into ‘Dictys’ other than the general assumption since the early modern times that these texts were copied and catalogued together. This is better to be understood as an alternative spelling derived from the verb ‘dicere’. Furthermore, Dictys’s name is not (mis)spelled as ‘dicit’ in any of the witnesses examined for this study even though it is frequently referred to as ‘Dictis’. See Gottlieb, *Bibliotheken*, no. 402, Becker, *CBA*, p. 28, nos. 11. 185 and 11.192.

²⁰⁷ This list is found in Berlin, StaB, Hamilton 132, fol. 254r. See Gottlieb, *Bibliotheken*, no. 132. For the edition, see Wilhelm Wattenbach, ‘Die Handschriften der Hamiltonschen Sammlung’, *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, 8 (1883), 327–46 (pp. 332–35). For the dating and localisation, see Bischoff, *Katalog*, I, p. 74, no. 353.

²⁰⁸ This list is found in Colmar, ADR, Cartulaire Abbaye Murbach No. 1, pp. 86–96. It is a copy of a now lost *rotulus* made by Sigismund Meisterlin in 1464. For the edition, see Wolfgang Milde, *Der Bibliothekskatalog des Klosters Murbach aus dem 9. Jahrhundert. Ausgabe und Untersuchung von Beziehungen zu Cassiodors ‘Institutiones’*, Beihefte zum Euphorion: Zeitschrift für Literaturgeschichte, 4 (Heidelberg: C. Winter Universitätsverlag, 1968), p. 48.

²⁰⁹ This entry comes from the same lost Reichenau manuscript as above. It includes lists of books copied for abbot Erlebold (822–838), Ruadhelm (838–842), and those copied or obtained by Reginbert during the abbacies of Waldo (786–806), Heito (806–23), Erlebold and Ruadhelm respectively. See Neugart, ‘Appendix II’, in *Episcopatus Constantiensis*, pp. 536–52 (p. 551). See also Gottlieb, *Bibliotheken*, no. 894, Becker, *CBA*, p. 23, no. 10.34, and *MBKDS*, ed. by Lehmann and others, I, no. 53, p. 261.

Date	Place	Mention
841–872	Abbey of St Gall, St Gall, Switzerland	Hystoria[m] Dictis [et] Daretis in I sced[a]. Volumen Virgilii poetae. ²¹⁰
c.860	Lorsch Abbey, Lorsch, Germany	Excidium Troiae lib[er] I [et] historia Daretis Frigii de exitu Romanorum in uno codice. ²¹¹
c.860	Lorsch Abbey, Lorsch, Germany	Liber Virgilii. ²¹²
after 870	Murbach Abbey, Murbach, France	Exitium Troianorum. ²¹³

²¹⁰ These entries are found in St Gall, StB, Cod. Sang. 267 (Part I), p. 32. They come from a list of books titled ‘ADNOTATIO LIBRORUM QUE SUNT IN MONASTERIO S[AN]C[T]I GALLI’ that is found on pp. 3–32. The manuscript itself is dated to 883–896. The section that contains these entries are found on pp. 30–32, among the list of books given to the abbey by Abbot Grimalt (841–872), which is titled ‘Istos autem libros domnus Grimoldus de suo dedit ad sanctum Gallum’: ‘And those books lord Grimalt granted from his own resources to St Gall’. The entry about the volume of Virgil seems to be added to the end of this list at a later stage, and is definitely written by a different hand. For a description and a brief discussion of the library catalogue, see David Ganz, ‘The Libraries, Librarians and Library Catalogues of Reichenau and St. Gall’, in *Carolingian Culture at Reichenau & St. Gall* <http://www.stgallplan.org/en/tours_libraries.html> [accessed 17 January 2013]. See also Gottlieb, *Bibliotheken*, no. 910, Becker, *CBA*, p. 54, nos. 23.25 and 23.35, and *MBKDS*, ed. by Lehmann and others, I, no. 20, p. 89.

²¹¹ This list is found in Vatican City, BAV, Pal. lat. 1877, fols 1r–33r. For the edition, see Angelika Häse, *Mittelalterliche Bücherverzeichnisse aus Kloster Lorsch: Einleitung, Edition und Kommentar*, Beiträge zum Buch- und Bibliothekswesen, 42 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002), p. 137. See also Gottlieb, *Bibliotheken*, no. 109, Becker, *CBA*, p. 83, no. 37.91 and p. 120, no. 38.16; however, note that Becker gives the date of the document as the tenth century. In an earlier inventory, Vatican City, BAV, Pal. lat. 57, fols 1r–7v, which is dated to c.850, along with a couple of others, the first entry here is omitted even though the manuscript records the rest of the books in the exact same order. This may indicate that the book was copied or acquired c.850–860.

²¹² This list is found in Vatican City, BAV, Pal. lat. 1877, fols 33v–34r. It is a separate list of twenty-seven books that are donated by abbot Gerward and is introduced after the longer catalogue of the Abbey as follows: ‘Hos libros repperimus in Gannettias, quos Gerwardus ibidem reliquit, et ab inde huc illos transtulimus’. For the edition, see Häse, *Mittelalterliche Bücherverzeichnisse aus Kloster Lorsch*, p. 168. See also Gottlieb, *Bibliotheken*, no. 109, Becker, *CBA*, p. 119, no. 37.590 and p. 124, no. 38.121. For Gerward, see Bischoff, *Lorsch im Spiegel seiner Handschriften*, pp. 54–57 and McKitterick, *Carolingians and the Written Word*, pp. 187–90, 251–52.

²¹³ This list is found in the same fifteenth-century manuscript as above, in Colmar, ADR, Cartulaire Abbaye Murbach No. 1, p. 97. It seems to be an addition to the earlier list by an Abbot Iskar and is introduced as follows: ‘Breviarium librorum ISGHTERI abbatis obmissis his qui in registro continentur pro parte’: ‘An abridgement of books left by Abbot Iskar that are included in the register in part’. For the edition, see Karl-Ernst Geith and Walter Berschin, ‘Die Bibliothekskataloge des Klosters Murbach aus dem IX. Jahrhundert’, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 83 (1972), 61–87 (p. 67).

Date	Place	Mention
882	Oviedo Cathedral, Oviedo (?), Spain	Virgilii poete l[i]b[ro]s XII Enedas corpore uno. ²¹⁴
IX ^{ex}	Reichenau Abbey, Lake Constance, Germany	Et rogo te, ut istoriam Dictis –nomen– de bello Gregorum et Troianorum, quam penes te novimus, transscribi iubeas et per memoratum et communem fidelem, cum ad vos misero, nobis remittatis, quia nusquam illam inter nostros invenire possimus. ²¹⁵
X ²	Freising, Germany	Virgilius. Omerus. ²¹⁶
975–993	Abbey of St Emmeram, Regensburg, Germany	Liber Throiani belli. ²¹⁷
X ^{ex}	Abbey of St Gall, St Gall, Switzerland	Virgilius libri II. ²¹⁸
XI ¹	Unknown library (France (?))	Omerus. Virgilius. ²¹⁹

²¹⁴ This list is found in San Lorenzo de El Escorial, RBE, R.II.18, fol. 95. See Gottlieb, *Bibliotheken*, no. 742 and Becker, *CBA*, p. 60, no. 26.39.

²¹⁵ This request is found in St Gall, StiB, Cod. Sang. 550, p. 132. For the edition, see ‘Formulae Augienses’, in *Formulae Merovingici et Karolini aevi*, ed. by Karl Zeumer, MGH Leges, 5 (Hannover: Hahn, 1886), pp. 339–77 and 724–25 (no. 17, pp. 372–73). Even though Zeumer divides the formularies into three different collections in his edition, none of the four surviving witnesses was actually compiled in this manner. For a general overview of the Reichenau formularies and Zeumer’s editorial approach, see Alice Rio, *Legal Practice and the Written Word in the Early Middle Ages: Frankish Formulae, c.500–1000*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought: Fourth Series, 75 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 144–50. See also *MBKDS*, ed. by Lehmann and others, I, pp. 224–25.

²¹⁶ This list is found in Munich, BSB, Clm 6399, fol. 32v. See Gottlieb, *Bibliotheken*, no. 52, Becker, *CBA*, p. 41, nos. 19.10 and 19.13, and *MBKDS*, ed. by Lehmann and others, IV.2, no. 75, p. 626; however, note that both Gottlieb and Becker dates the list to the ninth century. The list was added to a blank space by a later hand and the ninth-century dating belongs to the rest of the manuscript which includes Bede’s *De schematibus et tropis*. See Bischoff, *Katalog*, II, p. 241, no. 3072.

²¹⁷ This list is found in Pommersfelden, GSB, 340 [2821], fols 72v–74r and is from the time of Abbot Ramwold (975–1001). Even though commentaries and glosses on Virgil’s works are recorded in the list, as far as the surviving manuscript is concerned no works by Virgil are present. See Gottlieb, *Bibliotheken*, no. 169, Becker, *CBA*, p. 128, no. 42.384, and *MBKDS*, ed. by Lehmann and others, IV.1, no. 25, p. 145.

²¹⁸ This list is found in St Gall, StiB, Cod. Sang. 831, p. 182. See Gottlieb, *Bibliotheken*, no. 228, and *MBKDS*, ed. by Lehmann and others, I, no. 22, p. 101.

²¹⁹ This list is found in Paris, BNF, lat. 8069. See Gottlieb, *Bibliotheken*, no. 423 and Delisle, *Cabinet*, II, 448.

Date	Place	Mention
XI ¹	Unknown library (Fleury (?), France)	I. Virgilius. Excidium Troiae. ²²⁰
XI ¹	Unknown library (Lorraine (?), France)	Virgilius. ²²¹
XI ¹	Abbey of Santa Maria, Ripoll, Spain	Virgil[ius] II. ²²²
after 1004	Unknown library (north-eastern France or north-western Belgium)	Epistola Abbonis et medicinalis versifice et Fulgent[ius] sine litt[er]is et Daretis historia de excidio Troi[a]e. Epitome XII Virgilio. ²²³
XI ^{med}	Gorze Abbey, Gorze, France	Liber Virgilio. Virgilio libri III quartus imperfectus. ²²⁴
XI ²	Unknown library (north-eastern France)	Virgilio II. ²²⁵

²²⁰ This list is found in Bern, BB, 433, fol. 79v. See Gottlieb, *Bibliotheken*, no. 296 and Becker, *CBA*, p. 131, nos. 45.12 and 45.18. The provenance of both the manuscript and the list is uncertain; see Mostert, *Fleury*, p. 77, no. BF188.

²²¹ This list is found in Bern, BB, 4, fol. 55vb. According to Bischoff (*Katalog*, p. 103, no. 489), it is written with an eleventh-century ‘Germanic’ hand on the blank space of a ninth-century vulgate Bible. See also Gottlieb, *Bibliotheken*, no. 295, and Becker, *CBA*, p. 62, no. 29.1.

²²² This list is found in Barcelona, ACA, Ripoll 40. For the edition, see Rudolf Beer, *Die Handschriften des Klosters Santa Maria de Ripoll I*, Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-Historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 155.3 (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1908), pp. 101–09. See also Gottlieb, *Bibliotheken*, no. 745.

²²³ This list is found in Brussels, KBR, 1828–1830. The manuscript is thought to be from the Anchin Abbey, which was founded in 1079, but the list may belong to the Abbey of Saint-Amand. For the edition, see Jean Gessler, ‘Une bibliothèque scolaire du XI^e siècle d’après le catalogue provenant de l’abbaye d’Anchin’, *L’antiquité classique*, 4 (1935), 49–116 (pp. 97–100, nos. 45, 46); for the localisation and dating of the list see especially p. 68. See also Becker, *CBA*, p. 249, nos. 121.76 and 121.77, however, note that Becker dates the list to the twelfth century, presumably after the dating of the manuscript.

²²⁴ This list is found in Reims, BMu, 407, fols 12–14, a manuscript which belonged to the Abbey of Saint-Thierry in Reims after the twelfth century. For the edition, see Germain Morin, ‘Le catalogue des manuscrits de l’abbaye de Gorze au XI^e siècle’, *Revue bénédictine*, 22 (1905), 1–14 (pp. 9–10). See also Anne Wagner, *Gorze au XI^e siècle: Contribution à l’histoire du monachisme bénédictin dans l’Empire*, Atelier de recherche sur les textes médiévaux, 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), pp. 101–90.

²²⁵ This list is found in Paris, BNF, lat. 943, fols 154v–155r. For the edition, see D. de Bruyne, ‘Le plus ancien catalogue des manuscrits de Notre-Dame de Paris’, *Revue bénédictine*, 29 (1912), 481–85 (p. 485). De Bruyne argues that this list belonged to the Notre-Dame; however, this view was recently rejected. See Charlotte Denoël, ‘Le fonds des manuscrits latins de Notre-Dame de Paris à la Bibliothèque nationale de France’, *Scriptorium*, 58 (2004), 131–73 (p. 133).

Date	Place	Mention
XI ²	Minden Cathedral, Minden, Germany	Virgilius. ²²⁶
XI ²	Tegernsee Abbey, Tegernsee, Germany	Librum Virgilio. Libr[um] Daretis de excidio Troie. ²²⁷
1049–1109	Cluny Abbey, Saône- et-Loire, France	Volumen in quo continentur libri VII historie Longobardorum, et quiddam de libris Virgilio. Volumen in quo continentur Bucolica, Georgica, Eneidaque Virgilio. Volumen in quo continetur idem Virgilius cum commento Servii, habens in principio Quintum Serenum. Volumen ipsius Virgilio sine Servio. Volumen in quo continetur Sedulius, historia Daretis Phrygii, liber Alexandri Macedonis, epigrammata Symposii alieque res. ²²⁸
1057–1105	Abbey of St Adalbert, Egmond-Binnen, the Netherlands	Item Daretis de excidio Troiae. ²²⁹
1058–1087	Abbey of Monte Cassino, Cassino, Italy	Historiam Cornelii cum Omero. Virgilium cum egloga Theodori. ²³⁰

²²⁶ This list is found in Vatican Vity, BAV, Pal. lat. 828. For the edition, see Franz Pelster, ‘Ein Schulbücherverzeichnis aus der Mindener Dombibliothek in der Mitte des 11. Jahrhunderts. Cod. Vat. Pal. lat. 828’, *Scholastik. Vierteljahresschrift für Theologie und Philosophie*, 16 (1941), 534–53. See also Gottlieb, *Bibliotheken*, no. 784.

²²⁷ This list is found in Munich, BSB, Clm 18541a, fol. 1r, which contains a list of books given to the monastery by a monk Reginfridus. See Gottlieb, *Bibliotheken*, no. 935, Becker, *CBA*, p. 142, nos. 57.3 and 57.31, and *MBKDS*, ed. by Lehmann and others, IV.2, pp. 750–71.

²²⁸ This list is thought to be compiled during the abbotship of Hugh of Cluny (1049–1109), also known as Hugh of Semur; however, it could also be from the time of Hugh III of Frazans (1158–1163). See Delisle, *Cabinet*, II, 473, 478, 479. For the dating and a discussion of the catalogue, see Veronika von Büren, ‘Le grand catalogue de la bibliothèque de Cluny’, in *Le gouvernement d’Hugues de Semur à Cluny: Actes du colloque scientifique international, Cluny, septembre 1988* (Cluny: Ville de Cluny–Musée Ochier, 1990), pp. 245–63.

²²⁹ This list is found in Leiden, UBL, LTK 611, fols 144r–148r dated to 1520. For the edition, see Willibrord Lampen, ‘Catalogus Librorum Abbatiae Sancti Adelberti Egmondanae’, *Antonianum*, 17 (1942), 39–72. See also Gottlieb, *Bibliotheken*, no. 723.

²³⁰ This list is found as part of the *Chronica monasterii Casinensis*, whose first version was completed by 1075 by Leo of Ostia (1046–1115/1117, also known as Leo Marsicanus). The list, which is thought to be written by Leo’s successor Guido, includes some seventy-five books that were ordered to be copied at the Abbey of Monte Cassino by Desiderius (1058–1087). For the edition, see *Die Chronik von Montecassino/Chronica Monasterii Casinensis*, ed. by Hartmut Hoffmann, MGH SS, 34 (Hannover: Hahn, 1980), III.63. For the discussion of

Date	Place	Mention
before 1084	Abbey of Saint-Evre, Toul, France	Alchimus de creatione mundi et visione Vuettini et Homero volumen I. Virgilius Ainardi volumen I. Item Virgilii uetra volumina II. Dictis de excidio Troiano cum Homero vol[umen] I. ²³¹
1085–1101	Blaubeuren Abbey, Blaubeuren, Germany	Troiana historia. ²³²
1085–1101	Blaubeuren Abbey, Blaubeuren, Germany	Homerus. Dares. ²³³
XI ^{ex}	Weihenstephan Abbey, Freising, Germany	Dareta. ²³⁴
XI ^{ex}	Abbey of Saint-Martin of Massay, Cher, France	Homerus. Historia Anglorum, Trojanorum, Romanorum, Longobardorum, Gottorum, in uno codice. ²³⁵

the book lists in the chronicle, see also Francis Newton, ‘The Desiderian Scriptorium at Monte Cassino: The *Chronicle* and Some Surviving Manuscripts’, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 30 (1976), 35–54 and *The Scriptorium and Library at Monte Cassino, 1058-1105*, Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology, 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), especially pp. 21–26.

²³¹ This list is found in Munich, BSB, Clm 10292, fols 143v–146r. For the edition, see Robert Fawtier, ‘La bibliothèque et le trésor de l’abbaye de Saint-Èvre-lès-Toul à la fin du XI^e siècle d’après le ms. lat. 10292 de Munich’, *Mémoires de la Société d’archéologie lorraine et du Musée historique lorraine*, 61 (1911), 123–56. See also Gottlieb, *Bibliotheken*, no. 406, Becker, *CBA*, p. 152, nos. 68.190, 68.195, 68.196–97; p. 154, no. 68.257. These entries come from a list of books found in the closet of an abbot Wido. Even though the manuscript is dated to the eleventh century, the abbot mentioned here could be a reference to Wido, who was the nephew of Gerard and the Abbot of Saint-Evre for a short period in the mid-tenth century, 947/948–950, just before Arnulf appointed his own nephew, Hildebrand, to the post. For Abbot Wido, see Steven Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform as Process: Realities and Representations in Medieval Flanders, 900–1100* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013), pp. 46–47, 198, 200.

²³² This is a list of books donated to the Abbey during the time of Abbot Azelinus (1085–1101). See Gottlieb, *Bibliotheken*, no. 785, Becker, *CBA*, p. 175, no. 74.74, and *MBKDS*, ed. by Lehmann and others, I, no. 4, p. 19.

²³³ This is a list of books donated by a ‘brother’ Hugo, presumably again during the time of Abbot Azelinus. See Gottlieb, *Bibliotheken*, no. 785, Becker, *CBA*, p. 176, nos. 74.103 and 74.107, and *MBKDS*, ed. by Lehmann and others, I, no. 5, p. 20.

²³⁴ This list is found in Munich, BSB, Clm 21521, fol. 159v. See Gottlieb, *Bibliotheken*, no. 209, Becker, *CBA*, p. 174, no. 73.62, and *MBKDS*, ed. by Lehmann and others, IV.2, no. 87, p. 650.

²³⁵ This list is found in Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 3324, fols 111v–112r. See Delisle, *Cabinet*, II, 442–43.

Date	Place	Mention
XI ^{ex}	Abbey of St Mang, Füssen, Germany	Virgilii pars. ²³⁶
c.1100	Bamberg Cathedral, Bamberg, Germany	Virgilii tres. ²³⁷
after 1104	Abbey of St Bertin, Saint-Omer, France	Fabula et excidium Troiae. Virgilii IIII. ²³⁸
XII ⁱⁿ	Oberaltaich Abbey, Regensburg, Germany	Liber Virgilii. ²³⁹
1111–1128	Rouen, France	Omerus. Virgilius. Liber de duodecim versibus Virgilius. Liber Virgilii Eneidos. ²⁴⁰
1122/1123	Rochester Cathedral, Rochester, UK	Solinus et Dares et liber Pergesis I de situ terrae Prisciani grammatici urbis Romae et vaticinium Sybillae et hystoriam Brittonum in I volumine. ²⁴¹
XII ^l	Unknown library (Abbey of Saint Laurence, Liège (?), Belgium)	Virgilius. ²⁴²

²³⁶ See *MBKDS*, ed. by Lehmann and others, III.1, no. 31, p. 118.

²³⁷ This list is found in Bamberg, StaB, Class. 79 [E.III.16], fol. 189v. It is a list of ten books that are noted as ‘Isti sunt libri Babenbergensis aecclesiae, qui magistro G. commissi sunt’: ‘These books are from the church of Bamberg that are committed by magister G.’. See *MBKDS*, ed. by Lehmann and others, III.3, no. 83, p. 340.

²³⁸ See Gottlieb, *Bibliotheken*, no. 395 and Becker, *CBA*, p. 183, no. 77.93 and p. 184, nos. 77.296–99

²³⁹ See Gottlieb, *Bibliotheken*, no. 134, and *MBKDS*, ed. by Lehmann and others, IV.1, no. 17, p. 84.

²⁴⁰ This list dates to the time of archbishop Gaufridus (1111–1128) and is introduced as follows: ‘Hi sunt libri qui reperti sunt in ecclesia Rothomagi tempore Gaufridi archiepiscopi’. See Becker, *CBA*, p. 196, nos. 82.20 and 82.23, p. 197, nos. 82.35 and 83.47. See also Pierre Laurent Langlois, ‘Mémoire sur les bibliothèques des archevêques et du chapitre de Rouen’, in *Précis analytique des travaux de l’Académie des sciences, belles-lettres et arts de Rouen pendant l’année 1851-1852* (Rouen: Imprimerie de Alfred Péron, 1852), pp. 476–552 (pp. 534–35).

²⁴¹ This list is found in Rochester, DCL, A.3.5, fols 224r–230r. See *English Benedictine Libraries: The Shorter Catalogues*, ed. by Richard Sharpe and others, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, 4 (London: British Library, 1996), no. B77.91.

²⁴² This list is found in Brussels, KBR, 9668, fols 142v–143r. See Gottlieb, *Bibliotheken*, no. 716 and *Corpus catalogorum Belgii: The Medieval Booklists of the Southern Low Countries*, ed. by Albert Derolez and Benjamin Victor, 2 vols (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1994), II, no. 51, p. 113.

Date	Place	Mention
XII	Unknown library (Abbey of Saint Laurence, Liège (?), Belgium)	Virgilius maior cum Servio. Item duo Statii Achilleidos cum Homero. ²⁴³
XII	Abbey of Saint-Amand, Saint-Amand-les-Eaux, France	Virgilio duo. Terentius cum Omero de excidio Troiae. ²⁴⁴
XII	Durham Cathedral, Durham, UK	Virgilius pagani integer. Virgilius alius imperfectus. Alius Maximus cum Omero. Liber de vastatione Troiae. ²⁴⁵
XII	Corbie Abbey, Corbie, France	Virgilio pars quaedam in Eneidis. Virgilio quinque integri. Virgilio Maronis epytoma. ²⁴⁶
XII	Muri Abbey, Aargau, Switzerland	Duo libri Homeri. ²⁴⁷
XII ²	Abbey of Saint Gerard at Brogne, Belgium	Duo Virgilio in duobus voluminibus. ²⁴⁸
XII ²	Pontigny Abbey, Pontigny, France	Historia Troiana Frigii Daretis uno libro. ²⁴⁹

²⁴³ This list is found in Brussels, KBR, 9384–9389, fol. 38r. See *Corpus catalogorum Belgii*, ed. by Derolez and Victor, II, no. 52, pp. 116–17, and Anne-Catherine Fraeys de Veubeke, ‘Un catalogue de bibliothèque scolaire inédit du XIIe siècle dans le ms. Bruxelles, B. R. 9384-89’, *Scriptorium*, 35 (1981), 23–38 (pp. 33, 36).

²⁴⁴ This list is found in Paris, BNF, lat. 1850. See Becker, *CBA*, p. 232, nos. 114.36–37 and 114.43. See also Delisle, *Cabinet*, II, 454.

²⁴⁵ This list is found in Durham, CL, B. IV. 24 and it includes an inventory of about 450 books. For the edition, see Beriah Botfield, *Catalogi Veteres Librorum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Dunelm. Catalogues of the Library of Durham Cathedral, at Various Periods, from the Conquest to the Dissolution, Including Catalogues of the Library of the Abbey of Hulne, and of the Mss. Preserved in the Library of Bishop Cosin, Durham*, Publications of the Surtees Society, 7 (London: J. B. Nichols and Son, 1838), pp. 5–6, and R. A. B. Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts to the End of the Twelfth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for Durham Cathedral, 1939), pp. 44–45. See also Gottlieb, *Bibliotheken*, no. 460, and Becker, *CBA*, p. 242, nos. 117.323, 117.324, 117.341 and 117.363.

²⁴⁶ Becker, *CBA*, p. 191, nos. 79.299, 79.302 and 79.303, and Delisle, *Cabinet*, I, 432.

²⁴⁷ See Gottlieb, *Bibliotheken*, no. 124, Becker, *CBA*, p. 252, nos. 122.120–21, and *MBKDS*, ed. by Lehmann and others, I, no. 42, p. 212.

²⁴⁸ This list is found in Namur, SS, 46, fol. 147r. See Gottlieb, *Bibliotheken*, no. 703 and *Corpus catalogorum Belgii*, ed. by Derolez and Victor, II, no. 91, p. 218.

²⁴⁹ This list is found in Montpellier, BIM, H 12, fols 176r–182r. For the edition, see Monique Peyrafort-Huin, *La bibliothèque médiévale de l'abbaye de Pontigny (XIIe- XIXe Siècle): Histoire, inventaires anciens, manuscrits*, Documents, études et répertoires, 60, Histoire des

Date	Place	Mention
XII ²	Basilica of Sant'Antonino, Piacenza, Italy	Istoria de excidio Troie. ²⁵⁰
XII ^{3/4}	Abbey of Bury St Edmunds, Bury St Edmunds, UK	Virgilius II. ²⁵¹
1142–1178	Engelberg Abbey, Engelberg, Switzerland	Homerus. Homerus [<i>bis</i>]. ²⁵²
1155	Pfäfers Abbey, St Gall, Switzerland	Libri auctorum Virgilius, Iuuenalis et Persius in uno volumine. Omerus. Fulgentius et Troiana historia in uno volumine. ²⁵³
before 1165	Abbey of St George, Prüfening, Germany	Ovidius maior et totus Virgilius. Homerus. ²⁵⁴
before 1170	Christ Church, Canterbury, UK	Historia Troianorum. ²⁵⁵
after 1172/1173	Anstein Abbey, Obernhof, Germany	Libros Virgillii. Eneide[m]. Omeru[m]. ²⁵⁶

bibliothèques médiévales, 11 (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 2001). The entry is identified as Montpellier, BIM, H 131.

²⁵⁰ See Arturo Carlo Quintavalle, *Miniatura a Piacenza: I codici dell'Archivio capitolare*, Raccolta pisana di saggi e studi, 10 (Venice: N. Pozza, 1963), p. 38.

²⁵¹ This list is found in Cambridge, PC, 47, fols 117ra–119vb. See *English Benedictine Libraries*, ed. by Sharpe and others, no. B13.107.

²⁵² This is a list of books that belonged to Abbot Frowin. The original twelfth-century manuscript that contained the list is now destroyed. See Gottlieb, *Bibliotheken*, no. 56, Becker, *CBA*, p. 223, nos. 103.27 and 103.28, and *MBKDS*, ed. by Lehmann and others, I, no. 10, pp. 32–33.

²⁵³ Dated to 1155, this is a list of holdings of the Abbey under Abbot Heinricus (1151–1183). See Gottlieb, *Bibliotheken*, no. 155, Becker, *CBA*, p. 208, nos. 94.97, 94.110 and 94.111, and *MBKDS*, ed. by Lehmann and others, I, no. 96, p. 486.

²⁵⁴ This list is found in Munich, BHS, KL Prüfening 2, fols 9v–12v. See Becker, *CBA*, p. 215, no. 95.172 and pp. 125–16, no. 95.183, Gottlieb, *Bibliotheken*, no. 160; *MBKDS*, ed. by Lehmann and others, IV.2, no. 40, p. 420.

²⁵⁵ This list is found in London, BL, Cotton Galba E IV. According to the catalogue of the books made during the time of Henry of Eastry, who was the Prior of Christ Church from 1284 to 1331, this book was donated with sixty others by Thomas Becket (c. 1119–1170) to the Priory. See Montague Rhodes James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover: The Catalogues of the Libraries of Christ Church Priory and St. Augustine's Abbey at Canterbury and of St. Martin's Priory at Dover* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1903), p. 84.

Date	Place	Mention
1172–1201	Michaelsberg Abbey, Bamberg, Germany	Virgilii III. Daretis II. ²⁵⁷
1180	Wessobrunn Abbey, Weilheim in Oberbayern, Germany	Homeri II. Virgilii II in IIII divisi. ²⁵⁸
XII ^{ex}	Abbey of St Peter and St Hilda, Whitby, UK	Homerus. ²⁵⁹
XII ^{ex}	Abbey of Saint-Martin of Tournai, Tournai, Belgium	Summa decretorum, et bellum Troje, in uno volumine. ²⁶⁰
1190–1200	Rievaulx Abbey, UK	Orosius de ornesta mundi, historia Daretis de bello Troiano et versus Petri Abailardi ad filium et cronica de Anglia in I. volumine. ²⁶¹
c.1190–1200	Göttweig Abbey, Krems, Austria	Rodale in quo bellum Troianum depictum. ²⁶²
c.1200	Corbie Abbey, Corbie, France	Historia de bello Troiano. Eneidos. Liber Cornelii de bello Troiano. ²⁶³

²⁵⁶ This list is found in London, BL, Harley 3045, fol. 47va. See Gottlieb, ‘Cataloge des Praemonstratenser-Klosters Arnstein im Nassauischen’, in *Bibliotheken*, pp. 293–98 and Bruno Krings, *Das Prämonstratenserstift Arnstein a.d. Lahn im Mittelalter (1139-1527)*, Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Nassau, 48 (Wiesbaden: Selbstverlag der Historischen Kommission für Nassau, 1990), pp. 240–43.

²⁵⁷ This is a list made by a Rutgerus during the time of Abbot Wolfram II (1172–1201). It begins with an explanation that ‘Hi sunt libri, quos Rutgerus in librario invenit, sub Wolframo abbate’: ‘These are the books that Rutgerus discovered in the library, under Abbot Wolfram’. See Becker, *CBA*, p. 192, nos. 80.19-21; however, note that the second entry included here, ‘Daretis II’, is not recorded by Becker and that the date for the list is given as ‘1112–23’. See Gottlieb, *Bibliotheken*, no. 18; *MBKDS*, ed. by Lehmann and others, III.3, no. 91, pp. 366–67.

²⁵⁸ See Gottlieb, *Bibliotheken*, no. 215, Becker, *CBA*, p. 229, nos. 112.81–82 and 112.83–86, and *MBKDS*, ed. by Lehmann and others, III.1, no. 62, p. 185.

²⁵⁹ This list is found in the cartulary of Whitby Abbey, which is in private collection. See *English Benedictine Libraries*, ed. by Sharpe and others, no. B109.82.

²⁶⁰ This list is found in Boulogne-sur-Mer, BMu, 186. See Delisle, *Cabinet*, II, 492.

²⁶¹ This list is found in Cambridge, JC, Q.B.17 [34], fols 1r-5r. For the edition, see *The Libraries of the Cistercians, Gilbertines and Premonstratensians*, ed. by David N. Bell, *Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues*, 3 (London: British Library, 1992), no. Z19.119. The entry is identified as London, BL, Royal 6 C VIII + London, BL, Cotton Vitellius C VIII.

²⁶² This list is found in Göttweig, StB, Cod. 33, fol. 148v. See Gottlieb, *Bibliotheken*, no. 215, and *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs*, ed. by Theodor Gottlieb and others, 5 vols (Vienna: A. Holzhausen, Hof- und Universitäts-Buchdr, 1915-1971), I (1915), no. 3.

²⁶³ Becker, *CBA*, p. 282, no. 136.184, p. 285 nos. 136.324 and 136.340. See also Delisle, *Cabinet*, II, 437, 440.

Nevertheless, a few observations can be made. That Homer's name is mentioned often in the inventories is striking. As discussed above, these references must be to the Latin translation of Homer's *Iliad*, known as the *Ilias Latina* in modern scholarship. Indeed, one of the entries, 'Terentius cum Omero de excidio Troiae' in the twelfth-century inventory of the Abbey of Saint-Amand, is identified as Valenciennes, BMu, 448 [420], which includes the *Ilias Latina* and the final chapter of the *De excidio Troiae historia* (see Tables 2.1 and 2.4 above). It is also worth noting however, that the title of Homer's work is never spelled out as the *Iliad* in any of the references. As discussed above, in the incipits and explicits of the surviving manuscripts of the *Ilias Latina*, the work is exclusively referred to as the 'liber Homeri' (see Table 2.1 above). No title, including the *Iliad*, is associated with the work in the witnesses except for the incipit of Oxford, BoL, Auct. F. 2. 14 [2657] dated to the second half of the eleventh century. Here, the *Ilias Latina* is introduced as 'incipit liber primus Homeri poetae de Troiano bello' (see Table 2.1 above).²⁶⁴ In the medieval records dated to before the end of the twelfth century, on the other hand, when the entry that reads 'Omero de excidio Troiae' in the inventory of the Abbey of Saint-Amand is excluded, only once it is found as 'historia Homeri' in the inventory of the Abbey of Saint-Riquier dated to 831. It is also important to note that Homer is somewhat associated with both Dictys of Crete and Dares of Phrygia. The entry in the inventory of the Abbey of Saint-Riquier reads in full as 'historia Homeri ubi dicit et Dares Phrygius'. On the other hand, in the eleventh-century inventory of the Abbey of Saint-Evre, there is 'Dictis de excidio Troiano cum Homero vol[umen] I'. However, as noted above, there are no surviving witnesses that include both the *Ilias Latina* and the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani*.

As may be expected, the presence of Virgil's name in the medieval library inventories is overwhelming. This is especially true when the fact that Table 2.6 does not include references to the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics* as well as to the commentaries on Virgil's works. The earliest explicit reference to the *Aeneid* is dated to 821–822 and is from Reichenau; yet it mentions that there were the 'six books' of the *Aeneid* instead of twelve. Furthermore, despite the great number of references to Virgil, in most cases,

²⁶⁴ In the fifteenth-century inventory of the Fulda Abbey, which is found in Basel, UB, F III 42, one entry reads: 'Homerus de bello Troianorum'. Earlier inventories from Fulda do not have any entries that include Homer or any entry that correspond to the Trojan material. For the edition, see *Mittelalterliche Bücherverzeichnisse des Klosters Fulda und andere Beiträge zur Geschichte der Bibliothek des Klosters Fulda im Mittelalter*, ed. by Gangolf Schrimpf, Fuldaer Studien, 4 (Frankfurt am Main: Knecht, 1992), p. 162, no. 671.

there is no title associated with Virgil's name and this makes it difficult to determine to what 'libros Virgilio' refer and to deduce that all the centres in question possessed the complete *Aeneid*.

The name of Dictys is only mentioned three times, in documents related to St Gall and Reichenau in the ninth century and then in a document from the Abbey of Saint-Evre in the eleventh century. The St Gall-Reichenau concentration seems to be consistent with the surviving manuscript evidence (see Table 2.3 above). However, it should be noted that the Reichenau evidence comes from a mention in one of the letters contained in the *Formulae Augienses* (nr. 39), in which there is a request for Dictys's *Ephemeridos belli Troiani*. Rio argues that 'on the basis of internal evidence, these texts seem undoubtedly connected to Reichenau'.²⁶⁵ Yet, as Rio also points out, 'we cannot assume' that 'a formulary would only have been compiled using recent documents'.²⁶⁶ Therefore, this mention of Dictys, if the work was actually copied, may refer to a manuscript which may not have had connections to Reichenau. Furthermore, if such a manuscript ever existed, this could be an earlier manuscript, and not necessarily contemporary to the formulary which is dated to the end of the ninth century.

On the other hand, there are noticeably more, sixteen mentions of Dares. As there is another early medieval work entitled *Historia de origine Francorum* attributed to Dares of Phrygia, which is discussed in detail in Chapter 4 below, as well as adaptations and translations of the *De excidio Troiae historia* that also circulated under the name of Dares from the twelfth century onwards, there is no way to be certain to which work the entries refer especially when they are only recorded as 'Dares', 'Dareta' or 'Historia Daretis'. However, one can be fairly sure that, for example, 'Daretis de vastatione Troiae', 'Daretis historia de excidio Troiae' and 'Daretis de excidio Troiae' refer to the *De excidio Troiae historia* as these are found as part of the incipits in the surviving manuscripts (see Table 2.4 above). On the other hand, simple entries such as 'Excidium Troie' could either refer to the *De excidio Troiae historia* or the anonymous *Excidium Troie* (or even a combination of the two), again as evidenced by the surviving incipits (see Tables 2.4 and 2.5 above). It should also be noted again that in the twelfth-century catalogue of the Abbey of Saint-Amand, Homer is also associated with the title 'Excidium Troiae': 'Terentius cum Omero de excidio Troiae'.

²⁶⁵ Rio, *Legal Practice and the Written Word in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 148.

²⁶⁶ Rio, *Legal Practice and the Written Word in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 149–50.

Häse argues that the description in the Lorsch catalogue, ‘Excidium Troiae lib[er] I [et] historia Daretis Frigii de exitu Romanorum in uno codice’, appear to refer to contain the *Excidium Troie* (instead of, for example, the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani*) and either the *De excidio Troiae historia* or the *Historia de origine Francorum*, both of which are attributed to Dares of Phrygia.²⁶⁷ However, if indeed this entry refers to two separate works, it is more likely that the second work is the *De excidio Troiae historia* and not the *Historia de origine Francorum*. The reason is that in all the surviving witnesses of the latter, the incipits invariably refer to the work as ‘Historia Daretis Frigii de origine Francorum’ (see Table 4.5 in Chapter 4 below). On the other hand, in Florence, BML, Plut.66.40, for example, the incipit of the *De excidio Troiae historia* reads: ‘Stor[ia] Daretis Frigii de exitu Troianorum’. And perhaps coincidentally (or, perhaps not), this ninth-century witness includes both the *Excidium Troie* and the *De excidio Troiae historia*.

The most unexpected finding in medieval catalogues is the association of other names, Septimius and Cornelius, with works on the fall of Troy. In the catalogue of Bobbio Abbey, there are two entries on books on Troy in addition to a mention of books by Virgil: ‘Lib[ros] Septimi Sereni II, unu[m] de ruralibus, alteru[m] de historia Troiana, in quo [et] habetur historia Daretis’ and ‘Lib[rum] I Daretis de uastatione Troiae’. The first entry seems to refer to three separate works: two works by Septimius Serenis, one of which is the ‘historia Troiana’, and a ‘historia Daretis’. Septimius Serenis is thought to be a mid-third-century author who is thought to have written a work titled either *Ruralia* or *Opuscula*.²⁶⁸ As discussed above, the translator of the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani* identifies himself as a Lucius Septimius. Thus, this designation of two works to a Septimius seems to be a mistake on the scribe’s part and that the work of Dictys was also on occasion ascribed to the translator Septimius. On the other hand, the translator of the *De excidio Troiae historia* is identified as Cornelius Nepos. Therefore, Becker assumes that the entry ‘Liber Cornelii de bello Troiano’ in the catalogue of the Corbie Abbey dated to the turn of the thirteenth century denotes the *De*

²⁶⁷ Häse, *Mittelalterliche Bücherverzeichnisse aus Kloster Lorsch*, pp. 192–93. However, she believes the combination of the *Excidium Troie* and the *De excidio Troiae historia* to be an Italian tradition. That the ninth-century Florence, BML, Plut.66.40, even though it was copied at the Abbey of Monte Cassino, had a Frankish exemplar directly from or through Péronne has been already convincingly argued. See Kortekaas, ‘*Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*’, pp. 27–29.

²⁶⁸ There is no consensus on the identity of the author. See ‘Septimius Serenus’, in *The Fragmentary Latin Poets*, ed. by Edward Courtney (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 406–20.

excidio Troiae historia.²⁶⁹ However, Cornelius might also refer to Cornelius Tacitus, whose *Agricola* and *Germania* are preserved with the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani* in Rome, BNC, Vitt. Em. 1631 [Florence, BBB, 7]. On the other hand, Newton believes that the entry ‘Historiam Cornelii cum Omero’ found in the eleventh-century catalogue of the Abbey of Monte Cassino refers to the *Historiae* by Cornelius Tacitus.²⁷⁰ His argument is mainly based on a manuscript that includes works by Tacitus, which he ties ‘firmly to Monte Cassino [...] to the first half of Desiderius’s abbacy [1058–1087]’.²⁷¹

The *Ilias Latina* and the *De excidio Troiae historia*

In five witnesses, the earliest of which is dated to the tenth century, the final chapter of the *De excidio Troiae historia* is appended to the end of the *Ilias Latina*.²⁷² In all witnesses, the passage is added after the explicit of Homer’s poem as a free standing text and it is not ascribed to Dares of Phrygia. Despite the anonymity of the passage, considering these are also the earliest surviving witnesses to the *Ilias Latina*, all of which were produced in what was then Francia, they point to side by side use and circulation of the works as early as the tenth century. It may be argued that Chapter 44 of the *De excidio Troiae historia*, which narrates what happened after the fall of Troy, is in a way employed in order to provide an ‘ending’ to the poem.

This is not the full extent of the association of the two works. The *Ilias Latina* and the *De excidio Troiae historia* are also found in an eleventh-century composite compilation as well as two other fifteenth-century manuscripts.²⁷³ There is, however, a misapprehension deriving from the supposed association of the *De excidio Troiae*

²⁶⁹ Becker, *CBA*, p. 285 no. 136.340.

²⁷⁰ Newton, *Scriptorium and Library at Monte Cassino*, pp. 101, 104. Note, however, that in his earlier article, Newton identifies this entry as ‘the so-called Dares Phrygius, *De excidio Troiae*, translated by Cornelius Nepos, together with some other work on Troy’. See ‘Desiderian Scriptorium at Monte Cassino’, pp. 35–54 (p. 44).

²⁷¹ This is Florence, BML, Plut.68.02. Newton, *Scriptorium and Library at Monte Cassino*, p. 101; for the discussion of the manuscript see especially pp. 96–107. This codex currently contains Tacitus’s *Annales* (Books XI–XVI) and *Historiae* (Books I–V) together with works by Apuleius. For a discussion of the manuscript, see also E. A. Lowe, ‘The Unique Manuscript of Tacitus’ *Historiae* (Florence Laur. 68.2)’, in *Palaeographical Papers, 1907–1965*, ed. by Ludwig Bieler, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), I, 289–302.

²⁷² These are Brussels, KBR, 4343–4344 (Part II), Antwerp, MPM, M 82 [66] (Part II), Saint-Claude, BMu, 2 (Part III), Valenciennes, BMu, 448 [420] and Florence, BML, Plut.68.24. Scaffai, ‘Tradizione manoscritta dell’*Ilias Latina*’, pp. 205–77 (p. 210).

²⁷³ These are Antwerp, MPM, M 82 [66], Edinburgh, NLS, Adv. 18.4.8, and Vienna, ÖNB, 3517 respectively.

historia and the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani* that manifests itself in the discussions of the transmission of the *Ilias Latina*. Marshall states that ‘it seems that from the tenth (possibly the ninth) century on, the *Ilias Latina* was transmitted with other works dealing with Troy, especially Dares and Dictys Cretensis’ and that in later centuries it ‘circulated in different company’.²⁷⁴ There is not a single manuscript, original compilation or composite, however, that is dated to before the twelfth century in which the *Ilias Latina* and the *Ephemeridos* are found together.²⁷⁵ In fact, other than Saint-Claude, BMu, 2 which also contains the *Excidium Troie* in addition to the last chapter of *De excidio Troiae historia* attached to the *Ilias Latina*, as far as the Trojan narrative is concerned, the *Ilias Latina* is only associated with the *De excidio Troiae historia*, and this may well be one of the reasons that the *Ilias Latina* survived the early Middle Ages.

The *Aeneid* and the *De excidio Troiae historia*

As mentioned above, in the majority of the surviving witnesses, the *Aeneid* is accompanied with other works of Virgil (or short texts such as Virgil’s *vita* or commentaries on his works that are collectively called *Virgiliana*) and is rarely associated with other texts in its earlier transmission. There are only two manuscripts that are dated to before the twelfth century in which the *Aeneid* and the *De excidio Troiae historia* are found together. Both of these constitute interesting cases. The first one is the eighth-century Paris, BNF, lat. 7906 (Part III) + Paris, BNF, lat. 5018 (Part II), which is discussed in detail in Chapter 5 below. In this compilation, both works are envisaged as part of a single compilation where the *Aeneid* precedes the *De excidio Troiae historia*. Moreover, not only this is the earliest surviving witness to the *De excidio Troiae historia*, it also contains the earliest surviving witness to the *Aeneid* written in the Frankish region. It cannot be however identified as the entry in the ninth-century Lorsch inventory. The second one is Paris, BNF, lat. 10307 + Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 1625. This manuscript was written no later than 875 in north-eastern France, perhaps Lorraine, and it contains Virgil’s *Aeneid* with *Eclogues* and *Georgics* in addition to other works. The manuscript is designed in two columns and the external columns are devoted to Servius’s Commentaries. Soon after its composition, it is found

²⁷⁴ P. K. Marshall, ‘*Ilias Latina*’, in *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. Leighton D. Reynolds (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), p. 192, n. 8.

²⁷⁵ Later manuscripts have not been examined for this specific case. It is very likely that there are no manuscripts at all that contain both works.

in Laon.²⁷⁶ Later in the tenth or the eleventh century, the *De excidio Troiae historia* was copied on the empty leaves, on external columns next to the *Aeneid*.²⁷⁷

A short text that is attached to either the beginning or the end of the *De excidio Troiae historia* in some of the witnesses may shed further light on the early relationship of the *Aeneid* and the *De excidio Troiae historia*.²⁷⁸ Entitled simply the *Origo Troianorum* in most of the manuscripts, the text provides a short narration of the genealogy of the Trojans.²⁷⁹ With regard to the dissemination of the *Origo Troianorum*, Faivre d’Arcier states that ‘présent des le Xe siècle, il est rarement attesté ailleurs qu’avec Darès, en tous cas avant 1200’; however, this is simply not true.²⁸⁰ The tenth-century Munich, BSB, Clm 601 (Part I), which is the earliest witness where the *De excidio Troiae historia* and the *Origo Troianorum* are found together, is not the earliest witness to the *Origo Troianorum*. The present research reveals that the *Origo Troianorum* is found in at least two ninth-century manuscripts, and in both cases it is associated with Virgilian material rather than the *De excidio Troiae historia*. The first of these, Paris, BNF, lat. 7926, also includes the *Aeneid* as part of the same compilation but there is no evidence that the *De excidio Troiae historia* was ever included in the compilation (see Figure 2.1).²⁸¹ The *Origo Troianorum* is also found in Paris, BNF, lat. 10307 + Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 1625 but again as part of the Virgilian material and not as part of the *De excidio Troiae historia*, which was later added on empty columns (see Figure 2.2). These two witnesses not only precede all the versions that are found together with the *De excidio Troiae historia* but also include the *Aeneid*. Furthermore, from the early twelfth century onwards, in four of the manuscripts that contain the *Origo Troianorum* and the *De excidio Troiae historia*, one also finds the *Aeneid*, sometimes again along with other Virgilian material.²⁸²

²⁷⁶ John J. Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930: Its Manuscripts and Masters*, Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance Forschung, 29 (Munich: Arbo-Gesellschaft, 1978), pp. 68.

²⁷⁷ Munk Olsen (*L’étude*, I, 376) wrongly reads ‘S. IX’. The ninth-century dating belongs to the rest of the manuscript and not the part that contains the *De excidio Troiae historia*.

²⁷⁸ Faivre d’Arcier states that it precedes the *De excidio Troiae historia* in *Histoire*, p. 165; however, this is not always the case.

²⁷⁹ Both Munk Olsen (*L’étude*, I, 364) and Faivre d’Arcier (*Histoire*, pp. 31 and 165) provide a list of witnesses in which the *De excidio Troiae historia* and the *Origo Troianorum* are found together; however, neither of these lists is complete.

²⁸⁰ Faivre d’Arcier, *Histoire*, p. 165.

²⁸¹ Bischoff, *Katalog*, III, p. 136, no. 4514.

²⁸² See Munich, BSB, Clm 305 and Munich, BSB, Clm 21562, both of which are dated to the twelfth century, as well as Wrocław, BU, Rehd. 135 and Nürnberg, StaB, Cent. III.36.

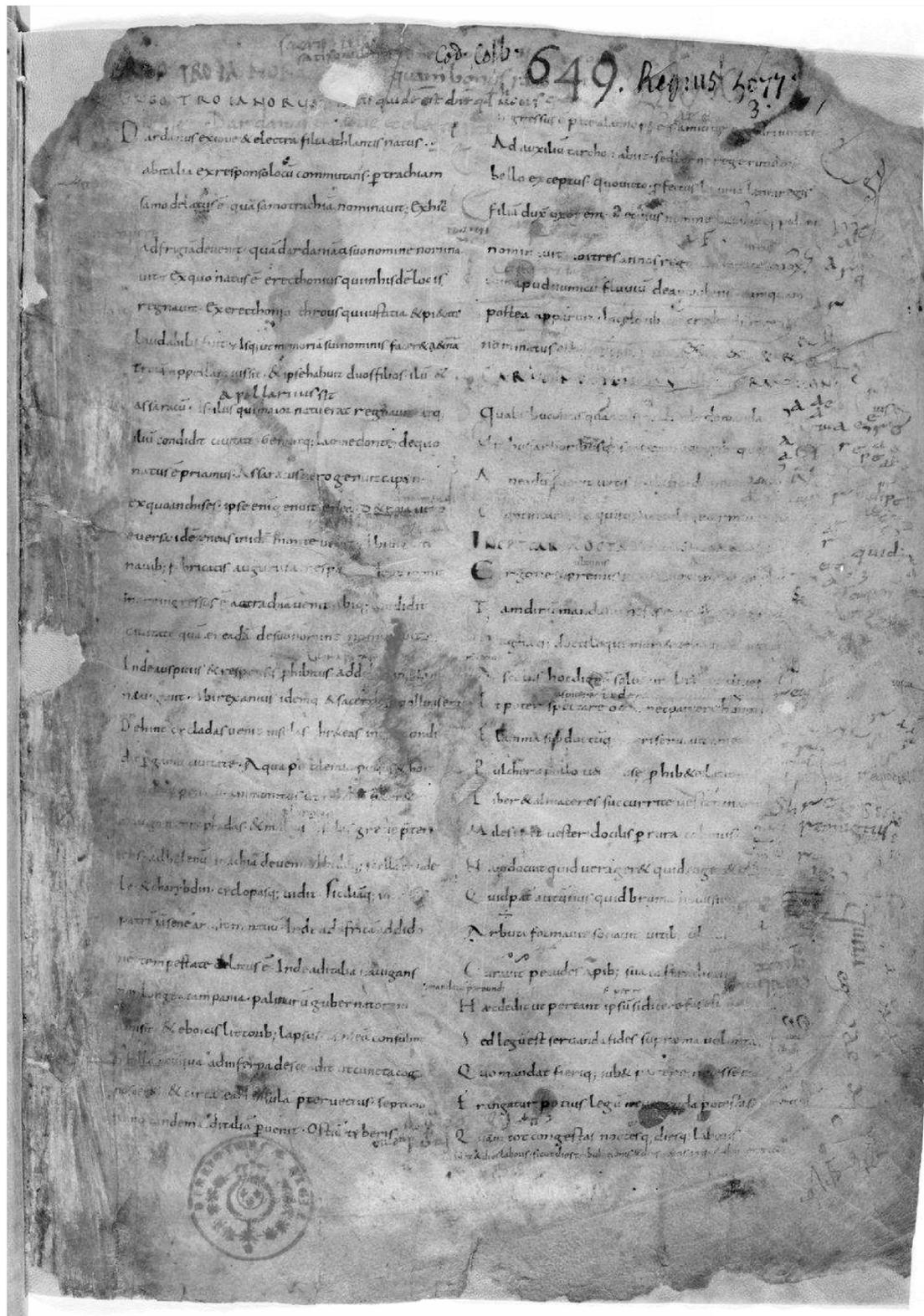


Figure 2.1 Origo Troianorum in Paris, BNF, lat. 7926, fol. 1r (www.gallica.bnf.fr)

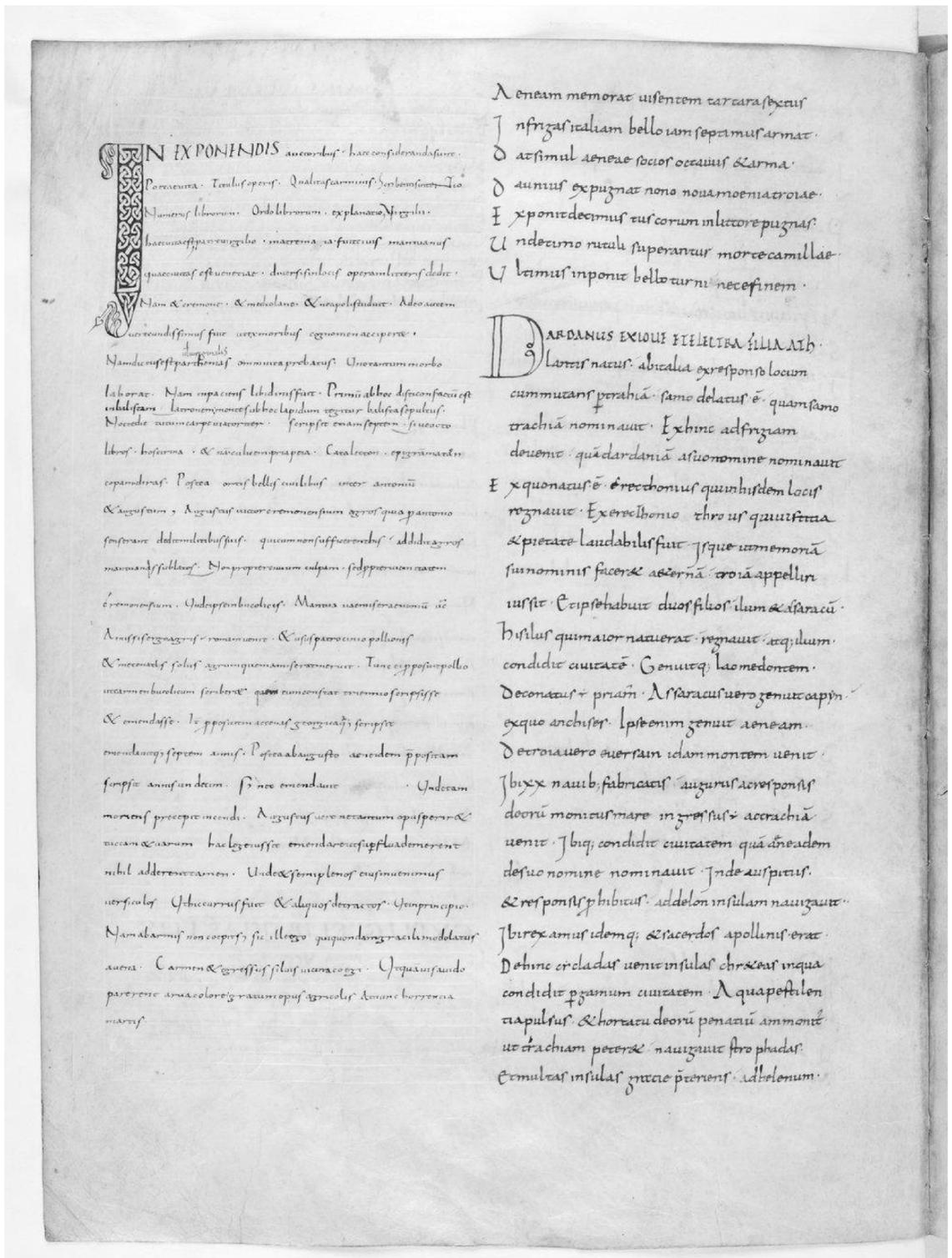


Figure 2.2 *Origo Troianorum* in Paris, BNF, lat. 10307, fol. 65v (www.gallica.bnf.fr)²⁸³

²⁸³ Here the text does not bear a title and begins with 'Dardanus ex Iove &' on 65va.

The *Ephemeridos belli Troiani* and the *De excidio Troiae historia*

In modern scholarship, Dares of Phrygia is often compared with Dictys of Crete, and his *De excidio Troiae historia* is coupled with the Dictys's *Ephemeridos belli Troiani*. The two works, however, are quite different. As discussed above, they differ in length or style and contents of the narrative. Furthermore, the manuscript evidence suggests not only that they did not exclusively circulate together either in the early Middle Ages or later on, but also that they were not transmitted in the same ways or produced in the same places (see Tables 2.3, 2.4 and 2.6). Not only the surviving witnesses of the two works but also the mentions in medieval inventories point to different dissemination patterns. Yet, Spence, for example, argues that 'references to Dares do not necessarily reflect a choice between the two tales [i.e. the *De excidio Troiae historia* and the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani*] but, rather, suggest that the two late antique tales were often thought of as one and referred to as "Dares," as for example, in the works of Isidore and Ordericus Vitalis'.²⁸⁴ A similar assumption was also made by Faivre d'Arcier who argues that Isidore perhaps read a manuscript that contained both works 'puisqu'il confond Darès et Dictys dans les *Étymologies*'.²⁸⁵

The two authors mentioned by these scholars, Isidore of Seville and Ordericus Vitalis (1075–c.1142) both reference Dares of Phrygia in their works. As already discussed, Isidore names Dares among the first authors of histories in his *Etymologiae*: 'Apud gentiles vero primus Dares Phrygius de Graecis et Troianis historiam edidit, quam in foliis palmarum ab eo conscriptam esse ferunt' ('Among the pagans, Dares of Phrygia was first to produce a history, on the Greeks and Trojans, which they say he wrote down on palm leaves') (I.42). Ordericus Vitalis, on the other hand, opens his *Historia Ecclesiastica* naming a series of *auctores* and refers to Dares as a 'gentilium historiographus' ('historiographer of the pagans').²⁸⁶ In both cases, the authors do not mention the name of Dictys and there is no evidence to suggest that they ever even

²⁸⁴ Sarah Spence, 'Felix Casus: The Dares and Dictys Legends of Aeneas', in *A Companion to Vergil's 'Aeneid' and its Tradition*, ed. by Joseph Farrell and Michael C. J. Putnam (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), pp. 133–46 (p. 135).

²⁸⁵ Faivre d'Arcier, *Histoire*, p. 149.

²⁸⁶ *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. by Marjorie Chibnall, Oxford Medieval Texts, 6 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969–1980), I, Prologus.

knew of the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani*.²⁸⁷ There is thus not a single piece of evidence, either textual or material, to support the claim that whoever knew or mentioned Dares of Phrygia must have also known Dictys of Crete and his work, especially for the early Middle Ages.

The reverse, however, might be true: in six of the ten early witnesses of the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani*, the work is associated with the *De excidio Troiae historia* (see Table 2.3). Given that three out of the remaining four witnesses of the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani* are either fragmentary or composite manuscripts, that is, it is not known whether these witnesses also once contained the *De excidio Troiae historia*, having both works in six manuscripts is significant. Yet, the association of the two works in the extant witnesses is more complicated than a case of two texts simply appearing together. Among the early witnesses, Metz, BMu, 187* and St Gall, StiB, Cod. Sang. 197 (Part III) include the *De excidio Troiae historia* and a summary of the Books V and VI of the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani* appended to the end of the text.²⁸⁸ This supplementary text, which details the return of the Trojans and Greeks following the Trojan War, does not bear the name of Dictys in any of the surviving manuscripts. The earliest witness is the ninth century Metz, BMu, 187*, which was destroyed in 1944 in a bombing raid during World War II. All the remaining witnesses, however, seem to be related and derive from the same exemplar, which may have been the Metz manuscript, which attests to the existence of this summary as early as the ninth century. It is likely that this witness was also related to the tenth-century St Gall, StiB, Cod. Sang. 197 (Part III) as well as to the rest of the surviving witnesses. It is safe to assume, moreover, that those who read this short appendix to the *De excidio Troiae historia* did not necessarily recognize it as part of the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani*, especially given the more limited circulation of the latter work.

St Gall, StiB, Cod. Sang. 197, which contains this extended version of the *De excidio Troiae historia* followed by the summary of *Ephemeridos belli Troiani*, is a composite manuscript. The text of the *De excidio Troiae historia* is found in its third codicological unit dated to the beginning of the tenth century. Its first codicological

²⁸⁷ For textual evidence on Ordericus Vitalus's reliance solely on Dares of Phrygia's *Historia* with regard to passages on Troy in his work, see, for example, the brief discussion in F. M. Warren, 'The Story of Troy in Orderic Vital', *Modern Language Notes*, 28 (1913), 203–5.

²⁸⁸ There are ten more witnesses to this combination from the later Middle Ages: Bern, BB, 29; Charleville-Mézières, BMu, 275; Douai, BMu, 880; Douai, BMu, 882; Florence, BNC, Magl. XXIII.136; London, BL, Add. 10094; Paris, BNF, lat. 4286; Paris, BNF, nouv. acq. lat. 1423; Uppsala, UBU, C. 198 and Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 657.

unit, which is dated to the second half of the ninth century, also includes a copy of the full text of the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani*.²⁸⁹ These two units are definitely products of different hands. It is unclear, however, when these two parts were put together. The entry in St Gall, StiB, Cod. Sang. 267 (Part I), a catalogue of the books in the abbey library in the third quarter of the ninth century, which reads ‘Hystoria[m] dictis [et] daretis in I sced[a]’ (‘The history of Dictys and Dares in one section’), is sometimes thought to refer to Cod. Sang. 197 (see Table 2.6). Yet, given the dating of the part of Cod. Sang. 197 that contains the *De excidio Troiae historia*, not only the attributed date for this catalogue entry but even the dating of this manuscript that contains a series of registers of books is too early for the catalogue entry to denote the composite St Gall manuscript. It might be the case, however, that there was an earlier codex that included both works and that the part that contains the *De excidio Troiae historia* had to be replaced at a later stage. Furthermore, the text of the *De excidio Troiae historia* as found in St Gall, StiB, Cod. Sang. 197 (Part III) is so divergent from the rest of the surviving witnesses that it cannot even be confidently grouped with posited recensions of the text.²⁹⁰ Therefore, even though as a composite manuscript, St Gall, StiB, Cod. Sang. 197, attests to the existence of these two works at the same place, perhaps even put together as part of the same codex at an earlier date, its impact on the earlier transmission of both works is rather limited.

Nor are the Metz and St Gall manuscripts the only early manuscripts to contain both texts. Munich, BSB, Clm 601 (Part I), for example, contains the prologue and a very short summary of contents of the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani* on fols 1r–1v which are immediately followed by the full text of the *De excidio Troiae historia*. Thus, even though this witness is proof of knowledge of both works at a certain point in tenth century, the scribe either did not have access to the full text of the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani* or was more interested in the version related in the *De excidio Troiae historia*. In addition, Strasbourg, BNU, 14 (Part I) is the only manuscript where one gets close to finding both texts in full by the same scribe. This eleventh-century manuscript contains the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani*, whose beginning is now missing, followed by the *De excidio Troiae historia*. The same hand continues only until the third chapter of the

²⁸⁹ The second codicological unit is a thirteenth-century addition of two poems on p. 92, which originally was part of the first codicological unit. Therefore, it is not relevant to the current discussion here.

²⁹⁰ See Faivre d’Arcier, *Histoire*, p. 208, where the St Gall witness is identified as a ‘manuscrit isolé’.

latter and the rest of the text is supplied in a fifteenth century hand. There is another, similar case with Darmstadt, HLB, 4216 [22], which contains two separate eleventh-century fragments, one of which contains the *Ephemeridos* and the other the *De excidio Troiae historia*.²⁹¹ Even though they are written by two significantly different hands, Staub argues that these fragments originated in the same scriptorium from the same codex. Yet, one of his arguments for these two fragments being part of the same codex is the existence of similar compilations, for which the evidence is very weak.

The evidence from the earliest manuscripts suggests that even if the two works do appear together in a few manuscripts it cannot be argued that they usually circulated together in the early Middle Ages. Additionally, the posited origins of the manuscripts indicate that these appearances were localised in western Germany-Switzerland. This thus raises serious doubts regarding the assumed co-presence of the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani* and the *De excidio Troiae historia* throughout the Middle Ages and requires consideration of whether or not there are grounds for the coupling of Dares and Dictys in modern scholarship and the conflation of their two quite different stories. Furthermore, with the beginning of the twelfth century, whereas there is a huge increase in the number of surviving manuscripts for the *De excidio Troiae historia*, this is certainly not the case for the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani*. Apart from these instances in the early medieval manuscripts, when the witnesses that contain the summary (of which ten survive from the later Middle Ages) are excluded, the *De excidio Troiae historia* and the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani* are found together as part of the same compilation only in five manuscripts dated to the fourteenth century and after.²⁹² Considering there are 170 witnesses for the *De excidio Troiae historia* from the later Middle Ages, this is a significantly low number, making up less than three per cent of the surviving witnesses.

²⁹¹ Staub, 'Zwei Fragmente einer Dares-Dictys-Handschrift', in *Fragmenta Darmstadiensia*, ed. by Berschin and Staub, pp. 53–62. See also Faivre d'Arcier, *Histoire*, p. 102.

²⁹² These are Belluno, BCL, 42; Durham, NC, DMR, 112; Florence, BNC, II.VII.125; Vatican City, BAV, Borg. lat. 413 and Venice, BM, Lat. X, 105 [3305]. Another manuscript, Vatican City, BAV, Ott. lat. 1956, dated to the fifteenth century which contains the full text of the *Ephemeridos* also contains the first few lines of the preface of the *Historia*.

The *Excidium Troie* and the *De excidio Troiae historia*

When the witnesses of the *Excidium Troie* are studied, in addition to the occurrence in Saint-Claude, BMu, 2, the work is found together with the *Historia* only in Florence, BML, Plut.66.40. This ninth-century witness is the only early medieval manuscript where the two works are contained in full as part of the same compilation; however, when the surviving manuscripts of later dates also are taken into consideration, it is seen that many witnesses of the *Excidium Troie* also contain the *De excidio Troiae historia*. As discussed above, there are only sixteen identified witnesses that contain the *Excidium Troie* in part or in full, as opposed to the summary version. In three of them, the *Excidium Troie* is the sole component and there are no accompanying texts. In eight out of the remaining thirteen witnesses, the compilation also includes Dares's *De excidio Troiae historia*. Admittedly, four of these are the result of Guido of Pisa's early twelfth-century compilation, which, as mentioned above, also includes the *Origo Troianorum*.²⁹³ But the remaining four, including one of the earliest witnesses, the ninth-century Florence manuscript, not only include both works but also have no direct interrelationships.²⁹⁴

2.7 Conclusion

The five works that are selected for closer examination in this chapter, the *Ilias Latina* attributed to Homer, Virgil's *Aeneid*, the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani* attributed to Dictys of Crete, the *De excidio Troiae historia* attributed to Dares of Phrygia, and the *Excidium Troie*, are exclusively devoted to the matter of Troy albeit in different styles and with different scopes. Since Plato's time, Homer had been criticised by several authors and even considered a liar. It is seen that this anti-Homeric spirit was sustained if not intensified in the Middle Ages. Furthermore, the Greek *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were only translated into Latin in the second half of the fourteenth century. Thus, Homer's version of the story of Troy was only known through the first-century *Ilias Latina* in the Latin west. Despite the fact that this Latin poem was but a fraction of the Greek original, it

²⁹³ These are Brussels, KBR, 3897–3919, Florence, BRi, 881, Wrocław, BU, IV F. 33, and Paris, BNF, lat. 5692.

²⁹⁴ The later witnesses that include both works are Charleville-Mézières, BMu, 275, Madrid, BNE, 10046, Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 657.

did not only survive but also circulated in the early medieval period, perhaps due to its ‘Virgilian flavour’, in Scaffai’s words. According to the manuscript evidence, the *Ilias Latina*, which is singularly introduced as belonging to Homer, is exclusively disseminated in the Frankish region before the second half of the eleventh century. This may be easily attributed to the Frankish interest in the Trojan narrative.

The second work discussed, Virgil’s *Aeneid*, on the other hand, was undeniably one of the most popular works throughout the Middle Ages. Furthermore, with various late antique and early medieval commentaries written on the *Aeneid*, not only the story of Troy but also the authority of Virgil was reinforced. The study above shows that while the *Aeneid* certainly contributed to the reputation of the Trojan War during the Middle Ages and perhaps served as an inspiration for European peoples for deriving their roots from Troy, Virgil was not the ‘authority’ on the subject matter. Most strikingly, Dares of Phrygia was considered to tell the ‘true history’ of the Trojan War when compared to both Homer and Virgil.

It was thus the three late antique accounts of the Trojan War that were exceptionally influential throughout the Middle Ages and beyond: the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani*, the *De excidio Troiae historia*, and the *Excidium Troie*. These three works, all of which are usually dated roughly to the period between the fourth and sixth centuries, not only deviate from the Homeric tradition but also differ from each other in terms of their styles and contents. Despite their popularity, for the past couple of centuries these works received almost no favourable attention—if any at all—from scholars, and with the exception of studies on the *De excidio Troiae historia*, there have been no comprehensive studies of their manuscripts. The investigation of the manuscript evidence reveals that in the majority of the surviving manuscripts, all three of these works were associated mostly with historical texts throughout the early Middle Ages. Similar to the *Ilias Latina*, these three works seem to have circulated exclusively in the Frankish region before the twelfth century. More importantly, it is seen that, in comparison to the other two late antique accounts, the *De excidio Troiae historia* attributed to Dares of Phrygia had a much wider circulation both in terms of quantity and geographical range.

It is seen that the interest in the Trojan narrative in the Frankish world noticeably influenced the production and circulation of all of these five works. The analysis of the contents of the manuscripts also reveals that these works have complicated material

relationships that in turn transform into textual relationships. Despite—or perhaps because of—their differences in narrating the story of Troy and the Trojans, it is seen that not only did these works circulate during the same periods but they also are included in the same manuscript compilations. Yet, it is clear that there are certain trends in the various combinations of these works. When the surviving witnesses dated to before the twelfth century are examined, it is seen that Dares of Phrygia's *De excidio Troiae historia* has been associated with all of these works, namely, the *Ilias Latina*, the *Aeneid*, the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani*, and the *Excidium Troie*. It may thus be concluded that the common denominator was the *De excidio Troiae historia*, and perhaps even the authority ascribed to Dares of Phrygia. Consequently, it may be argued that these works, and especially the *De excidio Troiae historia* attributed to Dares of Phrygia, not only played a crucial role in preserving the memory of the Trojan War in the Latin Middle Ages but also supported the flourishing of the story of Trojan origins of the European peoples, most notably of the Franks.

Chapter 3

The Trojan Origins of the Franks

Veritatis enim absolutio semper est simplex.
Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum gestarum libri*

The truth is rarely pure and never simple.
Oscar Wilde, *The Importance of Being Earnest*

The earliest written accounts of the Trojan origins of the Franks are found in an anonymous seventh-century historiographical compilation, which is commonly referred to as the *Chronicle of Fredegar* in modern scholarship.¹ Very little can be securely said about either the author or the contents of the ‘original’ *Chronicle of Fredegar*, which is largely a modern reconstruction still under debate.² Nevertheless, it includes two accounts relating, in addition to the Romans, not only the Franks but also the Macedonians and the Turks to the Trojans. In the compilation, one of these accounts is attributed to Saint Jerome and the other to Gregory of Tours. From the outset, these

¹ For the edition, see ‘*Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegarii Scholastici libri IV. cum Continuationibus*’, in *Fredegarii et aliorum chronica. Vitae sanctorum*, ed. by Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM, 2 (Hannover: Hahn, 1888), pp. 1–193. To my knowledge, there is no translation of the entirety of the work into any modern language after this edition was completed. The so-called Book IV and the Continuations were re-edited and translated into English by John Michael Wallace-Hadrill in *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar with Its Continuations* (London: Nelson, 1960). The so-called Book III was translated into English by Jane Ellen Woodruff in ‘The *Historia Epitomata* (Third Book) of the Chronicle of Fredegar: An Annotated Translation and Historical Analysis of Interpolated Material’ (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Nebraska, 1987). Another partial translation (Book II.53–Book IV.90 and Continuations) is ‘Die vier Bücher der Chroniken des sogenannten Fredegar’, trans. by Andreas Kusternig and ‘Die Fortsetzungen der Chroniken des sogenannten Fredegar’, trans. by Herbert Haupt, in *Quellen zur Geschichte des 7. und 8. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Herwig Wolfram, *Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters*, 4a (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1982), pp. 3–271 and 273–325. For translations of various selected passages into English, see also *From Roman to Merovingian Gaul: A Reader*, ed. and trans. by Alexander Callander Murray, *Readings in Medieval Civilizations and Cultures*, 5 (Toronto: Broadview Press, 2000), pp. 448–90, 591–94, 611–21.

² The most recent comprehensive study that entangles some of the questions is Roger Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*, MGH Studien und Texte, 44 (Hannover: Hahn, 2007). Even though Krusch’s edition is problematic in the sense that it combines different versions of the work into one, and thus creates a text that never existed and circulated as such, various challenging aspects of the work have prevented scholars from undertaking another edition to this day. Despite its shortcomings, for practical purposes, unless otherwise stated, all references are to Krusch’s edition and will be indicated by book and chapter numbers in the text. For more information on the structure of the work, see Chapter 3.1 below.

accounts are not much different from those of Antiquity, for example, from that of Livy.³ Albeit rather briefly, both accounts detail the journey of the Trojans in the aftermath of the Trojan War, their encounters with other peoples during their journey and their eventual settlement(s) in Europe. Even though these two accounts do not seem to have great claims at first glance, the repercussions of linking the Franks to the Trojans would prove to be quite significant in the following centuries. The brief reports contained in these passages with regard to the Trojan Franks would play a substantial role in the development of the Trojan narrative during the Middle Ages and beyond, not to mention becoming one of the most discussed topics in relation to the *Chronicle of Fredegar* in modern scholarship.

Many scholars dismiss the possibility of the existence of the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks prior to its appearance in the *Chronicle of Fredegar*, and thus claim that it could not have existed before the second half of the seventh century.⁴ However, Luiselli, among others, finds this idea of a ‘seventh-century invention’ not at all convincing.⁵ Wallace-Hadrill further asserts that the story of Trojan origins must have been diffused earlier, well before Fredegar’s time.⁶ According to Woodruff, ‘wide circulation [of the story of Trojan origins of the Franks] in significantly different versions from the seventh century on mitigates against the contention [...] that the tale was a product of *Fredegar*’s imagination’.⁷ That there were ‘significantly different versions from the seventh century on’ does not constitute a counter-argument in itself against the idea of a seventh-century invention. However, as Wallace-Hadrill points out,

we have to remember that, in one form or another, tales of Troy were familiar to educated Gauls of the Later Empire. [...] It must [...] be borne in mind that the Gaulish atmosphere was already impregnated with *Trojana* by

³ Livy, *History of Rome*, I (1919), I.1. See also the discussion in Chapter 1 above.

⁴ This view was first elaborated by Faral in 1929 and found many supporters since then. See Edmond Faral, ‘Comment s’est formée la légende de l’origine troyenne des Francs’, in *La Légende arthurienne: études et documents. Première partie: les plus anciens textes*, 3 vols (1929. Paris: Honoré Champion, 1969), I, 262–93. For a more recent argument, see, for example, Asher, ‘The Idea of a Trojan Origin’, in *National Myths in Renaissance France*, pp. 9–43 (especially p. 10).

⁵ Bruno Luiselli, ‘Il mito dell’origine troiana dei Galli, dei Franchi e degli Scandinavi’, *Romanobarbarica*, 3 (1978), 89–121 (especially p. 89).

⁶ Wallace-Hadrill, ‘Fredegar and the History of France’, pp. 527–50 (especially pp. 536–38). Also see Wallace-Hadrill, ‘Introduction’, in *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar*, pp. ix–lxvii (p. xii).

⁷ Woodruff, ‘The *Historia Epitomata* (Third Book) of the Chronicle of Fredegar’, pp. 99–100.

the time Franks arrived, so that we might expect a Frankish-Trojan connection too at any time from the fifth century.⁸

As is discussed in Chapter 1, not only the story of Troy in its various forms was widespread but also the historicity of the Trojan War was well established. In different contexts and for different reasons, several classical and late antique accounts attest that the Trojans migrated to different parts of Europe following the war, and some among these further mention that Trojan migrants settled in Gaul. Even though Trojan ancestry had become a topic of interest because of the claims by the Romans and it is almost exclusively found in Roman sources to promote the Trojan origins of the Romans until this time, it is important to note that it was not only the Romans who were associated with the Trojans in these accounts. Accordingly, different peoples living in the region of Gaul and the wider Frankish territory had been associated with the Trojans well before the seventh century.⁹ As Barlow observes,

given that the Franks were the most successful of the ‘Germanic successor kingdoms’, given that people known as Franks had interacted with the Roman empire since the third century, and given the Gallo-Roman interest in personal and mythological descent, it is a source of surprise that one must wait until the middle of the seventh century in order to find the first formulation of the myth [i.e. the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks].¹⁰

Innes also remarks that ‘in late antique Gaul Trojan origin legends for cities and tribes had been common’ and that the story must have originated much earlier than the seventh century.¹¹ He further states that the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks ‘is thus likely to have arisen in the decades after their conquest of Gaul, or perhaps earlier as part of an alliance between a Frankish group and Roman leaders’.¹² Similarly,

⁸ Wallace-Hadrill, ‘Fredegar and the History of France’, pp. 527–50 (p. 536).

⁹ That Gaul stands out as the region for the circulation of these stories may have something to do with the extraordinary transmission and preservation of knowledge in late antique Gaul. The pursuit of this hypothesis, however, is beyond the scope of this study. For a general discussion, see Ralph W. Mathisen, *Roman Aristocrats in Barbarian Gaul: Strategies for Survival in an Age of Transition* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993) and ‘Bishops, Barbarians, and the “Dark Ages”: The Fate of Late Roman Educational Institutions in Late Antique Gaul’, in *Medieval Education*, ed. by Ronald B. Begley and Joseph W. Koterski, Fordham Series in Medieval Studies, 4 (Bronx, NY: Fordham University Press, 2005), pp. 3–19.

¹⁰ Barlow, ‘Gregory of Tours and the Myth’, pp. 86–95 (p. 87).

¹¹ Matthew Innes, ‘Teutons or Trojans? The Carolingians and the Germanic Past’, in *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Yitzhak Hen and Matthew Innes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 227–49 (p. 248).

¹² Innes, ‘Teutons or Trojans?’, in *Uses of the Past*, ed. by Hen and Innes, pp. 227–49 (p. 248).

Barlow argues for ‘an early stage prior to their [the Franks’] Christianisation, some time between the late third and mid fourth centuries’.¹³ Wood, on the other hand, suggests that ‘there may [...] be some historical significance in the discovery of Frankish origins in the history of Troy’ and that ‘that those origins were based on a reading of classical texts is unlikely’.¹⁴

Indeed, the mid-seventh century is rather late for such an origin story to appear from out of the blue.¹⁵ As much as it is appealing to argue for the appearance of the story at an earlier date, what survives in the textual tradition is the circumstantial evidence provided in Chapter 1. As is discussed in further detail below, the textual analysis of the accounts found in the *Chronicle of Fredegar* also do not point to any conclusive proof for the existence of the story of Trojan origins of the Franks beforehand. If anything, they show that despite the differences in details, the two accounts actually do not contradict each other. Furthermore, there is no record of another, contemporary or earlier *origo gentis* story for the Franks either. Earlier texts either mention the Franks in passing, or when they deal with them more comprehensively, as in the case of Gregory of Tours’s *Decem libri historiarum*, they do not go into details about their origins or their distant past.¹⁶ In fact, whether or not Gregory of Tours, writing at the end of the sixth century, knew the story has been a matter of debate among scholars not least because one of the accounts in the *Chronicle of Fredegar* is attributed to him. Whereas some scholars such as James explicitly state

¹³ Barlow, ‘Gregory of Tours and the Myth’, pp. 86–95 (p. 90).

¹⁴ Ian N. Wood, ‘Defining the Franks: Frankish Origins in Early Medieval Historiography’, in *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Simon Forde, Lesley Johnson, and Alan V. Murray, Leeds Texts and Monographs New Series, 14 (Leeds: University of Leeds, 1995), pp. 47–57.

¹⁵ Similar to his arguments with regard to the story having a ‘historical significance’, Wood suggests another theory for the late appearance of the story, and stating that ‘there is no reason to believe that the Franks were involved in any long-distance migration’, he argues that these accounts ‘may have been written in response to the origin legends of the Goths, which had been developed by Cassiodorus and preserved by Jordanes’. However, there is no line of inquiry to pursue this theory. See Ian N. Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms, 450–751* (London: Longman, 1994), p. 35. Anton finds the conception of the story ‘hardly conceivable’ before the seventh century based on similar arguments. See Hans Hubert Anton, ‘Troja-Herkunft, origo gentis und frühe Verfaßtheit der Franken in der gallisch-fränkischen Tradition des 5. bis 8. Jahrhunderts’, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 108 (2000), 1–30.

¹⁶ For the edition, see *Gregorii Turonensis Opera: Libri historiarum X*, ed. by Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison, MGH SRM, 1.1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1937–1951). The most recent full translation into English is *The History of the Franks*, trans. by Lewis Thorpe, Penguin Classics (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974).

that the story was not known by Gregory,¹⁷ others such as Gerberding simply argue that ‘Gregory was not interested in the distant origins of the Franks; for him the Franks first became important when they became Christian’.¹⁸ Similarly, Wood believes that ‘Gregory of Tours seems not to have known about the Trojan origin of the Franks, but he did know an undeveloped version of their migration legend’.¹⁹ Yet others, such as Murray claim that Gregory’s account ‘is peculiar enough to raise the possibility that he was already aware of a version of this solution to Frankish origins [i.e. Trojan descent], but had rejected it’.²⁰ Barlow takes the idea a step further and argues that ‘Gregory of Tours was aware of it, but chose to omit it from his history’.²¹ Reimitz, on the other hand, remains somewhat doubtful, stating that ‘there is no reason to assume that one well-established version of the narrative dominated the search for origins in the Frankish kingdoms’.²² When Gregory’s account with regard to the early history of the Franks is considered, it does indeed look as if he at least suppressed some information; however, there is no way to be certain whether this was the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks or something else.

All that can be said with certainty is that written evidence for the Trojan origins of the Franks survives from the seventh century, and not only that but the story was said to have been recorded by not one but two significant authorities of Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, Jerome and Gregory. The evidence shows that there was a long tradition before the *Chronicle of Fredegar* was put down into writing and this strongly suggests that the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks could have been already in circulation at this time. Nevertheless, whether the story existed beforehand in oral culture or otherwise, or these two accounts were *fabricated* by one Fredegar, the seventh century constitutes a crucial turning point—a *peripeteia*—in the development of the Trojan narrative. This is not because the first written accounts of the story of

¹⁷ Edward James, *The Franks, The Peoples of Europe* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988), p. 235. For a broader discussion of Gregory’s approach to the Franks, see also Edward James, ‘Gregory of Tours and the Franks’, in *After Rome’s Fall: Narrators and Sources of Early Medieval History. Essays Presented to Walter Goffart*, ed. by Alexander Callander Murray (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), pp. 51–66.

¹⁸ Richard Gerberding, *The Rise of the Carolingians and the ‘Liber Historiae Francorum’*, Oxford Historical Monographs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), p. 13.

¹⁹ Wood, *Merovingian Kingdoms*, 35.

²⁰ Murray, *From Roman to Merovingian Gaul*, p. 590.

²¹ Barlow, ‘Gregory of Tours and the Myth’, pp. 86–95 (p. 86).

²² Helmut Reimitz, *History, Frankish Identity and the Framing of Western Ethnicity, 550–850*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Fourth Series, 101 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 86.

Trojan origins of the Franks come from this period but, as it will be discussed below in Chapter 4, because of how the narrative develops in the eighth century.

3.1 The Mystery Called the *Chronicle of Fredegar*

The *Chronicle of Fredegar* is a significant piece of work for more reasons than one. In modern scholarship, it has often been regarded as ‘the only source of any significance for much of the period it covers’ and has been valued for its contribution to the ‘historiographical lacuna that stretches across a 130-year period’ in Frankish history.²³ What concerns the present study the most is the fact that, among other peculiarities, the *Chronicle of Fredegar* contains the oldest surviving written claims regarding the Trojan descent of the Franks. It is necessary, however, to examine the work as a whole and to look at the manuscript evidence before looking into the Trojan narrative in more detail. As it will be clear from the discussion below, not only considering the structure but also the presentation of the *Chronicle of Fredegar* in the existing manuscripts is crucial when considering the passages regarding the Trojan origins of the Franks in this work.

Now attributed to a Fredegar, the original compilation is thought to have been completed around 660.²⁴ This version, as much as it can be reconstructed from the surviving manuscript evidence, is what is referred to as the *Chronicle of Fredegar* in the present study. The witnesses to this seventh-century compilation are those manuscripts that are categorised as Classes 1, 2 and 3 in Krusch’s edition.²⁵ The *Chronicle of Fredegar* consists of a series of selected excerpts from previous works, which are organised in a roughly chronological order that runs from the creation of the world to the year 642. Even though these excerpts are explicitly presented as belonging to other works in all surviving manuscripts, various parts of the text have been reworked to accommodate several omissions as well as additions. The sources for most of these additions, including both accounts of the story of Trojan origins, remain unidentified. The last part of the work, which covers the years from 584 to 642, is often thought to

²³ Wallace-Hadrill, ‘Introduction’, in *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar*, pp. ix–lxvii (p. v) and Roger Collins, *Fredegar, Authors of the Middle Ages*, 4.13 (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996), p. 4 respectively.

²⁴ For the dating, see Collins, *Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 25–27.

²⁵ For the classification of manuscripts, see Bruno Krusch, ‘Die Chronicae des sogenannten Fredegar’, *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, 7 (1882), 247–351. See also *Fredegarii et aliorum chronica*, ed. by Krusch, pp. 9–16.

have been composed *ex nihilo* by the ‘original’ compiler(s), probably as a continuation of the material already collected.²⁶

During the eighth century, the existing contents of the *Chronicle* were re-arranged and the record of events in the final part of the work was extended until about 768 by others. The manuscripts of this second version are identified as Class 4 by Krusch. Much attention has been paid to the contemporary additions made to cover the years from 642 to 768, and specifically this part has been identified as the ‘Continuations’ of the *Chronicle of Fredegar*.²⁷ However, this eighth-century version is a very different compilation from that of the seventh-century and not only because of these additions at the end of the work but also because of the re-arrangement of the existing material. Thus, following Collins, this version is called the *Historia vel gesta Francorum* in the present study, and is discussed separately in Chapter 4 below.²⁸

The version found in those manuscripts that are grouped under the Class 5 manuscripts of the *Chronicle of Fredegar* by Krusch, on the other hand, is again essentially a different compilation.²⁹ Even though parts of this version are clearly excerpted verbatim from the *Historia vel gesta Francorum*, the structure of the work has almost nothing to do with either the seventh-century *Chronicle of Fredegar* or its eighth-century Continuations. It comprises a completely different ten books of history: the first nine books consist of a reworking of the ten books of Gregory of Tours’s *Libri historiarum* into nine with the omission of a number of chapters whereas the tenth book includes selected material from the final parts of the *Historia vel gesta Francorum* up to the death of Charles Martel.³⁰ Since this third version, this completely ‘new’ work, does not include any details pertaining to the Trojan narrative, it is not taken into consideration in the present study and is only mentioned in passing.

²⁶ This is also what the ‘Prologue’ to the so-called Book IV states, as discussed below.

²⁷ The modern edition is also organised in this manner, comprised of four books and continuations as a separate book.

²⁸ Collins’s most recent book, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*, sets out to demonstrate that these two versions should be considered separate works. For a brief overview, see especially ‘Einleitung: Ein Werk oder zwei?’, pp. 1–7. The title of the eighth-century compilation comes from the unique colophon found in Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 213.

²⁹ These witnesses are nos. 5a to 5e in Krusch’s edition. For an overview and a discussion of this compilation and the witnesses, see Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 114–23. Collins provides thirteen witnesses and notes that there are two versions of this work and that it might have originated at the court of Charlemagne around the year 800 (p. 114). The earliest witness is Heidelberg, UB, Cod. Pal. lat. 864 dated to the turn of the ninth century which was written in Lorsch. See Bischoff, *Katalog*, I, p. 316, no. 1513.

³⁰ These parts correspond to Book IV and Continuations in the modern edition.

As far as it can be reconstructed from the surviving evidence, in terms of its contents, the *Chronicle of Fredegar* brings together information in the manner of a universal history that begins with the creation of the world and ends with the contemporary events of the author's times.³¹ The main components of the work are as follows: (1) a reworking of a Latin version of the *Liber generationis* and a series of other lists,³² (2) a reworking of a version of the Latin translation and continuation of the Greek *Chronici canones* of Eusebius of Caesarea by Jerome and its continuation by Hydatius as well as a series of stories about the fifth and sixth centuries, sources of which remain unidentified, (3) a reworking of an abridged six-book version of Gregory of Tours's *Decem libri historiarum* and (4) the history of events spanning the years from 584 to 642, sources of which also remain unidentified with the exception of a long excerpt from the *Vita Columbani* by Jonas of Bobbio. It is clear, however, that further information has been incorporated into these sections from a wide variety of other works. The text comes to an end with events that took place in 642 but there are several reasons to think that the work began circulating in an unfinished state. For example, the first section, which contains the *Liber generationis*, also includes a series of lists and these lists duplicate some of the information already found in the *Liber generationis* but provide different regnal dates. Considering the reworkings that went into the second and third sections, it seems likely that the editing of the first section was still ongoing when the work began circulating. The final section also seems incomplete, as there are references to events that happened after 642 in the earlier parts of the section that are not included later in the text.³³ It also seems highly probable that a reworking of Isidore of Seville's *Chronicon* was intended to be a part of the compilation.³⁴

There has been much debate regarding the original contents, the stages of composition and thus the authorship of the *Chronicle of Fredegar*.³⁵ A number of

³¹ For a general discussion of the contents of the work and the possible intentions of the author, see Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 27–38.

³² The original Greek version of the *Liber generationis* had long been attributed to Hippolytus of Rome. However, this view has recently changed. See J. A. Cerrato, *Hippolytus Between East and West: The Commentaries and the Provenance of the Corpus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

³³ These references are also part of the reasoning behind the dating of the compilation.

³⁴ Collins discusses the use of Isidore's *Chronicon* in the compilation in *Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 35–38.

³⁵ Collins provides a lengthy summary of the controversy about the authorship in *Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 8–15. See also Collins, *Fredegar*, pp. 11–16 and Wallace-Hadrill, 'Introduction', in *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar*, pp. ix–lxvii (pp. xiv–xxv).

scholars including Krusch have been in favour of multiple authorship.³⁶ Against Krusch's arguments for three or possibly four authors, Hellmann argued for dual authorship and his views remained unchallenged for decades.³⁷ More recently, Gerberding also expressed his views in support of multiple authorship not least by stating that the presence of two different accounts of the story of Trojan origins of the Franks 'is extremely strong evidence for the "multiple authorship" theory'.³⁸ Others, most recently Goffart and Erikson, insisted on the idea of a single author.³⁹ The theories about multiple authorship mostly rest on the supposed stylistic changes throughout the work in addition to the assumed shifts in geographical and political interests. However, given the eclectic nature of the *Chronicle of Fredegar*, any such changes, shifts and inconsistencies could easily be the result of various hitherto unidentified sources that were used without acknowledgement.⁴⁰ The most recent consensus seems to be considering the work as the product of a single author/compiler, and, especially in light of the manuscript evidence, this is also the view taken in the present study.⁴¹

Despite the debates about the number of authors involved in the compilation of the work, modern scholars have been inclined to read all the interpolations found in different sections of the work in connection to each other, often as the product of a single author/compiler.⁴² This approach, of course, goes hand in hand with trying to find overarching patterns that would also perhaps provide insights to the identity of the author(s), which is in turn linked to efforts of pinpointing the exact date and place of composition. Even when it is accepted that the work is composed by a single author, trying to discover the identity of the author, where and when exactly the work was composed adds little to the present discussion.⁴³ This is especially true if it is also accepted that the author of the *Chronicle of Fredegar* was not in fact the originator of

³⁶ Krusch maintained his conviction about at least three authorial stages until his death in 1940. For his most detailed arguments, see 'Die Chronicae des sogenannten Fredegar II', *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, 7 (1882), 421–516 (pp. 423–55).

³⁷ Siegmund Hellmann, 'Das Fredegarproblem', *Historische Vierteljahrsschrift*, 29 (1934), 36–92.

³⁸ Gerberding, *Rise of the Carolingians*, pp. 13–14.

³⁹ See Walter Goffart, 'The Fredegar Problem Reconsidered', *Speculum*, 38 (1963), 206–41 and Alvar Erikson, 'The Problem of Authorship in the Chronicle of Fredegar', *Eranos*, 63 (1965), 47–76.

⁴⁰ Collins also expresses similar views in *Fredegar-Chroniken*, p. 18.

⁴¹ Collins, 'Autoren-Einer oder mehrere?', in *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 8–15.

⁴² See especially Wallace-Hadrill, 'Fredegar and the History of France', pp. 527–50, who is in fact not a prominent supporter of single authorship.

⁴³ On the unfruitfulness of this pursuit, which is described as 'beinahe unmöglich', see Collins, 'Wer war Fredegar?', in *Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 16–25.

the stories related to the Trojan origins of the Franks. For the purposes of this study, it is sufficient to note that the work was composed around 660 in a region under Frankish rule.⁴⁴ Furthermore, when the manuscript evidence is considered, it is seen that the original intentions of the author are of little importance when it comes to the *Nachleben* of the *Chronicle of Fredegar*.

There are eight known witnesses to the *Chronicle of Fredegar*, one of which is dated to the second half of the fifteenth century.⁴⁵ The remaining seven witnesses, including Metz, BMu, 134*, which was described and used by Krusch for his edition but was then destroyed during World War II in 1944, are dated to from the eighth through the ninth centuries (see Table 3.1).⁴⁶ For a long time, the oldest witness, Paris, BNF, lat. 10910, had been considered the archetype of all the surviving witnesses and all the editions are based on this witness.⁴⁷ Even though this view has now changed, it is still regarded as the ‘ideal form’ of the *Chronicle of Fredegar* mostly due to its early date.⁴⁸ The second oldest witness, the destroyed Metz, BMu, 134*, apparently included a selected portion of the work as part of a different compilation and although it was related to Paris, BNF, lat. 10910, it was not a direct copy of it.⁴⁹ Even though these two early copies of the work survived to modern times, from the remainder of the evidence it may be argued that they had little impact on the transmission of the *Chronicle of Fredegar*.

⁴⁴ Arguments in favour of the author being a layperson of high status who was writing in the Neustrian-Burgundian kingdom are not completely convincing. See Collins, *Fredegar-Chroniken*, especially p. 25. See also Ian N. Wood, ‘Fredegar’s Fables’, in *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. by Anton Scharer and Georg Scheibelreiter, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, 32 (Vienna: Oldenbourg, 1994), pp. 359–66.

⁴⁵ This is Augsburg, SSB, 2° 223. For a detailed description, see Collins, *Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 72–75.

⁴⁶ Basel, UB, N I 6:42 was not known to Krusch. The remaining seven witnesses correspond to those in Class 1, 2 and 3 according to Krusch’s categorisation. See Krusch, ‘Die Chronicae des sogenannten Fredegar’, pp. 247–351 (pp. 250–94) and *Fredegarii et aliorum chronica*, ed. by Krusch, pp. 9–11. For the most recent descriptions of manuscripts and a short discussion of the manuscript transmission, see also Collins, *Fredegar*, pp. 39–51 and *Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 55–75.

⁴⁷ There is also a semi-diplomatic edition of this manuscript which was published shortly before Krusch’s edition: *Études critiques sur les sources de l’histoire mérovingienne. Deuxième partie: La compilation dite de Frédégaire*, ed. by Gabriel Monod, Bibliothèque de l’école des hautes études. Sciences philologiques et historiques, 63 (Paris: A. Francke, 1885). See Wallace-Hadrill, ‘Introduction’, in *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar*, pp. ix–lxvii (especially pp. xlviii–xlix).

⁴⁸ Collins, *Fredegar-Chroniken*, p. 6.

⁴⁹ Collins reconstructs the contents of the manuscript based on Krusch’s notes in *Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 56–63.

Table 3.1 Earliest Witnesses of the *Chronicle of Fredegar*

Manuscript	Date	Origin
Paris, BNF, lat. 10910 ⁵⁰	714/715	France
Metz, BMu, 134* ⁵¹	c.768–91	Abbey of St Arnulf, Metz, France
Leiden, UBL, VLQ 5 + Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 713 (Part I) ⁵²	c.800	St Gall, Switzerland
Vienna, ÖNB, 482 (hist. prof. 632) ⁵³	c.800	Reichenau, Germany
Basel, UB, N I 6:42 ⁵⁴	VIII ^{ex} /IX ⁱⁿ	south-western Germany
London, BL, Harley 5251 ⁵⁵	IX ^{med} (?)	Western (?) France
Bern, BB, 318 ⁵⁶	IX ^{med} (?)	around Reims (?), France

⁵⁰ Lowe, *CLA*, V, p. 26, no. 608; Bischoff, *Katalog*, I, p. 143, no. 2571a; Collins, *Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 56–59. For a detailed description and discussion, see also Wallace-Hadrill, ‘Fredegar and the History of France’, pp. 527–50 (especially p. 529).

⁵¹ Destroyed in 1944; apparently, it only included extracts from Books I and II. For the dating, see Bischoff, *Manuscripts*, p. 23 and also Collins, *Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 56–63. However, in Lowe, *CLA*, VI, p. 27, no. 788 and Bischoff, *Katalog*, II, pp. 186–87, no. 2770, the manuscript is dated to the eighth or the ninth century. See also *CGM*, V (1879), 53–55.

⁵² Collins, *Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 71–72. Bischoff states it was written in the Lake Constance area in *Katalog*, II, p. 56, no. 2212 even though he had suggested St Gall in his earlier works. Lowe puts it in the St Gall-Reichenau region in *CLA*, I, p. 32, no. 108 and X, p. 42, no. **108. Both Bischoff and Lowe date the manuscript to the eighth or the ninth century. For a detailed description of the Leiden part, see also K. A. de Meyier, *Codices Vossiani Latini*, 4 vols, Bibliotheca Universitatis Leidensis, 13, 14, 15, 16 (Leiden: Universitaire Pers, 1973–1977), II, 15–17.

⁵³ Lowe, *CLA*, X, p. 13, no. 1480; Bischoff, *Katalog*, III, p. 479, no. 7127; Collins, *Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 68–71.

⁵⁴ Three fragments; identified sections contain parts of Book III.52–56. Bischoff, *Katalog*, I, p. 67, no. 320; Collins, *Fredegar-Chroniken*, p. 75.

⁵⁵ Bischoff dates it to the ninth or the tenth century and assigns it to southern France in *Katalog*, II, p. 123, no. 2487; however, see Collins, *Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 63–65.

⁵⁶ Bischoff dates it to the second third of the ninth century in *Katalog*, I, p. 122, no. 574; however, see Collins, *Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 65–68.

The remaining five witnesses, all of which are thought to be descended from another early exemplar, belong to two groups, Classes 2 and 3 according to Krusch. The two mid-ninth-century witnesses that form Class 2 are siblings: Bern, BB, 318 and London, BL, Harley 5251.⁵⁷ They are both incomplete as they both end abruptly in the middle of a sentence in Book IV.9. An earlier example from the family, to which these two manuscripts belong, is thought to be the archetype of the Class 3 manuscripts. Interestingly enough, the two turn-of-the-century witnesses, Leiden, UBL, VLQ 5 + Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 713 (Part I) and Vienna, ÖNB, 482 (hist. prof. 632), that represent Class 3 also seem to be copied from one another; the latter being a copy of the former. The fragmentary witness, Basel, UB, N I 6:42, which is also dated to around the same time is also thought to be related to these two manuscripts. What makes Class 3 manuscripts distinct is that they all omit the last three chapters of Book I and they all have another work, Hilarian's *De cursu temporum*, inserted between Book II and III.⁵⁸ A manuscript that contains this version was later used to form the *Historia vel Gesta Francorum*; therefore, the earliest Class 3 manuscripts must have been already in circulation before the second half of the eighth century.

The *Chronicle of Fredegar* has been consistently described as a 'universal chronicle' by modern scholars. However, it is evident from the surviving manuscripts that the work is not introduced to the audience as an 'original' chronicle per se neither is it offered as a brand-new take on the past and contemporary historical events. Not only is the whole work not attributed to one specific author but also there is no general title given to the work; it is merely presented as a collection of excerpts from other, more authoritative works. This point, which has been always downplayed in modern scholarship, is crucial when considering the transmission of the work as well as its reception. Even though there is a lot of controversy over how the work was originally structured, one thing is clear: it was divided into sections.⁵⁹ Furthermore, these sections are clearly marked with the name of the work or the author the excerpts are taken from in all of the manuscripts (see Tables 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4).

⁵⁷ That they might be copies of one another was pointed out in Collins, *Fredegar*, pp. 42–43, which also leads to the questioning of the dating of the manuscripts as until then London, BL, Harley 5251 was thought to be written after Bern, BB, 318. See also Collins, *Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 77–78.

⁵⁸ In the single late witness, Augsburg, SSB, 2° 223, it is found between Book III and IV.

⁵⁹ For different arguments about what the original structure of the work may have been, see Collins, 'Die Struktur der Chronik', in *Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 38–46.

It is clear that none of the scribes paid attention to being consistent as far as the overall structure of the manuscript is considered, sometimes labelling one section as ‘chronicle’, the other one as ‘book’. Yet, they paid careful attention to mark where each text begins and ends. Thus, it may be argued that, from the point of the medieval readers, scribes, and authors, especially those who later used this work as a source, the *Chronicle of Fredegar* was clearly a collection of different works at least as much as it was a single work. The fact that Isidore’s *Chronicon* in its original form is added to Paris, BNF, lat. 10910 by the same scribe, that selected portions of the *Chronicle of Fredegar* was used to form another historical compilation in Metz, BMu, 134*, and that the work of Hilarian is inserted into the middle of the sections in Class 3 manuscripts, and further, more complicated re-arrangements undertaken with regard to the organisation of the work in the eighth century, which resulted with the *Historia vel gesta Francorum*, may also be seen as evidence in support of this view.

Even if these section headings are the design of a later compiler/scribe, that is, even if these incipits are introduced at a later stage and do not belong to the ‘original author’ of the *Chronicle of Fredegar*, not treating these sections as separate entities limits the ways in which the work may be interpreted. As far as one can tell, this is the state in which the *Chronicle of Fredegar* was in circulation from the early years of the eighth century onwards. As all the surviving witnesses include these section separations, it may be surmised that those encountered this work saw it more or less the way it is presented in these manuscripts. Thus, in addition to the significance of the story of Trojan origins of the Franks appearing in a text in the second half of the seventh century, what is important for the purposes of the present study and for considering the later reception and transmission of the work is that the passages where the Franks are connected to the Trojans in the *Chronicle of Fredegar* are found in sections clearly marked as ‘excerpts’ from the chronicles of Jerome and Gregory in all the extant manuscripts (see Tables 3.2, 3.3, 3.4 and Figures 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3). This is also how the work is presented in its famous prologue: a series of selections from other works.

Table 3.2 Layout of the *Chronicle of Fredegar* in Paris, BNF, lat. 10910

Book I	Ar	[line drawing]
	Av–1r	breviarum scarpsum ex chronica eusebii hieronymi aliorumque auctorum a quodam adatio ⁶⁰
	Av	[INCIP[IU?]T CAPETOLARIS CRONICI PRIMI] ⁶¹
	Av	[table of contents]
	1r	LIBER GENERATIONIS
	1r–2v	[preface]
	2v	EXPL[ICI]T PRAEFATIO INCIPIT NARRATIO PRAEFATIONIS FILI SEM
	2v–20v	[text]
	20v	INC[I]P[I]T SUPPUTATIO EUSEBII HIERONIMII
	20v–21r	[text]
	21r	INCIPIT NOT[AE] DE EPI[SCOPI]S S[AN]C[T]AE ECL[ESIAE] ROMANAE QUI CUI SUCCESIT VEL QUANTO TEMPORE FUIT
	21r–23v	[text]
	23v	[line drawing]
	24r	IN [CHRISTI] NOM[EN] LIB[ER] CHRONECORUM
	24r	[table of contents]
24r–28r	[text]	
Book II	28v	INC[I]P[I]T CAPETOLARES CRONECE GYRONIMI SCARPSUM
	28v–30r	[table of contents]
	30v	REGNUM ASSIRIORUM
	30v–75r	[text]
	75v	[line drawing]
Book III	76r–83r	[text continued]
	83r	PRAEFACIO GREGORII DECEDENTE ATQUAE
	83r–83v	[preface]
	84r	[blank]

⁶⁰ Added by a later hand in Caroline minuscule across the top margin.

⁶¹ Now only visible under ultraviolet light. See Goffart, ‘The Fredegar Problem Reconsidered’, pp. 206–41 (pp. 209–210, n. 13). However, here it wrongly reads that the incipit is found on 1v. The reading supplemented by Krusch, on the other hand, is ‘INCIPIT CAPETOLARIS CRONECE LIBRI PRIMI’.

Book IV	84v	INCIPIT CAPETOLARES LIBRI QUARTI QUOD EST SCARPSUM DE CRONICA GREGORII EP[IS]S[COPI] TORONACI IN [CHRISTI] NOMINE FIAT
	84v–86v	[table of contents]
	87r–121r	[text]
	121r	INC[IP]T PROLOGUS CUIUSDAM SAPIENTIS
	121v	INC[IP]T CAPETOLARIS CRONECE LIBRI QUARTI IN [CHRISTI] NOM[EN]
	121v–124r	[table of contents]
	124v	CUM ALIQUID UNIUS VERBI
	124v–125v	[prologue]
	125v	EXPLICIT PROLOGUS IN NOM[EN] D[OMI]NI N[OSTR]I IH[ES]U [CHRIST]I INC[IP]T CHRONICA SEXTA
	125v–170r	[text]
170r	[EXPLICIT] ⁶²	

Table 3.3 Layout of the *Chronicle of Fredegar* in London, BL, Harley, 5251

Book I	1r	IN NOMINE D[OMI]NI N[OSTRI] IH[ES]V [CHRIST]I INCIPIVNT CAPITVLA CHRONICI LIBER PRIMI
	1r–1v	[table of contents]
	1v	EXPLICIT CAPITVLA INCIPIT LIBER GENERATIONIBUS ADAM USQUE AD ORDINEM QUAE CONTINETUR IN HUIUS UOLVMINE LIBRI [preface]
	2v	INCIPIT NARRATIO PRAEFATIONIS FILII SEM LIBER GENERATIONIS HOMINVM
	2v–15v	[text]
	15v–17r	[list of popes]
	17r	INCIPIT LIBER CHRONICORUM ET DEIBUS RERUM CREATURARUM D[EU]S FORMAVIT
	17r	[table of contents]
	17r–18v	[text]

⁶² Added by a later hand.

	18v	LIBER REGNORU[M] DE REGE[US] DECLARAT
	18v–19v	[text]
Book II	19v	INCIPIUNT CAPITULA CHRONICI HIERONIMI EXCARPSUM
	20r–21r	[table of contents]
	21r	EXPLIUNT CAPITULE INCIPIT LIBER REGNU[M] ASVRIORUM
	21r–61v	[text]
	61v	EXPLICIT LIBER TERTIUS
Book III	61v	INCIPIT PRAEFATIO GRECA
	61v–62r	[preface]
	62r	EXPLICIT PROLOGUS INCIPIUNT CAPITULA LIBRI QUOD EST QUARTI EXCARPS DE CRONICA GRECU[M] EPISCOPI TORONACI
	62v–64r	[table of contents]
	64v	EXPLIUNT CAPITULA INCIPIT LIBER QUARTUS
	64v–89r	[text]
	89r	EXPLICIT LIBER QUARTUS
Book IV	89r	INCIPIUNT CAPITULA CHRONICE LIBER
	89r–89v	[table of contents]
	89v	EXPLIUNT CAP[ITULA] INCIPIT PROLOGUS
	89v–90v	[preface]
	90v	EXPLICIT PROLOGUS
	90v–92v	[text]

[end missing; text ends with ‘uita illorum’ in IV.9]

Table 3.4 Layout of the *Chronicle of Fredegar* in Leiden, UBL, VLQ 5 + Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 713

VLQ 5	Book II	[beginning missing; text begins mid-sentence with ‘contra Romanus’ in II.36] 1r–28v [text] 28v EXPLICIT LIBER CHRONICE III	
	Addition	28v INCIPIT LIBER QUINTI JULI HELARIANI DE CURSU TEMPORUM 28v–38r [text] 38r EXPLICIT LIBER QUINTI JULI HELARIANI	
Reg. lat. 713	Book III	38r INCIPIT PRAEFACIO GREGA LIBRI IIII 38v [preface] 38v INCIPIUNT CAPITULA LIBRI 1r QUARTI QUOD EST EXCARPSUM DE CRONICA GREGUM EP[I]S[COPI] THORONACHI 1r–2v [table of contents] 2v EXPLICIT CAPITULA INCIPIT LIBER 2v–23r [text] 23r EXPL[ICIT] LIBER QUARTUS 23r INCIPIUNT CAPITULA CHRONICE LIBER QUINTUS	
		Book IV	23r–24v [table of contents] 24v INCIPIT PROLOGUS 24v–25r [prologue] 25r EXPL[ICIT] PROLOGUS INCIPIT LIBER CHRONICAE 25r–62v [text] 62v Explicit

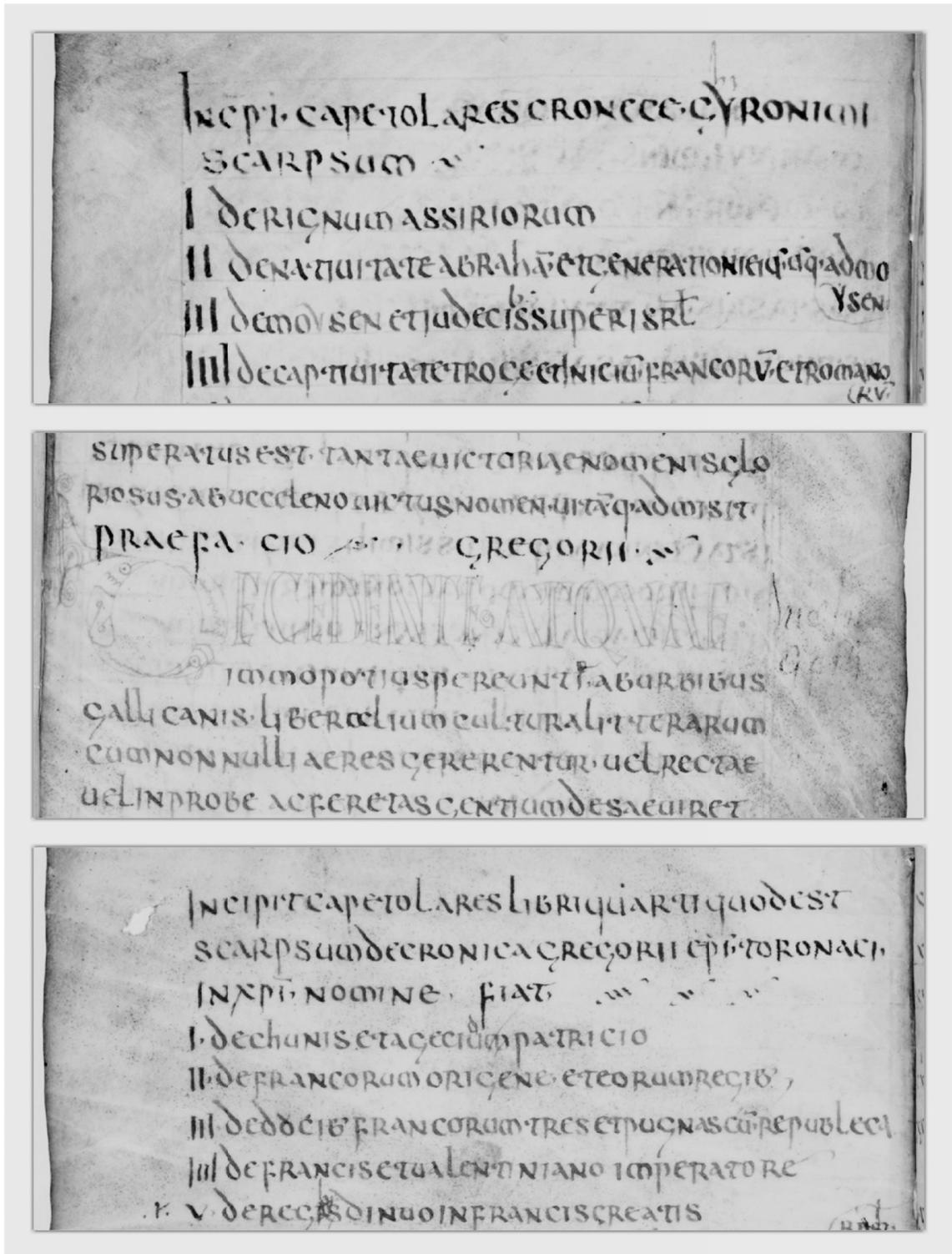


Figure 3.1 Beginning of the *Chronicle of Fredegar* Book II and Book III in Paris, BNF, lat. 10910, fols 28v (detail), 83r (detail) and 83v (detail) (from top to bottom) (www.gallica.bnf.fr)

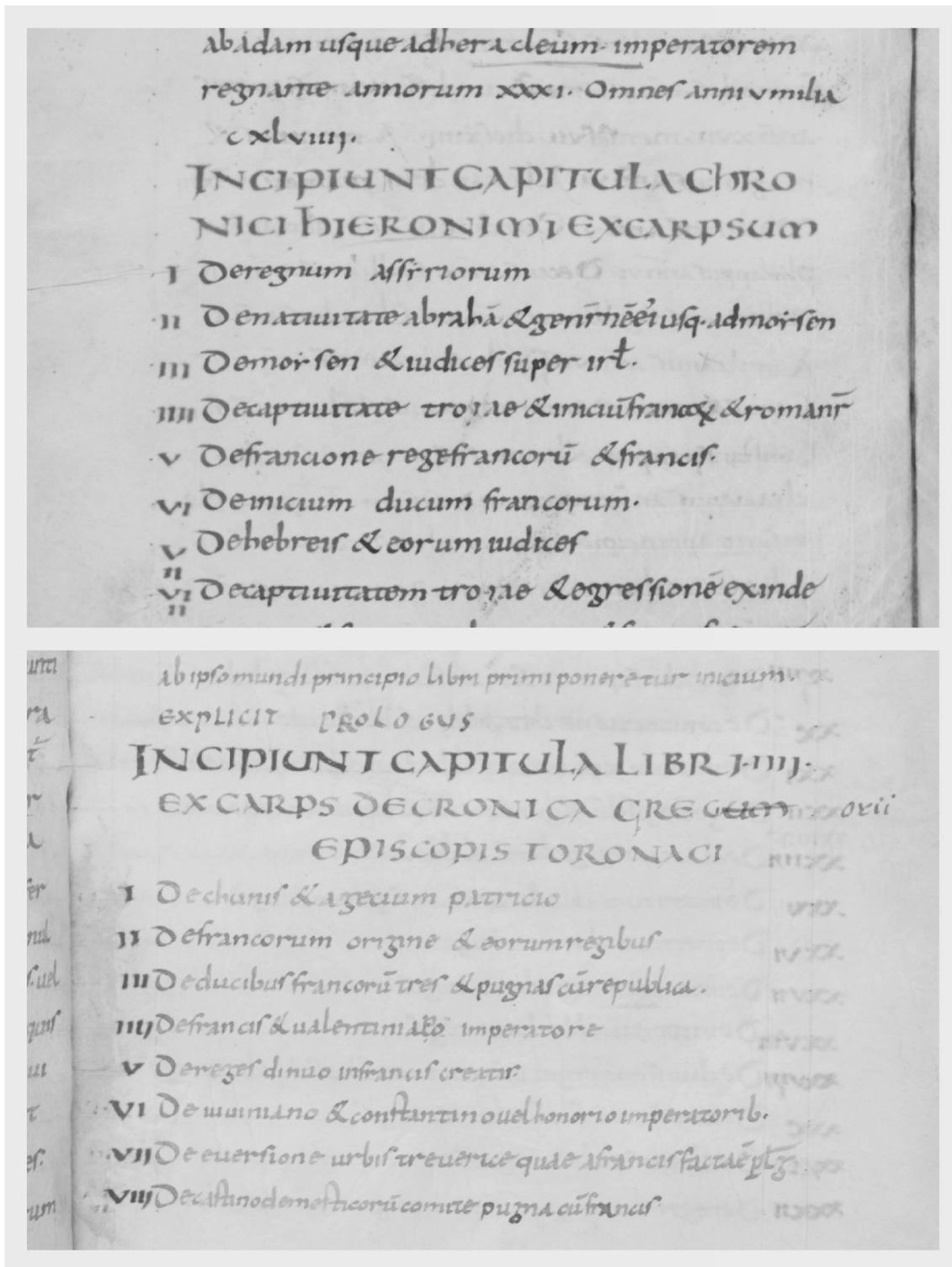


Figure 3.2 Beginning of the *Chronicle of Fredegar* Book II and Book III in Bern, BB, 318, fols 44v (detail) and 96r (detail) (www.e-codices.unifr.ch)

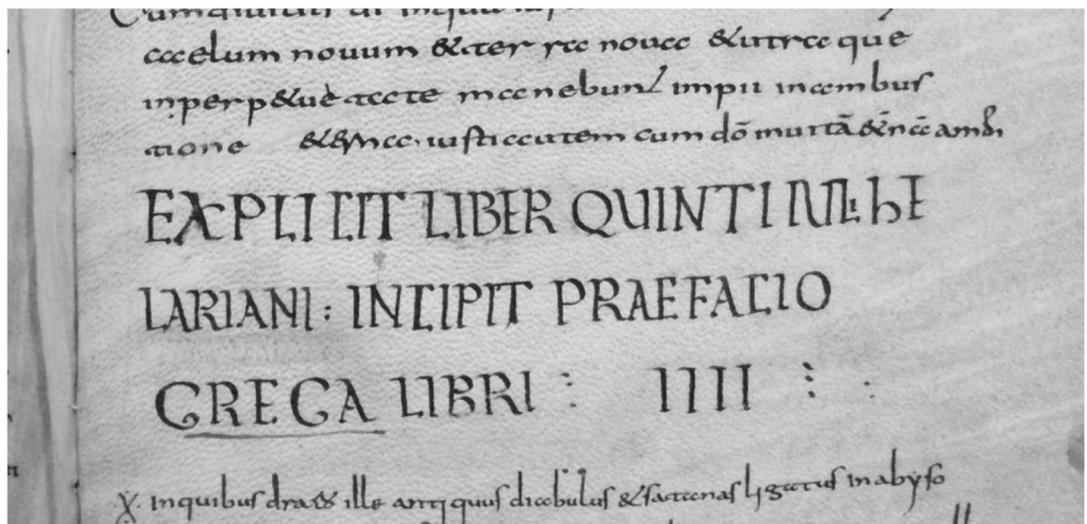
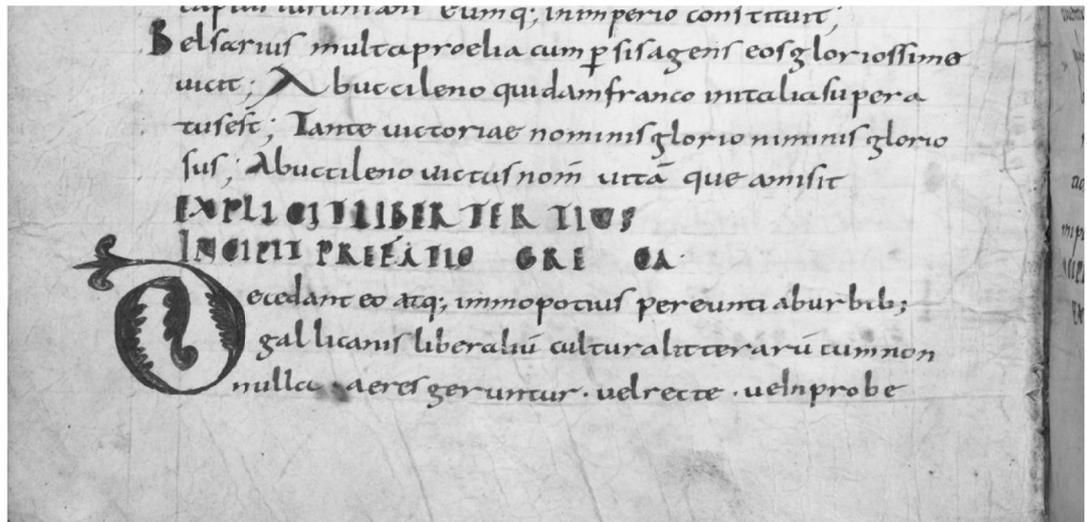


Figure 3.3 Beginning of the *Chronicle of Fredegar* Book III in London, BL, Harley 5251, fol. 61v (detail) (above) (www.bl.ac.uk) and Leiden, UBL, VLQ5, fol. 58r (detail) (below) (photo by the author)

As it survives, the *Chronicle of Fredegar* does not have a preface or an introduction in what is considered the beginning of the work but has a prologue in a later part of the work—to what is called the Book IV in modern scholarship—which does in fact serve as an introduction to the whole compilation.⁶³ There is again controversy as to who the author of this prologue was; however, since it is included in all the surviving witnesses, it was clearly a part of the work from very early on.⁶⁴ Much like the arguments about the unfinished state of the last section of the work, it may be said that perhaps the prologue was also still being developed and had not reached its final and intended form when the work began circulating. Like the rest of the compilation, the prologue contains borrowings from other works, most notably from the preface of Jerome’s translation of Eusebius’s *Chronicon*.⁶⁵ Thus, the first half of the prologue in fact consists mostly of Jerome’s words into which the author of the *Chronicle of Fredegar* inserted the contents of the compilation:

Itaque beati Hieronimi, Ydicii et cuiusdam sapientis seo Hysidori, immoque et Gregorii chronicis a mundi originem diligentissime percurrens usque decedentem regnum Gunthramni, his quinque chronicis huius libelli nec plurima pretermissa siggyllatam congruentia stilo inserui, quod illi sollertissime absque reprehensionem condederunt. (IV, Prologus)

Therefore, I have most carefully read the chronicles of the blessed Jerome, of Hydatius, of a certain wise man, of Isidore [of Seville] and of Gregory [of Tours], from the beginning of the world to the decline of Gunthramn’s reign; and I have inserted successively in this little book, in an appropriate style and without many omissions, what these learned men have skilfully recounted at length in their five chronicles.

The reader is told that the author has included passages from ‘five chronicles’ and ‘without many omissions’. These five chronicles are those of Jerome, Hydatius, ‘a certain wise man’, which is usually understood to be a reference to the author of the *Liber generationis*, Isidore of Seville and Gregory of Tours.⁶⁶ As it is explained in detail above, the surviving witnesses indeed have a section derived from the translation and

⁶³ For a recent analysis, see Justin Lake, ‘Rethinking Fredegar’s Prologue’, *Journal of Medieval Latin*, 25 (2015), 1–27.

⁶⁴ The Prologue is found in Paris, BNF, lat. 10910, Leiden, UBL, VLQ 5 + Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 713 (Part I), London, BL, Harley 5251 and Bern, BB, 318; that is, all the witnesses that contain Book IV.

⁶⁵ For Jerome’s original preface, see *Hieronymi Chronicon*, ed. by Helm.

⁶⁶ Collins suggests this could also be a reference to the unknown author of the unknown work from where the information at the end of Book II is incorporated.

continuation of the chronicle of Eusebius by Jerome and its continuation by Hydatius (Book II) as well as a section derived from Gregory of Tours's *Libri historiarum* (Book III). If it is accepted that the chronicle of a certain wise man is indeed the *Liber generationis*, this is also included in the work as part of Book I. However, not only there is no section based on Isidore of Seville's *Chronicon*, there is hardly any part of the work that might have been derived from it.⁶⁷

The prologue continues with the author's explanation of her/his method of compiling the work and in fact betrays that s/he has interpolated some information into the contents of these five chronicles:

Cum haec ita se habebant, necessarium duxi viretatem diligentius insequi, et ob id in priores his chronicis quasi quandam futuro opere omnium mihi regum et tempora prenotavi, in praesenti autem stilo ea tempora ponens, et singularum gentium curiosissimo ordine que gesserant coaptavi, quo prudentissime viri, quos supra memeni, cuius chronicis – verbo huius nomenis Grego, quod Latini interpretatur 'gesta temporum', – severissimi dictantes condiderunt. (IV, Prologus)

Having done so, I have judged it necessary to be more diligent in my pursuit for truth, and so I have noted in these earlier chronicles, as it were a source of material for a future work, all the reigns of the kings and their chronology. I have brought together and put into order in these pages, as exactly as I can, this chronology and the doings of many peoples and have inserted them in these chronicles – a Greek word meaning in Latin the 'deeds of the times' – compiled by these wise men.

The emphasis on the 'pursuit for truth' is repeated in the final part of the prologue where the author makes a bold declaration and states that s/he has included 'nothing but the truth' as well as explaining the contents of the last section of the work:

Nec quisquam legens hic quicquam dubitet, per unius cuiusque libri nomen redeat ad auctorem: cuncta reperiat subsistere viretatem. Trasactis namque Gregorii libri volumine, temporum gesta, que undique scripta potui reperire, et mihi postea fuerunt cognita, acta regum et bella gentium quae gesserunt, legendo simul et audiendo, etiam et videndo cuncta que certeficatus cognovi huius libelli volumine scribere non solvi, sed curiosissime, quantum potui, inseri studui, de eodem incipiens tempore

⁶⁷ It is possible that a reworking of Isidore's *Chronicon* was intended to be a part of the compilation. This could have been either as part of the first section or, more possibly, as a separate section between the first and the second, or even by inclusion of more material to the existing passages at the end of the second section, as Collins argues, but there is no way to prove it. Collins discusses the use of Isidore's *Chronicon* in the compilation in *Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 35–38.

scribendum, quo Gregori fines gesta cessavit et tacuit, cum Chilperici vitam finisse scripsit. (IV, Prologus)

If any reader doubts me, he has only to turn to the same author to find that I have said nothing but the truth. At the end of Gregory's work I have not fallen silent but have continued on my own account with facts and deeds of later times, finding them wherever they were recorded, and relating of the deeds of kings and the wars of peoples all that I have read or heard or seen that I could verify. Here I have tried to put in all I could discover from that point at which Gregory stopped writing, that is, from the death of King Chilperic.

It is stated that the author continued Gregory's record of events with information s/he has found in other sources as well as including some information from what s/he has 'heard or seen'. Thus, the author successfully mentions all the right things that need to be mentioned in a prologue to a historical compilation. S/he indicates that most of the information is derived from reliable authorities and that it was compiled in a concise yet truthful manner. It is furthermore stressed that the rest of the information is based on what the author has witnessed. In general, therefore, the prologue serves more as a testimony in support of the division of sections in the work than an authorial statement.

3.2 The Trojans in the *Chronicle of Fredegar*

When the work is read as a whole, in the fashion of a historical compendium, it is seen that the Trojans are mentioned in three different sections of the work, Books I, II and III in the modern edition. The Trojans are included in the biblical genealogy, the Troad is mentioned in geographical descriptions, and the Trojan War is used as a chronological milestone. Yet, overall, the Trojan narrative has a rather small part to play in the *Chronicle of Fredegar*. The Trojans are primarily introduced into the storyline in order to explain the genesis of certain groups of peoples, most notably the Franks. The accounts where the Franks are connected to the Trojans are found in two different sections of the work that are introduced as 'excerpts' from the chronicles of Jerome and Gregory of Tours respectively. These passages are discussed in more detail below as they are not only the first surviving written accounts for the Frankish claim to Trojan origins but also are preserved exactly as they are in the eighth-century compilation *Historia vel gesta Francorum*.

The fact that the *Chronicle of Fredegar* contains these two related yet different accounts has been seen as evidence for multiple authorship of the work by some scholars. For example, Gerberding claims that the two different accounts of the story of Trojan origins of the Franks ‘is extremely strong evidence for the “multiple authorship” theory’.⁶⁸ As mentioned above, the existence of two accounts has also been used to dispute that the story was the invention of the author of the *Chronicle of Fredegar*. Barlow, for example, argues that ‘although the second version is derivative from the first, the number of variations between the two indicate that no consistent account existed at the time of “Fredegar”’.⁶⁹ However, this is not necessarily true. Given the number of variations in the story of the Trojan origins of the Romans in classical and late antique sources, for example, the reader would not necessarily expect two different authors – in this case, Jerome and Gregory of Tours – to report exactly the same details. Therefore, if anything, any author compiling a work at this time would know that no two authors tell the same story. As is seen from the examples with regard to the Trojan narrative in Chapter 1 and 2 above, different accounts always include different details—big or small. Thus, even when it is assumed that the intention of the author was indeed forgery, that is to say, to add these parts and make it look as if they are taken from Jerome and Gregory respectively, including identical accounts would make it even more suspect. Hence, the insertion of Trojan material into the various parts of the *Chronicle of Fredegar* and the way it is done, if it was indeed one person’s doing, is rather ingenious. As the textual analysis below shows, the fact that there are so-called ‘inconsistencies’ between the two accounts found in these two sections is not in and of itself proof for the multiple authorship theories, neither these differences suggest the existence of the story in earlier times.

In addition to these passages in Books II and III, the Trojans and the Troad are mentioned in Book I as part of the *Liber generationis*. It has been suggested that the author of the *Chronicle of Fredegar* had a source manuscript that contained both the *Liber generationis* and the *Eusebius-Jerome Chronicle* with its continuations by Hydatius.⁷⁰ There is indeed one surviving copy of such compilation produced in Trier in

⁶⁸ Gerberding, *Rise of the Carolingians*, pp. 13–14.

⁶⁹ Barlow, ‘Gregory of Tours and the Myth’, pp. 86–95 (p. 87).

⁷⁰ Collins, *Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 27–31.

the ninth century: Berlin, StaB, Phillipps 1829.⁷¹ Furthermore, the version of the *Liber generationis* included in this manuscript is very close to the version contained in the manuscripts of the *Chronicle of Fredegar*.

In the *Chronicle of Fredegar*, the author adds ‘Trociane’ and ‘Frigiiae’ next to the Macedonians as descendants of Cethin, son of Japheth to the existing text (see Figure 3.4).⁷² He also adds Priam among the sons of Kittim, son of Javan, another son of Japheth, who was associated with the Greeks and the Ionians in the beginning of the passage:

Filii Iafeth: Gamer, ex quo Cappadoces, Magog, de quo Geltae et Galatae, Made, de quo Medi, Ivan, de quo Greci et Hionis, Thobel, unde Ettaliensis, Moroc, unde Yllirici, Tyrasr, unde et Traces, Cetthin, unde *Trociane*, *Frigiiae*, Macedones. Et filii Gamer: Ascanaz, de quo Sarmatae, Rufan, dae quo Sauromatae, Togor, de quo Armini. Et filii Iuvan: Elisan, inde Siculi, Tharsis, ex quo Hiberi, qui et Tirreni, Cythii, de quo Romani, qui et Latini, Rodivivi et *Priami*. Omnes XV. (I.5)⁷³

Other than this subtle yet significant interweaving of the Trojans into the lineage of Noah, Troad and Phrygia are mentioned later in the same chapter as part of the regions populated by the sons of Noah: ‘Habet autem ad borram maritimam Cyliciam, Pampbiliarum, Pysidiam, Misiam, Lieaeoniam, Frigiam, Kamaliam, Lyciam, Cariam, Lydiam, Misam aliam, Troadem, Aolidem, Pitiniam veterem, Frigiam alciorem.’ This is the extent of the presence of the Trojans in Book I of the *Chronicle of Fredegar*.

⁷¹ For a discussion of this manuscript and its relationship to the *Chronicle of Fredegar*, see ‘*Liber generationis*’, in *Chronica minora. Saec. IV. V. VI. VII. Volumen I*, ed. by Theodor Mommsen, MGH AA, 9 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1892), pp. 78–140 (pp. 78–79); Steven Muhlberger, *The Fifth-Century Chroniclers: Prosper, Hydatius, and the Gallic Chronicler of 452*, ARCA Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs, 27 (Leeds: Francis Cairns, 1990), pp. 200–201; *The ‘Chronicle’ of Hydatius and the ‘Consularia Constantinopolitana’: Two Contemporary Accounts of the Final Years of the Roman Empire*, ed. and trans. by Richard W. Burgess, Oxford Classical Monographs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), especially pp. 11–13.

⁷² For a comparison of the contents in other surviving manuscripts, see ‘*Liber Generationis*’, in *Chronica minora*, ed. by Mommsen, pp. 78–140 (p. 96). See also Krusch, ‘Die Chronicae des sogenannten Fredegar II’, pp. 421–516 (p. 464).

⁷³ Emphasis is mine. Referring to this passage, Peter G. Bietenholz incorrectly states that ‘Priam himself was descended from Shem, the first son of Noah’ in *Historia and Fabula: Myths and Legends in Historical Thought from Antiquity to the Modern Age* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), p. 190.

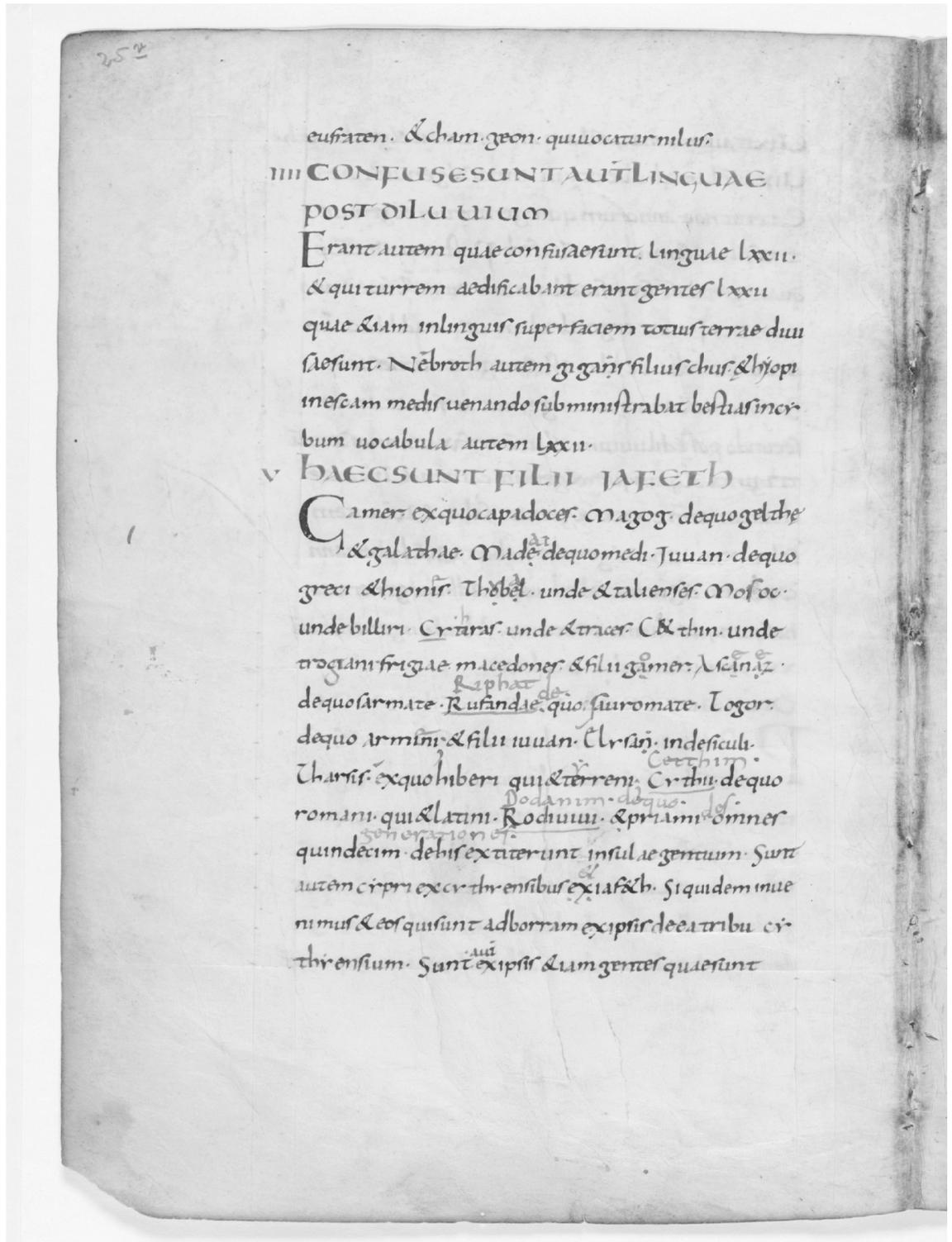


Figure 3.4 Sons of Japheth in the *Chronicle of Fredegar* in Bern, BB, 318, f. 25v
(www.e-codices.unifr.ch)

3.2.1 The *Scarpsum de Cronica Hieronimi*

The section entitled an excerpt from Jerome's *Chronicon* in the *Chronicle of Fredegar*, which includes 62 chapters, begins with the story of the Assyrian Kingdom and ends with the reign of Emperor Justinian (c.482–565). Chapters 1–48 are excerpted from Jerome's *Chronicon*, and Chapters 49–56 from Hydatius's continuations to the *Eusebius-Jerome Chronicle*. Dated to 380s, Jerome's *Chronicon* is essentially a translation, reworking and continuation of Eusebius's *Chronici canones*.⁷⁴ Around 470, Hydatius composed a continuation to this chronicle.⁷⁵ In the fifth century, there were indeed several 'continuations' to the *Eusebius-Jerome Chronicle*: in addition to Hydatius, Prosper and the author of the *Gallic Chronicle of 452* both wrote chronicles that continued that of Jerome.⁷⁶ Later in the sixth century, Marcellinus Comes also continued the *Eusebius-Jerome Chronicle*.⁷⁷ The author of the *Gallic Chronicle of 511* not only continued the *Eusebius-Jerome Chronicle* but also excerpted Hydatius's continuations as part of his/her own work.⁷⁸ Hydatius's continuations were also among Isidore of Seville's sources for his own *Chronicon*.⁷⁹ Therefore, it should not come as a surprise that the author of the *Chronicle of Fredegar* also used and excerpted from these works.

⁷⁴ For the *Eusebius-Jerome Chronicle* see *Hieronimi Chronicon*, ed. by Helm.

⁷⁵ For Hydatius's continuations, see '*Hydatii Limici Chronica Subdita*', in *The 'Chronicle' of Hydatius*, ed. and trans. by Burgess, pp. 3–172.

⁷⁶ For a discussion of these chroniclers and their use of the *Eusebius-Jerome Chronicle*, see Muhlberger, *The Fifth-Century Chroniclers*.

⁷⁷ '*Marcellini v. c. comitis chronicon ad a. DXVIII continuatum ad a. DXXXIV*', in *Chronica minora. Saec. IV. V. VI. VII. Volumen II*, ed. by Theodor Mommsen, MGH AA, 11 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1894), pp. 37–108.

⁷⁸ '*Chronica Gallica a. CCCCLII et DXI*', in *Chronica minora*, ed. by Mommsen, pp. 615–66 Richard W. Burgess, 'The Gallic Chronicle of 511: A New Critical Edition with a Brief Introduction', in *Society and Culture in Late Antique Gaul: Revisiting the Sources*, ed. by Ralph W. Mathisen and Danuta Shanzer (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 85–100.

⁷⁹ For a brief discussion, see E. A. Thompson, 'A Note on St. Isidore's Use of Hydatius', in *Romans and Barbarians: The Decline of the Western Empire* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982), pp. 217–21. See also *Isidori Hispalensis Chronica*, ed. by José Carlos Martín, CCSL, 112 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003) and Sam Koon and Jamie Wood, 'The *Chronica Maiora* of Isidore of Seville', *e-Spania. Revue interdisciplinaire d'études hispaniques médiévales et modernes*, 6 (2008), n.p. <<http://e-spania.revues.org/15552>> [accessed 19 August 2013].

Three of the surviving witnesses that include the excerpt from Jerome's *Chronicon* also include a list of chapters.⁸⁰ As it is already seen in the list of chapters, the capture of Troy is first and foremost used as a historical milestone:

1. De regnum Assiriorum.
2. De nativitate Abraham et generationi eius usque ad Moysen.
3. De Moysen et iudecis super Israel.
4. De captivitate Troge et inicium Francorum et Romanorum.
5. De Francione rigi Francorum et Francis.
6. De initium docum Francorum.
7. De Hebreis et eorum iudecis.
8. De captivitate Troge et egressionem exinde Priamo et Friga, unde Romani et Franci fuerunt.
9. De inicium regis Romanorum.
10. De aedevecationem Cartagenis et suppotationem annorum ab Adam usque ad Moysen.
11. De regibus Aebreorum et Israel.
12. De regem Latinorum.
13. De regis Aebreorum.
14. De inicium nomines Romae, antequam condeta fuissit.
15. De Assiriorum imperio destructo, quod staetit annus 1242.
16. De Latinorum regibus et Roma a Romolo condeta.
17. De Nabagodonosor rigi et captivetate Iudaeorum.
18. De captivetate Troge et olimpiadem primam.

In two of the three occasions (4, 8 and 18) where the capture of Troy is mentioned, the event is also linked with the history of the Franks and the Romans. The first mention indeed explicitly states that the fall of Troy was the beginning of the Franks and the Romans: 'De captivitate Troge et inicium Francorum et Romanorum'. The second time the fall of Troy is mentioned, the reader learns about the names of the ancestors of the Franks and the Romans, Priam and Frigas: 'De captivitate Troge et egressionem exinde Priamo et Friga, unde Romani et Franci fuerunt'. The fall of Troy, used as an anchor in time, is thus not only directly associated with the story of the Franks and the Romans but also is interwoven into the histories of the Assyrians and the Hebrews.

After briefly dealing with the kings of the Assyrians as well as the birth of Abraham and Moses and their times (Chapters 1–3), the author reaches to the times

⁸⁰ Metz, BMu, 134* only includes a selected portion of this section. Even though Vienna, ÖNB, 482 includes this section in full (fols 17r–59v), it has neither an incipit nor a list of chapters. Most of the chapters are correctly numbered beginning with the first chapter in the text, however, perhaps by a later hand. Other witnesses are: Paris, BNF, lat. 10910 (fols 28v–83r), London, BL, Harley 5251 (fols 19v–61v), and Bern, BB, 318 (44v–95v). Collins (*Fredegar-Chroniken*, p. 64) wrongly states that London, BL, Harley 5251 lists 72 chapters.

when Troy was captured. Although the contents of these first three chapters are taken verbatim from the *Eusebius-Jerome Chronicle*, it should be mentioned that in the original chronicle these events are dealt with in more detail and take up much more space, both in terms of the narration of history and the layout. The author of the *Chronicle of Fredegar* carefully chooses and juxtaposes the sentences s/he wants to include. Here, these opening chapters, which in fact deal with around 800 years, serve more for computational purposes: the events told in these brief passages place the Trojan War in the timeline of history, and it is also how Chapter 4 begins:

Sub Tautano regi Assiriorum Troga capta est. Aebraeorum Gepte iudex ann. 8. Post ea Aebreos in ditione sua redicunt Amanite ann. 8, qui cum temporibus posteriorum iudicum copolantur secundum Iudaeorum tradicionem. Gepte in libro Iudicum, — post quem Esebon ann. 7, — ab aetate Moyse usque ad semet ipso ait soppotari ann. 300. Post Aesebon Labaion ann. 8. (II.4)⁸¹

When Tautanus was king of the Assyrians, Troy was captured. Of the Hebrews, Jephthah, for 8 years. After him, the Ammonites bring the Hebrews under their control for 8 years, and they are included in the dates of later judges according to the traditions of the Jews. In the book of Judges, Jephthah—after whom Esebon, for 7 years—says from the era of Moses to himself is reckoned to be 300 years. After Esebon, Lebdon for 8 years.

The first thing that is mentioned is when the Trojan War happened: during when Tautanus was king of the Assyrians. Then follows other events that happened at the time before going into the details of the capture of Troy. However, all that is mentioned about the fall of Troy itself is very brief and again follows the *Eusebius-Jerome Chronicle*:

In illo tempore Priamus Helenam rapuit. Troianum bellum decennale surrexit causa mali, quod trium mulierum de pulchritudinem certantium praemium fuit, una earum Helena pastore iudice pollicente. Memnon, Amazones Priamo tolere subsidium. (II.4)⁸²

At that time, Priam abducted Helen. The ten-year Trojan War broke out because of an apple, which was the prize for judging three women's beauty, one of these offering Helen to the shepherd-judge. Memnon [and] the Amazons brought help to Priam.

⁸¹ *Hieronymi Chronicon*, ed. by Helm, 94a, 96a, 96b.

⁸² *Hieronymi Chronicon*, ed. by Helm, 93b and 97e.

In relation to the fall of Troy, the author does not add anything to what s/he finds in Jerome's *Chronicon* except for adding Priam's name as the abductor of Helen. The account does not elaborate further on the reasons for the Trojan War or any of the events associated with the ten-year war for that matter. Thus, the reader is left with this rather vague passage that would not make any sense unless they were already familiar with the story from other accounts.

The reader is then immediately told that the origin of the Franks is due to these events, that is, a result of the Trojan War: 'Exinde origo Francorum fuit'. This is very striking not least because the rest of the chapter does not go into detailing the history of the Franks per se, but only continues to tell what happens in the immediate aftermath of the Trojan War:

Exinde origo Francorum fuit. Priamo primo regi habuerunt; postea per historiarum libros scriptum est, qualiter habuerunt regi Friga. Postea partiti sunt in duabus partibus. Una pars perrexit in Macedoniam, vocati sunt Macedonis secundum populum, a quem recepti sunt, et regionem Macedoniae, qui oppremebatur a gentes vicinas, invitati ab ipsis fuerunt, ut eis praeberent auxilium. Per quos postea cum subiuncti in plurima procreatione crevissent, ex ipso genere Macedonis fortissimi pugnatores effecti sunt; quod in postremum in diebus Phyliphy regis et Alexandri filii sui fama confirmat, illorum fortitudine qualis fuit. (II.4)

The origin of the Franks is thereafter. They had Priam as the first king; afterwards, it is written in books of history how they had Frigas as king. Afterwards, they were divided into two parts. One part went to Macedonia and they are called the Macedonians after the people by whom they were received and the region of Macedonia. They had been invited by these people [the Macedonians], who were being overwhelmed by neighbouring tribes so that they could give them assistance. Afterwards when joined with these people, they grew into many offspring, and from that stock the Macedonians were made into the strongest of fighters. Later, in the days of King Philip and his son Alexander, report confirms what kind of strength they possessed.

By placing the sentence, 'Exinde origo Francorum fuit', immediately after the brief story of the war and Priam in particular, the author first relates the Franks to the Trojans. The use of 'origo' is also very significant as the word 'origin' is only used once more, two chapters later in II.6 in the entire section of the *Scarpsum de Cronica Hieronimi*. Indeed, the word 'origin' is used very sparingly in the entire *Chronicle of Fredegar*. Except for these two occasions in the excerpt from Jerome's *Chronicon*, the word 'origin' is found only in two chapter headings of the excerpt from Gregory's *Libri*

historiarum and once in the Prologue to Book IV.⁸³ After mentioning the ‘origin of the Franks’, the account reports that Priam was the first king of the Trojans and that they later had Frigas as their king. Even though the author does not name the people, this must be understood as a reference to those Trojans from whom the Franks are descended. It is then reported that they were divided into two groups and that one of the groups went to Macedonia to extend help to the people there. These Trojans were then called the Macedonians after the name of the region and the people who live there. That this first group of Trojans was named ‘after the people by whom they were received and the region of Macedonia’ and that they ‘joined with that people’ is rather significant as it is seen later in the story, there is an emphasis on the Franks not mixing with the people with whom they encountered. It is also mentioned that the people living in Macedonia became ‘the strongest of fighters’ from that *genus*, that is, only after they united with the Trojans. Furthermore, the times of King Philip and Alexander are given as examples to underline just how strong the Macedonians became.

The following chapter, entitled ‘De Francione rigi Francorum et Francis’ in the list of chapters, continues with the story of the travels of the second group of Trojans. In this short chapter, the reader learns who the Franks are, how they got their name and where they settled:

Nam et illa alia pars, quae de Frigia progressa est, ab Olexo per fraude decepti, tamen non captivati, nisi exinde eiecti, per multis regionibus pervacantis cum uxores et liberos, electum a se regi Francione nomen, per quem Franci vocantur. In postremum, eo quod fortissimus ipse Francio in bellum fuisse fertur, et multo tempore cum plurimis gentibus pugnam gerens, partem Asiae vastans, in Eurupam dirigens, inter Renum vel Danuvium et mare consedit. (II.5)

For the other part, which advanced from Phrygia, had been deceived by the deceit of Ulysses and, though not taken captive, had nevertheless been cast out from there. Wandering about through many regions with their wives and children they elected from amongst themselves a king by the name of Francio, from whom they are called the Franks. Later, Francio, it is said, was very strong in war, and for a long time fought with a great many peoples, but in the end, after devastating part of Asia, he entered Europe and settled between the Rhine, the Danube and the sea.

⁸³ Chapter headings in Book III: ‘2. De Francorum origine et eorum regibus’ and ‘65. De Langobardum gente et eorum origine et nomine’; Book IV, ‘Prologus’: ‘a mundi originem’.

The chapter opens with the explanation that a second group of Trojans also left Phrygia after the Trojan War, not by choice but because they were tricked by Ulysses. The account reports that the Franks have been travelling ‘with their wives and children’ through many regions until they chose a king who was also someone ‘from amongst themselves’. The phrase ‘cum uxores et liberos’ should be underlined here. As discussed in Chapter 1 above, in earlier sources the Romans are never depicted as being only descended from the Trojans; there is always an emphasis on how the Trojans were united with the local people and that is how the Romans come to being. In the earlier part of this account, the Trojans who travelled to Macedonia are also depicted as being united with the local people there. However, it is stressed here that the Franks made this long journey with women and children, that is, as families, and this implies such ideas as the Franks having direct descent from or ‘pure’ blood relations with the Trojans. That the Franks travelled with their wives and children is also repeated in the following chapter, and this point makes the relationship between the Franks and the Trojans somewhat different from those of the other peoples who are associated with the Trojans.

The reader also learns that the Franks took their name after their ‘elected’ king Francio, who is also presumably of Trojan lineage. Much like the Trojans in the previous chapter, Francio is depicted as a mighty warrior. Finally, the author states that they ‘entered Europe and settled between the Rhine, the Danube and the sea’. The author of the *Chronicle of Fredegar* is not the first to mention a leader from whom the Franks received their name. The sixth-century historian John the Lydian, for example, states that ‘they are called the Franks after their leader’.⁸⁴ In the seventh century, in his *Etymologiae*, Isidore also mentions that ‘Franci a quodam proprio duce vocari putantur’: ‘The Franks are thought to have been named after a certain duke of theirs’ (IX.2.101).

The account in the *Chronicle of Fredegar* follows in the next chapter with what happens after the Franks settle in Europe:

Ibique mortuo Francione, cum iam per proelia tanta que gesserat parva ex ipsis manus remanserat, duces ex se constituerunt. Attamen semper alterius ditione negantes, multo post tempore cum ducibus transaegerunt usque ad tempore Ponpegi consolis, qui et cum ipsis demicans seo et cum reliquis

⁸⁴ John the Lydian, *On Powers, Or the Magistracies of the Roman State: Introduction, Critical Text, Translation, Commentary, and Indices*, ed. and trans. by Anastasius C. Bandy, *Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society*, 149 (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1983), III.56 (p. 218).

gentium nationes, quae in Germania habitabant, totasque ditione subdidit Romanam. Sed continuo Franci cum Saxonibus amicitias inientes, ad versus Pompegium revellantis, eiusdem rennuerunt potestatem. Pompegius in Spaniam contra gentes demicans plurimas, moretur. Post haec nulla gens usque in presentem diem Francos potuit superare, qui tamen eos suae ditione potuisset subiugare. Ad ipsum instar et Macedonis, qui ex eadem generatione fuerunt, quamvis gravia bella fuissent adtrite, tamen semper liberi ab externa dominatione vivere conati sunt. (II.6)

There Francio died; as only a small band of them now were left, because of the many battles Francio had fought, they established dukes from amongst themselves. Ever rejecting the authority of another king, they lived for a long time under the rule of their dukes until the time of the consul Pompey, who fought with them and with the other peoples who lived in Germania, and subjected all of them to the authority of Rome. But the Franks, immediately forming an alliance with the Saxons resisted Pompey and rejected his power. Pompey died in Spain fighting against a great many peoples. Afterwards, no people up to the present time have been able to conquer the Franks, but the Franks have been able to subjugate them to their authority. Cast in the same mould were the Macedonians, who were of the same descent, and although they had been ground down by brutal wars, still they have always tried to live free from external domination.

The reader is told that Francio died after they settled in Europe. Following Francio's death, they set up *duces*, again 'from amongst themselves', and carry on with them until the time of the consul Pompey, who brings them under Roman dominion. However, this dominion does not continue for a long time since the Franks, in alliance with the Saxons, rebel against Pompey. The account underlines the fact that after these events until the present day no one was able to conquer the Franks but instead the Franks subjugated other people: 'post haec nulla gens usque in presentem diem Francos potuit superare, qui tamen eos suae ditione potuisset subiugare'. At this point, the author refers back to the Macedonians who were also great fighters. The overall emphasis here is not only how powerful the Franks were but also again that they lived as one people and chose their leaders from their own people despite their diminishing numbers. The chapter continues with an account of a third group from Trojan stock that are eventually called the Turks after their king Torquotus:

Tercia ex eadem origine gentem Torcorum fuisse fama confirmat, ut, cum Franci Asiam pervacantis pluribus proeliis transissent, ingredientis Eurupam, super litore Danuviae fluminis inter Ocianum et Traciam una ex eis ibidem pars resedit. Electum a se utique regem nomen Torquoto, per quod gens Turquorum nomen accepit. Franci huius aeteneris gressum cum uxores et liberes agebant, nec erat gens, qui eis in proelium potuisset

resistere. Sed dum plurima egerunt proelia, quando ad Renum conseruerunt, dum Turquoto menuati sunt, parua ex eis manus aderat. A captiuitate Troge usque ad primam olimpiadem fiunt anni 406. (II.6)

Report confirms that a third people of the same origin were the Turks. When the Franks had experienced many battles in their travels through Asia and entered Europe, one part of them settled on the bank of the river Danube between the Ocean and Thrace. They even elected from among themselves a king, called Torquotus, from whom the Turks get their name. The Franks in this journey made their way with their wives and children, and there were no people that could withstand them in battle. But since they fought a great many battles, when they settled on the Rhine, a small band of them arrived, for they were diminished by Torquotus. From the capture of Troy to the first Olympiad amounts to 406 years.

Apart from the mention of the Turks, the second part of this chapter is in fact a recapitulation of the story told so far. The author tells that the Turks in fact split from the group of Trojans after they had already left Phrygia; that is, they are indeed the same group of Trojans with the Franks. However, they do not go as far as the Franks go in Europe and settle ‘on the bank of the river Danube between the Ocean and Thrace’.⁸⁵ This location could be pointing out to either Scythia Minor or Pannonia, a place where the Franks are thought to have stopped first before reaching the bank of Rhine in other accounts including Gregory of Tours’s *Libri historiarum*. It is told that the Turks also got their name from their leader, here called Torquotus. As surprising as the associations of this name may be, writing in the late sixth century, Menander Protector, for example, mentions a mission from Valentinus to a Turkish leader called Turxanthus

⁸⁵ Thomas J. MacMaster recently argued that the Turks here must refer to the Göktürks who had diplomatic relations with the eastern Roman empire at the time; see ‘The Origin of the Origins: Trojans, Turks and the Birth of the Myth of Trojan Origins in the Medieval World’, *Atlantide*, 2 (2014), 1–12 <<http://atlantide.univ-nantes.fr/The-origin-of-the-origins-Trojans>> [accessed 5 January 2015]. This was also pointed out in Eugen Ewig, ‘Le mythe troyen et l’histoire des Francs’, in *Clovis histoire & mémoire. Clovis et son temps, l’événement*, ed. by Michel Rouche (Paris: Presses de l’Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1997), pp. 817–47 and ‘Trojamythos und fränkische Frühgeschichte’, in *Die Franken und die Alemannen bis zur ‘Schlacht bei Zülpich’ (496/97)*, ed. by Dieter Geuenich, *Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde*, 19 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1998), pp. 1–30. For a discussion of how later authors deal with the origin of the Turks, see Deniz Şengel, ‘Sources and Context of the Renaissance Historiography Concerning the Origin of Turks’, in *Historical Image of the Turk in Europe: 15th Century to the Present. Political and Civilisational Aspects*, ed. by Mustafa Soykut (İstanbul: İsis Press, 2003), pp. 175–96. See also Michael Borgolte, ‘Europas Geschichten und Troja: Der Mythos im Mittelalter’, in *Troja. Traum und Wirklichkeit*, ed. by Archäologischen Landesmuseum Baden-Württemberg (Stuttgart: Theiss Verlag, 2001), pp. 190–203 and Margaret Meserve, ‘The Rise and Fall of the Trojan Turks’, in *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought*, Harvard Historical Studies, 158 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), pp. 22–64.

in 576–577.⁸⁶ The chapter closes with another chronological mark and the calculation of the years.

After a brief account of the Hebrews and regnal years in Chapter 7, the beginning of Chapter 8 takes the reader back to when Troy was captured, in order to (re)introduce the beginning of the Roman Empire:

In illo tempore Tautanus regnabat in Assirius. Tunc Troia capta est. In Ebreis Lepdon iudex erat, et in Aegypto dinastia rex erat. Primus rex Latinorum tunc in ipso tempore surrexit, eo quod a Troia fugaciter exierant, et ex ipso genere et Frigas: fuerunt, nisi per ipsa captivitate Troiae et inundatione Assiriorum et eorum persecutione, in duas partes egressi et ipsa civitate et regione. Unum exinde regnum Latinorum ereguntur et alium Frigorum. Post tercio anno capta Troia Latini, qui postea Romani nuncupati sunt, et, ut quidam volunt, post octavo anno regnavit Aeneas. Aeneas et Frigas fertur germani fuissent. (II.8)

At that time, Tautanus reigned in Assyria. Then Troy was captured. Lebdon was judge over the Hebrews and in Egypt the dynasty was the king. The first king of the Latins arose then, for they had fled from Troy, and he and Frigas were also from that stock. But on account of the capture of Troy and the flood of Assyrians and their persecution, they had left that city and region in two parts. For that reason, they established one kingdom of Latins and another kingdom of Frigians. Aeneas ruled the Latins, who were later called the Romans, in the third year after the capture of Troy, or as some believe, in the eighth year. Aeneas and Frigas, it is said, were brothers.

In this chapter, the reader learns that Frigas, who was mentioned earlier in the account as king of the Trojans/Franks, was not only of the same stock with Aeneas but possibly his brother. Nevertheless, it is again underlined that the Trojans ‘left that city [Troy] and region in two parts’. Thus, even though the account finalises with the assertion of the common blood of the Franks with the Romans, it still maintains the distinction between the two groups. The following chapters continue with the history of the Romans and the Hebrews. Apart from the historical marker in the beginning of Chapter 18, ‘A captivitate Troge usque ad olimpiadem primam ann. 405’, the only other time Troy is mentioned in the rest of the *Scarpsum de Cronica Hieronimi* is when Nero burns down Rome: ‘Nero, ad similitudinem Troge ardentis inspecerit, plurimam partem Rome urbis incendit’ (II.36).

⁸⁶ *The History of Menander the Guardsman*, ed. and trans. by R. C. Blockley, ARCA Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs, 17 (Leeds: Francis Cairns, 1985), 19.1–2.

3.2.2 The *Scarpsum de Cronica Gregorii*

The second account of the Trojan origins of the Franks is found in the *Scarpsum de Cronica Gregorii*.⁸⁷ Since Gregory of Tours does not actually mention the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks, indeed not even provide an origin at all for the Franks, in his *Libri historiarum*, the attribution of this story to Gregory has received much attention in modern scholarship as outlined above. Before conveying what he has found in the works of Sulpicius Alexander, Renatus Frigeridus and Orosius in relation to the early history of the Franks in II.9 of his *Libri historiarum*, all Gregory has to say is: ‘De Francorum vero regibus, quis fuerit primus, ab multis ignoratur’: ‘Concerning the kings of the Franks, many people do not know who was the first’. As mentioned above, the author of the *Chronicle of Fredegar* used an abridged six-book version of Gregory of Tours’s *Libri historiarum*. However, the chapter in question, II.9, is transmitted in its entirety in the abridged version as well and therefore the interpolations found in the *Chronicle of Fredegar* cannot be credited to it.⁸⁸

The excerpt from Gregory of Tours’s *Libri historiarum* in the *Chronicle of Fredegar* begins with an interesting if not bizarre anecdote about Aetius (c.391–454).⁸⁹ After the chapter about how Aetius saved Gaul from the Huns, which enables the author to introduce the Franks into the narrative, the following eight chapters take the reader from the origin and early years of the Franks to the birth of Merovech. Chapter 2, which is entitled ‘Concerning the Origin of the Franks and Their Kings’ (‘De Francorum origine et eorum regibus’) in the list of chapters, provides the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks:

⁸⁷ This section is included in the following manuscripts: Paris, BNF, lat. 10910 (fols 83r–121r); Leiden, UBL, VLQ 5 (fols 38r–38v) + Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 713 (fols 1r–23r); Vienna, ÖNB, 482 (fols 61r–86v); London, BL, Harley 5251 (fols 61v–89r); Bern, BB, 318 (fols 95v–121v).

⁸⁸ For a discussion of this abridged version and its contents, see Reimitz, *History, Frankish Identity*, pp. 127–165 and especially p. 138 for Chapter II.9. For examples of excerpting from other works, in particular from Gregory’s *Libri historiarum* in the *Chronicle of Fredegar*, see Gerald Schwedler, ‘Lethe and “Delete”--Discarding the Past in the Early Middle Ages: The Case of Fredegar’, in *Collectors’ Knowledge: What Is Kept, What Is Discarded*, ed. by Anja-Silvia Goeing, Anthony T. Grafton, and Paul Michel, Brill’s Studies in Intellectual History, 227 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 71–96 (especially pp. 83–91).

⁸⁹ Collated from Gregory’s *Libri historiarum*, II.2, II.5, II.7 and II.8. In this short chapter, there is also a reference to Hydatius, possibly to the earlier section of the *Chronicle of Fredegar*, to II.53.

De Francorum vero regibus beatus Hieronimus, qui iam olim fuerant, scripsit, quod prius Virgilii poetae narrat storia: Priamum primum habuisse regi; cum Troia fraude Olexe caperetur, exinde fuissent egressi; postea Frigam habuissent regem; befaria divisione partem eorum Macedonia fuisse adgressa; alii cum Friga vocati Frigiis, Asiam pervacantes, litoris Danuvii fluminis et mare Ocianum consedissee; dinuo byfaria devisione Eurupam media ex ipsis pars cum Francionem eorum rege ingressa fuisse. Eurupam pervagantis, cum uxoris et liberis Reni ripam occupant, nec procul a Reno civitatem ad instar Trogiae nominis aedificare conati sunt. Ceptum quidem, sed imperfectum opus remansit. Residua eorum pars, que super litore Danuvii remanserat, elictum a se Torcoth nomen regem, per quem ibique vocati sunt Turchi; et per Francionem hii alii vocati sunt Franci. Multis post temporibus cum ducibus externas dominationis semper negantes. (III.2)⁹⁰

Concerning the kings of the Franks, blessed Jerome has written who they were once upon a time, and before him the poet Virgil told the story. They had Priam as their first king; when Ulysses took Troy by deceit, they departed from there. Afterwards they had Frigas as king. Divided into two, part of them proceeded to Macedonia. The others under Frigas were called Frigians; they wandered about Asia and settled on the shore of the Danube and the sea of Ocean. Again there was a division into two, and one part of them under Francio their king entered Europe. Wandering about Europe with their wives and children, they settled on the bank of the Rhine. And they sought to build a city named after Troy not far from the Rhine. This work was begun but was left uncompleted. The remaining part of them that stayed on the bank of the Danube elected from among themselves a king, Torcoth by name and were then called the Turks after him. The others are called the Franks after Francio. For a long time afterwards under their dukes they always rejected the rule of strangers.

The passage begins with references to both Jerome and Virgil. The reference to Jerome perhaps is easily explained: the earlier part of the compilation, the excerpt from the *Eusebius-Jerome Chronicle*, already deals with the same story, not to mention that Jerome in his *Chronici canones* does in fact give details about the Trojans and the Trojan War even if he never mentions the Franks.⁹¹ However, the reference to Virgil is rather interesting – even when one takes the sentence to mean that Virgil and Jerome wrote about the Trojans and not the Trojan-Franks. Other than this occasion, throughout the *Chronicle of Fredegar*, Virgil is only mentioned twice.⁹² There are no

⁹⁰ Here, there is a slight alteration to Krusch's punctuation.

⁹¹ Jerome mentions the Franks only once in *Vita Hilarionis*, 13.3: 'inter Saxones quippe et Alemannos gens eius, non tarn lata quam valida, apud historicos Germania, nunc Francia vocatur'.

⁹² Both are in Book II and mark the birth and death of Virgil respectively: 'Virgilius Maro in pago qui Aedis dicitur non procul a Mantua nascetur' (II.31) and 'Virgilius in Cappadocea moritur' (II.33).

unacknowledged direct quotations from Virgil neither any identified allusions. Furthermore, the source text for this section, Gregory of Tours's *Libri historiarum* does not mention Virgil either. In fact, Gregory very rarely uses Virgil in his entire corpus.⁹³ Therefore, it should be assumed that the author refers to the works of Virgil, and specifically to the *Aeneid*, and creates a transtextual relationship between Virgil's work and this work without even resorting to intertextuality, that is without quoting or alluding to any part of Virgil's text. It is of course not surprising that the author supposes that the story as told by Virgil is well known and that the reader is expected to be familiar with it. As discussed in Chapter 2 above, the *Aeneid* was the most popular source narrating the Trojan origins of the Romans. Fischer also maintains that the author of the *Chronicle of Fredegar* 'cited the author of the *Aeneid* as an authority with the dignity of seniority, and in doing so elaborated on Vergil's reputation and reception in Late Antiquity, which had turned him not only into a point of reference in stylistic matters, but also into an authority in terms of content'.⁹⁴ Thus, only by inserting Virgil's name, the author interlinks this story not only with a long tradition culminating with the *Aeneid* but also with the whole corpus of the Trojan narrative.

Although argued otherwise by some scholars, this chapter (III.2) is essentially a rewriting of the *Chronicle of Fredegar* II.4–8, which is discussed in detail above. It provides all the key events and names that were mentioned in these earlier chapters in the *Scarpsum de Cronica Hieronimi* and does not in fact disagree with what has been included as part of the excerpt from Jerome's chronicle. Here Priam is identified as the first king of the Trojans, and Frigas is mentioned as the king who came after Priam. It is recognised that they split into two and that the first group went to Macedonia. According to the account, the second group first settles by the Danube and then there is a further division, again into two. These two groups are the Franks and the Turks, and they are led by Francio and Torcoth from whom they receive their respective names. The Franks proceed further into Europe and settle by the Rhine and the Turks remain by the Danube. Especially two elements in the story give away the rewriting process and prove the dependence of the account included here on the one that is included as part of the excerpt from the *Eusebius-Jerome Chronicle*: Ulysses's deceit as the reason behind

⁹³ Only references are: *Libri historiarum*, ed. by Krusch and Levison, II.29, IV.30, IV.46. *Liber in Gloria martyrum*, Preface.

⁹⁴ Andreas Fischer, 'Reflecting Romanness in the Fredegar Chronicle', *Early Medieval Europe*, 22 (2014), 433–45 (p. 435).

the Trojans leaving the city and that the Franks ‘wandered about Europe with their wives and children’. Both of these details are peculiar enough to be found in two different accounts.⁹⁵ In fact, the only thing that is mentioned here and not in the excerpt from the *Eusebius-Jerome Chronicle* is the task to ‘build a city named after Troy not far from the Rhine’, which remains unfinished. Yet building cities, as seen in Chapter 1 above, has long been a part of the Trojan migration stories and therefore does not strike the reader as out of place.

At the end of the chapter, even the fact that they established dukes and always governed themselves is underlined with a simple, straightforward sentence: ‘Multis post temporibus cum ducibus externas dominationis semper negantes’. Indeed in the first sentence of the following chapter the reader learns who these dukes were: ‘Francos transegisse conperimus usque ad Marcomere, Sonnoni et Genebaudum ducibus’: ‘We have learned what the Franks did up to the time of dukes Marcomer, Sunno, and Genobaud’ (III.3).⁹⁶ The remainder of the third chapter and the fourth chapter focuses on the clashes between the Romans and the Franks. After the final attack by Arbogast, it is told that the dukes were dead and that the Franks chose kings, again from amongst themselves: ‘Dehinde, extinctis ducibus, in Francis dinuo regis creantur ex eadem stirpe, qua prius fuerant’: ‘After this, since the dukes were dead, kings were chosen among the Franks from the same lineage as before’ (III.5).

Between the sixth and eighth chapters, the story briefly returns to the conflicts between the Romans and the Franks. The beginning of Chapter 9 takes the reader back to how the Franks chose their kings from the line of Priam:

Franci electum a se regi, sicut prius fuerat, crinitum, inquirentes diligenter, ex genere Priami, Frigi et Francionis super se creant nomen Theudemarem, filium Richemeris, qui in hoc prilio, co supra memini, a Romanis interfectus est. Substituatur filius eius Chlodeo in regno, utilissimus vir in gente sua, qui apud Esbargium castrum resedebat, quod est in termino Thoringorum. Burgundionis quoque Arrianorum secta utebant, sedentes in Cysalpinis. Chlodeo, missis exploratoribus ad urbem Camaracum, perlustrans omnia, ipse sequitur, Romanus proterit, civitatem capit, usque Suminam fluvium occupavit. Haec generacio fanaticis usibus culta est. Fertur, super litore maris aestatis tempore Chlodeo cum uxore resedens, meridiae uxor ad mare labandum vadens, bistera Neptuni Quinotauri similis eam adpetisset.

⁹⁵ Ulysses is considered as a ‘deceitful’ character in previous accounts including Virgil’s *Aeneid* but he is never directly presented as the ‘cause’ of the fall of Troy.

⁹⁶ The source for the name of these ‘duces’ is Sulpicius Alexander as told in Gregory’s account. See *Libri historiarum*, ed. by Krusch and Levison, II.9.

Cumque in continuo aut a bistera aut a viro fuisset concepta, peperit filium nomen Meroveum, per co regis Francorum post vocantur Merovingii. (III.9)

The Franks, diligently seeking, elected from among themselves a long-haired king as they had before, from the stock of Priam, Frigus, and Francio, chose the one by the name of Theudemer, the son of Richimer, who was killed by the Romans in that battle which I mentioned above. His son Chlodio, the most suitable man in his tribe, took his place in the kingdom. He settled at Dispargum, in the country of the Thuringians. The Burgundians, also adherents of the sect of the Arians, settled in Cisalpina. Chlodio sent out scouts to the city of Cambrai. They checked everything out. He himself followed afterward, defeated the Romans, took the city, and occupied the land all the way to the river Somme. This people [the Franks] practiced pagan rites. It is said that Chlodio was staying with his wife on the seashore in summer. At noon, when his wife went into the sea to bathe, a beast like Neptune's Minotaur sought her out. And when, in time, she had conceived, either by the beast or by her husband, she bore a son named Merovech, through whom the kings of the Franks are afterwards called the Merovingians.

The account explicitly lists the names of Priam, Frigus and Francio and states that the kings of the Franks are all from the Trojan stock and that the people kept *electing* kings from this stock. Although at least beginning with Theudemer the reign passes from father to son, it is still emphasised, for example, that Chlodio was 'the most suitable' for the job. The chapter finalises with the explanation that the Merovingians received their name from Merovech, son of Chlodio, whose lineage is expressly tied to Priam, the first king of the Trojans. Even though the mention of a sea beast may be seen as casting doubts about the father of Merovech, this is nevertheless the first time that the Merovingian dynasty is named and legitimised as king of the Franks and furthermore tied directly to the Trojans.⁹⁷ Thus, as the first written work that survives to contain accounts of the Trojan origins of the Franks, the *Chronicle of Fredegar* does not only tie the *people* of the Franks to the Trojans but also tie the ruling dynasty of the Merovingians directly to the first king Priam.

⁹⁷ On Merovech and the Merovingian family, see Alexander Callander Murray, 'Post Vocantur Merovingii: Fredegar, Merovech, and "Sacral Kingship"', in *After Rome's Fall*, ed. by Murray, pp. 121–52 and Ian N. Wood, 'Deconstructing the Merovingian Family', in *The Construction of Communities in the Early Middle Ages: Texts, Resources and Artefacts*, ed. by Richard Corradini, Max Diesenberger, and Helmut Reimitz, *The Transformation of the Roman World*, 12 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. 149–71.

3.3 Conclusion

The third chapter, ‘The Trojan Origins of the Franks’, was devoted to the earliest surviving work that includes the Frankish claim to Trojan descent. As outlined above, much of the debate with regard to this seventh-century work is centred on the problem of authorship and stages of composition. Irrespective of the answers to these questions, it is argued here that the seventh-century *Chronicle of Fredegar* should be approached as a compilation, a historical compendium and not as a uniform ‘universal chronicle’. The main reason for this is that, even if it was composed by a single author/compiler, the *Chronicle of Fredegar* is presented as a collection of excerpts from other, more authoritative works. In all of the surviving manuscripts, the different sections that make up the *Chronicle of Fredegar* are clearly marked with the name of the work or the author the excerpts are taken from. Treating these sections as separate entities is crucial with regard to the Trojan narrative as the passages where the Franks are connected to the Trojans in the *Chronicle of Fredegar* are found in sections clearly marked as ‘excerpts’ respectively from the chronicles of Saint Jerome and Gregory of Tours. Neither Jerome nor Gregory, of course, elaborate on the origins of the Franks let alone tie them with the Trojans.

It is further argued that the two versions of the story as they are told as part of the *Scarpsum de Cronica Hieronimi* and the *Scarpsum de Cronica Gregorii* agree with each other and do not necessarily contradict one another with respect to the different details narrated in each section. In fact, the only main difference between the two accounts is the mention of the Franks founding a city named after Troy in the *Scarpsum de Cronica Gregorii*. Few points need to be underlined. Although the *Chronicle of Fredegar* is obviously interested in the Franks in a general sense and thus in establishing the origins of the Franks, it also gives an account of other peoples who are descended from the Trojan stock, including the Macedonians, the Turks and the Romans. It is repeatedly reported, however, that the Franks have been travelling ‘with their wives and children’. The emphasis on the Trojan Franks not mixing with other people is noteworthy not least because the Romans are always reported to be a mix of the Trojans and the local people in various works. The *Chronicle of Fredegar* is also among the first accounts to explain that the name of the Franks came from the name of their leader, Francio. Furthermore,

not only the people of the Franks but also the ruling dynasty of the Merovingians is directly tied to the Trojans.

Even though Jerome and Gregory did not associate the Franks with the Trojans in their respective accounts, the attribution of the story to their *auctoritas* in the *Chronicle of Fredegar* had a significant impact on the credibility of the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks in later centuries.

Chapter 4

The Trojan Heritage from the Merovingians to the Carolingians and the Capetians

There is no doubt fiction makes a better job of the truth.
Doris Lessing, *Under My Skin*

Facts are the enemy of truth.
Dale Wasserman, *Man of La Mancha*

During the eighth century, between the years 720s and 770s, the Trojan narrative received a different kind of attention. Within around a fifty-year period, different versions of the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks began circulating in the Frankish realm in different compositions. The first of these works to contain the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks is the famous *Liber historiae Francorum*, which almost immediately became one of the most influential works on the history of the Franks.¹ Now dated to 727, this anonymous work shortly—if not immediately—began circulating under the name of Gregory of Tours not least because it is heavily depended on Gregory's *Libri historiarum*. Soon after the completion of the *Liber historiae Francorum*, the Trojan ancestry of the Franks was included not in a chronicle or a history book but in what is called a cosmography, in the *Aethici philosophi Scythae Cosmographia* attributed to Jerome.² Even though the author presents her/himself as Jerome, as is the case for the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani* attributed to Dictys of Crete and the *De excidio Troiae historia* attributed to Dares of Phrygia, it is now known that

¹ For the edition, see 'Liber historiae Francorum', in *Fredegarii et aliorum chronica*, ed. by Krusch, pp. 215–328. There are full translations into English, German and French: *Liber historiae Francorum*, ed. and trans. by Bernard S. Bachrach (Lawrence, KA: Coronado Press, 1973); 'Das Buch von der Geschichte der Franken', trans. by Herbert Haupt, in *Quellen zur Geschichte des 7. und 8. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Wolfram, pp. 327–91; *La Geste des rois des Francs*, trans. by Stéphane Lebecq, *Classiques de l'histoire au Moyen Âge*, 54 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2015). For translations of various selected passages into English, see also *From Roman to Merovingian Gaul*, ed. and trans. by Murray, pp. 492–98, 595–96, 621–31, and Gerberding, *Rise of the Carolingians*, pp. 173–81. References will be indicated by chapter numbers in the text.

² There are two recent editions: *Die Kosmographie des Aethicus*, ed. by Otto Prinz, MGH QGM, 14 (Munich: MGH, 1993) and *The Cosmography of Aethicus Ister*, ed. and trans. by Michael W. Herren (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), which also includes a full translation into English. Unless otherwise stated, all references are to Herren's edition and will be indicated by chapter numbers in the text.

the work could not have been written by or at the time of Jerome, and the work is dated to the beginning of the second quarter of the eighth century. Given also the two accounts already available in the *Chronicle of Fredegar* from the previous century, by 751, that is, before the Merovingian rule came to an end, there were at least four distinctly different accounts narrating the Trojan origins of the Franks in circulation and furthermore, they were all attributed to either Jerome or Gregory.

The middle of the eighth century marked a turning point in Frankish history.³ As Pippin III, the first of the Carolingians, rose to power in 751, the contents of the seventh-century *Chronicle of Fredegar* were re-arranged with further additions which resulted with a new compilation, the *Historia vel gesta Francorum*.⁴ What is crucial with regard to this ‘new’ work is that the passages that tell the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks in both the *Scarpsum de Cronica Hieronimi* and the *Scarpsum de Cronica Gregorii* of the *Chronicle of Fredegar* were kept exactly as they are. This provided a new momentum for the circulation of these ‘old’ stories in a different context. Possibly around this time, before the *Historia vel gesta Francorum* took its final form around 770s, if not even before that, another short work was composed, this time devoted exclusively to the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks and, much to modern readers’ surprise, attributed to Dares of Phrygia. Entitled the *Historia de origine Francorum*, this work now only survives in the same manuscript witnesses to the *Historia vel gesta Francorum*.⁵ In the mid-eighth century, possibly within a few years of the completion of the *Historia vel gesta Francorum*, another chronicle, which is known as the *Chronicon Universale usque ad annum 741* in modern scholarship, surfaced.⁶ This

³ Wood, *Merovingian Kingdoms*; Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms Under the Carolingians, 751–987* (London: Longman, 1983). See also Edward James, *The Origins of France: From Clovis to the Capetians, 500–1000*, New Studies in Medieval History (London: Macmillan, 1982).

⁴ Even though this is essentially a different compilation, there is no separate edition of the work other than the combined version with the *Chronicle of Fredegar*; see Chapter 3, n. 1. See also Collins, *Fredegar-Chroniken*.

⁵ There are only two nineteenth-century editions of the work, which appeared four years apart from each other: ‘*Historia Daretis Frigii de origine Francorum*’, [ed. by] Gaston Paris, *Romania*, 3 (1874), 129–44 and ‘*Historia Daretis Frigii de origine Francorum*’, in *Fredegarii et aliorum chronica*, ed. by Krusch, pp. 194–200. There are no translations into any modern language to my knowledge.

⁶ I should like to thank Roger Collins, who first pointed me toward the direction of the *Chronicon universale* in February 2012. Until recently, there was only a partial edition comprised of selected passages: ‘*Chronicon Universale – 741, cum continuatione (Annalibus Maximinianis)*’, in *Supplementa Tomorum I–XII*, ed. by Georg Waitz, MGH SS, 13 (Hannover: Hahn, 1881), pp. 1–25. Recently, the witnesses of the work were collated as part of the edition

time, the framework for the compilation was Chapter 66 of the Venerable Bede's *De temporum ratione*, also known as the *World Chronicle*, but it also included the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks, once again attributing the story to Jerome.

Thus, in a very short span of time, not only the story became widespread but also was *translated* from the historiography of the Merovingians into that of the Carolingians. These works were composed in an age of great transformation for the Frankish world and they very subtly reconfigured the Trojan narrative and the history of the Franks for centuries to come. Not all of them are exclusively on the matter of Troy neither are all about the history of the Franks. Furthermore, as is discussed below, they have complex textual relationships, to say the very least. Rewriting in its widest terms is at the heart of the connections among these works. Not only reusing of previous material are involved in the production of these works but also, in terms of the particulars of the Trojan origin story, different details are included in each account even when one is able to prove that a certain author had access to and even utilised a certain other work that already includes the story. Nevertheless, by the last quarter of the eighth century, the Trojan origin of the Franks became a very-well established 'fact' in Frankish history so much so that writing in 770s, Paul the Deacon simply stated in his *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*: 'Nam gens Francorum, sicut a veteribus est traditum, a Troiana prosapia trahit exordium'.⁷

Following the intense period of exchange among authors during the eighth century, as far as it can be established today, throughout the ninth century, the story only appeared in one more work. Almost a century after the composition of the *Liber historiae Francorum*, Frechulf of Lisieux included the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks in his *Historiarum libri XII* dated to 829/30.⁸ However, the fact that there was

of the *Chronicon Moissiacense*: David Claszén, '*Chronicon Moissiacense Maius*: A Carolingian World Chronicle From Creation until the First Years of Louis the Pious. On the Basis of the Manuscript of the Late Ir. J. M. J. G. Kats', 2 vols (unpublished master's thesis, University of Leiden, 2012). It should be mentioned, however, because its focus is the *Chronicon Moissiacense* and not the *Chronicon Universale*, which was one of the sources of the former, Claszén's edition takes the latest witness to the *Chronicon Universale* as its basis. There are no translations into any modern language to my knowledge.

⁷ *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, ed. and trans. by Damien Kempf, Dallas Medieval Texts and Translations, 19 (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), p. 72. References henceforward will be indicated by page numbers in the text. Translations are altered for the sake of consistency.

⁸ '*Historiarum libri XII*', in *Frechulfi Lexoviensis episcopi opera omnia*, ed. by Michael I. Allen, CCCM, 169, 169A, 2 vols (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), II, 9–724. There are no translations into any modern language to my knowledge. References will be indicated by book and chapter numbers in the text.

only one more ‘new’ account should not be understood as the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks falling out of fashion or being replaced by another origin story. On the contrary; as discussed below and in Chapter 5, the manuscript evidence suggests that those works that were composed in the seventh and eighth centuries that contain the story circulated extensively in the entire Frankish region throughout the ninth century, thereby indicating that the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks was widely known.

The composition of the next work to include the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks came at another time of transformation for the Frankish world.⁹ Completed in the final decade of the tenth century, in 990s, Aimoin of Fleury’s *Historia Francorum libri IV* was going to be the historical compilation that would facilitate the transmission of the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks from the Carolingians to the Capetians and enable the continuation and the spread of the story in the later Middle Ages.¹⁰ Aimoin’s interest in the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks resulted with a strong yet localised concentration during the eleventh century. Not only did he include the story in his own *Historia*, Aimoin also must have had obtained for Fleury other historical compilations about the history of the Franks, including the *Chronicle of Fredegar* (or, more likely, the *Historia vel Gesta Francorum*) and the *Liber historiae Francorum*.

4.1 The *Liber historiae Francorum*

In the beginning of the eighth century, another rewriting of Gregory of Tours’s *Libri historiarum* was composed which is now known as the *Liber historiae Francorum*. As in the case of the *Chronicle of Fredegar*, this reworking was also based on an abridged six-book version of Gregory’s *Libri historiarum*. Despite the fact that Gregory did not include the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks in his *Libri historiarum*, much like the *Scarpsum de Cronica Gregorii* that is included in the *Chronicle of Fredegar*, the

⁹ Elizabeth M. Hallam and Judith Everard, *Capetian France, 987–1328*, 2nd edn (Harlow: Longman, 2001). For the transition period from the Carolingians to the Capetians, see especially pp. 25–30.

¹⁰ The most recent edition is ‘Aimoini monachi Floriacensis de gestis regum Francorum libri IV’, in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. by Léopold Delisle, new edn, 24 vols (Paris: Victor Palmé, 1840–1904), III (1869), 20–143. There is also a more recent unpublished PhD thesis that seems to contain an edition; however, I could not obtain access to this work: Christiane Le Stum, ‘L’*Historia Francorum* d’Aimoin de Fleury. Etude et édition critique’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, L’École nationale des chartes, 1976). All references are to Delisle’s edition and will be indicated by book and chapter numbers in the text.

Liber historiae Francorum also traced the origins of the Franks back to the Trojans. And again, much like the *Scarpsum de Cronica Gregorii*, this new work was also attributed to Gregory soon after it began circulating if not at the time of its composition. Despite their dependence on Gregory's *Libri Historiarum*, both works, however, should be considered on their own terms, as the changes in the manner of both omissions and additions are quite significant. Even though information about the Trojan origins of the Franks is incorporated into Gregory's account in both rewritings, the author of the *Liber historiae Francorum* is thought not to have known the *Chronicle of Fredegar*.

The version of the story included in the *Liber historiae Francorum* contains different details from those found in the *Chronicle of Fredegar* and the three versions only agree in the broadest outline. There are no identified borrowings from the *Chronicle of Fredegar* in the remainder of the *Liber historiae Francorum* either. Thus, it has been argued that the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks in the *Liber historiae Francorum* is independent of either of the two accounts found in the *Chronicle of Fredegar*. That the two earliest works to include the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks were not dependent on each other has led to arguments about the existence of the story either prior to its appearance in the *Chronicle of Fredegar* or about its circulation in different forms in addition to the *Chronicle of Fredegar*, as discussed in Chapter 3 above. Ewig, for example, firmly states that 'les deux versions de Frédégaire et celle du *Liber* représentent deux traditions distinctes de l'*Origo Francorum*, qui reposent toutes deux sur un fondement gallo-romain'.¹¹ Yet, these so-called two distinct traditions that contain the different versions of the story were circulated, read and used side by side throughout the Frankish realm from the beginning of the eighth century onwards.

Fouracre and Gerberding describe the *Liber historiae Francorum* as the 'most valuable guide through the last half of the seventh century and the first two decades of the eighth'.¹² Indeed the three works, Gregory of Tours's *Libri historiarum*, the *Chronicle of Fredegar* and the *Liber historiae Francorum*, are usually considered 'the only three major works of history' for 'the two and a half centuries of Merovingian

¹¹ Ewig, 'Le mythe troyen et l'histoire des Francs', in *Clovis*, ed. by Rouche, I, 817–47 (p. 841). See also Gerberding, *Rise of the Carolingians*, especially p. 17.

¹² Paul Fouracre and Richard A. Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France: History and Hagiography, 640–720* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), p. 79.

rule'.¹³ Despite this, the *Liber historiae Francorum* has not received much scholarly attention and when it has, it is mostly used for fact mining with regard to its contents relating to the later years of the Frankish history by modern scholars.¹⁴ It is worth noting that in the early Middle Ages, the *Liber Historiae Francorum* was clearly valued and utilised especially for its contents relating to the early history of the Franks including the story of the Trojan origins and it was not only widespread during the time it was written but also was very influential later on.

The *Liber Historiae Francorum* is commonly dated to 727 due to a reference to the sixth year of Theuderic IV, who reigned between 721 and 737, at the very last sentence of the work in Chapter 53: 'Franci vero Theudericum Cala monasterio enutritum, filium Dagoberto iunioris, regem super se statuunt, qui nunc anno sexto in regno subsistit': 'The Franks then placed Theuderic, son of the younger Dagobert, who had been brought up in the monastery at Chelles, over them as their king, and he is now in the sixth year of his reign'.¹⁵ With regard to the place of production for the *Liber historiae Francorum*, however, different arguments have been developed by scholars. Against the arguments for placing the author in either Rouen by Krusch or St Denis by Kurth in the late nineteenth-century, Gerberding has claimed that the *Liber Historiae Francorum* was composed in Soissons.¹⁶ However, this view has been contested by both Nelson and McKitterick, who have both also argued for a female author.¹⁷

Krusch's 1888 edition contains a list of fifty witnesses and this is still the most comprehensive study conducted on the manuscripts of the *Liber historiae Francorum* and their transmission to date. However, already among these fifty witnesses, there were three manuscripts known to be lost or misplaced by Krusch: a codex Thuanus, a codex

¹³ Gerberding, *Rise of the Carolingians*, p. 2.

¹⁴ McKitterick also underlines this point in *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 9.

¹⁵ *Fredegarii et aliorum chronica*, ed. by Krusch, p. 217; Gerberding, *Rise of the Carolingians*, pp. 144–45.

¹⁶ Godefroid Kurth, 'Étude critique sur le *Gesta Rerum Francorum*', *Bulletins de l'Académie Royale de Belgique*, 3e série, 18 (1889), 261–89. For a discussion of authorship including the previous scholarship, see Gerberding, 'The *Liber Historiae Francorum* Author and his Times', in *Rise of the Carolingians*, pp. 146–72 (especially pp. 150–59 for arguments regarding Soissons).

¹⁷ Janet L. Nelson, 'Gender and Genre in Women Historians of the Early Middle Ages', in *The Frankish World, 750–900* (London: Hambledon Press, 1996), pp. 183–97 and McKitterick, 'Women and Literacy in the Early Middle Ages', in *Books, Scribes, and Learning in the Frankish Kingdoms, 6th–9th Centuries*, Variorum Collected Studies Series, 452 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1994), pp. 1–43.

Pistoriensis and a codex Petavianus.¹⁸ More than half of the remaining witnesses in the list are also already dated to the later centuries, from the twelfth through the eighteenth centuries, by Krusch and are therefore beyond the scope of the present study. Furthermore, a number of the witnesses in Krusch's list are now identified as including copies of different works.¹⁹ This is of course not surprising, given the fact that compilers and scribes began juxtaposing the *Liber historiae Francorum* with other texts and rephrasing some of its parts as early as the ninth century. Again from the ninth century onwards, there are also a great number of works that are based on the *Liber historiae Francorum*. Especially worth mentioning among these are those that use the beginning chapters of the work almost verbatim, such as Ademar of Chabannes's *Chronicon Aquitanicum et Francicum*, the anonymous *Abbreviatio gestorum regum Francorum*, or the *Nova gesta Francorum*, to name a few. Krusch also divided the witnesses into two recensions, namely, A and B, and argued that A is dated to 727 whereas B was completed by 736.²⁰ As useful as these recensions and Krusch's groupings are in determining the relationships among the extant manuscripts, especially the dates of completion for both the A and B recensions as well as which version precedes the other should be regarded with caution.²¹

Almost a century after Krusch's edition, in his PhD thesis, Gerberding stated that during his doctoral work he has discovered four more witnesses that went unnoticed by

¹⁸ For a list of manuscripts and short descriptions, see *Fredegarii et aliorum chronica*, ed. by Krusch, pp. 220–33. For the lost manuscripts, see nos. 39, 43 and 44 respectively in Krusch's list. No. 43 in this list may perhaps be identified as the London, BL, Harley, 4882 dated to the second half of the fourteenth century; however, it contains an incomplete copy of Andreas of Marchiennes's *Chronicon regum Francorum*. In addition to these, I was not able to identify nos. 3 and 40 in Krusch's list.

¹⁹ For example, dated to the fifteenth century, Paris, BNF, lat. 9767, no. 13 according to Krusch, contains Ademar of Chabannes's *Chronicon Aquitanicum et Francicum*; dated to the thirteenth century, Paris, BNF, lat. 11793, no. 37 according to Krusch, contains the *Nova gesta Francorum*; dated to the seventeenth century, Modena, BEU, Lat. 298, no. 42 according to Krusch, contains an anonymous history of the Franks with the incipit 'De origine regni Francorum et prosapia'.

²⁰ *Fredegarii et aliorum chronica*, ed. by Krusch, pp. 218–20.

²¹ The dating of the B recension is based on its later use by the compilers of the *Historia vel gesta Francorum* and that this borrowing must have taken place by 736. However, this argument and whether or not recension A preceded B have since been questioned. See Roger Collins, 'Deception and Misrepresentation in Early Eighth Century Frankish Historiography: Two Case Studies', in *Karl Martell in seiner Zeit*, ed. by Jörg Jarnut, Ulrich Nonn, and Michael Richter, Beihefte der Francia, 37 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1994), pp. 227–47 (especially pp. 241–47) and Richard A. Gerberding, 'A Critical Study of the *Liber Historiae Francorum*' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1983), pp. 15–16 and 25–29.

Krusch.²² The most significant of these discoveries, especially for the purposes of the present study, is Paris, BNF, lat. 7906 (Part III) + Paris, BNF, lat. 5018 (Part II) which is dated to the end of the eighth century.²³ This is the oldest surviving witness that contains the *Liber historiae Francorum* and the manuscript as a whole is discussed in detail in Chapter 5 below. Kretschmer also has identified another witness unknown to Krusch that contains a summary of the work. This witness belongs to a certain subgroup among the witnesses that contain the summary version of the *Liber historiae Francorum* as part of a broader historical compilation.²⁴ According to Kretschmer, they seem to have descended from the same exemplar, which may be dated to sometime in the mid-tenth century: a unique compilation that is made up of rather short summaries and paraphrases of various historical texts including the *Excidium Troie* and Paul the Deacon's *Historia Romana* in addition to the *Liber historiae Francorum*.²⁵ However, the earliest witness dates from the beginning of the eleventh century. More recently, Gnasso has identified another, rather important witness, the Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 616, which is tentatively dated to the first half of the eleventh century.²⁶ When all the recent scholarship and the evidence are considered, eighteen of the surviving witnesses may be identified as dated to before the twelfth century (see Table 4.1).

²² Gerberding, 'A Critical Study of the *Liber Historiae Francorum*', p. 7. Gerberding states that he has examined fifteen manuscripts in total and has collated four of these with the edition by Krusch. For a list of manuscripts Gerberding examined, see p. 302.

²³ The manuscripts discovered by Gerberding are: Paris, BNF, lat. 7906 (Part III) + Paris, BNF, lat. 5018 (Part II), Paris, BNF, Duchesne 91, Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 620, and Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 745. Paris, BNF, Duchesne 91 is in fact included in Krusch's list but Gerberding argues that Krusch was not aware that this witness contained two different copies of the work; at any rate, this is a very late copy, dated to sometime after the fourteenth century. Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 620 dated to the end of the twelfth century includes a short summary of the work. However, this summary may have been derived from Ademar's *Chronicon* instead of the *Liber historiae Francorum*; see, Élisabeth Pellegrin, 'Possesseurs français et italiens de manuscrits latins du fonds de la Reine à la Bibliothèque Vaticane', *Revue d'histoire des textes*, 3 (1974), 271–97 (p. 276). Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 745, on the other hand, is a thirteenth-century witness.

²⁴ This group consists of Bamberg, StaB, Hist. 3 (E.III.14), Oxford, MC, 14, Salisbury, CL, 80. The first two were already known to Krusch and only Bamberg, StaB, Hist. 3 (E.III.14) is dated to before the twelfth century. Oxford, MC, 14 is apparently a direct copy of Salisbury, CL, 80. Another manuscript, Vatican City, BAV, Urb. lat. 961, also contains the rest of the texts of this same composition but it is lacking the *Liber historiae Francorum*. Based on textual evidence, Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 1984 + Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 1984A also seems to have some connection with this group but the exact relationship remains to be investigated. See Kretschmer, *Rewriting Roman History*, pp. 46–55.

²⁵ See Kretschmer, *Rewriting Roman History*, especially pp. 54–55.

²⁶ Alessandro Gnasso, 'Childebrand and the *Chronicle of Fredegar*: The Case of Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 616', (unpublished paper presented at the International Medieval Conference, Leeds, 9 July 2014).

Table 4.1 Earliest Witnesses of the *Liber historiae Francorum*²⁷

Manuscript	Date	Origin	Incipit
Paris, BNF, lat. 7906 (Part III) + Paris, BNF, lat. 5018 (Part II) ²⁸	VIII ^{ex} (780s)	Lorsch (?), Germany	INCIPIIT GESTA FRANCORUM A S[AN]C[T]O GREGORIO EDICTIO S[AN]C[T]I GREGORII TORONENSIS EP[ISCOP]I REGU[M] FRANCORUM HISTORIA PRINCIPIUM REGUM
Bern, BB, 599 ²⁹	VIII ^{ex} (790s)	Fleury, France	INCIP[IT] CAPIT[ULA] LIB[E]R HIST[ORIAE]
Vatican City, BAV, Pal. lat. 966 ³⁰	VIII ^{ex} (790s)	Murbach, France	INCIPIIT LIBER S[AN]C[T]I GREGORII TORONIS EP[ISCOP]I GESTA REGU[M] FRANCORUM
Paris, BNF, lat. 5596 ³¹	VIII ^{ex} /IX ⁱⁿ	Reims, France	INCIPI[T] CAPIT[ULA] LIB[E]R HIST[ORIAE] FRANCI (?)
Vatican City, BAV, Ott. lat. 663 ³²	IX ⁱⁿ	Fleury, France	INCIP[I]T LIB[ER] SANCTI G[REG]ORII TORON[ENS]I EP[ISCOP]I GESTA REGUM FRANCORU[M]

²⁷ Hen states that there are ‘thirty-one extant manuscripts’ of the work in ‘Canvassing for Charles’, in *Zwischen Niederschrift und Wiederschrift*, ed. by Corradini, Diesenberger, and Niederkorn-Bruck, pp. 139–45 (p. 145). McKitterick, on the other hand, states that ‘out of thirty-two extant manuscripts of the *Liber historiae francorum* [sic], fifteen date from the later eighth, the ninth or the early tenth centuries’ in *History and Memory*, p. 14. However, neither of them provides a list. In his recent book (*History, Frankish Identity*, p. 396, n. 173), Reimitz states that there are fifteen manuscripts dated to before the year 1000. Yet, he only provides a list of fourteen, and, among these, Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 713 wrongly reads as dated to c.800.

²⁸ Both Lowe (*CLA*, XII, p. 22, no. 1744) and Bischoff (*Katalog*, III, p. 135, no. 4512) state that the manuscript was probably written in Lorsch. For the dating of this and the following two witnesses, see also Gerberding, ‘Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Latin 7906’, pp. 381–86 (pp. 382–83).

²⁹ Bischoff, *Katalog*, I, p. 130, no. 608 and Mostert, *Fleury*, p. 81, no. BF220. Lowe (*CLA*, VII, p. 8, no. 865) only indicates that it was ‘written presumably in France, and probably in the North’. See also Reimitz, *History, Frankish Identity*, p. 398.

³⁰ The manuscript was later in possession of the Lorsch Abbey. See Bischoff, *Katalog*, III, p. 418, no. 6572 and Lowe, *CLA*, I, no. 98.

³¹ Even though Bischoff states ‘umkreis von Reims’ with a question mark in *Katalog*, III, p. 112, no. 4382, it is now accepted that the manuscript originated in Reims. See Reimitz, *History, Frankish Identity*, pp. 396–97.

³² Bischoff, *Katalog*, III, p. 404, no. 6439 and Mostert, *Fleury*, p. 255, no. BF1329. Reimitz argues that ‘it was surely written around 800’ in *History, Frankish Identity*, p. 398.

Manuscript	Date	Origin	Incipit
Leiden, UBL, VLO 86 ³³	IX ^{1/3}	around Paris, France	INCIPIIT LIBER S[AN]C[T]I GREGORI (?) TORONACENSIS (?) GESTA REGUM FRANCORUM ³⁴
Paris, BNF, lat. 10911 (Part II) ³⁵	IX ^{2/4}	Liège, Belgium or Fleury, France (?)	De initio regni francorum ³⁶
London, BL, Arundel 375 (Part I) ³⁷	IX ^{2/3}	southern France	INCIPIIT LIBER SANCTI GREGORII TORONIS EPISCOPI GESTA REGUM FRANCORUM ³⁸
Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 713 (Part II) ³⁹	IX ^{3/4}	St Gall, Switzerland	INCIPIIT LIB[ER] HYSTORIAE FRANCORUM A GREGORIO TORONENSIS URBIS EP[ISCOP]O EDITA ⁴⁰
Vienna, ÖNB, 473 ⁴¹	IX ² (c.869)	Saint-Amand, France	<i>No incipit; begins with: Ante omne tempus &c.</i>
Cambrai, BMu, 803 [711] (Part II) ⁴²	IX	western Germany	<i>No incipit; begins with: Principium regnu[m] francorum &c.</i>

³³ Bischoff, *Katalog*, II, p. 66, no. 2254. See also See Reimitz, *History, Frankish Identity*, pp. 398–400.

³⁴ The incipit is almost effaced; Krusch says it could be ‘TORONACENSIS’ or ‘TORNACENSIS’.

³⁵ Bischoff assigns it to a centre in western France in *Katalog*, III, p. 170, no. 4668. See Helmut Reimitz, ‘Der Weg zum Königtum in historiographischen Kompendien der Karolingerzeit’, in *Der Dynastiewechsel von 751: Vorgeschichte, Legitimationsstrategien und Erinnerung*, ed. by Matthias Becher and Jörg Jarnut (Münster: Scriptorium, 2004), pp. 277–320 and Collins, *Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 124–26.

³⁶ Added by a later hand.

³⁷ Bischoff, *Katalog*, II, pp. 105–06, no. 2415. In a recent article, even though he references Bischoff, Hen erroneously states that this part of the manuscript was written in the ‘mid-eighth century’. See Hen, ‘Canvassing for Charles’, in *Zwischen Niederschrift und Wiederschrift*, ed. by Corradini, Diesenberger, and Niederkorn-Bruck, pp. 139–45 (especially p. 141 for the dating). See also the discussion in Chapter 5 below.

³⁸ This witness also has an explicit added by a later hand providing the title at the end of the work: ‘EXPLICIT GESTA FRANCORUM’.

³⁹ Bischoff, *Katalog*, III, p. 435, no. 6728. See also Collins, *Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 71–72. Reimitz states that this witness was written c.800 in *History, Frankish Identity*, p. 396, n. 173; however, only the first part of this composite manuscript, which contains a copy of the *Historia vel gesta Francorum* is dated to the beginning of the ninth century.

⁴⁰ Begins with the list of chapters which also has an incipit: ‘INCIPIIT CAPITULA LIB(ER) HISTOR(IAE) FRANCO(RUM)’.

⁴¹ Bischoff, *Katalog*, III, p. 479, no. 7126 and Collins, *Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 123–24. Even though, Bischoff and Collins are doubtful, Saint-Amand as the origin of the manuscript now seems to be widely accepted by scholars.

Manuscript	Date	Origin	Incipit
The Hague, KB, 74 J 24 [921] ⁴³	IX ^{ex} /XI ⁱⁿ	north-eastern France (?)	INCIPIIT LIBER S[AN]C[T]I GREGORII TVRONENSIS EP[ISCOP]I GESTA REGVM FRANCORVM
Montpellier, BIM, H 360 ⁴⁴	X ^{ex} /XI ⁱⁿ	France	INCIPIIT LIBER S[AN]C[T]I GREGORII EPISCOPI VRBIS TURONENSIVM GESTA FRANCORVM
Saint Petersburg, RNB, lat. F. v. IV 4 ⁴⁵	X ^{ex} /XI ⁱⁿ	northern France	INCIPIUNT CAPITULA DE ORIGINE ET GESTIS FRANCORUM ⁴⁶
Bamberg, StaB, Hist. 3 [E.III.14] ⁴⁷	XI ⁱⁿ (c.1000)	Halberstadt, Germany	<i>N/A: summary</i>
Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Guelf. 131 Gud. lat. (Part IV) ⁴⁸	XI ^{2/4}	Lorsch, Germany	INCIPIUNT GESTA REGUM FRANCORU[M] A S[AN]C[T]IO GRE[GO]RIO TURONENSI EPISCOPO BREVITER EXCERPTA
Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 616 ⁴⁹	XI ¹ (?)	France (?)	INCIPIIT GESTA FRANCO[RUM]
Florence, BML, Plut.65.35 ⁵⁰	XI	Monte Amiata, Italy	IN [CHRIST]I NOMINE INCIPIIT LIBER S[AN]C[T]I GREGORII TORONENSIS EP[ISCOP]I GESTA REGUM FRANCORUM

⁴² Bischoff, *Katalog*, I, p. 177, no. 807.

⁴³ Bischoff, *Katalog*, I, p. 299, no. 1432 and *Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 113–14. See also *Fredegarii et aliorum chronica*, ed. by Krusch, p. 230.

⁴⁴ The manuscript was later in Pontigny Abbey which was founded in 1114. See *CGM*, I (1849), 429, where the contents erroneously read: ‘Gregorii Turonensis gesta Francorum’.

⁴⁵ Collins, *Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 126–28.

⁴⁶ Added by a later, twelfth-century hand.

⁴⁷ Kretschmer, *Rewriting Roman History*, p. 19.

⁴⁸ *Die Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel. Vierte Abteilung. Die Gudischen Handschriften*, ed. by Franz Köhler and Gustav Milchsack (Wolfenbüttel: Julius Zwissler, 1913), pp. 153–55.

⁴⁹ The manuscript is not studied. The most recent examination is by Gnasso, ‘Childebrand and the *Chronicle of Fredegar*’.

⁵⁰ Michael Gorman, ‘Manuscript Books at Monte Amiata in the Eleventh Century’, *Scriptorium*, 56 (2002), 225–93 (especially pp. 267–68); however, here instead of *Liber Historiae Francorum* it wrongly reads ‘Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum*’ (p. 268) and the contents are again misquoted later in the article (p. 270, 271). See also Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, p. 215.

According to the surviving manuscript evidence, it may be definitely argued that copies of the *Liber historiae Francorum* were produced in some of the most prominent Frankish centres such as Lorsch, Reims, Fleury and St Gall from very early on. Even though a number of the early witnesses cannot be attributed to a specific centre with any certainty, the estimated origins nevertheless provide the impression that the work was widely transmitted and copied across the entire Frankish region. It should also be underlined that the transmission of the *Liber historiae Francorum* does not come to an end with the end of the ninth century unlike some of the other works discussed in this chapter, and that there are surviving witnesses from both the tenth and eleventh centuries.

Before commencing to list the witnesses of the *Liber historiae Francorum* in his edition, where he states that many manuscripts surely escaped his eye, Krusch briefly mentions that the *Liber historiae Francorum* is listed as the ‘Book of Histories of Gregory of Tours’ in manuscript catalogues and that those works entitled *Gesta Francorum* often belong to that of Ademar of Chabannes.⁵¹ Indeed, the overwhelming majority of the witnesses ascribe the work to Gregory of Tours including the earliest witness, which was not known to Krusch (see Table 4.1).⁵² Furthermore, even though the work is now known as the *Liber historiae Francorum* in modern scholarship thanks to Krusch, only three of the early witnesses, Bern, BB, 599, Paris, BNF, lat. 5596 and Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 713 (Part II), actually name the work as such.⁵³ And even then, as is seen in the incipit in the Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 713 (Part II), the work is still introduced as belonging to Gregory of Tours.

The reason behind the decision for the title *Liber historiae Francorum* is that Krusch believed that between the two recensions of the work, the A recension was earlier than and superior to the B recension. The witnesses that belong to Krusch’s B often title the work as the *Gesta Francorum* or the *Gesta regum Francorum*, and the

⁵¹ ‘Qui autem in catalogis codicum mss. ‘Gesta Francorum’ appellantur libri, non raro Ademari Cabannensis exemplaria sunt, dum opusculi nostri codices ut Gregorii Turonensis historiae libri in iisdem tabulis recensentur.’: *Fredegarii et aliorum chronica*, ed. by Krusch, p. 220.

⁵² Today, only two witnesses, Cambrai, BMu, 803 [711] (Part II) and Vienna, ÖNB, 473, have no incipit. In some cases, the incipits are added at a later stage; these are indicated in the notes to Table 4.1 above.

⁵³ However, for example, Lebecq still states that ‘la plupart des manuscrits de la version A portent ce titre’ in *La Geste des rois des Francs*, trans. by Lebecq, p. 2.

majority of them ascribe the work to Gregory of Tours.⁵⁴ On the other hand, those witnesses that belong to Krusch's A often do not have any incipit at all, and amongst the earliest ones, the three mentioned above bear the title *Liber historiae Francorum*.⁵⁵ Krusch further believed that if any of the witnesses of the A recension mentioned Gregory in their title, this must have been due to contamination from a witness of the B recension; that is, he argued that the ascription of the work to Gregory of Tours was due to the redactions undertaken for the B recension and was not originally part of the work itself. The discovery of Paris, BNF, lat. 7906 (Part III) + Paris, BNF, lat. 5018 (Part II), which is now believed to be the earliest witness to the work, however, brings these assumptions into question.⁵⁶ This witness uses the so-called A recension for the first twelve chapters from the very beginning of the text before it switches to the so-called B recension until the end of the part that survives. Furthermore, as discussed in detail in Chapter 5 below, it clearly ascribes the work to Gregory of Tours.

That there were different recensions of the work, however, is not the immediate concern of the present study as the variations found in the passages that contain the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks do not constitute significant alterations. In the following discussion, the so-called A recension is quoted in full and the variations in the text in different manuscripts are discussed together with the textual analysis. The *Liber historiae Francorum* opens with the early history of the Franks, which comprises its first five chapters, and this is where the Trojan origins of the Franks are revealed:

Principium regum Francorum eorumque origine vel gentium illarum ac gesta proferamus. Est autem in Asia opidum Troianorum ubi est civitas quae Illium dicitur, ubi regnavit Aeneas. Gens illa fortis et valida, viri bellatores atque rebelles nimis, inquieta certamina obiurgantes, per gyrum finitima debellantes. Surrexerunt autem reges Grecorum adversus Aeneam cum multo exercitu pugnaveruntque contra eum cede magna, corruique illic multum populus Troianorum. Fugiit itaque Aeneas et recludit se in civitate Illium, pugnaveruntque adversus hanc civitatem annis decem. Ipsa enim civitate subacta, fugiit Aeneas tyrannus in Italia locare gentes ad

⁵⁴ In Table 4.1, these are, in chronological order: Vatican City, BAV, Pal. lat. 966, Vatican City, BAV, Ott. lat. 663, Leiden, UBL, VLO 86, London, BL, Arundel 375 (Part I), Vienna, ÖNB, 473, The Hague, KB, 74 J 24 [921], Montpellier, BIM, H 360, Bamberg, StaB, Hist. 3 [E.III.14], Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Guelf. 131 Gud. lat. (Part IV), and Florence, BML, Plut.65.35.

⁵⁵ In Table 4.1, these are, in chronological order: Bern, BB, 599, Paris, BNF, lat. 5596, Paris, BNF, lat. 10911 (Part II), Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 713 (Part II), Cambrai, BMu, 803 [711] (Part II), and Saint Petersburg, RNB, lat. F. v. IV 4.

⁵⁶ Gerberding, 'A Critical Study of the *Liber Historiae Francorum*', pp. 14–16 and 'Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Latin 7906', pp. 381–86.

pugnandum. Alii quoque ex principibus, Priamus videlicet et Antenor, cum reliquo exercitu Troianorum duodecim millia intrantes in navibus abscesserunt et venerunt usque ripas Tanais fluminis. Ingressi Meotidas paludes navigantes, pervenerunt intra terminos Pannoniarum iuxta Meotidas paludes et coeperunt aedificare civitatem ob memoriale eorum appellaveruntque eam Sicambriam; habitaveruntque illic annis multis, creveruntque in gentem magnam. (Chapter 1)

Let us make known the beginning of the kings of the Franks, their origins and the origins and the deeds of those *gentes*. In Asia there is the country of the Trojans, where there is the city called Ilium and there is where Aeneas ruled. The *gentes* were brave and strong, the men fighters and very rebellious, waging endless wars and conquering the neighbouring districts roundabout. The kings of the Greeks, however, rose up against Aeneas with a big army and fought him in a bloody conflict; many people of the Trojans fell there. And thus Aeneas fled and shut himself up in the city of Ilium. And they fought against the city for ten years. For, after the city was subdued, the tyrant Aeneas fled to Italy to establish *gentes* there for fighting. Others out of the leaders, that is, Priam and Antenor embarked on ships with the remaining of the army of the Trojans, twelve thousand [people], and departed [from Troy] and came to the banks of the river Tanais. Having entered the Maeotian swamps, they arrived within the borders of the Pannonias near the Maeotian swamps and they began to build a city as a memorial to themselves. They called it Sicambria and lived there for many years growing into a great people.

The very first sentence of the work is very evocative: ‘Principium regum Francorum eorumque origine vel gentium illarum ac gesta proferamus.’ In some manuscripts, this beginning sentence is altered as ‘Principium quoque Francorum gentis origine vel regum gesta proferamus’ or ‘Principium quoque Francorum gentis origine vel regum gesta proferamus vel cuncta audiamus’. Despite the small changes in the wording, the emphasis remains the same: the account will narrate both the *reges* and *gentes*, and will be about both their *origo* and their *gesta*. After this straightforward and grand opening, the author continues with a very brief account of the Trojan War which soon turns its focus to the journey of the Trojans after the fall of the city. The way the location of Ilium and Troy is described (‘Est autem in Asia opidum Troianorum ubi est civitas quae Illium dicitur’) is similar to the descriptions found in Isidore’s *Etymologiae* or the explanations provided by Servius in his commentaries to the *Aeneid*. However, there is no exact sentence matching the one found in the *Liber historiae Francorum* in any of the previous works. It is reported that the Trojans were ‘brave and strong’ and warrior peoples. The Trojan War is related very briefly and not in a conventional manner. No reason is given for the war itself apart from the ambiguous phrasing where

it is stated that the Greeks ‘rose up’ against the Trojans. The fighting goes on for ten years and again the fall of Troy is described with the rather unusual phrasing of ‘ipsa civitate subacta’ instead of the much more common ‘Troia capta’. The account reports that Aeneas went to Italy to raise more men for the fight; however, there is no mention of what happens to Aeneas afterwards neither there is any reference to Aeneas (or the Trojans) founding Rome or being the ancestor of the Romans.

The three people mentioned as leaders of the Trojans are Aeneas, Priam and Antenor. Unlike Aeneas, Priam and Antenor are reported to have left the city together and with twelve thousand Trojans. The route they took is also different from that of Aeneas. The depiction of the Trojans sailing from the city after the fall and several thousand Trojans following the Trojan leaders is quite similar to the account found in the final chapter of the *De excidio Troiae historia* attributed to Dares of Phrygia.⁵⁷ The reader is also told that they settled down by the border of the Pannonias and that the Trojan-Franks founded a city on the banks of the Tanais. The significance of the version in the *Liber historiae Francorum* with regard to the Trojans founding a city is that this time the author provides a name: Sicambria.⁵⁸ As is discussed below, after its appearance in the *Liber historiae Francorum*, the name Sicambria would then find its way to other accounts.

It may be argued that the version of the story of the origin of the Franks in the *Liber historiae Francorum* is in fact rather similar to those found in the *Chronicle of Fredegar* but only in its general framework. Like the author of the *Chronicle of Fredegar*, the author of the *Liber historiae Francorum* also provides a route for the Trojans after the fall of the city but this version includes different checkpoints. In both works, the Trojans/Franks are mentioned founding a city for the memory of Troy and

⁵⁷ Chapter 44 of the *De excidio Troiae historia* ends as follows: ‘Aeneas navibus profectus est, in quibus Alexander in Graeciam ierat, numero viginti duabus: quem omnis aetas hominum secuta est in milibus tribus et quadringentis. Antenorem secuti sunt duo milia quingenti, Helenum et Andromacham mille ducenti.’: ‘Aeneas, who was followed by three thousand and four hundred men of every age, departed with ships, which Alexander had went to Greece, twenty-two in number. Two thousand five hundred followed Antenor and a thousand two hundred Helenus and Andromache.’

⁵⁸ The name Sicamber or Sicambria is found in sources from the first century BCE onwards in relation to people inhabiting the area around the Rhine. Alexandre Eckhardt traces Sicambria in later literature in his *De Sicambria à Sans-Souci: histoires et légendes franco-hongroises* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1943). See especially ‘Sicambria, capital légendaire des français en Hongrie’, pp. 11–51. From the fourth century onwards, Sicambria seems to have been associated exclusively with the Franks. See Gerberding, *Rise of the Carolingians*, pp. 20–22 and Coumert, *Origines des peuples*, pp. 282–83.

the Trojans, but in the *Liber historiae Francorum*, the location and the name of the city are also provided. The most notable difference, however, is that in the *Liber historiae Francorum* there is no mention of other peoples; even the Romans are not explicitly associated with the Trojans even though anyone reading this account at the time would be expected to make the connection through Aeneas. The sole interest of the author of the *Liber historiae Francorum* nevertheless remains to be the Franks and their origins, that is, their Trojan origins.

McKitterick states that the author of the *Liber historiae Francorum* ‘contrives [...] to convey a sense of Frankish superiority even over the early Romans’ and that is why Aeneas ‘is provided with the significantly pejorative epithet of tyrant (*tyrannus*)’.⁵⁹ However, the use of the word ‘tyrannus’ does not necessarily mean disapproval of the author. Throughout the short chapter, Aeneas’s name is mentioned four times and only the fourth time he has the epithet ‘tyrannus’; only after he is in Italy. And, as is known, Aeneas fights with the local people in Italy and usurps the power so the epithet is only fitting. Furthermore, as underlined by Fanning, the usage of *tyrannus* in Latin is rather wide and ‘the question of the difference between a *rex* and a *tyrannus* is far less obvious’.⁶⁰ This must have been the case for the contemporaries of the author of the *Liber historiae Francorum* as well. The key evidence for this assumption is the changes made to this passage in the so-called B recension. In this version, it is seen that in all the four cases when Aeneas’s name is mentioned he is now identified as ‘rex’, which means that the word ‘tyrannus’ in the last mention is also replaced with ‘rex’. Thus, in the B recension, ‘regnavit Aeneas’ turns into ‘regnavit rex Aeneas’, ‘adversus Aeneam’ into ‘adversus Aeneam regem Troianorum’, ‘fugit itaque Aeneas’ into ‘fugit autem Aeneas rex’, and finally ‘fugit Aeneas tyrannus’ into ‘fugit Aeneas rex’. This alteration, the clarification of Aeneas as ‘rex’, is one of the most important alterations made in relation to the passages about the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks in the B recension.

The second chapter narrates the conflicts between the Alans and the Romans and how the Trojans/Franks become involved:

⁵⁹ McKitterick, *History and Memory*, pp. 10–11. The same line of thought is also pursued in Philipp Dörler, ‘The *Liber Historiae Francorum* – A Model for a New Frankish Self-Confidence’, *Networks and Neighbours*, 1 (2013), 23–43 (especially pp. 29–31).

⁶⁰ Steven Fanning, ‘Rex and Tyrannus in Roman Historiographical Tradition – Livy, Cicero, Josephus and Gildas’, *Majestas*, 6 (1998), 3–18.

Eo itidem tempore gens Alanorum prava ac pessima rebellaverunt contra Valentinianum imperatorem Romanorum ac gentium. Tunc ille exercitum movit hostem magnam de Roma, contra eos perrexit, pugnam iniit superavitque eos atque devicit. Illi itaque caesi super Danubium fluvium, fugierunt et intraverunt in Meotidas paludes. Dixit autem imperator: 'Quicumque potuerit introire in paludes istas et gentem istam pravam eicerit, concedam eis tributa donaria annis decim'. Tunc congregati Troiani, fecerunt insidias, sicut erant edocti ac cogniti, et ingressi in Meotidas paludes cum alio populo Romanorum, eieceruntque inde Alanos percusseruntque eos in ore gladii. Tunc appellavit eos Valentinianus imperator Francos attica lingua, hoc est feros, a duritia vel audacia cordis eorum. (Chapter 2)

At this time, the depraved and evil *gentes* of Alans revolted against Valentinian, emperor of the Romans and the *gentes*. He then raised a very large army from Rome and went against them, entered into battle with them, overcame and conquered them. Having been defeated, they fled beyond the river Danube and entered the Maeotian swamps. Then the emperor said: 'Whoever is able to enter this swamps and throw out this depraved *gentes*, I will concede them the donatory tribute for ten years.' Then having gathered together, the Trojans prepared ambushes in the way they had been taught and knew and entered the Maeotian swamps along with the other people of Romans, and they drove the Alans out and cut them down with the edge of the sword. Then, because of the hardness and bravery of their hearts, the emperor Valentinian called them the Franks, which in the Attic language means fierce.

Even though the chapter begins with the phrase 'eo itidem tempore', the narrative jumps from the time of the fall of Troy, that is, from the twelfth century BCE, to the fourth century CE. It is reported that the Alans have revolted against the Romans during emperor Valentinian's time and that the Trojans are recruited to drive them out from the Maeotian swamps. Wood states that 'it may not be chance that the *Liber Historiae Francorum* names the emperor who called the followers of Priam Franks as Valentinian'.⁶¹ Reminding the account of Ammianus Marcellinus who mentions Burgundians as 'consanguines' with the Romans in the context of a diplomatic communication by Valentinian I, who asked for their help against Macrianus, king of the Alamanni, who was later reported to be killed by the Franks, Wood argues that 'perhaps the Franks and the Burgundians both gained the epithet 'Trojan' at this time'.⁶² According to the account in the *Liber historiae Francorum*, due to their bravery against

⁶¹ Wood, *Merovingian Kindoms*, p. 34.

⁶² See Ammianus, *History*, III (1940), XXVIII.5.11 and XXX.3.7. See also the discussion in Chapter 1 above.

the Alans, emperor Valentinian then gives the Trojans the name ‘Franks’. The reader also learns that the name *Francus* comes from the word ‘feros’ in ‘attica lingua’ and that is why the people are called the Franks. Thus, the author of the *Liber historiae Francorum* explains where the name ‘Francus’ comes from without needing to *invent* a king called Francio like the author of the *Chronicle of Fredegar* does.

Nevertheless, what the author of the *Liber historiae Francorum* does is not something new. The explanation of how the Franks got their name is already found in the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville. After stating that ‘the Franks are thought to have been named after a certain duke of theirs’, Isidore also mentions that ‘Alii eos a feritate morum nuncupatos existimant. Sunt enim in illis mores inconditi, naturalis ferocitas animorum’: ‘others reckon that they were named for the ferocity of their behaviour, for their behaviour is wild, with a natural fierceness of spirit’ (IX.2.101). Still, the need to explain the origin of the name of the people by the authors of both the *Chronicle of Fredegar* and the *Liber historiae Francorum* is noteworthy. It should also be mentioned that in the B recension of the *Liber historiae Francorum*, the sentence that begins with ‘tunc congregati Troiani’ is amended as ‘tunc congregati Franci, qui fuerant de Troia eiekti’, that is, it is clarified that these ‘Trojans’ are in fact ‘the Franks who had been driven out of Troy’.

The third chapter tells what happens after the end of the ten-year period and how the Franks decided to rise up against the Roman tax collectors:

Igitur post transactos decim annos misit memoratus imperator exactores una cum Primario duce de Romano senatu, ut darent consueta tributa de populo Francorum. Illi quoque, sicut erant crudeles et inmanissimi, consilio inutile accepto, dixerunt ad invicem: ‘Imperator cum exercitu Romano non potuit eicere Alanos de latibulis paludarum, gentem fortem ac rebellem; nos enim, qui eos superavimus, quor solvimus tributa? Consurgamus igitur contra Primarium hunc vel exactoribus istis percutiamusque eos et auferamus cuncta quae secum habent et non demus Romanis tributa et erimus nos o iugiter liberi’. Insidiis vero praeparatis, interfecerunt eos. (Chapter 3)

Therefore after ten years had passed, the above-mentioned emperor sent tax collectors together with Duke Primarius from the Roman senate in order to collect the customary tax from the people of the Franks. They, however, because they were wild and uncivilized, having taken counsel to their own detriment, said one to another, ‘The emperor with the Roman army was not able to eject the Alans, a strong and defiant people, from their hiding places in the marshlands. Why then should we, who conquered them, pay tribute? Let us therefore rise up against this Primarius and these collectors and let us

destroy them and let us not pay taxes to the Romans and we shall be perpetually free.’ And indeed they prepared ambushes and killed them.

As is seen, the third chapter focuses on the ‘rebellion’ of the Franks against the Romans. The emphasis on the Franks wanting to be free is reminiscent of the accounts in the *Chronicle of Fredegar*. It is also the first time that the author calls the Franks a ‘populus’. The fourth chapter continues with the emperor’s efforts to suppress the Franks:

Audiens hec imperator, in furore et ira nimis succensus, praecepit hostem commovere Romanorum et aliarum gentium cum Arestarco principem militiae, direxeruntque aciem contra Francos. Fuit autem ibi atragea magna de uterque populo. Videntes enim Franci, quod tantum exercitum sustinere non possint, interfecti ac cesi, fugierunt; ceciditque ibi Priamus eorum fortissimus. Illi quoque egressi a Sicambria, venerunt in extremis partibus Reni fluminis in Germaniarum oppidis, illucque inhabitaverunt cum eorum principibus Marchomire, filium Priamo, et Sunnone, filio Antenor; habitaveruntque ibi annis multis. Sunnone autem defuncto, acciperunt consilium, ut regem sibi unum constituerent, sicut ceterae gentes. Marchomiris quoque eis dedit hoc consilium, et elegerunt Faramundo, ipsius filio, et elevaverunt eum regem super se crinitum. Tunc habere et leges coeperunt, quae eorum priores gentiles tractaverunt his nominibus: Wisowastus, Wisogastus, Arogastus, Salegastus, in villabus quae ultra Renum sunt, in Bothagm, Salechagm et Widechagm. (Chapter 4)

When the emperor heard this he was consumed with fury and great anger. He ordered an army of Romans and other peoples with Aristarcus, the *princeps militiae*, to be assembled and sent it against the Franks. And there was a great slaughter of each army. The Franks, who were being cut down and killed, saw that they could not resist such a great army and took to flight. Priam, the bravest of them, fell there. They therefore left Sicambria and came to the farthest reaches of the river Rhine in the strongholds of Germania. And here they settled with their leaders Marchomir, Priam’s son, and Sunno, the son of Antenor, and they lived there for many years. When Sunno died, they took counsel to establish one king for themselves just as other *gentes* had. Marchomir gave them this advice and they elected his son, Pharamund, and raised him over them as their long-haired king. Then they began to keep the laws negotiated by the leaders of the people named Wisowastus, Arogastus, and Salegastus in their dwelling places beyond the Rhine, in Bothagm, Salechagm, and Widechagm.

The reader learns that as a result of the clashes with the Romans, the Franks had to leave Sicambria and that they have now reached the banks of the Rhine. Now that Priam is dead, the Franks are under the rule of their *princeps*, Marchomir and Sunno. The names of these leaders are already mentioned by Gregory of Tours in his *Libri*

historiarum as *duces*: ‘Eo tempore Genobaude, Marcomere et Sunnoneo ducibus Franci in Germaniam prorupere’: ‘At that time, the Franks invaded Germania under their leaders Genobaud, Marchomir and Sunno’ (II.9). Gregory of Tours states that he has found this account in Sulpicius Alexander’s *Historia*. As is discussed in Chapter 3 above, this information is also included as part of the *Scarpsum de Cronica Gregorii* in the *Chronicle of Fredegar*. However, the author of the *Liber historiae Francorum* leaves out Genobaud, and makes Marchomir and Sunno sons of Priam and Antenor respectively. After the death of Sunno, the Franks decide to have one *rex* like other *gentes*: ‘Sunnone autem defuncto, acciperunt consilium, ut regem sibi unum constituerent, sicut ceterae gentes’. Even though Marchomir’s son Pharamund, a direct descendant from the Trojan lineage, gets to be the king of the Franks, the reader is assured that the Franks ‘elected’ him. That the Franks raised Pharamund ‘as their long-haired king’ is also derived from Gregory of Tours’s *Libri historiarum*. Gregory records that the Franks had ‘long-haired kings chosen from the foremost and most noble family of themselves’: ‘regis crinitos super se creavisse de prima et [...] nobiliore suorum familia’ (II.9).

A similar emphasis, that the Franks elected their long-haired king from the lineage of Priam is also found in the *Chronicle of Fredegar*: ‘Franci electum a se regi, sicut prius fuerat, crinitum, inquirentes diligenter, ex genere Priami, Frigi et Francionis super se creant nomen Theudemarem, filium Richemeris’: ‘The Franks, diligently seeking, elected from among themselves a long-haired king as they had before, from the stock of Priam, Frigas, and Francio, chose the one by the name of Theudemar, the son of Richimer’ (III.9).⁶³ Thus, even though the author of the *Liber historiae Francorum* does not mention Frigas or Francio/Francus as king of the Franks, s/he nevertheless also makes the elected king of the Franks a direct descendant of Priam.

The fifth chapter of the *Liber historiae Francorum* provides the transition from the ancient history of the Franks to the reign of the Merovingians:

Mortuo quippe Faramundo rege, Chlodionem, filium eius crinitum, in regnum patris sui elevaverunt. Id temporis crinitos reges habere coeperunt. Venientesque sagaciter in finibus Toringorum, ibique resederunt. Habitavit itaque Chlodio rex in Disbargo castello in finibus Toringorum regionem

⁶³ For a more detailed discussion of the *reges criniti*, see Max Diesenberger, ‘Hair, Sacrality and Symbolic Capital in the Frankish Kingdoms’, in *The Construction of Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Corradini, Diesenberger, and Reimitz, pp. 173–210.

Germaniae. In illo tempore in his partibus citra Renum usque Ligere fluvio habitabant Romani, ultra Ligere quoque Gothi dominabantur. Burgundiones itaque paganissimo in Arriana doctrina prava tenebantur, inhabitantes iuxta Rodanum fluvium, quae adiacet Lugdunum civitate. Chlodio autem rex misit exploratores de Disbargo castello Toringorum usque ad urbem Camaracum. Ipse postea cum grande exercitu Renum transiit, multo Romanorum populo occidit atque fugavit. Carbonaria silva ingressus, Turnacensem urbem obtenuit. Exinde usque Camaracum civitatem veniens, illicque resedit pauco temporis spacio; Romanos quos ibi invenit interficit. Exinde usque Sumnam fluvium occupavit. Chlodione rege defuncto, Merovechus de genere eius regnum eius accepit. Regnavit Chlodio annis 20. Ab ipso Merovecho rege utile reges Francorum Merovingi sunt appellati. Eo tempore Chuni Renum transierunt, Mettis succenderunt, Treveris destruunt, Tuncrus pervadunt, usque Aurilianis perveniunt. Id temporis sanctus Anianus episcopus virtutibus praeclarus. Veniente ad eum Egecio patricio Romanorum et Tursomodo rege Gothorum, auxiliante Domino, Chuni ab ipsa civitate, orante sancto Aniano, cum Attelane eorum rege devicti atque prostrati sunt. (Chapter 5)

After King Pharamund died, they raised up into his father's kingdom his long-haired son Chlodio. From this time, they began to have long-haired kings. Coming wisely to the borders of Thuringia, they settled there. Accordingly, King Chlodio lived in the stronghold at Disbargo on the borders of the Thuringian region of Germania. At that time, the Romans lived on the other side of Rhine up to the river Loire and the area beyond the Loire was dominated by the Goths. The pagan Burgundians who were in the grasp of the depraved Arian doctrine lived near the river Rhone, which runs by the city of Lyons. King Chlodio, however, sent spies from this Thuringian stronghold at Disbargo to the city of Cambrai. Thus he crossed the Rhine with a large army; he killed and chased away many people of the Romans. Then he entered the Charbonniere forest, took the city of Tournai, and came up to the city of Cambrai where he remained for a short time; he killed the Romans whom he found there. Afterwards, he occupied the land up to the river Somme. After Chlodio died, Merovech who was from his *genus* took over his kingdom. Chlodio reigned for twenty years. From this suitable king Merovech, the kings of the Franks are called the Merovingians. It was at this time that the Huns crossed the Rhine. They burned Metz, they destroyed Trier, penetrated the area around Tongres, and came up to Orleans. At this time, the holy Anianus, a man celebrated for his virtue, was bishop of Orleans. With the help of the Lord and through the prayers of the holy Anianus, Aetius, the Patrician of the Romans and Thorismud, the king of the Goths, came to Orleans. The Huns and their king Attila were driven from the city and soundly defeated.

Before continuing to narrate the more recent history of the Franks, in the beginning of the fifth chapter, it is made clear that the line of Trojan rulers and the custom of having long-haired kings continued among the Franks: 'Mortuo quippe Faramundo rege, Chlodionem, filium eius crinitum, in regnum patris sui elevaverunt. Id

temporis crinitos reges habere coeperunt.’: ‘After King Pharamund died, they raised up into his father’s kingdom his long-haired son Chlodio. From this time, they began to have long-haired kings.’ Thus, even though through a different parentage, much like the account found in *Scarpsum de Cronica Gregorii* in the *Chronicle of Fredegar*, Chlodio’s lineage is expressly tied to Priam, the first king of the Trojans in the *Liber historiae Francorum*. On the other hand, different from the *Chronicle of Fredegar*, Merovech is only mentioned to be from the same *genus* with Chlodio and not directly his son. Nevertheless, this maintains the line of the Trojan rulers and the family of the Merovingians is once again tied to Merovech and to the Trojans.⁶⁴ Similar to the *Chronicle of Fredegar*, that the kings of the Franks are called the Merovingians after Merovech is also underlined. The rest of the chapter relates to the other peoples living in the region and the undertakings of Chlodio and Merovech as well as their dealings with these peoples.

As Fouracre and Gerberding state, the *Liber historiae Francorum* ‘was written while a Merovingian king still ruled over the Franks and by someone geographically very close to the political centre of that realm’.⁶⁵ Despite it was a Merovingian production, the *Liber historiae Francorum* widely circulated during the Carolingian times. It was not only merely copied but also used as part of larger historical compendia, three of which are discussed in more detail below and in Chapter 5. Not only that, very shortly after its composition, it began to be used by other authors in various ways. As is discussed below, some of these authors directly utilised the version of the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks found in the *Liber historiae Francorum*. Others, even though they clearly had access to the *Liber historiae Francorum* and used it as a source for other parts of their histories, preferred different versions of the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks or interpolated different details from more than one account.

⁶⁴ For a discussion of the use of the word ‘Franci’ and what it means in the *Liber historiae Francorum*, see Wood, ‘Defining the Franks’, in *Concepts of National Identity*, ed. by Forde, Johnson, and Murray, pp. 47–57 and Reimitz, *History, Frankish Identity*, pp. 240–51.

⁶⁵ Fouracre and Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France*, p. 79.

4.2 Ps. Jerome's *Aethici philosophi Scythae cosmographia*

The *Aethici philosophi Scythae cosmographia* is presented as a series of excerpts from the writings of a philosopher Aethicus and the author claims to be Hieronymus, that is, St Jerome himself. That the work is not in fact composed by Jerome is mainly demonstrated by the use of later sources such as those by Isidore of Seville and Orosius as well as the *Liber historiae Francorum*.⁶⁶ Throughout the work, which is mostly designed as a travelogue, not only past and contemporary events are represented as simultaneous but also 'real' and 'fictional' places exist side by side. Herren argues that 'essentially, the writer employed the fictional technique of the "found work", best exemplified in Late Antiquity from the books that go under the names of Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis'.⁶⁷ However, in the *Cosmographia*, the author/translator of the found work maintains her/his presence throughout the work with various interventions and comments unlike the discoverers of the *De excidio Troiae historia* or the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani*.⁶⁸ With regard to the dating and origin of the work, the dating of identifiable sources as well as the stories that might have been derived from contemporary events is utilised.⁶⁹ In light of these, Herren argues that the *Cosmographia* was composed in a 'continental centre' in the second quarter of the eighth century, and his hypothesis is that the work was completed in Bobbio in 730s.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ For a detailed discussion of sources, see Herren, 'Introduction', in *Cosmography of Aethicus Ister*, ed. and trans. by Herren, pp. xi–cxiii (pp. xxxiii–lv). See also Michael W. Herren, 'The "Greek Element" in the Cosmography of Aethicus Ister', *The Journal of Medieval Latin*, 11 (2001), 185–201.

⁶⁷ Herren, 'The "Cosmography" of Aethicus Ister. Speculations About Its Date, Provenance, and Audience', in *Nova de veteribus. Mittel- und neulateinische Studien für Paul Gerhard Schmidt*, ed. by Andreas Bihrer and Elisabeth Stein (Munich: K. G. Saur, 2004), pp. 79–102 (p. 81). He further argues that the *Cosmographia* reflects the genre known as philosophical novel; however, he also admits that the tradition is not known to have existed in Latin Antiquity (pp. 88–89). See also Herren, 'Introduction', in *Cosmography of Aethicus Ister*, ed. and trans. by Herren, pp. xi–cxiii (p. liv).

⁶⁸ For a discussion of genre and style of authorship, see especially Michael W. Herren, 'The *Cosmography* of Aethicus Ister: One More Latin Novel?', in *Fictional Traces: Receptions of the Ancient Novel*, ed. by Marília P. Futre Pinheiro and Stephen J. Harrison, Ancient Narrative. Supplementum, 14.1, 2 vols (Groningen: Barkhuis Publishing and Groningen University Library, 2011), I, 33–54

⁶⁹ For parallel contemporary events, see Herren, 'Introduction', in *Cosmography of Aethicus Ister*, ed. and trans. by Herren, pp. xi–cxiii (pp. lv–lxi).

⁷⁰ For arguments about Bobbio see Herren, 'Introduction', in *Cosmography of Aethicus Ister*, ed. and trans. by Herren, pp. xi–cxiii (pp. lxi–lxxiii); for the dating, see especially pp. lxi, lxxvii, civ. See also Herren, 'The "Cosmography" of Aethicus Ister', pp. 79–102 (especially pp. 101–02).

Both Prinz and Herren agree that the orthography of *Cosmographia* resembles the orthography of the seventh- and eighth-century Merovingian texts.⁷¹ Furthermore, Herren believes that the author of *Cosmographia* was ‘a Frank who absorbed some Irish influences on his literary “accent” rather than the other way around’, that is, the author was not an Irish under the influence of Frankish culture.⁷² Regardless of whether or not the author was *a* Frank, it is clear that s/he

grew up in Francia and underwent his schooling there. He learned to write what is called Merovingian Latin, and read works written by Gaulish or Merovingian writers such as Avitus and Fredegar as well as other authors such as Orosius commonly known in the West.⁷³

Despite his conviction on the identity and the background of the author, Herren argues that ‘the author displayed no interest in the events that take place in the West or in the politics of the Frankish or Lombard kingdoms’. He further expresses his doubt—to put it mildly—about the ‘author’s interest in the origin of the Franks’.⁷⁴ The author of the *Cosmographia* might not have been interested in the politics per se, but that s/he was interested in the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks, and, at the very least, interested in the contemporary intellectual exchange on this particular issue is clear.

There are thirty-five identified witnesses of the *Cosmographia*, fifteen of which are dated to before the twelfth century (see Table 4.2).⁷⁵ A number of these witnesses include a shorter version of the work.⁷⁶ This is not however a summary or an epitome in that this short version is just an incomplete version that includes only the first forty-

⁷¹ Prinz, ‘Einleitung’, in *Kosmographie des Aethicus*, ed. by Prinz, pp. 1–79 (pp. 29–25) and Herren, ‘The “Cosmography” of Aethicus Ister’, pp. 79–102 (pp. 85–88).

⁷² Herren, ‘The “Cosmography” of Aethicus Ister’, pp. 79–102 (p. 92).

⁷³ Herren, ‘The “Cosmography” of Aethicus Ister’, pp. 79–102 (p. 99).

⁷⁴ Herren, ‘Introduction’, in *Cosmography of Aethicus Ister*, ed. and trans. by Herren, pp. xi–cxiii (p. lxxiv).

⁷⁵ This number is taken from the most recent study on the transmission of the work: Giovanni Orlandi, ‘Aethicus Ister’, in *Te.Tra.*, ed. by Chiesa and Castaldi, III, 3–13. For a list and discussion of manuscripts, see also Prinz, ‘Einleitung’, in *Kosmographie des Aethicus*, ed. by Prinz, pp. 1–79 (pp. 53–69) and Herren, ‘Introduction’, in *Cosmography of Aethicus Ister*, ed. and trans. by Herren, pp. xi–cxiii (pp. c–cix). Even though they use the same eight manuscripts for their respective editions, Prinz provides a list of twenty-six other witnesses; however, he does not claim the list to be complete. Elsewhere, Herren mentions that it was transmitted in ‘nearly fifty copies’; however, I was not able to find such a list. See Herren, ‘The “Cosmography” of Aethicus Ister’, pp. 79–102 (p. 102).

⁷⁶ Prinz, ‘Einleitung’, in *Kosmographie des Aethicus*, ed. by Prinz, pp. 1–79 (pp. 60–61) and Herren, ‘Introduction’, in *Cosmography of Aethicus Ister*, ed. and trans. by Herren, pp. xi–cxiii (p. civ).

three chapters. Some of the later manuscripts were clearly copied from an incomplete copy, and therefore it should be assumed that a number of witnesses never included the work in its entirety. On the other hand, these incomplete versions do not seem to derive from a single exemplar and are found in different recensions of the work from very early on.⁷⁷

Table 4.2 Earliest Witnesses of the *Aethici philosophi Scythae cosmographia*

Manuscript	Date	Origin
Leipzig, UB, Repos. I 4° 72 ⁷⁸	before 783	Freising, Germany
Oxford, BoL, Junius 25 ⁷⁹	VIII ^{ex}	Murbach, France
Admont, StiB, Fragm. C 472 ⁸⁰	VIII ^{ex}	Salzburg, Austria
St Gall, StiB, Cod. Sang. 133 (Part II) ⁸¹	VIII ^{ex} /IX ⁱⁿ	St Gall, Switzerland
Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Aug. 8° 80.6 ⁸²	c.800	Saint-Amand Abbey (?), France
Leiden, UBL, VLF 113 (Part I) ⁸³	IX ^{3/4}	Tours, France

⁷⁷ The earliest witness of the short version is St Gall, StiB, Cod. Sang. 133 (Part II). See the partial stemma provided in Prinz, ‘Einleitung’, in *Kosmographie des Aethicus*, ed. by Prinz, pp. 1–79 (p. 61) and the revised version in Herren, ‘Introduction’, in *Cosmography of Aethicus Ister*, ed. and trans. by Herren, pp. xi–cxiii (p. cviii). Relationships between the manuscripts, albeit in a much smaller scale, are also considered by Krusch in ‘Origo Francorum duplex: Aethici Istri cosmographi et codicis Bonnensis legis Salicae’, in *Passiones vitaeque sanctorum aevi Merovingici (V)*, ed. by Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison, MGH SRM, 7 (Hannover: Hahn, 1919–1920), pp. 517–28 (pp. 521–22).

⁷⁸ Bischoff, *Südostdeutschen Schreibschule*, I, 77–78; Lowe, *CLA*, VIII, no. 1228.

⁷⁹ Lowe, *CLA*, II, no. 242 and *Bibliothekskataloge*, ed. by Lehmann and others, I, 224. Bischoff (*Katalog*, II, p. 364, no. 3799) remains doubtful about Murbach and assigns it to south-western Germany.

⁸⁰ Winfried Stelzer, ‘Ein Alt-Salzbürger Fragment der Cosmographie des Aethicus Ister aus dem 8. Jahrhundert’, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 100 (1992), 132–49. See also Herren, ‘Introduction’, in *Cosmography of Aethicus Ister*, ed. and trans. by Herren, pp. xi–cxiii (pp. cii–ciii).

⁸¹ Lowe, *CLA*, II, no. 65 and VII, no. 911. See also Bischoff, *Katalog*, III, p. 308, no. 5591.

⁸² Bischoff, *Katalog*, III, p. 501, no. 7302 and *Südostdeutschen Schreibschule*, I, 259; II, 64, 103–104. Lowe, *CLA*, IX, no. 1378. The codex was later at St Emmeram, Regensburg. The beginning of this witness is missing. However, Munich, BSB, Clm 901, fols 145r–168r, which is dated to 1483, is a direct copy of this manuscript and includes the missing beginning. On the reliability of this later copy, see Herren, ‘Introduction’, in *Cosmography of Aethicus Ister*, ed. and trans. by Herren, pp. xi–cxiii (pp. cii–ciii).

⁸³ Bischoff, *Katalog*, II, pp. 55–56, no. 2209.

Manuscript	Date	Origin
Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 1260 (Part IV) ⁸⁴	X	Fleury, France
Berlin, StaB, lat. fol. 175 (Phillipps 1788) + Paris, BNF, lat. 7561 (Part VI) ⁸⁵	X	Clermont, France
Leiden, UBL, SCA 69 ⁸⁶	X ²	Abbey of St Augustine, Canterbury, UK
London, BL, Cotton Vespasian B X ⁸⁷	X ^{ex} /XI ⁱⁿ	Worcester (?), UK
Leiden, UBL, VLQ 29 ⁸⁸	XI ^{1/4}	Gaul (?), France
Montpellier, BIM, H 374 ⁸⁹	XI	?
Paris, BNF, lat. 4808 ⁹⁰	XI	Moissac, France
Paris, BNF, lat. 4871 ⁹¹	XI	?
San Lorenzo de El Escorial, RBE, L.III.33 ⁹²	XI	St Peter's Abbey, Ghent, Belgium

From among the witnesses that are dated to the eighth and ninth centuries, the two earliest witnesses, Leipzig, UB, Repos. I 4° 72 and Oxford, BoL, Junius 25, both of which date to the late eighth century, and the ninth-century Leiden, UBL, VLF 113 are complete. Admont, StiB, Fragm. C 472 is a fragment of the very end of the work on a bifolium. St Gall, StiB, Cod. Sang. 133 (Part II) and Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Aug. 8° 80.6, on the other hand include the shorter version. As mentioned, Herren believes that the archetype of the work was composed on the continent. Indeed all the eighth- and ninth-century witnesses are from the continent, and the majority of these are specifically from southern part of Germany.

⁸⁴ Mostert, *Fleury*, p. 280, no. BF1485. See also Bischoff, *Katalog*, III, p. 439.

⁸⁵ Prinz, 'Einleitung', in *Kosmographie des Aethicus*, ed. by Prinz, pp. 1–79 (pp. 62, 66).

⁸⁶ Prinz, 'Einleitung', in *Kosmographie des Aethicus*, ed. by Prinz, pp. 1–79 (pp. 63–64).

⁸⁷ Prinz, 'Einleitung', in *Kosmographie des Aethicus*, ed. by Prinz, pp. 1–79 (pp. 63–64).

⁸⁸ de Meyier, *Codices Vossiani Latini*, II, 78–79.

⁸⁹ *CGM*, I (1849), 435.

⁹⁰ Prinz, 'Einleitung', in *Kosmographie des Aethicus*, ed. by Prinz, pp. 1–79 (pp. 65–66).

⁹¹ Prinz, 'Einleitung', in *Kosmographie des Aethicus*, ed. by Prinz, pp. 1–79 (p. 66).

⁹² This witness includes an excerpt that is different from the short version. Prinz, 'Einleitung', in *Kosmographie des Aethicus*, ed. by Prinz, pp. 1–79 (p. 67).

The Trojans and Troy appear rather occasionally in the *Cosmographia*.⁹³ Apart from Chapter 102 and 103, where the Trojans are linked to Francus, Troy is mentioned in relation to a certain kind of ship that was reported to be used during the siege in Chapter 57 and in relation to a geographical description in Chapter 74. It is also reported that the Amazons pillaged Troy and the surrounding area in Chapter 68. Chapter 102 opens up with the calamities brought to the region of Pannonia by the Romans. The author then narrates in some detail Romulus's doings, where he mentions Francus:

Nec multo post obiurgantes mutuo nepotes cum auo, consurrexitque Romulus super auum, Numitorem interfecit, regnum sagaciter et adroganter usurpauit. Euandriae urbis muros et moenia ampliauit, ipsam nimpe urbem a suo uocabulo Romam nuncupauit. Ipse uero post auum fratricida extetit, Remum necauit; spurcicia omni deditus et uxoria, freniticus pellexatur nefarius. Commoto exercitu Romanorum aui crudelitatem arreptus Lacedemones crudeliter debellauit, Pannoniam uastauit, Semoen transiit, post primam euersionem Troiae secundus cruentator peraccessit. Cum Franco et Vasso, qui ex regia prosapia remanserant, certando demicauit ipsosque superatos Illium dinuo captam remeauit ad urbem.

Not long afterwards the grandsons [Romulus and Remus] were quarrelling by turns with their grandfather. Romulus rose up against his grandfather, slew Numitor and shrewdly and impudently usurped the kingdom. He expanded the walls and fortifications of Evander's city and called this very city Rome after his own name. The same man after his grandfather became a fratricide and slew Remus; a mad and wicked womanizer, he was given to every kind of filth and debauchery. Taking to himself his grandfather's cruelty and rousing the Roman army, he savagely defeated the Lacedemonians, devastated Pannonia, crossed the Simois, and came against Troy as a second butcher after its first destruction. He waged a struggle against Francus and Vassus, who were survivors of the royal line, and after beating them and capturing Illium again returned to the capital. (Chapter 102)

In the passage, the Trojan War is not explicitly mentioned but implied with the description of Romulus 'as a second butcher after its first destruction'. Francus and Vassus, on the other hand, are only described as 'ex regia prosapia' in relation to the attacks on Troy. The following chapter continues with the struggle between Romulus and the supporters of Francus and Vassus:

⁹³ Krusch separately edits these parts contained in the *Cosmographia*. See 'Origo Francorum duplex, in *Passiones vitaeque sanctorum aevi Merovingici (V)*, ed. by Krusch and Levison, pp. 517–28 (pp. 525–27).

Francus enim et Vassus foedus apud Albanos patrauerant, mutuo mouentes exercitum contra Romulum. Montana Histriae transeuntes fixerunt tentoria, contra quos Romulus castra obponit. Cum Franco et Vasso dinuo bellaturus properauit in montem sacrum arasque lovis famosissimas. Praeparantur ad aciem perduellis hostes inuicem demicantes. Romulus post cruentissimam stragem, sicut maximum mouerat exercitum, uictor extetit debellaturosque superauit. Francus et Vassus caesum cernentes exercitum cum paucis qui remanserant per fugam lapsi euaserunt. Albani prostrati atque deuicti, qui euadere potuerant a caede maxima, reuersi[que] sun ab propria. Francus, ut diximus, et Vassus uidentes se superatos, terra autem adflicta et uastata in solitudineque redacta, relinquentes propria cum paucis sodalibus, sed uiris expeditis, pulsus a sede statim Retia penetrantes, ad inuia et deserta Germaniae peruenerunt. Leuaque Meotidas paludes demittentes more praedonum pyrraticum et strofosum atque latronum degentes, urbem construunt, <quam> Sichambriam barbarica sua lingua nuncupant, id est gladio et arcum, more praedonum externorumque posita.

Francus and Vassus concluded a treaty with the Albanians, with each side dispatching its army against Romulus. Crossing the mountains of Istria they pitched their tents; Romulus established a camp facing them. Before waging renewed war against Francus and Vassus, he hastened to the sacred mountain and the most famous altars of Jupiter. The hostile armies contending against each other prepare for battle. As he had brought forward the largest army, Romulus was victorious and defeated those warring [against him] after a most bloody slaughter. Seeing that their army had been cut down, Francus and Vassus slipped away and fled with the few who had remained standing. After being beaten and laid low, those of the Albanians who were able to escape from the tremendous slaughter returned to their own territory. Francus and Vassus, as we said, seeing themselves defeated and their land ruined, devastated and reduced to a desert, abandoning their territory with a few companions, yet the readiest men, driven from their homeland, straightaway invaded Rhetia and reached the pathless and uninhabited parts of Germany. And descending to the Maeotian swamps on the left, and living in the piratical and deceitful manner of raiders and thieves, they construct a city and name it Sicambria in their barbarous tongue, which means ‘the sword and the bow’, situating [it] in the manner of brigands and aliens. (Chapter 103)

Despite the somewhat dismissive depiction of Francus (and Vassus), few things need to be underlined. First, the author of the *Cosmographia* was familiar with the association of the Franks/Francus with the Trojans. Second, even though the author clearly had access to the *Liber historiae Francorum*, s/he did not utilise the version of the story found in there. Furthermore, the author uses verbatim phrases from the *Liber historiae Francorum* in these very chapters including the foundation of Sicambria. It should be mentioned however that the etymology given here is unique to this account. The author’s familiarity with the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks could be due

to the time spent in Frankish regions and centres or it could be just because the author read the *Liber historiae Francorum* even though s/he decided not to narrate the story contained there.

Another interesting aspect of the story as found in the *Cosmographia* is that the combination of ‘Francus and Vassus’ as heirs of the Trojans is only found in one other work, the *Historia de origine Francorum* attributed to Dares of Phrygia, which is discussed below. However, since the date of neither work is securely known, it cannot be assumed that the author of the *Cosmographia* was familiar with the *Historia de origine Francorum* or vice versa. It should also be mentioned that the author of the *Cosmographia* does not associate the Romans with the Trojans. Furthermore, it depicts the Turks, who are clearly associated with both the Trojans and the Franks in the *Chronicle of Fredegar*, in a rather negative way in Chapters 62–64 and does not relate them to either the Trojans or the Franks in any way.⁹⁴ Nevertheless, the appearance of Francus as a descendant of the Trojans in *Cosmographia* is significant as an indication of the engagement with the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks at a relatively early date.

4.3 The *Historia vel gesta Francorum*

As briefly discussed in Chapter 3 above, the contents of the *Chronicle of Fredegar* were re-arranged and the accounts in the final part of the work were extended to include the events until about 768. This eighth-century compilation is entitled the *Historia vel gesta Francorum* after a unique colophon found in one of the witnesses, Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 213. It should be mentioned however that this title is a modern attribution and that it was never used as a title per se for the entirety of the compilation during the Middle Ages.⁹⁵ It is assumed that there are two stages in the composition of the *Historia*

⁹⁴ For a discussion of the depiction of the Turks in the *Cosmographia*, see Ian N. Wood, ‘Aethicus Ister: An Exercise in Difference’, in *Grenze und Differenz im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. by Walter Pohl and Helmut Reimitz, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Denkschriften, 287, Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, 1 (Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000), pp. 197–208.

⁹⁵ For the title, date and authorship of the compilation, see Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*, especially pp. 82–96.

vel gesta Francorum.⁹⁶ In the first stage, the *Chronicle of Fredegar* was rearranged and was continued to 751 using the *Liber historiae Francorum*. This is thought to be commissioned by Childebrand (brother of Charles Martel). This work was then continued under the commission of his son Nibelung until about 768.

What is important for the present study is the fact that the compilers of the *Historia vel gesta Francorum* clearly had access to the *Liber historiae Francorum*. There is no reason to think that they did not have the complete text, regardless of the version they might have had, as there is no manuscript evidence to suggest that parts of the *Liber historiae Francorum* circulated separately. Thus, they had access to all three versions of the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks: the two that were already included in the *Chronicle of Fredegar* as excerpts from Jerome's and Gregory's works respectively and the one that opened the *Liber historiae Francorum*. Yet, they made absolutely no attempt to revise those parts of the *Chronicle of Fredegar* and to integrate the information found in the *Liber historiae Francorum*.

There are thirty-nine identified witnesses of the *Historia vel gesta Francorum*.⁹⁷ Seven of these witnesses, one of which is dated to the late fifteenth or the early sixteenth century, are considered major witnesses in that they include more or less the complete text.⁹⁸ Six of these early witnesses are dated to from the beginning of the ninth century through the beginning of the eleventh century. Further two early witnesses, Dillingen, StuB, XV Fragm. 1 and Munich, BSB, Clm 29445/1, are in a fragmentary state; the first of these is part of a single folio and the latter a bifolium. There are two other early witnesses: Leiden, UBL, VLQ 20 (Part I), which only includes selected parts of the work, and Hague, KB, 74 J 24 [921], which only includes a short quotation from the final lines of Book II.6. This gives a total of ten witnesses dated to before the twelfth century (see Table 4.3).

⁹⁶ Krusch had argued for three stages of composition: Chapters 1–17, 18–34, and 35–54. See, Krusch, 'Die Chronicae des sogenannten Fredegar II', pp. 421–516 (pp. 495–515).

⁹⁷ The most recent study is Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*, see especially pp. 96–139. See also Krusch, 'Die Chronicae des sogenannten Fredegar', pp. 247–351 (especially pp. 294–326).

⁹⁸ This late manuscript is Munich, BSB, Clm 4352 (Part I). For a detailed description, see Collins, *Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 104–06.

Table 4.3 Earliest Witnesses of the *Historia vel gesta Francorum*

Manuscript	Date	Origin	Contents
Dillingen, StuB, XV Fragm. 1 ⁹⁹	IX ^{1/3}	eastern Switzerland (?)	fragment; parts of IV.25–27
Montpellier, BIM, H 158 ¹⁰⁰	IX ^{2/4}	Burgundy (?), France	incomplete; end missing
Troyes, BMu, 802 (Part II) ¹⁰¹	IX ¹	Fulda, Germany	incomplete; end missing
London, BL, Harley 3771 ¹⁰²	IX ^{med}	Cologne (?), Germany	incomplete; end missing
Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 213 ¹⁰³	IX ^{3/4}	Abbey of Saint- Remi, Reims, France	complete
Milan, BSA, M 13 ¹⁰⁴	IX ^{3/4}	northern Italy	incomplete; end missing
Munich, BSB, Clm 29445/1 ¹⁰⁵	IX ²	southern Germany	fragment; parts of II.27–30 ¹⁰⁶
The Hague, KB, 74 J 24 [921] ¹⁰⁷	IX ^{ex} /X ⁱⁿ	north-eastern France (?)	quotation; part of II.6

⁹⁹ Bischoff, *Katalog*, I, p. 218, no. 1009 and Collins, *Fredegar-Chroniken*, p. 110.

¹⁰⁰ Bischoff, *Katalog*, II, p. 203, no. 2840 and Collins, *Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 106–07.

¹⁰¹ Bischoff, *Katalog*, III, p. 384, no. 6258. For a detailed description, see Collins, *Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 99–100; however, Collins misquotes Bischoff and dates the manuscript to the second half of the ninth century (p. 100).

¹⁰² Bischoff (*Katalog*, II, p. 121, no. 2478) dates the manuscript to the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century and provides the origin possibly as eastern France. However, Wallace-Hadrill, referring to a correspondence with Bischoff revises the dating and provides the localisation as possibly Cologne in his ‘Introduction’, in *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar*, pp. ix–lxvii (p. li). See also Collins, *Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 102–04.

¹⁰³ For a detailed description, see Collins, *Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 96–99. For the dating, see Bischoff (*Katalog*, III, p. 425, no. 6641), who only gives France as the localisation. However, Frederick M. Carey assigns the manuscript to Reims and furthermore to the period between 825 and 845 in ‘The Scriptorium of Reims During the Archbishopric of Hincmar (845–882 A.D.)’, in *Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of Edward Kennard Rand, Presented Upon the Completion of His Fortieth Year of Teaching*, ed. by Leslie Webber Jones and Frederick M. Carey (New York: L. W. Jones, 1938), pp. 41–60 (p. 57).

¹⁰⁴ Bischoff, *Katalog*, II, pp. 166–67, no. 2663 and Collins, *Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 100–02.

¹⁰⁵ Bischoff, *Katalog*, II, p. 291, no. 3468 and Collins, *Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 110–11.

¹⁰⁶ Four other bifolia, which were destroyed in 1944, were also related to this fragment. For details, see Collins, *Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 110–11.

¹⁰⁷ Bischoff, *Katalog*, I, p. 299, no. 1432 and *Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 113–14. See also *Fredegarii et aliorum chronica*, ed. by Krusch, p. 230.

Manuscript	Date	Origin	Contents
Leiden, UBL, VLQ 20 (Part I) ¹⁰⁸	X	Tours, France	incomplete, parts of II.1–7, II.56–57
Paris, BNF, lat. 4883A (Part II) ¹⁰⁹	XI (?)	Arnac (?), France	incomplete; beginning missing

Of the remaining twenty-eight witnesses out of thirty-nine, eight of the witnesses include various selections from the text. Of these eight, five witnesses form a group in themselves as they all include selections from Continuations, 1–33, all attached to the *Liber historiae Francorum* with no acknowledgement (see Table 4.4). The remaining three that include selections are late examples to be included when considering the early transmission of the work.¹¹⁰ Seven of the witnesses, all of which are again late, dated to the twelfth century or after, include a selection from the *Historia vel gesta Francorum* (II.57–62) under the title of *Gesta Theoderici regis*, again all found with the *Liber historiae Francorum*.¹¹¹ Thirteen of the witnesses, which are classified as the ‘Gregory/Fredegar hybrid’, on the other hand, contain sections that derive from the *Historia vel gesta Francorum*. Despite the fact that this compilation was composed at an early date, c.800, and that there are surviving early witnesses, as discussed briefly in Chapter 3, since the ‘Gregory/Fredegar hybrid’ does not contain passages related to the Trojan narrative, these witnesses are not taken into consideration in the present study.¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ Collins, *Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 112–13. See also, Mostert, *Fleury*, p. 98, no. BF334. Bischoff (*Katalog*, II, p. 57, no. 2215) dates the manuscript to the second or the third quarter of the ninth century.

¹⁰⁹ Collins provides a compelling argument for this witness being a composite manuscript and argues that the part that contains the *Historia vel gesta Francorum* is separate from the rest of the manuscript. He thus questions both the dating and the localisation in *Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 107–09; however, he does not offer any alternatives.

¹¹⁰ These late witnesses are Vienna, ÖNB, 613 [hist. prof. 991], Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Guelf. 139 Gud. lat. and Paris, BNF, lat. 7531. Note that the last witness reads wrongly as lat. 7351 in both *Fredegarii et aliorum chronica*, ed. by Krusch, p. 14 and Collins, *Fredegar-Chroniken*, p. 130.

¹¹¹ These are Graz, UB, 454 [42/59 f°], Graz, UB, 926 [33/52 4°], Graz, UB, 882 [37/21 4°], Karlsruhe, BLB, U. H. Fragm. 16 [Aug. V], Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 549, Vienna, ÖNB, 57 [hist. prof. 230], Vienna, ÖNB, 3334 [univ. 838]. For a brief discussion of manuscripts, see Krusch, ‘Die Chronicae des sogenannten Fredegar’, pp. 247–351 (p. 319–20). Krusch discusses six of the seven manuscripts, which are also listed in Collins, *Fredegar-Chroniken*, p. 130; however, in the latter shelfmarks read wrong. All seven witnesses are also briefly discussed as part of the witnesses of the *Liber historiae Francorum* in *Fredegarii et aliorum chronica*, ed. by Krusch, pp. 223–24 (see nos. 15–21).

¹¹² For those witnesses that are classified as the ‘Gregory/Fredegar hybrid’, see Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 114–23.

Table 4.4 Witnesses of the Continuations of the *Liber historiae Francorum* with the *Historia vel gesta Francorum*¹¹³

Manuscript	Date	Origin
Paris, BNF, lat. 10911 (Part II)	IX ^{2/4}	Liège, Belgium or Fleury, France (?)
Vienna, ÖNB, 473	IX ² (c.869)	Saint-Amand, France
Saint Petersburg, RNB, lat. F. v. IV 4	X ^{ex} –XI ⁱⁿ	northern France
Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 616	XI ¹ (?)	France (?)
St Gall, StiB, Cod. Sang. 547 ¹¹⁴	c.1200	St Gall, Switzerland

Those witnesses that include the *Liber historiae Francorum* that are extended with a selection of passages from the *Historia vel gesta Francorum* deserve a special mention (see Table 4.4). Three of these five witnesses are thought to be related to each other: Paris, BNF, lat. 10911 (Part II), Saint Petersburg, RNB, lat. F. v. IV 4 and St Gall, StiB, Cod. Sang. 547.¹¹⁵ Krusch considers them as descending from the same exemplar in his examinations for the edition of the *Liber historiae Francorum* and assigns these to group A3.¹¹⁶ All these three witnesses indeed continue the *Liber historiae Francorum* with Chapters 10–24 of the ‘Continuations’ of the *Chronicle of Fredegar*, bringing the narrative all the way up to the death of Charles Martel in 741. Furthermore, both Paris, BNF, lat. 10911 (Part II) and Saint Petersburg, RNB, lat. F. v. IV 4 continue with the *Annales regni Francorum*, which then takes up the narrative from the year 741 to 837.¹¹⁷ Saint Petersburg, RNB, lat. F. v. IV 4 also includes a genealogy of the Frankish kings beginning with Priam and Pharamund on fols 3r–39r.

¹¹³ For details of date and origin of the first four witnesses, see Table 4.1 above.

¹¹⁴ Collins, *Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 128–29.

¹¹⁵ For most recent descriptions and discussions of these manuscripts, see Collins, *Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 124–26, 126–28 and 128–29 respectively. For Paris, BNF, lat. 10911 see also Reimitz, ‘Der Weg zum Königtum’, in *Der Dynastiewechsel von 751*, ed. by Becher and Jarnut, pp. 277–320.

¹¹⁶ *Fredegarii et aliorum chronica*, ed. by Krusch, pp. 222–23 (see nos. 8, 9 and 11). There is an eighteenth-century witness (no. 10) that Krusch also considers to be a part of this group; this manuscript was not taken into consideration. See also Table 4.1 above.

¹¹⁷ *Annales regni Francorum inde ab a. 741 usque ad a. 829, qui dicuntur Annales Laurissenses maiores et Einhardi*, ed. by Friedrich Kurze, MGH SRG, 6 (Hannover: Hahn, 1895). For a discussion of recensions, see ‘Praefatio’, pp. v–xix.

Even though this part is added in a twelfth-century hand, it does nevertheless point to the continuous use of the manuscript and endorsement of the Trojan lineage. Dated to the beginning of the thirteenth century, St Gall, StiB, Cod. Sang. 547 is a very late witness for it to be taken into consideration in the present study. It is, however, a rather interesting and large collection of historical works including those of Orosius, Jerome, Paul the Deacon and Bede in addition to this ‘extended’ version of the *Liber historiae Francorum*.

With regard to Vienna, ÖNB, 473, on the other hand, Krusch does not even assign a *siglum*, considering it to be too removed from the rest of the surviving witnesses of the *Liber historiae Francorum* though he classifies it among the B recension.¹¹⁸ However, its early date, if nothing else, makes this codex an important witness and it has since then received a lot of attention from scholars.¹¹⁹ The manuscript comprises a reworking of Chapters 1–43 of the *Liber Historiae Francorum* followed by Chapters 1–24 of the ‘Continuations’, the *Annales regni Francorum*, an extract from Einhard’s *Vita Karoli* and the *Genealogica domus Carolingicae*.¹²⁰ Even though this witness also has the *Annales regni Francorum* added after the *Liber historiae Francorum* like Paris, BNF, lat. 10911 (Part II) and Saint Petersburg, RNB, lat. F. v. IV 4, it is difficult to imagine that they all had the same exemplar as not only the *Liber historiae Francorum* but also the *Annales regni Francorum* are of different recensions. Before the text of the *Liber historiae Francorum* commences on fol. 91r, there is a summary of the Book of Genesis, beginning on fol. 90r as follows: ‘Ante omne tempus omnem que creaturam condidit di angelos animam et mundi formam’. With this short addition which precedes the *Liber historiae Francorum*, which in turn continues with no break, the compilation

¹¹⁸ *Fredegarii et aliorum chronica*, ed. by Krusch, p. 233.

¹¹⁹ See especially Helmut Reimitz, ‘Ein karolingisches Geschichtsbuch aus Saint-Amand. Der Codex Vindobonensis palat. 473’, in *Text - Schrift - Codex: quellenkundliche Arbeiten aus dem Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, ed. by Christoph Egger and Herwig Weigl, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung. Ergänzungsband*, 35 (Vienna: R. Oldenbourg, 2000), pp. 34–90; Rosamond McKitterick, ‘L’idéologie politique dans l’historiographie carolingienne’, in *La royauté et les élites dans l’Europe carolingienne: (du début du IXe aux environs de 920)*, ed. by Régine Le Jan, Centre d’Histoire l’Europe du Nord-Ouest, 17 (Lille: Université Charles-de-Gaulle/Lille 3, 1998), pp. 59–70; McKitterick, ‘Political Ideology in Carolingian Historiography’, in *Uses of the Past*, ed. by Hen and Innes, pp. 162–74; McKitterick, *History and Memory*, especially pp. 121–23 and 215–16; Collins, *Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 123–24.

¹²⁰ The first part of the codex includes the *Liber pontificalis* (fols 1v–65v) and the *Epistola de revelatione sancti Stephani* (fols 85v–88v). Even if these two parts were put together at an early stage, palaeographical evidence suggests two different stages of composition. See Collins, *Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 126–28.

creates a continuous history from the Creation with an explicit focus on the history of the Franks, particularly that of the Carolingians. Thus, the compilation as a whole almost achieves the same effect as that of the *Chronicon universale*, which is discussed in detail in Chapter 4.5 below. Finally, the recently (re)discovered eleventh-century witness, Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 616, offers yet another combination: the *Liber Historiae Francorum* is followed by Chapters 22–33 of the ‘Continuations’.

As Collins points out,

composite texts which may have nothing original in their contents but represent reworking of earlier materials for new contemporary purposes need to be treated as reverently and with as much attention as the ‘uncontaminated’ manuscripts of the mainstream of the traditions of works such as Gregory’s *Histories*, Fredegar, and the *Liber Historiae Francorum*.¹²¹

In the context of the Trojan narrative, this is especially true for this set of manuscripts, in which one finds a ‘contaminated’, ‘extended’ version of the *Liber historiae Francorum*. These manuscripts bear witness that the compilers of these versions had access to different versions of the story but were content to keep only one of them, the version as told in the *Liber historiae Francorum*, with no interpolation from the other versions. As it will be discussed below, this was not always the case. Nevertheless, the evidence points to continuous exchange of information among *Chronicle of Fredegar*, the *Liber historiae Francorum* and the *Historia vel gesta Francorum*.

4.4 Dares of Phrygia’s *Historia de origine Francorum*

Ill-deserved as this celebrity was, it can easily be accounted for, if we remember the way in which western Europeans loved to trace their descent from Troy. In France or England, accordingly, this pretended work of the Trojan priest of Hephaestus came to be regarded as the earliest authority on their own *origines*.¹²²

¹²¹ Roger Collins, ‘The Frankish Past and Carolingian Present in the Age of Charlemagne’, in *Am Vorabend der Kaiserkrönung: Das Epos ‘Karolus Magnus et Leo papa’ und der Papstbesuch in Paderborn 799*, ed. by Peter Godman, Jörg Jarnut, and Peter Johanek (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2002), pp. 301–22 (p. 321).

¹²² J. H. Lupton, ‘Dares Phrygius’, *The Classical Review*, 4 (1890), 273.

As harsh as this evaluation may be, and even though it in fact targets the *De excidio Troiae historia* attributed to Dares of Phrygia, it is a curious phenomenon that there is such a work entitled the *Historia de origine Francorum* which is also attributed to Dares of Phrygia. Described as ‘miserably dry’ (‘miserable sécheresse’) and a ‘sad specimen of Merovingian literature’ (‘triste échantillon de la littérature mérovingienne’) by Paris, the first editor of the work, the *Historia de origine Francorum* is unquestionably the most neglected work by modern scholars in the present study.¹²³ Found today only in the same witnesses to the *Historia vel gesta Francorum* discussed above (see Table 4.3), neither the date nor the author of this short work is known. In essence, for the most part, it tells the same story the *De excidio Troiae historia* tells.¹²⁴ However, not only it is shortened but also many details are omitted, changed or simply miscopied. For example, Agamemnon’s brother and Helen’s husband is Memnon instead of Menelaus, and there is no Neoptolemus but a Triptolemus.¹²⁵ The divergences between the two texts are so great in number that even though he maintains that the *Historia de origine Francorum* agrees on the essential points with the *De excidio Troiae historia*, Paris argues that the work must have been abridged from memory.¹²⁶ Similarly, Jung states that ‘son récit ne remonte pas à un Darès développé, comme on l’a soutenu, mais doit avoir été composé de mémoire’.¹²⁷ In addition to this very heavy redaction and rewriting of the *De excidio Troiae historia*, a number of new elements about the story of the Trojan origin of the Franks are introduced into the narrative in the *Historia de origine Francorum*.¹²⁸

¹²³ Paris, ‘*Historia Daretis Frigii de origine Francorum*’, [ed. by] Paris, pp. 129–44 (pp. 131, 137).

¹²⁴ See Chapter 2 above. Paris ponders about whether the *Historia de origine Francorum* and the *De excidio Troiae historia* were independently abbreviated from another, more comprehensive source, which is now lost, yet eventually decides that the ‘inaptitude of the compiler and the barbarism of his style’ not to mention ‘his exceptional ignorance’ prevents him from reaching a conclusion. See ‘*Historia Daretis Frigii de origine Francorum*’, [ed. by] Paris, pp. 129–44 (pp. 131–32).

¹²⁵ Further examples are provided in Paris, ‘*Historia Daretis Frigii de origine Francorum*’, [ed. by] Paris, pp. 129–44 (pp. 130–37). See also Jung, ‘L’histoire grecque: Darès et les suites’, in *Entre fiction et histoire*, ed. by Baumgartner and Harf-Lancner, pp. 185–206 (p. 190).

¹²⁶ Paris, ‘*Historia Daretis Frigii de origine Francorum*’, [ed. by] Paris, pp. 129–44 (pp. 130–31).

¹²⁷ Jung, ‘L’histoire grecque: Darès et les suites’, in *Entre fiction et histoire*, ed. by Baumgartner and Harf-Lancner, pp. 185–206 (p. 190).

¹²⁸ A detailed and comparative study of the two works has to remain for a future work.

Following the abridged version of the *De excidio Troiae historia*, towards the end of the narrative, the *Historia de origine Francorum* moves on to the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks:

Adeo ad Pherecides indolem prepropere revertamur. Pherecides genuit alium Frigionem. Idem Frigio solertissimus in robore armatoria extetit, annos 63 principatum gentis suae rexit. Belligerator valedissimus cum vicinis regionibus demicans, usque Dalmaciae fines proeliando vastavit. Qui Frigio genuit Franco et Vasso elegantissimis pueris adque efficaces. Defuncto giture Frigione iuniore, genitore eorum, itidem germani tirannidem mutuo arripiunt; arma bellica instanter sumentes, ad aciem sevissime nimia agilitate proritant.¹²⁹

As mentioned above, the only other work to state Francus and Vassus as heirs of the Trojans as early as the eighth century is the *Cosmographia*. Whereas Francus and Vassus are only described as ‘ex regia prosapia’ (‘of the royal line’) in the *Cosmographia*, in the *Historia de origine Francorum* the reader learns more about their lineage: ‘Pherecides genuit alium Frigionem. [...] Qui Frigio genuit Franco et Vasso elegantissimis pueris adque efficaces’ (Pherecides begat another Frigio. [...] This Frigio begat Francus and Vassus, the most elegant and efficacious boys).¹³⁰ Even though this short passage seems to provide more details in comparison to the *Cosmographia*, it raises more questions than it gives answers. For example, not only this ancestor of the Franks, Pherecides, is otherwise unaccounted for before its appearance here, but also the fact that the reader is introduced an ‘alium Frigionem’ without a mention of any other Frigio is confusing.

Even though the *Historia de origine Francorum* appears to be an integral part of the *Historia vel gesta Francorum* and has been treated as such in modern scholarship, when the manuscript evidence is considered, this seems unlikely.¹³¹ Paris argues that the ‘second continuator’ of the *Chronicle of Fredegar* inserted the *Historia de origine Francorum* into the compilation.¹³² Collins, on the other hand, argues that this short work was specifically composed for the *Historia vel gesta Francorum* even though he accepts that the rewriting that went into the *Historia de origine Francorum* is

¹²⁹ ‘*Historia Daretis Frigii de origine Francorum*’, in *Fredegarii et aliorum chronica*, ed. by Krusch, pp. 194–200 (pp. 199–200).

¹³⁰ ‘*Historia Daretis Frigii de origine Francorum*’, in *Fredegarii et aliorum chronica*, ed. by Krusch, pp. 194–200 (p. 199).

¹³¹ Krusch, ‘Die Chronicae des sogenannten Fredegar II’, pp. 421–516 (pp. 512)

¹³² Paris, ‘*Historia Daretis Frigii de origine Francorum*’, [ed. by] Paris, pp. 129–44 (p. 129).

fundamentally different and much more extensive than the other changes introduced in the rest of the compilation.¹³³

There are eight surviving witnesses of the *Historia de origine Francorum* two of which are dated to the end of the Middle Ages.¹³⁴ The remaining six witnesses are dated to from the ninth through the tenth centuries (see Table 4.5). In all of these manuscripts, the work is somehow related to the *Historia vel gesta Francorum*: in five of the witnesses *Historia de origine Francorum* is in fact incorporated to the text of the latter, and in the case of Leiden, UBL, VLQ 20, the fragment includes a selection of texts that contains parts of the *Historia vel gesta Francorum* as well as the full text of the *Historia de origine Francorum*.

Table 4.5 Earliest Witnesses of the *Historia de origine Francorum*¹³⁵

Manuscript	Date	Origin	Folios	Incipit
Troyes, BMu, 802 (Part II)	IX ¹	Fulda, Germany	113v–120r	III. historia daregitis frigii de origine francoru[m]
Montpellier, BIM, H 158	IX ^{2/4}	Burgundy (?), France	14r–20r	III. HISTORIA DARETIS FRIGII DE ORIGINE FRANCORUM
London, BL, Harley 3771	IX ^{med}	Cologne (?), Germany	14r–20v	III. HISTORIA DARETIS FRIGII DE ORIGINE FRANCO[RUM]
Milan, BSA, M 13	IX ^{3/4}	northern Italy	15r–21r	III. HISTORIA DARETIS FRIGII DE ORIGINE FRANCOR[UM]
Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 213	IX ^{3/4}	Abbey of Saint-Remi, Reims, France	17r–25r	HISTORIA DAREGITIS I FRIGII DE ORIGINE FRANCORU[M]
Leiden, UBL, VLQ 20 (Part I)	X	Tours, France	2vb–6rb	HISTORIA DARETIS FRIGII DE ORIGINE FRANCORUM V

¹³³ Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 83–85.

¹³⁴ The later manuscripts are Munich, BSB, Clm 4352 and Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Guelf. 139 Gud. lat., both of which are dated to the fifteenth century. Note that this information reads wrong in Jung, ‘L’histoire grecque: Darès et les suites’, in *Entre fiction et histoire*, ed. by Baumgartner and Harf-Lancner, pp. 185–206 (p. 190): ‘L’*Historia Daretis Frigii* est conservée dans sept manuscrits datables du IXe au XIe, ainsi que dans un manuscrit du XVe siècle’.

¹³⁵ For details of date and origin of the witnesses, see Table 4.3 above.

When the manuscript evidence is considered, it is seen that in all cases the work is clearly ascribed to Dares of Phrygia. Furthermore, the *Historia de origine Francorum* does not fit with the neat three-book structure of the *Historia vel gesta Francorum* discussed above. In all witnesses except for Leiden, UBL, VLQ 20 (Part I), the *Historia de origine Francorum* almost interrupts the first account on the Trojan origins of the Franks and is inserted between Chapters 3 and 4 of the excerpt from Jerome's *Chronicon*. There is a certain degree of confusion on the part of the scribes as to how this text fits in with the list of chapters of the *Scarpsum*, which are copied in all five manuscripts as follows:

1. De rignum Assiriorum.
2. De nativitate Abraham et generationi eius usque ad Moysen.
3. De Moysen et iudecis super Israel.
4. De captivitate Troge et inicium Francorum et Romanorum.
5. De Francione rigi Francorum et Francis.

In Troyes, BMu, 802 (Part II), the *Historia de origine Francorum* is given a chapter number III even though the list of chapters in the beginning of the section is kept to the original list of the *Chronicle of Fredegar*. So the scribe merges the first two chapters into one marking it 'I', and then moves on to the third chapter, marking it 'II' so that s/he can mark this rather long section that contains the *Historia de origine Francorum* as the third chapter. At the end of the *Historia de origine Francorum*, the chapter numbering catches up with the 'original' chapter numbering. In London, BL, Harley 3771 and Milan, BSA, M 13 the *Historia de origine Francorum* is given a chapter number, IIII and III respectively; however, at the end of the section it reads: 'ITEM DE SUPERIORE CHRONICA'. In Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 213, on the other hand, the chapter numbering is kept to the list of chapters and the text of the *Historia de origine Francorum* is inserted as a separate item between the third and fourth chapters. In Leiden, UBL, VLQ 20, the text of the *Historia de origine Francorum* is completely liberated from the *Historia vel gesta Francorum* even though it is copied side by side with selections from the later that are specifically on the Trojan origin of the Franks.

Furthermore, in some witnesses, there seems to be a gap in the narrative towards the end, after about four fifth of the existing text. This is evidenced by a lacuna—an almost entirely blank folio—in Montpellier, BIM, H 158.¹³⁶ Interestingly enough, the connection of the Franks with the Trojans is detailed only after this point in the text, where, for example, a second, ‘another’ Frigio is introduced as the ancestor of the Franks with no mention of a first one. Additionally, Paris believes that not only the beginning of the text but also the end is missing.¹³⁷ Yet, he maintains that the *Historia de origine Francorum* is the work of one person.

Determining the place of the *Historia de origine Francorum* in relation to the broader Frankish historiographical writing certainly requires a more detailed analysis and study of the work. For the purposes of the present study, the apparent significance of the *Historia de origine Francorum* is twofold. First, it is explicitly ascribed to Dares of Phrygia, which places him among the authorities on the subject. Second, based on the manuscript evidence, it provides one of the best examples to show that the early medieval Frankish audience was able to accommodate the differences in the accounts and that three different versions of the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks could circulate together for an extended period of time. Nevertheless, several questions remain: Was this originally a Merovingian or Carolingian production? What kind of impact would this have on modern approaches to the text, given that Merovingian productions such as the *Chronicle of Fredegar* seem to have been heavily utilised by the Carolingians? Was the final part of the work, the part that narrates the Trojan origins of the Franks, not originally intended to be ascribed to Dares of Phrygia? Or, was the *Historia de origine Francorum* a deliberate forgery of another forgery? Did the *Cosmographia* and the *Historia de origine Francorum* use the same source, which is now lost? Or, was the *Historia de origine Francorum* already in circulation in different company when the *Cosmographia* was put down into writing?

¹³⁶ Also noted by Paris, ‘*Historia Daretis Frigii de origine Francorum*’, [ed. by] Paris, pp. 129–44 (p. 135).

¹³⁷ Paris, ‘*Historia Daretis Frigii de origine Francorum*’, [ed. by] Paris, pp. 129–44 (p. 136).

4.5 The *Chronicon universale usque ad annum 741*

The eighth-century chronicle, known as the *Chronicon universale usque ad annum 741*, may be best described as a remarkable, extensive reworking of Chapter 66 of the *De temporum ratione* by the Venerable Bede, also known as his *Chronica maiora* or the *World Chronicle*. Thought to be completed in 725, the *De temporum ratione* is in fact a book about measuring time that focuses on the calculation of the date of Easter along with examples from different calendars.¹³⁸ The precursor of this work was Bede's *De temporibus* dated to 703, a smaller handbook, again on computus which also included another, shorter world chronicle. Much like some other works by Bede, the *De temporum ratione* reached the Continent quickly and began circulating very rapidly.¹³⁹ In addition, Chapter 66 of the *De temporum ratione*, entitled *De sex huius mundi aetatibus* ('Six Ages of This World'), circulated also on its own from very early on both as a mere copy detached from the rest of the work and in extended and expanded versions.¹⁴⁰ Sometimes, the final part of the *De temporum ratione* comprising the Chapters 67–71, which are collectively called 'Future Time and the End of Time', was also attached to these copies containing Chapter 66.¹⁴¹ These final chapters have such a prominent place in the work that Jones even argues that the rest of the *De temporum ratione* was written as an 'extended *pièce justificative*', to borrow Wallis's words, for the *Chronica maiora*.¹⁴² In any case, the *Chronica maiora* enjoyed a continued and

¹³⁸ For Bede's work, see 'De temporum ratione', in *Opera Didascalica*, ed. by C. W. Jones and others, CCSL, 123A, 123B, 123C, 3 vols (Turnhout: Brepols, 1975–1980), II (1977), 263–544. For the translation, see *The Reckoning of Time*, trans. by Faith Wallis, Translated Texts for Historians, 29 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999).

¹³⁹ For a general, rough idea about the circulation of Bede's works, see Max L. W. Laistner, *A Hand-List of Bede Manuscripts* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1943). It should be noted that several errors and omissions have been recorded since the publication of this book; however, it still serves as a useful guide for comprehending the bigger picture.

¹⁴⁰ David Dumville, 'What Is a Chronicle?', in *The Medieval Chronicle II: Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle, Driebergen/Utrecht, 16–21 July 1999*, ed. by Erik Kooper, Costerus New Series, 144 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002), pp. 1–27 (p. 14).

¹⁴¹ For the six-age model and its expansion in the *De temporum ratione*, see Peter Darby, 'The World Ages Framework', in *Bede and the End of Time*, Studies in Early Medieval Britain (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 15–91.

¹⁴² Charles W. Jones, 'Some Introductory Remarks on Bede's Commentary on Genesis', *Sacris Erudiri*, 19 (1969), 115–98 (pp. 194–95) and 'Bede's Place in Medieval Schools', in *Famulus Christi: Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of the Venerable Bede*, ed. by Gerald Bonner (London: S.P.C.K., 1976), pp. 261–85 (p. 268). Wallis seems to oppose this idea altogether in 'Introduction', in Bede, *The Reckoning of Time*, pp. xv–ci (xxxi).

wide circulation in the Frankish region and was especially used as a template for later anonymous compilations.¹⁴³

The *Chronicon universale* is one of the earliest examples of such reworking of Bede's *Chronica maiora* undertaken in the Frankish realm. As it may be deduced from its modern title, beginning with Adam, the *Chronicon universale* narrates the history until the year 741. Utilising the framework of the six ages of the world as well as most of the material already found in Bede's *Chronica maiora*, the anonymous author incorporates a broad range of information from the works of other authors including Eusebius-Jerome, Augustine, Eutropius, Isidore of Seville and Orosius. The author also makes use of the *Liber pontificalis*, the *Liber historiae Francorum* and either the *Chronicle of Fredegar* or the *Historia vel gesta Francorum*. One of the characteristics of the *Chronicon universale* is that the majority of the interpolations are not randomly inserted verbatim from these sources; instead, they are carefully rephrased, reworked and interwoven into the *Chronica maiora* without disrupting its original flow. Another important feature that should be mentioned is that the interpolations primarily serve to expand on Frankish history, which gradually becomes the main focus of the work.

The dating and localisation of the *Chronicon universale* provides a challenge. The last entry in the *Chronicon universale* corresponds to the reign of Emperor Constantine V, to years 741–775; however, there are no indications as to which year of his reign. This is also the reason for the addition of *usque ad annum 741* in the modern title of the work. In light of the incomplete Hebrew and Septuagint datings found in the extant witnesses, Kurze argues that this last entry must refer to the first twenty years of Constantine's reign, hence providing a *terminus ante quem* of 761.¹⁴⁴ Recently, Clazsen narrowed down 'the date of production to somewhere between 751–761'; yet, his entire argument is based not only on the assumption that there was a version of the *Historia vel gesta Francorum* in circulation already by 751 but also that the author had immediate access to it.¹⁴⁵ However, as Clazsen also later discusses, whether the author of the *Chronicon universale* used the *Chronicle of Fredegar* or the *Historia vel gesta*

¹⁴³ For its later impact in the Frankish realm, see, for example, Ildar H. Garipzanov, 'The Carolingian Abbreviation of Bede's World Chronicle and Carolingian Imperial "Genealogy"', *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 11 (2005), 291–98 and Jones, 'Bede's Place in Medieval Schools', pp. 261–85.

¹⁴⁴ Friedrich Kurze, 'Die Karolingischen Annalen des achten Jahrhunderts', *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, 25 (1900), 291–315 (p. 293).

¹⁴⁵ Clazsen, 'Chronicon Moissiacense Maius', I, 54–55.

Francorum is rather doubtful. Thus, the *Chronicon universale* is best placed right in the mid-eighth century, ‘squarely on the demarcation line between Merovingian and Carolingian historiography’.¹⁴⁶

Even though the wide variety of identifiable sources to which the author had access might be of help with regard to dating the *Chronicon universale*, it somewhat works against the efforts of localisation. The first thing that may easily be said is that the place of composition must have been a prominent centre with good connections and a good library. With the scanty and rather circumstantial evidence, Claszén states that ‘the most probable conclusion would be that the composer worked in a scriptorium in Austrasia’.¹⁴⁷ However, this should be understood very broadly and taken with caution.

There are four identified surviving witnesses of the *Chronicon Universale* that are dated to before the twelfth century (see Table 4.6) and the work is related, somewhat complicatedly, to three other works that are usually considered as its continuations: the so-called *Chronicon Moissiacense*, the *Annales Anianense*, and the *Annales Maximiniani*.¹⁴⁸

Table 4.6 Witnesses of the *Chronicon universale usque ad annum 741*

Manuscript	Date	Origin
Leiden, UBL, SCA 28 ¹⁴⁹	c.816	Flavigny, France
Munich, BSB, Clm 246 ¹⁵⁰	IX ^{med}	Weltenburg, Germany
Besançon, BMu, 186 ¹⁵¹	IX ^{3/3}	eastern France
Paris, BNF, 4886 ¹⁵²	XI ^{med} (before 1071)	Ripoll, Spain (?)

¹⁴⁶ Claszén, ‘*Chronicon Moissiacense Maius*’, I, 90.

¹⁴⁷ Claszén, ‘*Chronicon Moissiacense Maius*’, I, 56.

¹⁴⁸ For a discussion of the witnesses of the *Chronicon universale* as well as their relationship to the witnesses of various later annals and chronicles, see Claszén, ‘*Chronicon Moissiacense Maius*’, I, 21–52 and 57–61.

¹⁴⁹ Bischoff, *Katalog*, II, p. 48, no. 2180. See also Claszén, ‘*Chronicon Moissiacense Maius*’, I, 40–42.

¹⁵⁰ Bischoff, *Katalog*, II, p. 221, no. 2924. See also Claszén, ‘*Chronicon Moissiacense Maius*’, I, 43–44.

¹⁵¹ Bischoff, *Katalog*, I, p. 134, no. 627. See also Claszén, ‘*Chronicon Moissiacense Maius*’, I, 45–46.

¹⁵² This is the unique witness of the so-called *Chronicon Moissiacense*. For a detailed description of the manuscript, see Claszén, ‘*Chronicon Moissiacense Maius*’, I, 21–33.

The relationship between the *Chronicon Moissiacense* and the *Annales Anianense* is still debated.¹⁵³ These two works are either separate continuations to the *Chronicon Universale*, or more likely, they descend from the same exemplar that continued the *Chronicon Universale* until the year 818. In either case, each work survives in single witnesses, and the witness of the *Annales Anianense*, Paris, BNF, lat. 5941, is dated to the twelfth century. Furthermore, as it stands today, the text begins with the year 670 in Paris, BNF, lat. 5941 and hence does not include the section of interest to the present study.¹⁵⁴ The *Annales Maximiniani* also survives in a single manuscript. The sole witness, Brussels, KBR, 17349–17360, is a late-eighteenth-century copy of a late-seventeenth-century manuscript, which was in turn copied from a manuscript that was thought to be a product of the era of Charlemagne.¹⁵⁵ As it stands today, the text begins with the year 710 and continues up until 811; thus, this witness also does not include the section of interest to the present study. This manuscript was thought to have contained the full text of the *Chronicon Universale* at one point; however, recent close examination of the surviving portion of the text that corresponds to the *Chronicon Universale* (the entries for the years 710–741) casts doubts on whether or not this is actually a copy of the *Chronicon Universale* and hence calls into question the consideration of the *Annales Maximiniani* as a ‘continuation’.¹⁵⁶ Otherwise, it might point to the existence of the *Chronicon universale* in the vicinity of St Maximin’s in Trier.

As is already briefly mentioned in Chapter 1 above, the Trojan narrative was already a part of the grand narrative of Bede’s *Chronica maiora* and the fall of Troy was used as a chronological marker throughout the work by Bede. Not only other events are given in temporal relation to the fall of Troy with phrases such as ‘post Troianum excidium’, ‘post Troianae captivitatis’, but also significant characters such as Priam are already mentioned in the *Chronica maiora*. Among other reworkings, the author of the *Chronicon universale* first of all expands on these mentions in the following manner:

¹⁵³ Claszen, ‘*Chronicon Moissiacense Maius*’, especially I, 56–57 and 62–66.

¹⁵⁴ For a detailed description, see Claszen, ‘*Chronicon Moissiacense Maius*’, I, 33–38.

¹⁵⁵ For a detailed discussion of the manuscript, see Claszen, ‘*Chronicon Moissiacense Maius*’, I, 41–42.

¹⁵⁶ Florence Close, ‘Les annales Maximiniani. Un récit original de l’ascension des Carolingiens’, *Bibliothèque de l’École des chartes*, 168 (2010), 303–325.

Secundum Hebreos iiDCCLXXIII, secundum LXX iiiivIII. Iepte Galaadites annis VI Phlistini et Amanite deprimunt Israhel, ex quibus Amanite debellantur ab Iepte. Qui in Libro Iudicum ab aetatae Moysi usque ad semed ipsum ait supputari annis CCC. Hercules in morbum incidet pestilentem, qui ob remedium doloris se iecit in flammis et sic morte finitus est anno etatis suae LII. Anno ante urbem conditam CCCCXXX Alexander, filius Priami Troiani regis, Elenam rapuit Troianumque bellum decenalem surrexit.¹⁵⁷

In addition to providing more information on the Trojans and Trojan War, the author also integrates the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks into the grand narrative. The story of the Trojan origins of the Franks is found in two sections of the *Chronicon universale* and in each case, the narration is *rewriting* proper. In the first instance, the source of the author is the excerpt of the *Eusebius-Jerome Chronicle* found in the *Chronicle of Fredegar*—and also, in the *Historia vel gesta Francorum*. The author not only carefully reorganises the chapters of the *Scarpsum de Cronica Hieronimi* and weaves them into the *Chronica maiora* but also assigns the story to Jerome at the end of the passage:

Secundum Hebreos iiDCCXCVIII, secundum LXX iiiXXIII. Lapdon de tribu Efraim annis VIII. Huius anno tercio Troia capta est, completis a primum Cecropis, qui primus Athenam regnavit, annis CCCLXXV. XL autem et tercio regno Nini Assiriorum regis annis DCCCXXXV. De captivitate Troiae usque ad primam Olimpiadem fiunt anni CCCCVI. Apud Asyrios regnabat Tautanes annis XXXII, cuius anno XXV Troia capta est. Post tercium annum captivitatis Troiae, sive, ut quidam volunt, octavum, regnavit Eneas annis IIIbus. Ante Eneam Ianus, Saturnus, Picus, Faunus, Latinus in Italia regnavit annis circiter CL. Aeneas et Frigas fertur germani a fuisse. Cum a Troia fugaciter exissent pro ipsa captivitate et inundacione Assiriorum, quorum persecucionem ex ipsa civitate et regione unum exinde regnum Latinorum eriguntur et alium Frigorum, regnavit Aeneas in Latinis, Frigas in Frigia. Post Frigam partiti sunt in duabus partibus. Una pars perrexit in Macedonia, invitati a Macedonibus, qui oppremebantur a gentibus vicinis, ut preberent eis auxilium; cum eis postea coniuncti, in plurima procreatione creverunt; ex ipso genere Macedones fortissimi pugnatores effecti sunt, quod in postremum in diebus Philippi regis et Alexandri, filii sui, fama confirmat illorum fortitudine, qualis fuit. Nam et illa alia pars, quae de Frigia progressa est, per multis regionibus pervagantes cum uxoribus et liberis, electum a se rege Francione nomine, per quem Franci vocantur in postremum, eo quod fortissimus ipse Francio in bellum fuisse fertur, et multo tempore cum plurimis gentibus pugnam gerens, partem Asiae vastans, in Eurupam dirigens, super litore Danuvii fluminis

¹⁵⁷ Underlined parts are already found in Bede's *Chronica maiora*. See Claszen, 'Chronicon Moissiacense Maius', II, 18.

inter Ocianum et Traciam una ex eis ibidem pars resedit, electum a se utique regem nomine Torquoto, per quod gens Torquorum s nomen accepit. Franci huius itineris cum uxoribus et liberis agebant. Dum a Torquoto minuati sunt, parva ex eis manus aderat, inter Renum et Danuvium et mare consederunt. Ibiq̄ue mortuo Francionem, duces ex se constituerunt. Attamen semper alterius dicione negantes, multo post tempore cum ducibus transegerunt. Actenus Hieronimus in chronica sua dicit.¹⁵⁸

From the rest of the reworkings that went into the work, it is clear that the author had access to both the *Liber historiae Francorum* and either the *Chronicle of Fredegar* or the *Historia vel gesta Francorum*.¹⁵⁹ If the author was working from the *Historia vel gesta Francorum*, s/he might have even had the *Historia de origine Francorum* attached to her/his copy. What this means is that three (or, possibly four) versions of the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks were available to the author. However, in this first instance, no attempt has been made to combine these accounts into one. Not only the author does not incorporate any detail taken from the version included in the *Liber historiae Francorum* in this passage, s/he also does not combine the two accounts found in the *Chronicle of Fredegar*. The author only follows the account in the *Scarpsum de Cronica Hieronimi* with no other additions, neither from the rest of the *Chronicle of Fredegar*, nor from the *Liber historiae Francorum* or from any other source. And

¹⁵⁸ Underlined parts are already found in Bede's *Chronica maiora*. This passage is collated from Leiden, UBL, SCA 28, fols 97r–97v and Munich, BSB, Clm 246, fols 21r–22r. It is also found in Paris, BNF, 4886, fols 7v–8r. I did not have access to the Besançon manuscript. Cf. Claszen, 'Chronicon Moissiacense Maius', II, 19. Claszen gives the *Eusebius-Jerome Chronicle* as the source for the insertion of 'De captivitate Troiae [...] Troia capta est'; however, this is already found in the *Chronicle of Fredegar* as part of the excerpt from the *Eusebius-Jerome Chronicle* and the author would not need to refer back to the 'original' *Chronicon*. Since the texts are directly excerpted from the *Chronicle of Fredegar* and the *Liber historiae Francorum*, translations are not repeated here.

¹⁵⁹ For a detailed discussion of sources, see Claszen, 'Chronicon Moissiacense Maius', I, 95–123. It should be noted, however, that Claszen's focus is the larger, reworked narrative of the *Chronicon Moissiacense* and thereby he is specifically interested in the most recent witness to the *Chronicon universale*. Claszen remains doubtful of the use of the *Historia vel gesta Francorum* by stating that 'after the end of Fredegar's Chronicle, the composer [the author of the *Chronicon universale*] turns almost exclusively to the LHF [*Liber historiae Francorum*] for a few folios' (I, 116). He also stresses that there are no identifiable borrowings from neither Book I of the *Chronicle of Fredegar* nor Hilarian's *De cursu temporum* and the *Historia de origine Francorum*, both of which are found in the manuscript witnesses of the *Historia vel gesta Francorum* (I, 92). Nevertheless, he notes a few instances where the 'Continuations' of the *Historia vel gesta Francorum* might have been used (see especially II, 108, 114–116 and 118). The possible borrowings range from Chapters 6 to 30. The likelihood that the author of the *Chronicon universale* did not have access to the *Historia vel gesta Francorum*, of course, goes against Claszen's earlier arguments about providing the year 751 as the *terminus post quem* for the *Chronicon universale* (I, 55).

accordingly, the story is assigned to Jerome's *Chronicon*: 'Actenus Hieronimus in chronica sua dicit'.

At a later part of the *Chronicon universale*, however, after narrating the reign of Emperor Honorius (393–423), the author mentions the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks again. This time, the author rewrites a new account by interweaving the version included as part of the *Scarpsum de Cronica Gregorii* in the *Chronicle of Fredegar* with the version in the *Liber historiae Francorum*:

Franci vero, quorum originem beatus Hieronimus meminit, qualiter a Troia usque ad Renum pervenissent cum rege suo Francione. Quo mortuo, duces ex se constituerunt, nec procul a Reno civitatem ad instar Troiae aedificare conati sunt, quam Sicambriam appellaverunt. Ceptum quidem, sed imperfectum opus remansit. Ibique manserunt annis multis usque ad Valentinianum imperatorem. Quae regnante, gens Alanorum atrocissima rebellavit. Imperator Valentinianus, comoto magno exercito Romanorum, direxit aciem contra eos et superavit eos. Illi autem caesi, super fluvio Danubium fugerunt et intraverunt in Meotidis paludes. Tunc ait imperator: si quis potuerit introire paludes istas et inde eicere gentem hanc Alanorum, concedam eis tributama annis X. Tunc Franci fecerunte ex adverso per ignita latibula, ingressi in Meotides paludes, cum relico exercitoh Romanorum, eiecerunt inde Alanos. Igitur transactis X annis, misit imperator exactores una cum Primario duce ut reciperent praetermissa tributa de populo Franchorum. Illi quoque consilio accepto, dixerunt: Imperator cum exercitoh Romanorum non potuit eicere Alanos de latibula paludarum. Nos autem, qui eos devicimus, cur solvimus tributo Romanis Consurgamus autem contra Primarium hunc vel exactores istos et non demus tributa et erimus iugiter liberi. Tunc insidiantes interfecerunt eos. Haec audiens imperator, ira comotus, exercitum movens contra Francos. Fuitque ibi strages magna de utrumque populumo. Videntes Franci tantum exercitum sustinere non posse, fugerunt. Atque aegressi a Sicambriam, venerunt in extremis partibus Reni fluminis in Germaniarum opidis, illicque habitaverunt cum principibus suis Marcomire et Sunnone.¹⁶⁰

At first glance, it looks as if the major source for this part is *Liber historiae Francorum*; and it indeed is.¹⁶¹ However, a very complex rewriting process is at play. The author begins the story with the excerpt from Gregory's *Libri historiarum*, which begins as follows: 'De Francorum vero regibus beatus Hieronimus, qui iam olym fuerant, scripsit, quod prius Virgilii poetae narrat storia: Priamum primum habuisse regi

¹⁶⁰ Underlined parts are rewritings from the *Liber historiae Francorum*. This passage is collated from Leiden, UBL, SCA 28, fols 97r–97v and Munich, BSB, Clm 246, fols 75r–75v. It is also found in Paris, BNF, 4886, fols 33r–33v. I did not have access to the Besançon manuscript. Cf. Claszen, 'Chronicon Moissiacense Maius', II, 79–80.

¹⁶¹ See the discussion on *Liber historiae Francorum* above.

[...] postea Frigam habuissent regem [...]’ (*Chronicle of Fredegar*, III.2).¹⁶² Instead of copying this sentence verbatim, the author of the *Chronicon universale* writes: ‘Franci vero, quorum originem beatus Hieronimus meminit, qualiter a Troia usque ad Renum pervenissent cum rege suo Francione’. First of all, s/he omits the reference to Virgil, which he does not need.¹⁶³ S/he retains the reference to Jerome, which s/he himself had already included earlier in the work. S/he further edits ‘reges Francorum’ to ‘Franci’, a significant alteration, and thereby states that Troy is the origin of the *people of Franks* and that they came from Troy and not only their kings. S/he also adds the name of the king of the Franks, ‘Francio’, whose name is only mentioned in the *Chronicle of Fredegar* and not in the *Liber historiae Francorum*. The author then continues ‘Quo mortuo, duces ex se constituerunt, nec procul a Reno civitatem ad instar Troiae aedificare conati sunt, quam Sicambriam appellaverunt’. That the Franks established *duces* after the death of Francio is taken from the account in the *Chronicle of Fredegar*; but that they established a city and named it Sicambria is taken from the account in the *Liber historiae Francorum*. Each of these pieces of information is unique to the respective accounts and is not found in the other but the author of the *Chronicon universale* carefully pieces them together.

That the author of the *Chronicon universale* carefully combines the version in the *Scarpsum de Cronica Gregorii* and the version in the *Liber historiae Francorum*, which was also attributed to Gregory especially in the ‘Austrasian’ copies of the work, strongly suggests that s/he tried to streamline the two versions of *Gregory’s account* that were available to her/him. Not only that, the author keeps *Gregory’s reference* to Jerome’s account, which he himself had also already included. Yet, he does not attribute this expanded version of the story to Gregory of Tours; indeed, Gregory is not named as one of the *auctoritas* at all in the *Chronicon Universale*.¹⁶⁴

The *Chronicon universale* is significant in more than one respect. First of all, it attests to use of both the *Chronicle of Fredegar* and the *Liber historiae Francorum*. This means that these two works were in the same scriptorium at the same time by the mid-eighth century, or shortly thereafter. Furthermore, the *Chronicon universale* shows

¹⁶² See the discussion on the *Scarpsum de Cronica Gregorii* of the *Chronicle of Fredegar* in Chapter 3 above.

¹⁶³ Virgil is however mentioned in other parts of the work although not as a source for any of the accounts. See, for example, Claszen, ‘*Chronicon Moissiacense Maius*’, II, 43.

¹⁶⁴ In addition to Jerome, several authors are attributed various parts of the work including Bede, Orosius and Flavius Josephus.

that these two works have not necessarily been seen as two conflicting or competing histories and that the reader could easily integrate the information contained in them to have a fuller understanding of the past. From the way the Trojan narrative is incorporated into the work, it may also be surmised that the author of the *Chronicon universale* not only considers the *Scarpsum de Cronica Hieronimi* as an authoritative work but also regards the story as genuinely narrated by Jerome. Furthermore, the author gives priority to Jerome over Gregory when s/he needs to associate an *auctor* to the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks.

4.6 Paul the Deacon's *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*

Unlike the rest of the works that are discussed in this chapter until this point, the *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus* is securely attributed to a specific author, Paul the Deacon, yet there is arguably little information about the author's life.¹⁶⁵ Of interest here is one of his shorter works, the *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, which is thought to have been commissioned by Angilram, bishop of Metz, during Paul the Deacon's short sojourn in Francia.¹⁶⁶ As far as it is known, Paul himself had no links to Metz and therefore, had no obvious reason to compile an episcopal history for it. However, not only the city of Metz had close associations with the Carolingian family, but also Angilram had been appointed to the office of archbishop by Charlemagne in 784, around the time when Paul composed the *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*.¹⁶⁷ Goffart states that 'as an episcopal history compared to others of the type, Paul's work is skeletal, unsatisfactory, and almost wholly untainted by archival and other local information'.¹⁶⁸ Indeed the *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus* is more interested in using the episcopal history as a

¹⁶⁵ There is plenty written on Paul the Deacon. For his life and other works, see, for example, Walter Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History (A.D. 550–800): Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988), pp. 329–431 and McKitterick, 'Paul the Deacon's *Historia langobardorum* and the Franks', in *History and Memory*, pp. 60–83. Cornford also provides a concise summary of his life: Benjamin Cornford, 'Paul the Deacon's Understanding of Identity, His Attitude to Barbarians, and His "Strategies of Distinction" in the *Historia Romana*', in *Texts and Identities in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 47–60 (especially pp. 47–49).

¹⁶⁶ It is thought that Paul the Deacon was in Francia sometime from 781 or 783 to 786/87. See Kempf, 'Introduction', in *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, ed. and trans. by Kempf, pp. 1–39 (pp. 2–3); McKitterick, *History and Memory*, p. 67.

¹⁶⁷ See Kempf, 'Introduction', in *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, ed. and trans. by Kempf, pp. 1–39 (pp. 4–7 for Angilram at the court of Charlemagne, and p. 8 for the dating of the work).

¹⁶⁸ Goffart, *Narrators of Barbarian History*, p. 373.

framework than actually narrating the biographies of bishops at length. Even though the bishops of Metz are listed throughout the work, most of them are just mentioned in name without any detail. A good portion of the work, on the other hand, is devoted to the life and accomplishments of Arnulf, former bishop of Metz as well as the rest of the Carolingian house including of course Charlemagne, king of the Franks at the time, with whose invitation Paul was in Francia.¹⁶⁹ It is important to note that Arnulf was not only a former bishop of Metz but he had also been sainted; yet, more importantly in this context, he was Charlemagne’s great-great-great-grandfather (see Table 4.8).¹⁷⁰

There are seven surviving witnesses of the *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, three of which are dated to the twelfth century or after (see Table 4.7).¹⁷¹ All of the manuscripts including the later ones were produced either in Metz or its environs. All manuscripts with the exception of the earliest, Bremen, SUB, C 36, also contain an interpolation detailing the miracles of St Clement, which was apparently written at the turn of the eleventh century.¹⁷² As limited as its transmission may be, the *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus* is valuable for the present study because of its involvement in the contemporary reception of and reflection on the Trojan origins of the Franks and not for its possible later influence on other authors or works.

Table 4.7 Earliest Witnesses of the *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*

Manuscript	Date	Origin
Bremen, SUB, C 36 ¹⁷³	IX ^{ex} /X ⁱⁿ	Lorraine or Metz (?), France
Metz, BMe, 494 ¹⁷⁴	XI ⁱⁿ	Abbey of St Arnulf, Metz, France
Paris, BNF, lat. 5294	XI ⁱⁿ	Abbey of St Symphorian, Metz, France
Ghent, UBG, 307	XI ¹	Abbey of St Maximin, Trier, Germany

¹⁶⁹ Goffart argues that Paul was at the court of Charlemagne from 781 to 784 in *Narrators of Barbarian History*, pp. 341–42.

¹⁷⁰ For a discussion of the contents and structure of the work, see Kempf, ‘Introduction’, in *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, ed. and trans. by Kempf, pp. 1–39 (especially pp. 8–10) and Goffart, *Narrators of Barbarian History*, especially pp. 374–77.

¹⁷¹ For a discussion of manuscripts including their dating an origin, see Kempf, ‘Introduction’, in *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, ed. and trans. by Kempf, pp. 1–39 (pp. 33–39).

¹⁷² Kempf, ‘Introduction’, in *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, ed. and trans. by Kempf, pp. 1–39 (pp. 35–36).

¹⁷³ Bischoff, *Katalog*, I, p. 144, no. 679.

¹⁷⁴ *CGM*, V (1879), 184–85.

As one may expect, the Trojan narrative has a very small but significant part to play in the *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*. After dealing with the earlier bishops of Metz, Paul the Deacon begins his account of Arnulf by reporting one of his miracles.¹⁷⁵ Arnulf is described as ‘vir per omnia lumine sanctitatis et splendore generis clarus’ (‘a man glorious in all respects by the light of his sanctity and the fame of his *genus*’) and ‘ex nobilissimo fortissimoque Francorum stemate ortus’ (‘coming from a most noble and powerful Frankish stock’) (pp. 70–71). Furthermore, at the end of the account, the reader learns that this is not an ordinary story; as Paul states

hec ego non a qualibet mediocri persona didici, sed ipso totius veritatis assertore, precelso rege Karolo, referente cognovi; qui de eiusdem beati Arnulfi descendens prosapia ei in generationis linea trinepos extabat.

I learned this story not from a mediocre man, but from the defender of all truth, the lofty king Charlemagne, who descended from the family of Arnulf, and is his great-great-great-grandson. (pp. 72–73)

With this statement, Paul not only refers to his personal connection with the great king himself but also reveals his real purpose: to narrate Charlemagne’s lineage. Immediately after this sentence, ‘he returns to his subject’ and begins with Arnulf’s sons:

Nam venerandus iste vir, ut ad superior redeam, iuventutis sue tempore ex legitimi matrimonii copula duos filios procreavit, id est, Anschisum et Chlodulfum; cuius Anschisi nomen ab Anchise patre Aeneae, qui a Troia in Italiam olim venerat, creditur esse deductum. Nam gens Francorum, sicut a veteribus est traditum, a Troiana prosapia trahit exordium.

To return to my subject: when he was young, this venerable man Arnulf had two sons from a legitimate marriage, namely, Ansegisel¹⁷⁶ and Chlodulf. The name Ansegisel is believed to be derived from Anchises, father of Aeneas, who once came from Troy to Italy. For the *gens Francorum*, as it is told by the ancients, sprang from a Trojan lineage. (pp. 72–73)

¹⁷⁵ This miracle is absent from both the *Vita Arnulfi* and the *Chronicle of Fredegar*, the two sources that extensively talk about Arnulf to which Paul the Deacon might have had access. For the differences in the depiction of Arnulf among the three, see Ian N. Wood, ‘The Use and Abuse of Latin Hagiography in the Early Medieval West’, in *East and West: Modes of Communication: Proceedings of the First Plenary Conference at Merida*, ed. by Evangelos Chrysos and Ian N. Wood, Transformation of the Roman World, 5 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 93–110.

¹⁷⁶ Also known as Ansegisus in modern literature.

This is the first account to name Arnulf's sons, and in doing so to make a connection between Arnulf and Ansegisel who would inevitably lead to Charlemagne.¹⁷⁷ Furthermore, Ansegisel is reported to be named after a prominent Trojan figure, Anchises, father of Aeneas. Aeneas is only mentioned as someone 'once came from Troy to Italy' but the readers of this passage would surely be familiar with both who Aeneas and Anchises are. Indeed Paul himself was certainly aware of the implications of mentioning Aeneas and knew his *Aeneid* very well, not to mention in his *Historia Romana*, which was completed in c.770, Paul details the Trojan origins of the Romans following a variety of sources including those of Livy, Orosius, Virgil and Servius despite the fact that his main source, Eutropius's *Breviarum ab urbe condita*, does not associate the Trojans with the founding of Rome.¹⁷⁸ The reason Paul gives for the naming of Ansegisel as such is even more striking: 'Nam gens Francorum, sicut a veteribus est traditum, a Troiana prosapia trahit exordium'. Paul the Deacon is thus the first author to put the Trojan origins of the Franks as simply as this with no need for further elaboration or justification. He not only reports *gens Francorum* to be of Trojan descent, but also directly links the Carolingian house to the Trojan migrants. Furthermore, in his *Historia Langobardorum*, which he wrote after the *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus* and which is thought to be left unfinished due to his passing, Paul does not only name Ansegisel a son of Arnulf and make the connection with the Trojans but also openly declares him a *maior domus* of *regnum Francorum*.¹⁷⁹

Hoc tempore apud Gallias in Francorum regnum Anschis, Arnulfi filius, qui de nomine Anschise quondam Troiani creditor appellatus, sub nomine maioris domui gerebat principatum.

At this time in Gaul, in the kingdom of the Franks, Ansegisel, the son of Arnulf, who is believed to be named after Anchises the former Trojan, carried out the rule under the title of *maior domus*.

¹⁷⁷ Ian N. Wood, 'Teutsind, Witlaic and the History of Merovingian *precaria*', in *Property and Power in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 31–52 (p. 32).

¹⁷⁸ *Eutropi Breviarium ab urbe condita cum versionibus Graecis et Pauli Landolfique additamentis*, ed. by Hans Droysen, MGH AA, 2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1879); *Pauli Diaconi Historia Romana*, ed. by Amadeo Crivellucci, Fonti per la Storia d'Italia, 51 (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1914).

¹⁷⁹ 'Pauli historia Langobardorum', in *Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum. Saec. VI-IX*, ed. by Ludwig Bethmann and Georg Waitz, MGH SRLI, 1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1878), pp. 12–187, VI.23. For the translation, see *History of the Lombards*, ed. by Edward Peters, trans. by William Dudley Foulke, Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1907; 2003).

The phrasing of Paul in the *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, ‘sicut a veteribus est traditum’, is even more interesting as it implies a long and established tradition yet it does not give any clues as to from where he might have gotten this information. Still, Kempf argues that Paul the Deacon ‘knew’ the *Chronicle of Fredegar* even though he later contradicts himself and states that ‘there is no direct evidence that he [Paul] read the *Chronicle of Fredegar*’.¹⁸⁰ Kempf also contends that ‘the Trojan origins story, and its positive portrayal of Aeneas, point to Fredegar’s text (the *Liber historiae Francorum* portray Aeneas as a *tyrannus* and the ancestor of the Romans, who were from early on opponents to the Franks)’.¹⁸¹ However, as discussed above, this would have been hardly an issue in terms of linking the Franks to the Trojans and would have hardly prevented Paul using the *Liber historiae Francorum*.¹⁸² It is true that there is a now destroyed witness to the *Chronicle of Fredegar* that is thought to be copied in the Abbey of St Arnulf during Angilram’s bishopric, Metz, BMu, 134* dated to c.768–91.¹⁸³ This manuscript seems to have contained Book II of the *Chronicle of Fredegar*, which would have contained the version of the story attributed to Jerome. However, there is no certainty as to Paul having access to this codex or even that he was ever in Metz.

Moreover, even though the connection with the Trojans or Arnulf was not made, Ansegisel is already mentioned in the *Liber historiae Francorum* as Pippin II’s father.¹⁸⁴ This information was also later picked up in the *Historia vel gesta Francorum* (Continuations, Chapter 96). And, by the turn of the ninth century, it would become common even to commence historical works with Pippin II and his descent from

¹⁸⁰ Kempf, ‘Introduction’, in *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, ed. and trans. by Kempf, pp. 1–39 (p. 13 and p. 13, n. 48). Note also the fact that Paul the Deacon does not utilise any information about Arnulf from the *Chronicle of Fredegar* for his *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*. McKitterick, on the other hand, suggests that Paul ‘had probably read the Carolingian edition of the *Chronicle of Fredegar*, and possibly its Continuations’, that is, the *Historia vel gesta Francorum* in her *History and Memory*, p. 67. However, there seems to be only one possible yet contested borrowing from the *Chronicle of Fredegar* in the entirety of Paul’s corpus, and this is from Book IV.9 and is found in Paul’s *Historia Langobardorum*. See Goffart, *Narrators of Barbarian History*, p. 402.

¹⁸¹ Kempf, ‘Introduction’, in *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, ed. and trans. by Kempf, pp. 1–39 (p. 13 n. 48).

¹⁸² Goffart states that the *Liber historiae Francorum* is ‘unlikely to have come to Paul’s notice’ in *Narrators of Barbarian History*, p. 427.

¹⁸³ See Table 3.1 in Chapter 3 above.

¹⁸⁴ Beginning of Chapter 46 reads: ‘Eo quoque tempore, decedente Vulfaldo de Auster, Martinus et Pippinus iunior, filius Anseghiselo a quondam, decedentibus regibus, dominabantur in Austria’: ‘In that time also, Wulfoald having died in Austrasia, Martin and Pippin the younger, son of late Ansegisel, were dominant in Austrasia because the kings had passed from the scene’.

Ansegisel, as exemplified by the *Annales Mettenses priores* and the *Chronicon Laurissense breve*. Equally interesting is that Paul the Deacon knows Gregory of Tours's *Libri Historiarum* and uses it as one of his sources for the *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*. Not only that, he even mentions him by name later in the work.¹⁸⁵ As is discussed in Chapter 3 above, Gregory explicitly rejects to discuss the origins of the Franks, Trojan or otherwise, and hence the statement of Trojan origins of the Franks by Paul becomes all the more significant.¹⁸⁶

As the story develops, the reader learns that Ansegisel is not only the one named after his Trojan ancestors but also he is clearly the better of the two sons. He is both ready to obey his father's wishes as a good son would do and also willing to abandon his riches as an act of piety as a good Christian would do. As a result of his pious actions, not only Ansegisel himself but also his progeny are blessed by Arnulf and therein lies the success of the Carolingians:

Nam et pluriore Anschiso quam reliquerat divitie accesserunt, et ita in eo paterna est constabilita beneficia, ut de eius progenie tam strenui fortesque viri nascerentur, ut non immerito ad eius prosapiam Francorum translatum sit regnum. Et ut hoc agnoscere possis, paucis, animadvertens, docebo. Anchisus genuit Pippinum, quo nihil umquam, potuit esse audacius. Pippinus genuit Karolum, viris omnio fortissimis conferendum, qui inter cetera et magna bella que gessit ita precipue Sarracenos detrivit, ut usque hodie gens illa truculenta et perfida Francorum arma formidet. Hic itaque genuit Pippinum, sapientia nihilominus et fortitudine satis clarum, qui, inter reliqua que patravit, Wascones iamdum Francorum ditioni rebelles cum Waifario suo principe felicitate mira debellavit et subdidit.

For Ansegisel received more riches than he had abandoned, and the paternal benediction came true for him in such a way, and his family gave birth to such strong and vigorous men that the kingship of the Franks was deservedly transferred to his line. So that you may understand, listen, and I will carefully explain it in a few words. Ansegisel sired Pippin, and no one could be bolder than he. Pippin sired Charles, altogether comparable to the bravest men, who, along with the other great ward he waged, so crushed the Saracens in particular that this cruel and treacherous *gens* still fears the Frankish arms. Then Charles sired Pippin, quite famous for his wisdom and no less for his courage, who, among other achievements, vanquished and

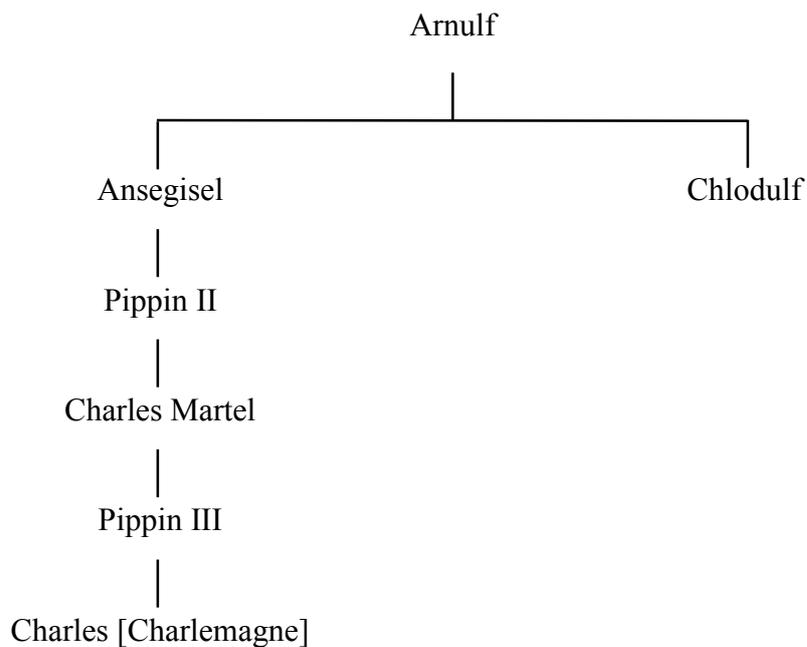
¹⁸⁵ For a reference to Gregory of Tours, see, for example, *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, ed. and trans. by Kempf, pp. 76–77.

¹⁸⁶ It is now known whether Paul had the complete text of Gregory or an abridged version of it. However, not only the original *Libri historiarum* but also all the other different recensions of the work including the six-book version used by the author of the *Chronicle of Fregedar* remain silent about the origins of the Franks.

subdued with extraordinary felicity the Gascons with their prince Waifer, long rebels against the authority of the Franks. (pp. 74–75)

After this, the family line finally reaches Charlemagne, ‘who extended the kingdom of the Franks as never before’.¹⁸⁷ In this passage, in addition to justifying the rule of the Carolingians over the Franks, Paul sketches out the genealogy of the Carolingians (see Table 4.8). Bouchard underlines the fact that in Paul’s ‘account all wives and collateral branches of the family are pared away, so that a simple line of father-to-son descent is presented’.¹⁸⁸ Indeed, the cycle of Pippin-Charles-Pippin-Charles as direct heirs of Ansegisel is very striking in the passage.

Table 4.8 Genealogy of the Carolingians in the *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*



¹⁸⁷ ‘Huius item filius magnus rex Karolus extitit, qui Francorum regnum, sicut nunquam ante fuerant dilatavit.’ *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, ed. and trans. by Kempf, pp. 74–75.

¹⁸⁸ Constance B. Bouchard, ‘Images of the Merovingians and Carolingians’, *History Compass*, 4 (2006), 293–307.

Kempf argues that ‘the glorification of the genealogical ties between Arnulf and Charlemagne in the *Liber* needs to be read as an attempt to foster Metz’s relations to the Carolingians’.¹⁸⁹ However, considered in the broader framework of the development of the Trojan narrative in the eighth century, the implications of ‘the glorification of the genealogical ties’ becomes much more significant than that. With this account, Paul the Deacon not only directly associates the Carolingians with the Trojans, but also, as McKitterick points out, ‘in subsequently describing Charlemagne as the conqueror of Italy and ruler of Rome, he reunites the two branches of the Trojan diaspora’.¹⁹⁰ Furthermore, within only a few years after the composition of the *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, in 787 or 788, the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks is encountered again. In his poem, the author who identifies himself as Hibernicus Exul does not only mention the story but takes it to a step further and makes Charlemagne address the Frankish people after a recent victory as ‘O gens regalis, profectus a moenibus altis Troiae’: ‘O royal nation, sprung from the lofty walls of Troy’.¹⁹¹

Paul continues his account with the accomplishments of Charlemagne as well as providing details with regard to his family.¹⁹² He then states that Charlemagne’s late wife Hildegard as well as his sisters Rothaid and Adelaid and his daughters Adelaid and Hildegard are all buried at St Arnulf ‘pro ego denique, quod a beato Arnulfo iam prefati reges originem ducerent’: ‘because it was there that the kings descending from the blessed Arnulf placed the bodies of those dear to them’ (pp. 76–77). One of the manuscripts, Paris, BNF, 5294, also contains the epitaphs of these five Carolingian women before the final portion of the work that deals with the period between Arnulf

¹⁸⁹ Kempf, ‘Introduction’, in *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, ed. and trans. by Kempf, pp. 1–39 (especially p. 11). For further elaboration of this argument, see also Kempf, ‘Paul the Deacon’s *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus* and the Role of Metz in the Carolingian Realm’, *Journal of Medieval History*, 30 (2004), 279–99.

¹⁹⁰ McKitterick, *History and Memory*, p. 125. See also the discussion in Walter Goffart, ‘Paul the Deacon’s *Gesta Episcoporum Mettensium* and the Early Design of Charlemagne’s Succession’, *Traditio*, 42 (1986), 59–94.

¹⁹¹ ‘Hibernici Exulis et Bernowini carmina’, in *Poetae Latini aevi Carolini (I)*, ed. by Ernst Dümmler, MGH PL, 1 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1881), pp. 393–425 (p. 398, ll. 85–86). For a partial translation and discussion, see Mary Garrison, ‘The Franks as the New Israel?: Education for an Identity from Pippin to Charlemagne’, in *Uses of the Past*, ed. by Hen and Innes, pp. 175–90 (pp. 150–52).

¹⁹² For a discussion of the lineage and family of Charlemagne in the *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus* and other contemporary works, see Janet L. Nelson, ‘La famille de Charlemagne’, *Byzantion*, 61 (1991), 194–212 and Ian N. Wood, ‘Genealogy Defined by Women: The Case of the Pippinids’, in *Gender in the Early Medieval World: East and West, 300–900*, ed. by Leslie Brubaker and Julia M. H. Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 234–56.

and Angilram.¹⁹³ The reader is told that these epitaphs ‘were composed at the order of the glorious king Charles’ (pp. 78–79). Overall, the epitaphs essentially rephrase what has already been told about the Carolingian house and especially about Charlemagne. The first of these epitaphs, which belongs to Rothaid, daughter of Pippin III and sister of Charlemagne, renarrates the Carolingian genealogy all the way back to Arnulf with an emphasis on the male line as well as the Trojan heritage:

Epitaphium Rothaidis filiae Pippini regis

Hic ego quae iaceo Rothaid de nomine dicor.
 Quae genus excelso nimium de germine duco,
 Nam mihi germanus, gentes qui subdidit armis
 Ausonias, Karolus fretrus virtute Tonantis;
 Pippinus pater est, Karolo de principe cretus
 Aggarenum stravit magna qui cede tirannum.
 Pippinus proavus, quo non audacior ullus.
 Ast abavus Anschisa, qui ducit ab illo
 Troiano Ancschisa longo post tempore nomen.
 Hunc genuit pater iste sacer presulque beatus
 Arnulfus, miris gestis qui fulget ubique,
 Hic me spe cuius freti posuere parentes.

Epitaph of Rothaid, daughter of King Pippin

I who lie here am called by the name of Rothaid.
 I take my origin from a very exalted *genus*,
 For my brother is Charles, who, supported by the power of Jupiter,
 In battle conquered the Ausonian *gentes*.
 Pippin is my father, born to that prince Charles
 Who threw down the Sarrasin tyrant with great slaughter.
 And none was bolder than my great-grandfather Pippin.
 My great-great-grandfather was Ansegisel,
 Who took the name, after long ages, of Trojan Anchises.
 The holy father and blessed bishop Arnulf sired him,
 Arnulf, famous everywhere for his miraculous deeds.
 Trusting in him, my parents placed me here. (pp. 78–79)

¹⁹³ There seems to be a disagreement in scholarship with regard to whether or not these epitaphs were originally a part of the work. The most recent editor of the work, Kempf, argues in favour of their inclusion; for his justification, see, ‘Introduction’, in *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, ed. and trans. by Kempf, pp. 1–39 (p. 35). See also ‘Auf das Grab der Rotheid, Tochter Pippins’, in *Die Gedichte des Paulus Diaconus: Kritische und erklärende Ausgabe*, ed. by Karl Neff, Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters, 3.4 (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1908), pp. 109–11.

4.7 Frechulf of Lisieux's *Historiarum libri XII*

Following the extraordinary engagement with the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks in the eighth century, one perhaps expects even more new works to be created. However, during the entire ninth century the story appears in one new work. Almost a century after the composition of the *Liber Historiae Francorum*, the story of Trojan origins is found in the *Historiarum libri XII* compiled by Frechulf of Lisieux. The significance of the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks as it is narrated in Frechulf's *Historiarum libri* is that the source text of Frechulf is *Historia de origine Francorum* attributed to Dares of Phrygia.¹⁹⁴ Frechulf not only includes a 'free' adaptation of the story based on the *Historia de origine Francorum* but also cites Dares as his source for the origin story. This is all the more significant when it is seen that Frechulf solely uses the information found in the *Historia de origine Francorum* for the parts that relate the Trojan origins of the Franks even though it seems like he definitely had access to the two other versions found in the *Chronicle of Fredegar* and perhaps even to the *Liber historiae Francorum*.

One of the other interesting aspects of Frechulf's narrative with regard to the origins of the Franks is that he also includes an alternative explanation for the origin of the Franks after he elaborates on the story of the Trojan origins based on the *Historia de origine Francorum*:

Alii vero adfirmant eos de Scanza insula, quae uagina gentium est, exordium habuisse, de qua Gotthi et caeterae nationes Theotistae exierunt, quod et idioma linguae eorum testator. (I.2.26.168–172)

Others insist that they [the Franks] are from the island of Scandza, the womb of nations, from which the Goths and the other *nationes Theotistae* came, which is also attested by the idiom of their languages.

Allen points out that 'various authors have seen this gesture' simply 'as a rejection' of the Trojan origins of the Franks.¹⁹⁵ However, as Innes states, by mentioning this alternative idea, Frechulf 'was reacting to his own, contemporary, intellectual

¹⁹⁴ A detailed analysis and a comparison of this long section found in Frechulf's *Historiarum libri* (I.2.26–30) and the *Historia de origine Francorum* need to remain for another study.

¹⁹⁵ Allen, 'Thypography, Apparatus and Sources', in *Frechulfi Lexoviensis episcopi opera omnia*, ed. by Allen, I, 197–219 (p. 206).

context.¹⁹⁶ That he did not suppress this information does not really mean that he was trying to undermine the then more established story of the Trojan origins.

Another point to be noted is that Frechulf, the Bishop of Lisieux at the time, was close to the court of Louis the Pious, Charlemagne's son and successor, and it was previously argued by scholars that he wrote this 'world history' for the education of the future king, Charles the Bald, Louis the Pious's son and successor.¹⁹⁷ Therefore, the fact that the Trojan ancestry of the Franks is included in Frechulf's *Historiarum libri* is a strong indication that this legend had already been adopted by the Carolingian rulers.¹⁹⁸ Furthermore, there are eleven surviving witnesses of the *Historiarum libri* that are dated to before the twelfth century (see Table 4.9). And, it is seen that Frechulf's work, along with his endorsement of Dares was already in circulation even in Britain by the mid-eleventh century.

Not only Frechulf attributed the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks to Dares of Phrygia, but also later compilers associated Dares with Frechulf as well. In a twelfth century Cistercian compilation, Auxerre, BMu, 91, Dares's *De excidio Troiae historia* is found together with Frechulf's *Historiarum libri*. Again in the twelfth century, in a historical compilation known as the *Liber floridus*, selected excerpts from Frechulf's *Historiarum libri* are preceded by the *De excidio Troiae historia*.¹⁹⁹ Later in the fifteenth century, a summary of the *De excidio Troiae historia* is attached again to Frechulf's *Historiarum libri*.

¹⁹⁶ Innes, 'Teutons or Trojans?', in *Uses of the Past*, ed. by Hen and Innes, pp. 227–49 (pp. 233–34).

¹⁹⁷ Rosamond McKitterick, 'Charles the Bald (823-877) and His Library: The Patronage of Learning', *The English Historical Review*, 95 (1980), 28–47. See also Innes, 'Teutons or Trojans?', in *Uses of the Past*, ed. by Hen and Innes, pp. 227–49 (p. 233).

¹⁹⁸ Innes states that 'Freculph's comments on Frankish origins and the *nationes theodiscae* [sic] were essentially a side'; that he did not place any importance on the Trojan origins of the Franks seems very unlikely. See 'Teutons or Trojans?', in *Uses of the Past*, ed. by Hen and Innes, pp. 227–49 (p. 234).

¹⁹⁹ The autograph copy of the *Liber Floridus* is Ghent, UBG, 92. For more information see Albert Derolez, *The Autograph Manuscript of the Liber Floridus: A Key to the Encyclopedia of Lambert of Saint-Omer*, CCAME, 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998) and *The Making and Meaning of the Liber Floridus: A Study of the Original Manuscript, Ghent, University Library, MS 92*, *Studies in Medieval and Early Renaissance Art History*, 76 (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2015)

Table 4.9 Earliest Witnesses of the *Historiae libri XII*

Manuscript	Date	Origin
Luxembourg, BN, I:110 [22] ²⁰⁰	IX ^{2/4}	Abbey of Saint-Vaast, Arras, France
St. Gall, STB, Cod Sang. 622 ²⁰¹	IX ^{2/4}	Lisieux, France
Beuron, KBE, Fragm. 17 ²⁰²	849	Abbey of Reichenau, Lake Constance, Germany
Cambridge, UL, Peterborough H.3.40 [Peterborough, CL, H.3.40] ²⁰³	IX ^{3/4}	northern France
Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 302 ²⁰⁴	X/XI	south-western France
Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Guelf. 34 Aug. 2 ^o ²⁰⁵	XI	western Germany
Brussels, KBR, 5424–5425 ²⁰⁶	XI ^{med}	Gembloux Abbey, Gembloux, Belgium
Salisbury, CL, 119 ²⁰⁷	XI ^{ex}	Salisbury, UK
Salisbury, CL, 120 ²⁰⁸	XI ^{ex}	Salisbury, UK
Cambridge, CCC, 267 ²⁰⁹	XI/XII	Abbey of St Augustine, Canterbury, UK
Saint-Omer, BMu, 718 ²¹⁰	XI/XII	northern France

²⁰⁰ This manuscript was apparently written for Lorsch and was among the holdings of the Lorsch Library from early on. Allen, ‘The *Histories*’, in *Frechulfi Lexoviensis episcopi opera omnia*, ed. by Allen, I, 55–196 (pp. 147–48).

²⁰¹ Allen, ‘The *Histories*’, in *Frechulfi Lexoviensis episcopi opera omnia*, ed. by Allen, I, 55–196 (pp. 58–78).

²⁰² Allen, ‘The *Histories*’, in *Frechulfi Lexoviensis episcopi opera omnia*, ed. by Allen, I, 55–196 (pp. 79–82).

²⁰³ Allen, ‘The *Histories*’, in *Frechulfi Lexoviensis episcopi opera omnia*, ed. by Allen, I, 55–196 (pp. 98–99).

²⁰⁴ Allen, ‘The *Histories*’, in *Frechulfi Lexoviensis episcopi opera omnia*, ed. by Allen, I, 55–196 (pp. 157–58).

²⁰⁵ Allen, ‘The *Histories*’, in *Frechulfi Lexoviensis episcopi opera omnia*, ed. by Allen, I, 55–196 (pp. 148–54). See also *Die Augusteischen Handschriften*, III, 63–64.

²⁰⁶ Allen, ‘The *Histories*’, in *Frechulfi Lexoviensis episcopi opera omnia*, ed. by Allen, I, 55–196 (pp. 125–26).

²⁰⁷ Allen, ‘The *Histories*’, in *Frechulfi Lexoviensis episcopi opera omnia*, ed. by Allen, I, 55–196 (pp. 112–16).

²⁰⁸ Allen, ‘The *Histories*’, in *Frechulfi Lexoviensis episcopi opera omnia*, ed. by Allen, I, 55–196 (pp. 119–20).

²⁰⁹ Allen, ‘The *Histories*’, in *Frechulfi Lexoviensis episcopi opera omnia*, ed. by Allen, I, 55–196 (pp. 120–22).

²¹⁰ Allen, ‘The *Histories*’, in *Frechulfi Lexoviensis episcopi opera omnia*, ed. by Allen, I, 55–196 (pp. 117–19).

4.8 The Tenth Century and Beyond

Only about a hundred and sixty years after Frechulf's account, at the very end of the tenth century, the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks appeared once again in the *Historia Francorum libri IV* written by Aimoin of Fleury. Dated to late 990s, the work commences with the story much like the *Liber historiae Francorum*; yet again, it contains minor twists and adjustments. Aimoin, who already mentions the departure of the Franks from Troy in his dedicatory letter to his *Historia Francorum*, opens up his 'Proemium' indicating that the 'regnum Francorum' is an 'antiqua Trojanae gentis prosapia nobilitatum'. Following the 'Proemium', the beginning chapters of the first book are dedicated to the Trojan origins of the Franks as well as how the Franks got their name and who were their first kings. Chapters 1-5 of Book I briefly deal with the ancient history of the Franks up until the Merovingian rule that begins with Chapter 6. The story as it is narrated in the first chapter of the first book in Aimoin's *Historia Francorum* is based on the first two chapters of the *Liber historiae Francorum* that are discussed above. It is shortened but most details are kept exactly as they are. However, for example, in Aimoin's account, the readers are told that Antenor took his followers to Sicambria, where their bravery led the Roman emperor to give them the name 'Franci' and there is no mention of Priam.

What is unexpected after such a neat summary in the first chapter is the second chapter of Book I, which provides the reader 'de Francorum appellatione altera opinio'. The information gathered here by Aimoin is clearly derived from the *Chronicle of Fredegar* (or, the *Historia vel gesta Francorum*). Book I.2 of Aimoin's *Historia Francorum* does not only mention Friga, and later Francio, after whose name the Franks got their name, but also renarrates the relations and journey of the Franks with the Macedonians and the Turks as they are found both in the *Scarpsum de Cronica Hieronimi* and *Scarpsum de Cronica de Gregorii* which are discussed in Chapter 3 above. Only after this, Aimoin moves on to discuss the settlement of the Franks in Gaul and their relations with the Romans. Thus, once more, the different versions of the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks found in the *Chronicle of Fredegar* and the *Liber historiae Francorum* are treated side by side and interwoven into the same account.

Aimoin's *Historia Francorum* is the product of a monastic environment, the Abbey of Fleury, which was also a major intellectual centre before and after Aimoin's time.²¹¹ Yet, unlike the times when Frechulf of Lisieux wrote his *historia*, Aimoin of Fleury was working at a time of relatively unstable and weak royal power. It should be noted that Aimoin's *Historia Francorum* came only a few years after Hugh of Capet was elected as the king of the Franks in 987. Yet, despite the instabilities surrounding the *regnum Francorum*, after a brief hiatus, Aimoin of Fleury's *Historia Francorum* became extremely popular, and the account was continued by other authors such as Hugh of Fleury until the mid-twelfth century. The story of the Trojan origins of the Franks also found its way to the anonymous *Miracula sancti Genulfi* composed in Fleury at the turn of the eleventh century, within a few years of the composition of Aimoin's *Historia Francorum*.²¹² Almost thirty years after Aimoin, around 1030s, Ademar of Chabannes also opened up his *Chronicon Aquitanicum et Francicum* again with the story of the Franks coming from Troy.²¹³ That he met with Aimoin when he was a child and his close links with Fleury perhaps prompted Ademar to include the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks as an opening to the second redaction of his *Chronicon*.²¹⁴

When the manuscripts of these works from later centuries are considered, it is seen that, just like the practice of rewriting the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks, the idea of coupling the narrative of the Trojan War with a history that contains the origin story continued. Some compilers still found it necessary to supplement the Frankish history with that of Troy. And in the same manner that 'new' histories were written, the *De excidio Troiae historia* attributed to Dares was envisaged as part of compilations that included Ademar's *Chronicon* and even Hugh of Fleury's *Historia Francorum*, the continuation of Aimoin's *Historia Francorum*. In three different

²¹¹ For the history of the Abbey of Fleury, see Marco Mostert, *The Political Theology of Abbo of Fleury: A Study of the Ideas About Society and Law of the Tenth-Century Monastic Reform Movement* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1987), especially pp. 24–39.

²¹² There is only a partial edition of the *Miracula Sancti Genulfi*: 'Ex Miraculis S. Genulfi', in *Supplementa Tomorum I–XII. Pars III*, ed. by Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH SS, 15.2 (Hannover: Hahn, 1888), pp. 1204–13.

²¹³ For the edition, see *Ademari Cabannensis Chronicon*, ed. by Pascale Bourgain, Georges Pon, and Richard Allen Landes, CCCM, 129 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999). There is also a recent translation into French: *Chronique*, trans. by Georges Pon and Yves Chauvin, *Mirror of the Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003).

²¹⁴ Richard Allen Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits of History: Ademar of Chabannes, 989–1034* (Harvard University Press, 1995), especially p. 85.

manuscripts, one of which is from the twelfth and the other two from the thirteenth century, Ademar's *Chronicon* is envisioned together with Dares's *De excidio Troiae Historia*.²¹⁵ Continuations of Aimoin's History by Hugh of Fleury are also found together with the *De excidio Troiae historia* in a fifteenth-century witness, Florence, BML, Plut.89inf.41.

From the end of the eleventh century onwards, the Trojan narrative took another turn. The narratives about the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks became officially incorporated into royal history:

The chronicles of Saint-Denis formed the most extensive and consistently royalist historical corpus in medieval France, if not anywhere in the Middle Ages. From the twelfth to fifteenth century, the monks of the Abbey of Saint-Denis were continuously engaged in writing history, producing an enormous body of historical works, both Latin and vernacular, in which they set forth the history of France from its putative Trojan origins.²¹⁶

Not only Saint-Denis became a centre for historical writing but also it was supported by the monarchy. As Woolf puts it,

those [chroniclers] of Saint-Denis were encouraged by the French monarchy to write a carefully designed history, going back to the Trojans, and celebrating the emergence of the centralized French kingdom. The abbey was a perfect incubator for such a project. Close to Paris, and a long-standing favourite of successive royal houses since the Merovingians, it already had a distinguished historiographic record and an inclination to royalism.²¹⁷

In the beginning of the thirteenth century, in his *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, Rigord did not only provide a detailed history of the Trojan origins of the Franks but also *perfected* the lineage of Francio and Turcus by creating a genealogical tree that portrayed Francio as

²¹⁵ These are: Paris, BNF, lat. 152 (fol 35) + Bern, BB, 208, Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 905, and Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 1795.

²¹⁶ Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *The Past as Text: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), p. 83. For a general overview, see Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *The Chronicle Tradition of Saint-Denis: A Survey*, Medieval Classics. Texts and Studies, 10 (Brookline, MA: Classical Folia Editions, 1978).

²¹⁷ Daniel Woolf, *A Global History of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 140.

the son of Hector and Turcus the son of Troilus. According to classical and late antique sources, Hector and Troilus were both sons of Priam.²¹⁸

4.9 Conclusion

This chapter surveyed the works that include the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks from the eighth through the tenth centuries. The survey clearly displays that, according to evidence available today, the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks was first promoted during the reign of the Merovingians, but was also very much welcomed first by the Carolingians and later by the Capetians. There was thus a continued appropriation of the story despite changes in political power. The first six works examined in this chapter, namely the *Liber historiae Francorum*, Ps. Jerome's *Aethici philosophi Scythae cosmographia*, the *Historia vel gesta Francorum*, Dares of Phrygia's *Historia de origine Francorum*, the *Chronicon universale usque ad annum 741* and Paul the Deacon's *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, are composed during the eighth century. Frechulf of Lisieux's *Historiarum libri XII*, on the other hand, was the only 'new' work that was composed in the ninth century. A closer examination of the Trojan narrative in these works indicate a high point in the engagement with the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks that occurred between the years 720s and 770s, a period of great transformation for the Frankish world. Furthermore, not only does the analysis of the different versions of the story in these works reveal that they are heavily interconnected but the manuscript evidence additionally suggests that they circulated at the same times.

In addition to the particulars of the Trojan story in each work, which are laid out throughout the chapter, the methods of rewriting employed by these authors is the most important point. First of all, throughout the Trojan origin story that is found in the very first four chapters of the *Liber Historiae Francorum* there is no reference to the *Chronicle of Fredegar* and it agrees with the earlier two accounts only in the broadest outline. Thus, it has been argued by scholars that the story of Trojan origins in the *Liber historiae Francorum* is independent of either of the two accounts found in the

²¹⁸ Rigord, *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, ed. by Élisabeth Carpentier, Georges Pon, and Yves Chauvin, *Sources d'histoire médiévale*, 33 (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 2006), see especially p. 194 for the genealogical table.

Chronicle of Fredegar. On the other hand, the *Liber historiae Francorum* is one of the sources of the *Cosmographia* whereas whether the author used the *Chronicle of Fredegar* is still controversial. However, the story of Trojan origins as it is narrated in the *Liber historiae Francorum* is not used in the part of the *Cosmographia* that specifically deals with the Franks and Trojans. Instead, certain details of the story as it is told in the *Cosmographia* are only found in the *Historia de origine Francorum* attributed to Dares of Phrygia. And, the latter work is found today only attached to the *Historia vel gesta Francorum*. The *Historia vel gesta Francorum* on the other hand, is a reworking of the *Chronicle of Fredegar* but in this context, what is important is that it keeps the two accounts regarding the Trojan origins of the Franks as they are found in the *Chronicle of Fredegar* despite the fact that in other parts it utilises the *Liber historiae Francorum* to expand the narrative. The *Chronicon universale* utilises both accounts in the *Chronicle of Fredegar* as well as incorporating information from the *Liber historiae Francorum*. Here, moreover, none of these three versions of the story are merely copied but yet other versions are created through a very careful rewriting. And, finally Frechulf seems to have utilised either the *Chronicle of Fredegar* or one would expect the *Historia vel Gesta Francorum* but there are no discernible references to those parts that are only found in the *Historia vel Gesta Francorum* and not in the *Chronicle of Fredegar*. Yet, it is certain that he used the *Historia de origine Francorum* to narrate the Trojan origins of the Franks that is only associated with the *Historia vel Gesta Francorum*. The way in which Paul the Deacon relates the Franks to the Trojans does not betray any sources and furthermore, there is no evidence in his entire corpus that he knew either the *Chronicle of Fredegar*, or the *Historia vel Gesta Francorum* or the *Liber historiae Francorum*. So the reason why he thinks the Franks were descendants of the Trojans simply cannot be linked securely to any existing source.

Another point that stands out from this survey is the ascription of the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks to certain authors. In the *Chronicle of Fredegar*, the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks is found in those sections that are claimed to be excerpts from Jerome's *Chronicon* and Gregory of Tours's *Historiarum libri*. When the works that are examined in this chapter are considered, it is seen that the story of the Trojan origins in the *Liber historiae Francorum* is not credited to a source but the work itself is attributed to Gregory in the majority of manuscripts. Similarly, the *Cosmographia* does not attribute the information regarding the Trojan origin of the

Franks to any specific authority but then again, the work itself is claimed to be written by Jerome. On the other hand, the *Historia vel gesta Francorum* keeps the sections about the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks derived from the *Chronicle of Fredegar* intact; thus, attributing the information once again to Jerome and Gregory. The *Chronicon universale* utilises both excerpts from Jerome's *Chronicon* and Gregory's *Historia* as found in the *Chronicle of Fredegar* as well as incorporating information from the *Liber historiae Francorum* yet on two occasions the story is explicitly ascribed to Jerome and only to Jerome. The *Historia de origine Francorum* outright credits Dares of Phrygia as the author of the text in its title. And, towards the end of the eighth century, all Paul the Deacon has to say is that the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks is common knowledge and that the 'the *gens Francorum*, as it is told by the ancients, sprang from a Trojan lineage'. Finally, writing in the early ninth century, Frechulf not only utilises solely the *Historia de origine Francorum* for the section on the Trojan origins of the Franks but also explicitly provides Dares of Phrygia as his source on the matter. Thus, by the mid-ninth century, it is seen that three *auctores*, Dares, Jerome, and Gregory, none of whom in fact wrote anything about the Trojan origins of the Franks end up being credited with the story.

Finally, even though Aimoin's works have not enjoyed much attention from modern scholars, as Asher states, 'many later histories of the French were based' on Aimoin's *Historia Francorum* and it 'was still regarded by many people as a most reliable source even during the sixteenth' century.²¹⁹ As it is also the basis for the later St Denis chronicles, it seems that it was Aimoin's account that has facilitated the transmission of the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks from the reign of the Carolingians to that of the Capetians.

²¹⁹ Asher, *National Myths in Renaissance France*, p. 12.

Chapter 5

The Complex Network of Texts

Pro captu lectoris habent sua fata libelli.
Terentianus Maurus, *De litteris, de syllabis, de Metris*

Until very recently (and to some extent still) most scholars were interested in manuscripts solely for the purpose of tracking down the witnesses to a single text. Therefore, most editions and studies, especially those from the eighteenth to early twentieth centuries, even when they are comprehensive in listing the witnesses of one work, and they usually are not, are not concerned about other works in the manuscripts. As such, they often do not list what else is included in a manuscript even when it is clear from the composition of the manuscript that two or more texts were arranged to be read together or written by the same scribe. Such compilations are also rarely taken into consideration in stemmatology; that is, reconstructing the transmission of a work on the basis of relations among the surviving manuscripts. In recent decades, however, there has been a change in understanding with regard to manuscripts. Various scholars began advocating looking at a given manuscript as a whole and considering the materiality of the manuscript as well as the entirety of the texts it contains.

When the fact that a great number of medieval manuscripts include more than one text is taken into consideration, the materiality of the manuscript becomes all the more significant. Even a cursory study of the complete contents of manuscripts reveals that texts that travel together display how narratives are transmitted, and even how they were employed and received, as well as transtextual relationships among works, as defined by Genette.¹ It is clear that taking into consideration the entirety of each manuscript, whether they are ‘original’ compilations or put together at a later stage forming composite manuscripts, and studying the materiality of manuscripts open up new avenues in understanding not only the ways manuscripts were produced, disseminated and received but also the textual transmission of a single work. In addition to the origin, date and particulars of the compilation, the format and layout of the

¹ See Introduction above for a brief discussion of the concept of transtextuality.

codices often provide significant information regarding how the works were put together as well as the intended purpose and even the target audience of these works.

5.1 The Dissemination of the Story of the Trojan Origins in the Frankish Realm

Innes states that ‘by the seventh century at the latest, the Trojan legend was widely diffused; by the eighth and ninth century Trojan material was pervasive, and incorporated into the Carolingian dynastic traditions current at Charlemagne’s court’.² This statement is indeed very observant. There is one, crucial detail to be added: the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks reached the ninth century under the *auctoritas* of Dares, Jerome, and Gregory. As laid out in Chapters 3 and 4 above, in the *Chronicle of Fredegar* and later in the *Historia vel Gesta Francorum*, the story is attributed respectively to Jerome and Gregory. In the *Chronicon universale*, it is narrated only as belonging to Jerome. On the other hand, the *Historia de origine Francorum* itself is outright attributed to Dares and this version along with Dares’s authority is endorsed by Frechulf of Lisieux’s *Historiarum libri*.

Therefore, in the case of the Trojan narrative and especially with regard to the story of the Trojan origin of the Franks, looking at various works as exclusively different texts, to borrow McKitterick’s words, ‘deprive[s] them from their collective power’.³ Given that the idea of Trojan ancestry of the Franks continued for over a millennium, between the seventh and eighteenth centuries, considering the Trojan narrative from a more encompassing point of view is essential. Not only looking beyond the illusion of *Urtext* but also trying to define the extent of the relationships between those works which contain the Trojan narrative that go beyond transtextual evidence would enable scholars to reach a better understanding of the significance of the Trojan narrative with regard to early Frankish history. And, this may only be achieved with the consideration of manuscript evidence.

Reimitz argues that ‘in older scholarship the differences in description and depiction of the origins of the Franks in Gregory of Tours’s *Histories*, Fredegar’s *Chronicle* and the *Liber historiae Francorum* were often overlooked because these works were considered as independent, free-standing narratives and thus not compared

² Innes, ‘Teutons or Trojans?’, in *Uses of the Past*, ed. by Hen and Innes, pp. 227–49 (p. 248).

³ McKitterick, ‘Political Ideology in Carolingian Historiography’, in *Uses of the Past*, ed. by Hen and Innes, pp. 162–74 (p. 171).

directly'.⁴ One would in fact argue that it is only the differences that were highlighted in comparing these works and that how they indeed existed together has never been questioned. As the research presented in the previous chapters display, both the textual and the material evidence points to the fact that not only a series of historical works circulated together but also different versions of the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks were copied, read, continued and circulated at the same times. The surviving manuscript evidence from the eighth and ninth centuries display the extent of the dissemination of the story (see Figure 5.1). In this map, all witnesses of the *Chronicle of Fredegar*, the *Liber historiae Francorum*, the *Historia vel gesta Francorum*, the *Chronicon Universale*, Paul the Deacon's *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus* and Frechulf of Lisieux's *Historiarum libri* that are dated to the eighth and ninth centuries are taken into consideration regardless of their current state whereas only three witnesses to the *Aethici philosophi Scythae Cosmographia* that contain the full text are regarded as containing the story (see Tables 3.1, 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, 4.6, 4.7, and 4.9 above). Since all witnesses of the *Historia de origine Francorum* also include *Historia vel gesta Francorum* they are not counted twice (see Table 4.5 above).

When the dissemination of the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks is considered according to the surviving manuscript evidence from the eighth and ninth centuries, it is seen that almost all the major centres across the Frankish region from Tours to Fulda had produced a copy of one or more works that contain the story. Furthermore, even though the survival rate of all of these works seem to be very low, there are even surviving manuscripts of different works produced at the same centres during this period. For example, there are copies of both the *Chronicle of Fredegar* and the *Liber historiae Francorum* from St Gall, copies of the *Chronicle of Fredegar*, the *Liber historiae Francorum* and the *Historia vel Gesta Francorum* from Reims, and copies of both the *Chronicle of Fredegar* and Frechulf's *Historiarum libri* from Reicheanu. It may thus be easily claimed that, in one version or another, the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks was known in the entire Frankish region and that the Trojan ancestry of the Franks was an established 'fact' by the end of the ninth century.

⁴ Reimitz, 'The Art of Truth', in *Texts and Identities*, ed. by Corradini and others, pp. 87–104 (p. 88).



Figure 5.1 Dissemination of the Story of the Trojan Origins of the Franks According to Surviving Manuscript Evidence from the Eighth and Ninth Centuries⁵

⁵ The data consists of thirty-eight surviving witnesses dated to the eighth and ninth centuries, and the map is derived from the estimated places of production of the manuscripts (drawing by the author). The diameters of the dots are proportionate to the number of witnesses from a given place. See Tables 3.1, 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, 4.6, 4.7, and 4.9 above.

5.2 The Trojan Narrative in the Earliest Frankish Manuscript Compilations

When the contents of manuscript compilations are taken into consideration in addition to the complex circulation patterns of individual works and even more complex textual connections among works, the relationships among different works get even more complicated. The point to reflect on is whether there is more to discover with regard to relationships among texts when looking at collections of works instead of multiple copies of an individual work. The present study, at least in relation to the Trojan narrative, strongly suggests that the answer to this question is yes. In this regard, this chapter examines as case studies three compilations that include works that have no intertextual relationships: Paris, BNF, lat. 7906 (Part III) + Paris, BNF, lat. 5018 (Part II), London, BL, Arundel 375, and Leiden, UBL, VLQ 5 + Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 713.

5.2.1 Paris, BNF, lat. 7906 (Part III) + Paris, BNF, lat. 5018 (Part II)

31+16 fols. I¹, II–IV⁸, V⁶ + I–II⁸.

In Lowe's words, this compilation 'was designed to contain the origins and the history of the Franks'.⁶ It is found today in two separate codices held at the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris. In its current state, the first codex, lat. 7906, is a miscellany that includes four different parts that were not initially arranged together but bound at a later stage, probably not earlier than the end of the sixteenth century.⁷ The third part of this codex, lat. 7906, once formed the same manuscript with the second part of lat. 5018.⁸ As such, the original contents of the compilation as it survives today are as follows:

⁶ Lowe, *CLA*, XII, p. 22, no. 1744.

⁷ Other parts of the codex are: works of Terence dated to the thirteenth century, works of Juvenal dated to the eleventh century and the anonymous *Carmen de disputatione mundi et religionis* dated to the fourteenth century. For the binding, see Faivre d'Arcier, *Histoire*, p. 67, n. 12.

⁸ The first part of the lat. 5018 now includes a copy of Regino of Prüm's *Chronicon* dated to the eleventh century. There is evidence that this part belonged to the French lawyer and scholar Pierre Pithou (1539–1596); however, it is not certain if the second part or the compilation as it stands today was ever in his possession.

lat. 7906 (part III)

fols 59ra–69va	Vergil, <i>Aeneidos</i> (incomplete)
59ra–59vb	(Book I, end missing)
59bisra–59bisrb	(Book III, beginning missing)
59bisrb–64rb	(Book IV)
64rb–69va	(Book V until l. 734)
fols 69va–81r	Dares of Phrygia, <i>De excidio Troiae historia</i>
fols 81r–88v	<i>Liber historiae Francorum</i> (incomplete; end missing)

lat. 5018 (part II)

fols 78r–93v	Bede, <i>Chronica maiora</i> (incomplete; end missing)
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With regard to its contents, this late-eighth-century compilation contains four works that have no intertextual connections whatsoever. Three of the four works, the *Aeneid*, the *Liber historiae Francorum* and the *Chronica maiora* (here titled *De sex huius saeculi aetatibus*), as they are found in this compilation, are all incomplete albeit for different reasons. The only text that might be considered complete is the *De excidio Troiae historia*. The compilation opens with the *Aeneid* on lat. 7906 fol. 59ra, which is immediately followed by the *De excidio Troiae historia* on lat. 7906 fol. 69va, which is again immediately followed by the *Liber historiae Francorum* on lat. 7906 fol. 81r (see Figures 5.2, 5.3 and 5.5). The part that contains the *De sex huius saeculi aetatibus* starts at the beginning of a recto, on lat. 5018 fol. 78r, and the end of the text is missing; therefore, it is difficult to assess the exact position of the work in the compilation (see Figure 5.6). As it will be discussed in more detail below, it is clear that it was not in between any of the three works that are still bound together in lat. 7906. Both the layout and the script suggest that this part actually followed the *Liber historiae Francorum*—or any other work(s) that might have been included after that since the end of this work is also missing—and that it was not found in the beginning of the compilation as one might expect.⁹

Both Bischoff and Lowe argue that the original codex was probably written at or somewhere around Lorsch.¹⁰ Bischoff further considers the manuscript among the earliest extant examples produced in Lorsch along with three other manuscripts.¹¹ Lowe also groups the manuscript again with three others, two of which are the same as that of

⁹ That this might have been the case is also hinted by Lowe in *CLA*, XII, p. 22, no. 1744.

¹⁰ Bischoff, *Katalog*, III, p. 135, no. 4512 and ‘Frühkarolingische Handschriften und ihre Heimat’, *Scriptorium*, 22 (1968), 306–14 (p. 311); Lowe, *CLA*, XII, p. 22, no. 1744.

¹¹ Bischoff, *Lorsch im Spiegel seiner Handschriften*, p. 26. The other three manuscripts are Vatican City, BAV, Pal. lat. 211 (fol. 69), Vienna, ÖNB, 1556 and Vienna, ÖNB, 2147.

Bischoff.¹² The foundation of the Lorsch Abbey goes back to 760s when Count Cancor and his mother Williswinda founded a little monastery on their own property. In 764, it was given to their relative Chrodegang, who was the archbishop of Metz at the time. Chrodegang was also close to Charles Martel and proved to be a loyal follower of the Carolingian dynasty in later years. In 772, the Lorsch Abbey went under the protection of Charlemagne, and became the property of the Frankish Kingdom and a ‘royal monastery’.¹³

The dating of the compilation, the late eighth century, corresponds with the time of Ricbod (784–804), abbot of Lorsch and bishop of Trier.¹⁴ Not only Ricbod was a known admirer of Virgil but also he kept close ties with Metz, and specifically with Angilram.¹⁵ Other than its possible origin and date, the fate of the manuscript throughout the Middle Ages is unknown. It is acknowledged that in the beginning of the sixteenth century, Sébastien de Rotenhan who died in 1534 made some notes on the manuscript on fols 81r and 81v indicating the beginning of the ‘deeds of the Franks’ and wrote down ‘le début de gesta Francorum’ where the *Liber historiae Francorum* begins (see Figure 5.7). It is also established that at one point during the sixteenth century the manuscript was around Strasbourg.¹⁶

The first work in the compilation is the *Aeneid* and it opens with the most usual manner: ‘INCIPIUNT LIBRI AENEIDOS VIRGILII MARONIS DUO DECEM’ (see Figure 5.2). Instead of basic incipits, the books also have separate titles. The titles from the surviving folios that refer to the first, fourth and fifth books are as follows:

¹² Lowe, *CLA*, XII, p. 22, no. 1744; the manuscripts are Vienna, ÖNB, 1556, Vienna, ÖNB, 2141 and Vienna, ÖNB, 2147. For descriptions of these manuscripts, see Lowe, *CLA*, X, p. 19, no. 1502 and p. 20 nos. 1505 and 1506.

¹³ For the foundation and early years of Lorsch, see Matthew Innes, *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages: The Middle Rhine Valley, 400–1000*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Fourth Series, 47 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), especially pp. 18–30, 51–58, 101–05; M. A. Claussen, *The Reform of the Frankish Church: Chrodegang of Metz and the ‘Regula canonicorum’ in the Eighth Century*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Fourth Series, 61 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), especially pp. 28–30.

¹⁴ For Ricbod and a recent analysis of wider writing practices at Lorsch, see Helmut Reimitz, ‘Transformations of Late Antiquity: The Writing and Re-writing of Church History at the Monastery of Lorsch, c.800’, in *The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. by Clemens Gantner, Rosamond McKitterick and Sven Meeder (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 262–82.

¹⁵ See the discussion on the *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus* in Chapter 4 above.

¹⁶ Faivre d’Arcier, *Histoire*, p. 68; Émile Châtelain, ‘Un précieux manuscrit de Virgile mutilé au XVIe siècle’, *Revue des bibliothèques*, 1 (1891), 14–16.

PRIMUS HABET LYBICA(M) UENIANT UT TROES IN URBEM
QUARTUS ITEM MISERE DUO UULNERA NARRAT ELISSE
MANIBUS AD TUMULUM QUINTO CELEBRANTUR HONORES¹⁷

In some manuscripts, these opening lines for the books are found as a separate, twelve-line poem accompanying the *Aeneid*.¹⁸ And, in some cases, this poem is attributed to Ovid with the title ‘Versus Ovidii Nasonis super XII libros Aeneidos’.¹⁹

It is clear that the work initially contained the entire poem until it stops on fol. 69va. It is reported that fol. 59, which contains the *Aeneid* I.1–128, was discovered in Basel as the jacket of a book in 1877 and was later donated to the Bibliothèque nationale where it is reattached as part of the current codex.²⁰ There is also a note to this regard and the stamp of the Basel library on fol. 59r (see Figure 5.2). The rest of the witness includes the *Aeneid* III.682 to V.734 on 59bis to 69v. Considering that most of the gatherings from the surviving part of the manuscript are of eight folios, it may be estimated that the first two gatherings of the compilation except for the first folio are now missing.

Even though the incipit refers to the ‘twelve books of the *Aeneid*’, the text stops at Book V.734 on fol. 69va (see Figures 5.2 and 5.3). There is no indication in the beginning of the text that this would be the case. Nor is there any note or indication at the end of the text that the exemplar was incomplete or why the copying was abandoned at this line.²¹ It is known that making selections from the *Aeneid* was very common during the later Middle Ages and perhaps especially the first six books was known more than the entire work. Yet, this does not explain the point where the text stops in this compilation. It is clear that there has been a change in decision after the scribe began copying the *Aeneid*; what prompted that decision is not easy to explain. On fol. 69va, there is a change of ink and a change of hand after the *Aeneid*, beginning with the incipit of the *De excidio Troiae historia*. However, the two hands are contemporary and it could even be the same scribe continuing after a hiatus. When the contents of the compilation are considered as a whole, it may be argued that the portion of the *Aeneid* that tells about the Trojan War (Books I-V) was intentionally selected and not Aeneas’s

¹⁷ These are found on fol. 59r, ll.4–6, fol. 59bisr, ll. 3–4 and fol. 64r, ll. 9–10.

¹⁸ The poem is edited as belonging to Basilius: ‘BASILII de XII libris Aeneidos’, in *Poetae Latini Minores*, ed. by Baehrens, 4 (1882), 151.

¹⁹ See, for example, Munich, BSB, Clm 305, fol. 65v.

²⁰ Lowe, *CLA*, XII, p. 22, no. 1744.

²¹ According to the modern editions of the *Aeneid*, Book V includes 871 lines.

travel to the underworld (Book VI) or the foundation of Rome (Books VII–XII). Or, it could be that the *Aeneid* was left unfinished and that another scribe, within a short period of time, decided to devise this compilation instead of continuing with the rest of the *Aeneid*. In either case, this constitutes a rather interesting decision on the part of the compilers.

As already mentioned, the text of the *De excidio Troiae historia*, which occupies fols 69v–81r, is continued immediately after the last copied line of the *Aeneid* on fol. 69va with the following incipit: ‘DARETIS FRIGII HISTORIA DEVASTATIONE TROIAE A CORNILIONE POETE IN LATINUM SERMONEM TRANSLATA’ (see Figure 5.3). This is immediately followed by the words ‘NUNC PROLOGUS’ and the preface itself. After the first folio, 69v, which is in two columns presumably due to the page layout of the *Aeneid*, the text continues in long lines (see Figure 5.4). The text is not divided into any recognisable chapters, however, names of twenty-three characters are found in the upper margins of the entire text from fol. 70r to fol. 81r in the following order: PELEAS, LAOMEDON, TELAMON, PRIAMUS, HECTOR, TROILUS, ALEXANDER, HELENUS, DEIPHEBUS, AENEAS, [///], ANDROMACA, POLYXENA, CASANDRA, ANTENOR, NESTOR, AGAMEMNON, ACHILLES, TELEFUS, PENTESILEA, ANCHISES, POLYDAMAS, NEOPTOLEMUS.²² On each occasion, the name copied to the upper margin seems to have been taken from the last couple of lines of the text on the preceding folio and corresponds to the central figure of the story being narrated.²³ The text of *De excidio Troiae historia* ends with a list of combatants on fol. 81r (see Figure 5.5). There are also marginal notes, which are defined by Reimitz as a ‘cross-like script’.²⁴ The most visible of these is on fol. 80v and it reads QUOMODO TROIA CAPTA EST (How Troy Was Captured). The attachment of letters to the four ends of a cross reminds the cruciform monogrammes of emperors such as those of Justinian (c.482–565), Maurice (539–602), Heraclius (575–641), and, more significantly, Charlemagne.²⁵ The invention of Charlemagne’s monogramme was

²² In the modern edition, the work is in forty-four chapters; yet in most manuscripts, there are no chapter divisions and this is likely to have happened only after the twelfth century. The name on fol. 75r (following Aeneas) cannot be read due to damage to the upper margin of the folio.

²³ Faivre d’Arcier thinks ‘l’ordre suivi n’est pas cohérent’; *Histoire*, p. 67.

²⁴ Reimitz, ‘Transformations of Late Antiquity’, in *Resources of the Past*, ed. by Gantner, McKitterick and Meeder, pp. 262–82 (p. 276).

²⁵ Note that in all of these cases, unlike the marginal notes in this manuscript, reading needed to begin with the first letter on the left hand side of the cross. Charlemagne’s signature, for example, was read in the order of left-middle-top-middle-bottom-middle-right to make up for

of course contemporary to the production of the manuscript.²⁶ Yet, the marking of the fall of Troy with a significant gesture is also reminiscent of the attitudes seen in several witnesses of the *Eusebius-Jerome Chronicle*.

What immediately follows the *De excidio Troiae historia* is *Liber historiae Francorum* on fols 81r–88v. The work is attributed to Gregory of Tours with the following incipit: ‘INCIPIT GESTA FRANCORUM A S[AN]C[T]O GREGORIO EDICTIO S[AN]C[T]I GREGORII TORONENSIS EP[ISCOP]I REGU[M] FRANCORUM HISTORIA PRINCIPIUM REGUM’ (see Figure 5.3). Although the manuscript now includes only a part of the *Liber historiae Francorum*, the fact that the break comes in mid-sentence in Chapter 17 on fol. 88v strongly suggests that in its original state the compilation had at least a longer portion of the *Liber historiae Francorum*, or more probably the full text. At the same time, the wear and tear on fol. 88v indicates that the remainder of the compilation has been missing for sometime before the manuscript was rebound with other texts in this codex, lat. 7906.

As for Bede’s *Chronica maiora*, which is now part a different codex, lat. 5018, it is difficult to say how much of the *De temporum ratione* was included in the compilation. It is very likely that the original compilation only included the *De sex huius saeculi aetatibus* as it is known that this chapter of the *De temporum ratione* circulated separately than the rest of the book.²⁷ As is discussed, the remainder of the compilation, the three works that are still found together in lat. 7906 are very much intertwined with each other and point to the fact that the compilation is certainly conceived as one book. However, the relationship of the part that contains the *De sex huius saeculi aetatibus* with the rest of the compilation is uncertain as the part that contains the *De sex huius saeculi aetatibus* starts with its title at the beginning of a recto, fol. 78r, and the end of the text is missing (see Figure 5.6).

the letters K-A-R-O-L-U-S. For a recent overview of imperial cruciform monogrammes, see Jonathan Bardill, *Brickstamps of Constantinople. Volume I: Text*, Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp.46–49.

²⁶ For a detailed analysis, see Ildar H. Garipzanov, ‘Charlemagne’s Monogram: Origins and Implications’, in *The Symbolic Language of Royal Authority in the Carolingian World (c.751-877)*, Brill’s Series on the Early Middle Ages, 16 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 173–82.

²⁷ See the short discussion in relation to the *Chronicon Universale* in Chapter 4 above.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the copy of the *Aeneid* in this compilation is the earliest surviving copy that was produced in Francia. Indeed, it is one of two surviving copies that were produced at the end of the eighth century.²⁸ It should be underlined that coupling the *Aeneid* with other works that are not part of what is often called *Virgiliana* is very unusual.²⁹ This compilation also contains the oldest known copy of the *De excidio Troiae historia*. It should be remembered that all the extant witnesses of this work that are dated to before the twelfth century are produced in what was then the Frankish territory.³⁰ The *Liber historiae Francorum* which immediately follows the *De excidio Troiae historia* in this manuscript is also the earliest extant copy of the work.³¹

The two works, the *Aeneid* and the *De excidio Troiae historia*, act rather like a preface to the *Liber historiae Francorum*, the book of the history of the Franks, which here opens with the remarkable sentence: ‘Regem Francorum eorumque originem vel gentium illarum ac gesta proferamus’. The explicit and incipit on fol. 81r further proves that these works are not copied together in the same book by chance but that they are envisaged as two parts of the same narrative. As the *De excidio Troiae historia* concludes with the remarks ‘Explicit gesta Troianorum’, the *Liber historiae Francorum* begins with ‘Incipit gesta Francorum’ (see Figure 5.5). This makes the two works almost like two chapters of the same history, the same *origo*, that of the Trojans and the Franks. As mentioned above, since the end of the *Liber historiae Francorum* is missing and the *Chronica maiora* begins on the recto of a first folio of a gathering, it is impossible to know if there were any other works contained in this compilation. Nevertheless, it may be argued that the addition of the *Chronica maiora* to this compilation further positions the Trojans and the Franks in the *sex aetates saeculi* and enables their history to be narrated both alongside the great peoples of the past but also in line with Christian history.

²⁸ The other one is Munich, BSB, Clm 29216/7 [Clm 29005/3 Nr. 18]. See Table 2.2 in Chapter 2 above.

²⁹ During this research, no other manuscript that includes the *Aeneid* in a similar fashion was discovered.

³⁰ With the exception of one ninth-century manuscript that was copied in Monte Cassino, which then again almost definitely had a Frankish exemplar. See Table 2.4 in Chapter 2 above.

³¹ The other two manuscripts that are dated to the eighth century are Bern, BB, 599 and Vatican City, BAV, Pal. lat. 966. See Chapter 2 and 4 above. For a detailed comparison of these three witnesses, see also Gerberding, ‘Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Latin 7906’, pp. 381–86.

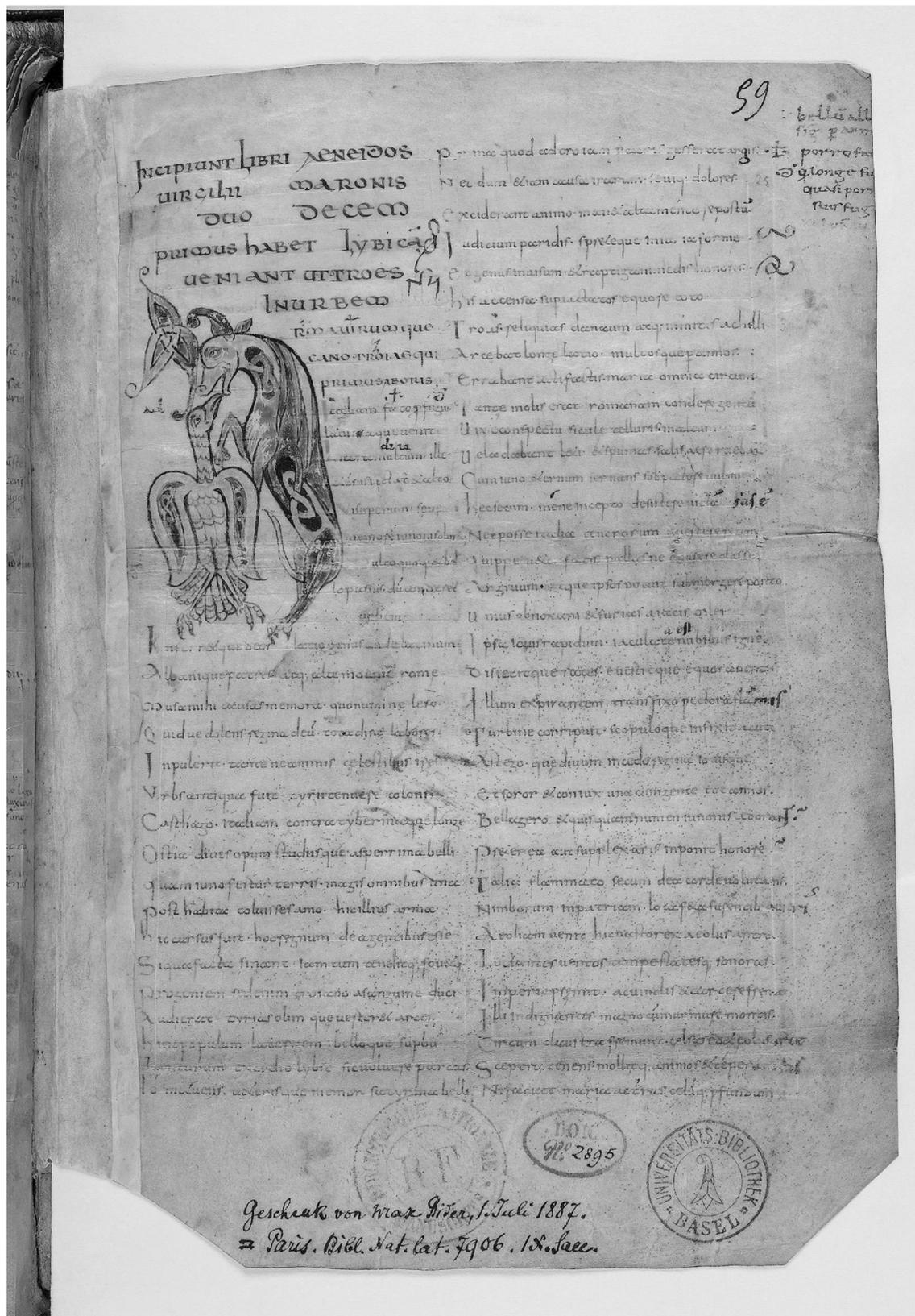


Figure 5.2 Beginning of the *Aeneid* in Paris, BNF, lat. 7906, fol. 59r (www.gallica.bnf.fr)

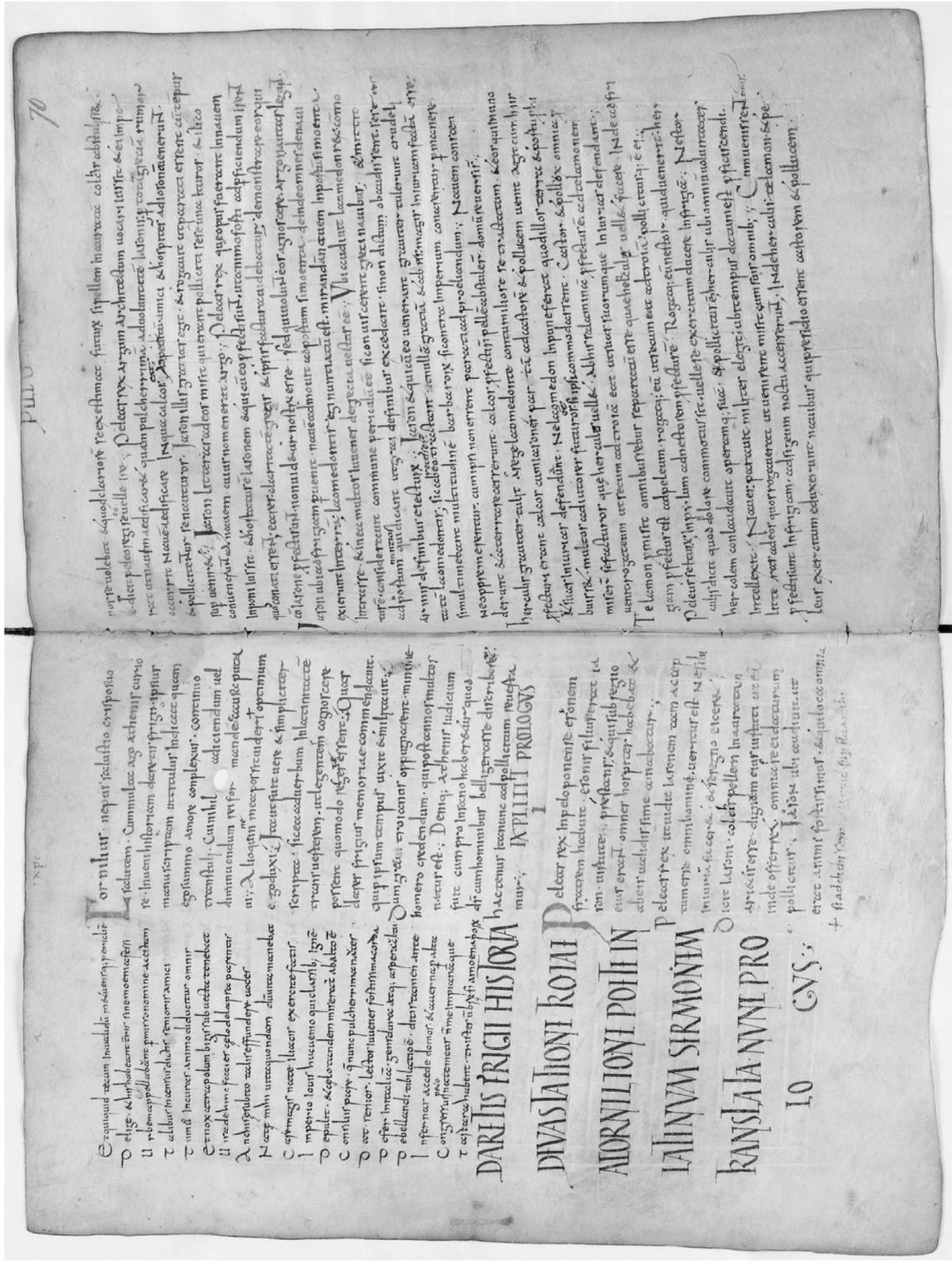


Figure 5.4 Paris, BNF, lat. 7906, fols 69v–70r (www.gallica.bnf.fr)

De sex huius seculi STATIBVS.

Des sex huius mundi & ceteris ac septima uel octava quibus uitaeq; celestis. & supra
in comparatione primae ebdomadar in qua mundus ornatur est aliqua da
post strinximus. & nunc in comparatione aeuum uisus hominis qui microcosmus grece
philosophis. hest minor mundus sol & nuncupari. de eisdem aliquando loquor & exponemus.
Prima est ergo mundi huius a & ceteris ab adam usq; ad noe continentis annos iuxta hebraicam
ueritatem millescentor. Lvi. luxta xx. litteras praeter. uice xlii. generationes iuxta utraq;
lectioe numero x. qum uer. seculi est de & ceteris diluio. sicut primam aeuusq; hominis oblibio
demergere consuevit ab & ceteris. quod tunc enim quisque est qui sua recordatur in infantiam.
Secundae a & ceteris anoe usq; ad abraham generationes iuxta hebraicam auctoritatem com
plere. x. annos autem. ccc. xii. porro luxta lx litteras praeter anni ccc. xii. generationes
uero xi. Huius pueritia fuit generis populi di. & ideo in lingua inuenta est telest hebraea
pueritia necmq; homo incipit nosse loqui p infantiam que hinc appellata est qd
fieri non potest. Tertia ab abraham usq; ad dauid generationes luxta utramque
auctoritatem xiiii annos uero. dccc. xlii. complectens. hae quaedam uelut adoles
centia fuit populi di. Aqua ab & ceteris quae incipit homo posse generare. propterea
matheus euangl. generationu ab abraham sumpsit exordium quia & ceteris pater gentium
inconstitutus est quando mutatum nomen accepit. Quarta ad dauid usq; ad trinit
migrationem babilonis annos habens iuxta hebraicam ueritatem. cccc. lxxlii. Iuxta
litteras lectionem xii amplius generationes iuxta utrosque codices xvii.
quae tunc euangelista matheus ceteris mysterii gratiae xiiii ponit. Aqua uelut
iuuena ab & ceteris in populo di regum tempora caeperunt. Huiusque in ho
minibus a & ceteris a pater gubernando sol & ceteris regno; Quarta qum semel
a & ceteris a migratione babilonis usq; in uentum saluatoris in carnem
generationibus & ipsa xiiii. porro annis. d. lxxviii. & ceteris in qua ut greci
senectute fessae in caelis crebrioribus plebs hebraea quiescit. Sexta quae nunc
agitur ab & ceteris nullae generationum uel temporum serie ceteris. sed ut ab & ceteris de
ceteris ipse totus sibi morte consumenda; haec erum nosae plenaeq; laborib;

Figure 5.6 Beginning of the *De sex huius saeculi aetatibus* in Paris, BNF, lat. 5018, fol. 78r (www.gallica.bnf.fr)

EDICTIO SCIRECORII LORONENSIS EPISCOPI RECU
FRANCORUM HISTORIA / PRINCI
PIUM RECUM;
 Formet si preter ipsum domini prepositi, bene tam zelo aliquot rigas, gloriis:
 ut legentibus character iste nostrandis qd defunctis familiaris fiat: ne
 aliqui festinantis, ~~hanc~~ hanc raritate affecti odio, rodiallis hinc dezerant.
 Sebaf. de Rotenfan. fecit.

azigo si gesta pisa (C) W. ^{Rebelis poeta Tubingensem.}
RECUM FRANCORUM eorumque ORICEA.
 Ruelgentium illoq. de gestis feramur. Est ca. Inesia oppidum troia
 noix. ubi est ciuitas quilibet ar. ubi regnauit Inecgen illa fostir &
 uclida. uiri bellocoper ceta; rebelles nimir. Ina qat sic cestamina obur
 zancer. pgru finitima debellancer. **S**ur rexer eorum greorum
 aduersus gnean cum multo exercitu pugnauerq; contra eu cedemagna

Figure 5.7 Paris, BNF, lat. 7906, fols 81r (above) and 81v (below) (detail)
 (www.gallica.bnf.fr)

Despite its obvious significance, this eighth-century manuscript has not received the attention it deserves from the scholars yet. It is not considered in the modern editions of either the *De excidio Troiae historia* or the *Liber historiae Francorum*. In his ‘Praefatio’ to the edition of the *De excidio Troiae historia*, Meister tells the reader that he became aware of this witness only after the edited text was typed and printed.³² Conveniently enough, the main text of the *De excidio Troiae historia* as it is found in this manuscript has ‘discontinuities’ occurring in the middle of sentences or pages, so it might not have been considered among the ‘best’ examples for a unified edition of the work by Meister anyway.³³ Because the main body of the text is presented in a rather different sequence, Faivre d’Arcier states that the model of this witness must have had the text in this order, implying that the current state of the arrangement of the text cannot be explained by simple scribal error(s).³⁴

On the other hand, that the *Liber historiae Francorum* was included in this manuscript was not known to Krusch, for it was not identified as such until recently and it still is catalogued as ‘Gregorii, Episcopi Turonensis, historiae Francorum’ both in the latest printed and online catalogue of the BNF. Coincidentally, the version of the *Liber historiae Francorum* as it is found in this manuscript also provides a challenge for the textual editor of the work as it does not fit with the other known manuscripts of the work and, as Gerberding puts it, ‘call[s] into question the now universally held contention that the *Liber historiae Francorum* was written in two neatly defined recensions, each with its own known date of composition’.³⁵

³² Meister, ‘Praefatio’, in *Daretis Phrygii de excidio Troiae historia*, ed. by Meister, pp. iii–I (p. iv).

³³ In comparison to the modern edition, the text jumps from the middle of Chapter 11 to the middle of Chapter 22 and then continues until the middle of Chapter 43. It then resumes with the remainder of Chapter 11 and includes the rest of the text until the middle of Chapter 22, and then continues with the rest of Chapter 43 and the final Chapter 44.

³⁴ Faivre d’Arcier, *Histoire*, p. 67.

³⁵ Gerberding, ‘Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Latin 7906’, pp. 381–86 (p. 381).

5.2.2 London, BL, Arundel 375

75 fols. I⁵, II⁷, III–IV⁸, V⁷, VI–VIII⁸, IX⁹, X⁶, XI¹.

As it survives, London, BL, Arundel 375 is a composite manuscript. However, it is one of the most remarkable examples of early medieval composite manuscripts, as it is also a carefully devised compilation. It is clear that the works bound in this one codex are not gathered by chance even though, much like Paris, BNF, lat. 7906 (Part III) + Paris, BNF, lat. 5018 (Part II), it again includes works that have no intertextual relationships. The contents of London, BL, Arundel 375 are as follows:³⁶

Part I

fols 1r–47v *Liber historiae Francorum* (incomplete)

Part II

fols 47v–72r *Excidium Troie* (incomplete)

fols 72r–75v *Annales Mettenses priores* (incomplete; end missing)³⁷

It has long been established that the manuscript is copied in two different phases. The first part, which consists of the text of the *Liber historiae Francorum*, is dated to sometime around the second third of the ninth century and thought to be written in southern France.³⁸ At a later stage, possibly towards the end of the ninth century, another scribe seems to have added the remaining texts.³⁹ The manuscript was presented to the Royal Society in 1667 by Henry Howard (1628–1684), and before that, it is thought to have been a part of the collection of Thomas Howard (1585–1646), 2nd earl of Arundel. The ink stamp of the Royal Society in London, which reads ‘Soc. Reg. Lond / ex dono HENR. HOWARD / Norfolciensis’ is still visible on fol. 1r (see Figure 5.8).

³⁶ The description of the contents read wrong in McKitterick, ‘Political Ideology in Carolingian Historiography’, in *Uses of the Past*, ed. by Hen and Innes, pp. 162–74 (p. 162, n. 3).

³⁷ For the edition and discussion of other witnesses, see *Annales Mettenses priores*, ed. by Bernhard von Simson, MGH SRG, 10 (Hannover: Hahn, 1905). A partial translation is provided in Fouracre and Gerberding, ‘The First Section of *Annales Mettenses Priores*’, in *Late Merovingian France*, pp. 350–70.

³⁸ Bischoff, *Katalog*, II, pp. 105–06, no. 2415. The dating reads wrong in Hen, ‘Canvassing for Charles’, in *Zwischen Niederschrift und Wiederschrift*, ed. by Corradini, Diesenberger, and Niederkorn-Bruck, pp. 139–45 (p. 141).

³⁹ Even though Bischoff dates the second part of the manuscript to the tenth century, it is more likely to be written at the end of the ninth century. This was already pointed out by the editor of the *Annales Mettenses priores*. See von Simson ‘Praefatio’, in *Annales Mettenses priores*, pp. 5–17 (p. vi). See also Hen, ‘Canvassing for Charles’, in *Zwischen Niederschrift und Wiederschrift*, ed. by Corradini, Diesenberger, and Niederkorn-Bruck, pp. 139–45 (especially pp. 141 and 145).

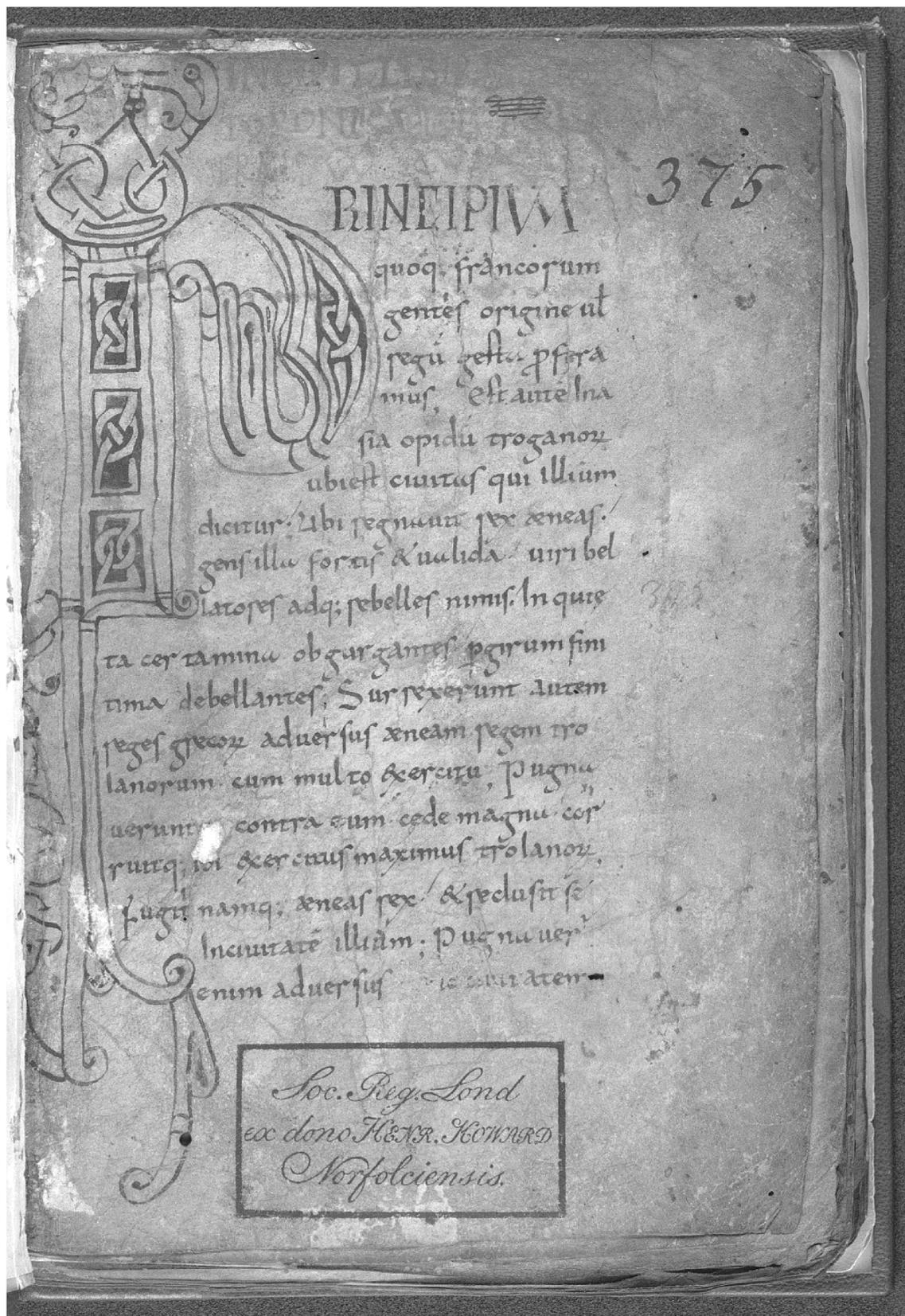


Figure 5.8 Beginning of the *Liber historiae Francorum* in London, BL, Arundel 375, fol. 1r (www.bl.uk)

regressus. Chilpericum cum resuuis
regalibus latum ultra ligere secessit. Carlus
eum persecutus non reperit. Chlotharius qui
dem memoratus rex eo anno obiit. Carlus
anno Insecuro legacione ad eundem dirigens
amicias cum eo faciens. Ille uero chilperico
rege cum multis resuuis reddidit. Mortuus
quidem est. post hoc nauis in ciuitate sepultus.
Regnauitque annis. V. Franci uero reude
riam calu monasterio enutritum filium dugo
berti. unioris regem fuisse statuunt qui usque
nunc in regno subsistit.

EXPLICIT GESTA FRANCORUM

INCIPIIT EXPOSITIO EXSIDIIUM TROIE

Tertio die est mater achil. Isque de numero quinquaginta nereidaru electa est. Et di cere habet que fuerunt nereide. aut quore hoc uocabulu hac ceperunt. Respondendum est. Anereo patre et ida matre conuincto uocabulo. Patris et matris nereide appellat. Qui ne reus et ida in insula quanda habitacione habuer. Et ibi quin quaginta filias. pere auerunt. Merito hoc

Figure 5.9 Beginning of the *Excidium Troie* in London, BL, Arundel 375, fol. 47v
(www.bl.uk)

Its previous provenance is unclear; however, recently Hen strongly argued for ‘north west Francia’ as the origin of the final product.⁴⁰ On fol. 34v, a short verse known as ‘Adnexique globum Zephyri’ was written by a different hand. This verse is often found in the manuscripts produced in St Gall, and its existence in this manuscript may indicate that the codex, if not produced there, was at one point around St Gall, or, perhaps more likely, that someone from St Gall who was familiar with this verse came in contact with it. The texts of both the *Liber historiae Francorum* and the *Excidium Troie* seem to have been copied in full but are incomplete due to missing folios from the gatherings. The end of the *Annales Mettenses priores*, together with whatever else was in the rest of the codex is missing.

The compilation opens with the so-called B recension of the *Liber historiae Francorum*.⁴¹ The work is attributed to Gregory of Tours on the top margin of fol. 1r with the following incipit that has now started to fade: ‘INCIPIT LIBER SANCTI GREGORII TORONIS EPISCOPI GESTA REGUM FRANCORUM’ (see Figure 5.8). The text starts with the word ‘Principium’ and the decorated initial P extends throughout the page very much in the fashion of a bible. The work is not divided into chapters; however, there are marginal annotations throughout the manuscript. These marginal notes were added by a different hand, albeit contemporary, from that of the first scribe who copied the entire *Liber historiae Francorum*. They indicate important events such as the first king of the Franks, Pharamund, or the deaths of kings such as Theudebert or Clothar, and hence, in a way serve as chapter divisions.⁴²

The explicit for the *Liber historiae Francorum* on fol. 47v, l. 13, which repeats the title, is thought to have been supplied by the later scribe who devised the compilation: ‘EXPLICIT GESTA FRANCORUM’ (see Figure 5.9). The text of the *Excidium Troie* starts immediately after this explicit. From here on the handwriting is significantly smaller in comparison to the first part of the manuscript and the number of lines increase from 20 to 24–28 despite the still visible ruling made for 20 lines for the first seven gatherings. There is a change in gatherings after the seventh. The remainder

⁴⁰ Hen’s arguments rely more on historical conjecture than palaeographical evidence; see ‘Canvassing for Charles’, in *Zwischen Niederschrift und Wiederschrift*, ed. by Corradini, Diesenberger, and Niederkorn-Bruck, pp. 139–45 (especially p. 141 and 145).

⁴¹ For a short discussion of the recensions, see the discussion on the *Liber historiae Francorum* in Chapter 4 above.

⁴² Fol 3r: ‘p[ri]m[i] rex franco[rum] pharemundis’; ‘mors teudb[er]ti’ on fol. 23v; ‘mors clothari’ on fol. 26r).

of the gatherings (VIII to XI as it survives today) are different from the previous ones in every respect, including the quality of the parchment, the ruling and pricking. Writing space in the second part of the manuscript is also expanded, from approximately 15 x 9.5 cm to 16 x 11.5 cm. There are no chapter headings or divisions throughout the text of the *Excidium Troie* and one finds occasional corrections in different forms by a different hand from that of the scribe of the main text.⁴³

The *Excidium Troie* ends with the ‘EXPLICIT EXCIDIUM TROIE’ on fol. 72v, l. 7. What follows immediately after *the Excidium Troie* is the text of the *Annales Mettenses priores* in the next line continued with the same hand.⁴⁴ The work commences as follows:

ANNO AB INCARNACIONE D[OMI]NI N[OST]RI IH[ES]U [CHRIST]I
DCCLXXXVIII pipinus ansegisili nobilissima conda[m] francor[um]
principis post plurima p[re]lia magnosq[ue] triumphos a d[e]o concessos
oritalu[m] francoru[m] glorioso genitori felic[io]re succedens suscepit
principatu[m].⁴⁵

In the seven hundred and eighty-ninth year⁴⁶ from the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, Pippin, [son] of the late most noble leader of the Franks, Ansegisel, happily succeeding his glorious father, took up the leadership of the eastern Franks after many battles and triumphs given to him by God.

However, the text ends abruptly on fol. 75v, which is virtually illegible due to tear and wear, a condition also noted by Krusch over 125 years ago. When the damage to fol. 1r is also considered, it seems that the manuscript had circulated with no binding and without its final quires, however many they might have been, for some time.

The copy of the *Excidium Troie* in this compilation is one of the three earliest witnesses of the work, all of which are dated to the ninth century.⁴⁷ Furthermore, this is not the only witness in which the *Liber historiae Francorum* and the *Excidium Troie* are associated as part of the same compilation. This compilation also includes the earliest

⁴³ For example, there are interlinear additions on fols 51v and 52r, erasure on fol. 53r and marginal additions on fol. 57v. Some words are also retraced towards the end of the text; these are especially visible on fol. 68v.

⁴⁴ Throughout the second part, only once there seems to be a clear change of hands in the main text on fol. 74, ll. 1–6; however, after that the previous script resumes.

⁴⁵ Reads different in the edition. See *Annales Mettenses priores*, ed. by von Simson, p. 1.

⁴⁶ Apparently, this is a scribal error and should be 687, the year of the battle of Tertry. See Fouracre and Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France*, pp. 333 and 347.

⁴⁷ For the manuscripts of the *Excidium Troie*, see Table 2.5 in Chapter 2 above.

witness of the *Annales Mettenses priores*.⁴⁸ It should be mentioned that the *Annales Mettenses priores*, which in its original state covers the history of the years between 678 and 805, is thought to be composed around the year 806 and under the supervision if not directly by Charlemagne's sister Gisela.⁴⁹ Fouracre and Gerberding argue that the *Annales Mettenses priores* 'presented serious historical justification of the ruling position of the Carolingian family'.⁵⁰ There is a clear overlap for the period between 678 and 727 in the *Liber historiae Francorum* and the *Annales Mettenses priores*. Due to the latter's different handling of this part of the Merovingian era, these two works have long been seen as somewhat incompatible histories by modern scholars.⁵¹ Yet, at least in this occasion and for this compiler this was certainly not the case. When the fact that the *Liber historiae Francorum* opens with the story of the Trojan origin of the Franks, it must have made more sense to include the *Excidium Troie* in between, before continuing the narrative with the *Annales Mettenses priores*, which literally opens with Pippin II's descent from Ansegisel.

As far as the written evidence survives, Paul the Deacon was the first to connect Ansegisel to Anchises, father of Aeneas, in the 780s. It may be argued that the story was already widespread and thus known by the time the *Annales Mettenses priores* was composed in c.805, if not in fact it was already initiated by the court of Charlemagne. There is of course no way to be certain which other works about the Trojan War the compiler had access to, if any, but the *Excidium Troie* is a perfect choice as it not only tells the story of the destruction of Troy and the migration of the Trojans to Europe but also narrates the foundation of Rome by Aeneas in the form of a summary of Virgil's *Aeneid*. There are several references to Anchises himself as well as Priam, and Aeneas is clearly linked with both: 'Eneas Veneris et Anchises filius, gener Priami regis':

⁴⁸ For the manuscripts of the *Annales Mettenses priores*, see von Simson 'Praefatio', in *Annales Mettenses priores*, pp. 5–17.

⁴⁹ They were later continued in two stages until the year 830. For brief discussions, see Collins, 'The Frankish Past', in *Am Vorabend der Kaiserkrönung*, ed. by Godman, Jarnut, and Johanek, pp. 301–22; McKitterick, *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 60–65; Hen, 'The Annals of Metz and the Merovingian Past', in *Uses of the Past*, ed. by Hen and Innes, pp. 175–90.

⁵⁰ Fouracre and Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France*, p. 347.

⁵¹ See, for example, Fouracre and Gerberding, 'Annales Mettenses Priores (The Earlier Annals of Metz)', in *Late Merovingian France*, pp. 330–49, and Hen, 'The Annals of Metz and the Merovingian Past', in *Uses of the Past*, ed. by Hen and Innes, pp. 175–90.

‘Aeneas, the son of Venus and Anchises, from the same *genus* of king Priam’.⁵² Hen also thinks that the choice of the *Excidium Troie* was ‘no mere coincidence’. However, it is difficult to agree that the reason was ‘the anonymous author’s patent lack of respect for most of the Trojan heroes, especially those who founded Rome’, or that this ‘accords extremely well with the *Liber historiae Francorum*’s [*sic*] attempt to convey a sense of Frankish superiority over the Romans’, as Hen claims.⁵³

It is clear that the author of this compilation, perhaps in a similar fashion but with a different agenda from that of the Paris compilation discussed above, had intentions to place the Frankish history in a wider context. Furthermore, while the overall work may serve as a piece of propaganda for the Carolingians, in juxtaposing these three works, the author not only underlines the links of the Franks, and in particular the Carolingians, with the Trojans but also with the Romans as well as maintaining the long line of the kings of the Franks all the way from the Trojans stretching first to the Merovingians and then to the Carolingians of the time.

5.2.3 Leiden, UBL, VLQ 5 + Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 713

38+88 (63+25) fols. I–III⁸, IV⁶, V⁵, VI³ + I³, II⁸, III⁷, IV–VIII⁸, IX⁵, X⁹, XI–XII⁸

Now found in two different codices, this compilation is the only witness to the existence of the *Chronicle of Fredegar* and the *Liber historiae Francorum* side by side. As is discussed in detail in the previous two chapters, the two works contain different versions of the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks. In this respect, they have always been considered as two competing works in modern scholarship with often references to the ‘inconsistencies’ between the accounts among other differences. There is, however, plenty of material evidence to suggest that these stories circulated at the same time, especially widely in the ninth century. There is also plenty of textual evidence to suggest that both the *Chronicle of Fredegar* and its revised version *Historia vel Gesta Francorum* were read and used together with the *Liber historiae Francorum*. The most striking example to this side by side usage is found in the *Chronicon*

⁵² See *Excidium Troie*, ed. by Bate, Chapters 24, 29, 39, 49, 70 for references to Anchises and Chapters 3, 5, 6, 8, 11, 12, 13, 15, 18, 22, 24, 26, 27, 29, 30, 39, 49 for Priam. The quotation is from Chapter 24.

⁵³ Hen, ‘Canvassing for Charles’, in *Zwischen Niederschrift und Wiederschrift*, ed. by Corradini, Diesenberger, and Niederkorn-Bruck, pp. 139–45 (p. 143). For the discussion of the *Liber historiae Francorum*, see Chapter 4 above.

universale discussed above in Chapter 4. Yet, the *Chronicle of Fredegar* and the *Liber historiae Francorum* do not survive together in a single manuscript except for this composite compilation:

VLQ 5

fols 59ra–69va The *Chronicle of Fredegar* (incomplete; beginning missing)

Reg. lat. 713

Part I

fols 1r–62v The *Chronicle of Fredegar* (continued from VLQ5)

fols 62v–63v Erchanbert, *Breviarium* (incomplete; end missing)

Part II

fols 64r–88v The *Liber historiae Francorum* (incomplete; end missing)

Produced in St Gall at the turn of the ninth century, VLQ 5 and Reg. lat. 713 (Part I), which contains the *Chronicle of Fredegar*, once formed the same manuscript, as discussed in Chapter 3 above.⁵⁴ In the first instance, the manuscript only contained the *Chronicle of Fredegar*. Erchanbert's *Breviarium*, the end of which is now missing, was later appended to the end of the text of the *Chronicle of Fredegar* in the late ninth century. Copied in the third quarter of the ninth century again in St Gall, Reg. lat. 713 (Part II), which contains the *Liber historiae Francorum*, on the other hand, is a separate production. That the *Liber historiae Francorum* was produced separately is supported by the materiality of the manuscript: both the gatherings and the script are different from that of the first part.⁵⁵ That is, not only the *Liber historiae Francorum* was written at a later period, it was also written on a different set of quires.

Collins suggests that the two parts that now form the Reg. lat. 713 were combined after the loss of the final gathering of the first part that would have contained the remainder of Erchanbert's work.⁵⁶ Even though there is no way to determine how early these two works were put together as part of the same codex, the existence of this composite compilation indicates at the very least that these two works were part of the collection of the same scriptorium. This would in turn suggest that might have been read and consulted side by side. The separation of the VLQ 5 and Reg. lat. 713, on the other hand, seems to have taken place in the mid-seventeenth century. An entry in 1663,

⁵⁴ de Meyier, *Codices Vossiani Latini*, II, 15–17.

⁵⁵ The hand of the *Liber historiae Francorum* is also different from that of the *Breviarium*.

⁵⁶ Collins, *Fredegar-Chroniken*, p. 71.

describes a codex where a ‘*Gesta regum Francorum*’ is bound with the *Chronicle of Fredegar*. There can be little doubt that the work entitled here as the *Gesta regum Francorum* is the *Liber historiae Francorum*.⁵⁷

5.3 Conclusion

In light of the manuscript evidence, it is seen that the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks was widespread throughout the Frankish region by the beginning of the tenth century. The works in question might have included different details with regard to the origins of the Franks, or even how the Franks got their name. Their common theme was that the Trojans were the ancestor of the Franks. Thus, despite—or perhaps because of—these differences, these works circulated at the same times and sometimes even produced at the same scriptoria. They were not competing; on the contrary, they were augmenting the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks.

Furthermore, the three compilations examined, Paris, BNF, lat. 7906 (Part III) + Paris, BNF, lat. 5018 (Part II), London, BL, Arundel 375, and Leiden, UBL, VLQ 5 + Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 713, display that there is much more to the relationships among various works that contain the Trojan narrative. The arrangement of Virgil’s *Aeneid*, Dares of Phrygia’s *De excidio Troiae historia*, the *Liber historiae Francorum* and Bede’s *Chronicon* in the Paris manuscript, for example, present the reader with four works which have no intertextual relationships yet they all include material relating to the story of Troy. A similar case is found in the London manuscript, which combines the *Liber historiae Francorum*, the *Excidium Troie* and the *Annales Mettenses priores*. Such juxtaposition of works in these codices adds a further layer to the transtextual relationships among the works of a certain narrative. The matter of Troy and any and all texts that may be associated with the Trojan narrative are not only invoked by narrating the story of Troy in one work but the reader is provided with a certain selection of

⁵⁷ The account is as follows: ‘*Gesta regum Francorum factum arbitramur [...]. Unicum licuit hactenus videre codicem manu exaratum, sed admodum antiquum, a quingentis facile annis scriptum, qui pertinuit ad Melchiorem Goldastum, virum in Germania apud Lutheranos eruditum. In hoc eodem Codice Ms. exstat Chronicon Fredegarii seu capita solum XC, quae genuinum ipsius Fredegarii foetum diximus, addita sub finem hac solempni clausula Explicit: quod itidem verbum post nudos titulos sub initium indicatos legitur, indicio certo nihil amplius requiri ab eo auctore scriptum.*’ *Acta sanctorum*, ed. by Jean Bolland and others, 2nd edn, 68 vols (Paris: Victor Palmé, 1863–1940), [IV:] February, I, 215A.

works that include the story. Not to mention that the details of the story in each work do not always correspond with one another. The most striking example in this regard is perhaps Leiden, UBL, VLQ 5 + Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 713. Between the two works contained in the codex, namely the *Chronicle of Fredegar* and the *Liber historiae Francorum*, the reader is presented with not two but three rewritings of the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks. The investigation into these and similar manuscript compilations provides further proof that any consideration of the Trojan narrative should be undertaken from a more encompassing point of view.

Conclusion

The Franks as a People Descending from the Trojans

In an interview dated to 1959, Charles de Gaulle, former President of France, expressed his views on the origins of France as follows:

Pour moi, l'histoire de France commence avec Clovis, choisi comme roi de France par la tribu des Francs, qui donnèrent leur nom à la France. Avant Clovis, nous avons la Préhistoire gallo-romaine et gauloise. L'élément décisif pour moi, c'est que Clovis fut le premier roi à être baptisé chrétien. Mon pays est un pays chrétien et je commence à compter l'histoire de France à partir de l'accession d'un roi chrétien qui porte le nom des Francs.¹

For me, the history of France begins with Clovis, elected as king of France by the tribe of the Franks, who gave their name to France. Before Clovis, we have Gallo-Roman and Gaulish prehistory. The decisive element, for me, is that Clovis was the first king to have been baptized a Christian. My country is a Christian country and I reckon the history of France beginning with the accession of a Christian king who bore the name of the Franks.

In the Middle Ages, from at least the mid-seventh through the eighteenth centuries, for over a millennium, the 'decisive element' had been being descended from the Trojans. Already towards the end of the Middle Ages, the story of the Trojans migrating following the fall of Troy and becoming the ancestors of the great peoples of Europe was so streamlined that the entry about the fall of Troy in the world chronicles was merely there to point to the departure of the Trojans and thus to the beginning of French history among those of other peoples. As inconceivable as it sounds today, this statement, that the Franks came from Troy, was still endorsed as part of royal history as late as the eighteenth-century France. As McKitterick reminds, for example, in 1714, Nicolas Fréret (1688–1749) was thrown into the Bastille because of his views against the Trojan ancestry.² In his speech at a private gathering at the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in Paris, this young scholar was simply arguing that the Franks were of Germanic origin but as a result, he was accused of defaming the monarchy and ended up in confinement for three months. That the story of the Trojan

¹ Reported by David Schoenbrunn in his biography of de Gaulle: *Les trois vies de Charles de Gaulle* (Paris: Julliard, 1965), p. 40. The similarity of this statement to that of Gregory of Tours is uncanny.

² Rosamond McKitterick, 'The Study of Frankish History in France and Germany in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Francia*, 8 (1991), 556–72 (p. 561).

origins of the Franks was preserved in various works and that it continued for over a millennium is an important aspect to consider. What is equally important is that this story was definitely part of a larger narrative consisting of all sorts of other texts that contain information relating to Troy, the Trojans and the Trojan War.

Besides several historical accounts of the Trojan War and literary works that include characters from Troy, there is a long tradition of European peoples and dynasties claiming Trojan ancestry. Trojan origins, probably the most famous of what is traditionally called *origo gentis*, origin of a tribe, race, nation, or people, connect most of the European peoples to Troy. As seen in the discussion throughout the present study, the *origo gentis* theme does not constitute a literary genre *per se* but is found in connection to various different genres. It conveys details of the origins of a particular people usually including an etymology of some sort regarding their name as well as their customs and deeds using various narrative patterns. Among the peoples who claim descent from Troy during the Middle Ages, the case of Franks is perhaps the most significant due to the fact that the story was appropriated and tailored to their needs in such a manner that it continued to find passionate advocates well into the eighteenth-century France.

Considering the differences in the accounts contained in the *Chronicle of Fredegar* and the version of the story in the *Liber historiae Francorum*, Goetz states that ‘the Franks were obviously trying to acquire a conscious identity derived from a concept of common descent and origin. They did not, however, have only one unique belief in a common origin, but were still searching for it.’³ It is hoped that this study shows that such differences, not only in the *Chronicle of Fredegar* and the *Liber historiae Francorum* but also in the various versions of the story that followed, were not necessarily because of *not knowing* exactly what the story is, or a search *per se*, but because of the encyclopaedic mindset of the medieval authors, compilers and readers. As this study repeatedly showed, different works that contain the story were collated in manuscript compilations with no intervention as to the contents of the works, and at the same time, different accounts were rewritten to combine several versions of the story into one.

³ Goetz, ‘Gens, Kings, and Kingdoms: The Franks’, in *Regna and Gentes*, ed. by Goetz, Jarnut, and Pohl, pp. 307–44 (p. 340).

Goetz further emphasises that the origin stories ‘deviated to a high degree from historical facts’ and that ‘we do not know whether they [the *origines gentium*] really are testimonies of widespread popular convictions or just scholarly constructions’. He also adds that ‘this is particularly true of completely unhistorical Frankish *origo* claiming Trojan origins for the Franks’.⁴ As modern scholars, we may never be able to satisfactorily explain what prompted the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks to be written down or how and why it began, other than the seemingly easy explanation of the Franks yearning for kinship with the Romans. Nevertheless, it is clear from this study that even if this was the reason for the commencement of the *origo gentis* story of the Franks, this was definitely not the reason it continued for over a millennium. By the same token, given the spread of the story throughout the Frankish region and beyond, scholarly constructions could have created popular convictions or vice versa. Similarly, the dismissal of the story as ‘completely unhistorical’ means the dismissal of a defining feature of the identity of Franks as well as more than a millennia-long ‘history’ of the Franks. After all, it is seen that even the most unexpected works that are discussed in this study had a claim for truth and the majority of the works that contain the story of the origin of the Franks are already deemed historical accounts by modern scholars.

With this study, it is set forth that during the early medieval period various authors reworked the origin story of the Franks in their respective works and tied the genealogy of the Franks to those Trojans who migrated to Europe after the fall of Troy. According to evidence available today, the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks was first promoted during the reign of the Merovingians, but was also very much welcomed first by the Carolingians and later by the Capetians. There was thus a continued appropriation of the story despite changes in political power. Beginning from at least as early as the mid-seventh century, coming from the Trojan stock became a defining feature of the identity of the Franks. A closer examination of the Trojan narrative indicate a high point in the engagement with the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks that occurred between the years 720s and 770s, a period of great transformation for the Frankish world. Furthermore, not only does the analysis of the different versions of the story reveal that the narratives are heavily interconnected but the manuscript evidence additionally suggests that these works circulated at the same times. Albeit the

⁴ Goetz, ‘*Regna and Gentes: Conclusion*’, in *Regna and Gentes*, ed. by Goetz, Jarnut, and Pohl, pp. 597–628 (pp. 608, 622).

definition of the *Regnum Francorum* and who were being referred to as *Franks* was very much fluid and kept changing throughout the early Middle Ages and beyond, the appropriation of this narrative in Frankish history certainly transformed the classical story of Troy.⁵

In addition to the particulars of the Trojan story in each work, which are laid out in this study, the methods of rewriting employed by these authors is the most important point. First of all, throughout the Trojan origin story that is found in the very first four chapters of the *Liber Historiae Francorum* there is no reference to the *Chronicle of Fredegar* and it agrees with the earlier two accounts only in the broadest outline. Thus, it has been argued by scholars that the story of Trojan origins in the *Liber historiae Francorum* is independent of either of the two accounts found in the *Chronicle of Fredegar*. On the other hand, the *Liber historiae Francorum* is one of the sources of the *Cosmographia* whereas whether the author used the *Chronicle of Fredegar* is still controversial. However, the story of Trojan origins as it is narrated in the *Liber historiae Francorum* is not used in the part of the *Cosmographia* that specifically deals with the Franks and Trojans. Instead, certain details of the story as it is told in the *Cosmographia* are only found in the *Historia de origine Francorum* attributed to Dares of Phrygia. And, the latter work is found today only attached to the *Historia vel gesta Francorum*. The *Historia vel gesta Francorum* on the other hand, is a reworking of the *Chronicle of Fredegar* but in this context, what is important is that it keeps the two accounts regarding the Trojan origins of the Franks as they are found in the *Chronicle of Fredegar* despite the fact that in other parts it utilises the *Liber historiae Francorum* to expand the narrative. The *Chronicon universale* utilises both accounts in the *Chronicle of Fredegar* as well as incorporating information from the *Liber historiae Francorum*. Here, moreover, none of these three versions of the story are merely copied but yet other versions are created through a very careful rewriting. And, finally Frechulf seems

⁵ For differing uses of the word *Franci* in different works, see, for example, Helmut Reimitz, 'Omnes Franci: Identifications and Identities of the Early Medieval Franks', in *Franks, Northmen, and Slavs*, ed. by Garipzanov, Geary, and Urbańczyk, pp. 51–69. For the concept of *regnum Francorum* and Frankish community, see Richard Broome, 'Approaches to the Frankish Community in the *Chronicle of Fredegar* and *Liber Historiae Francorum*', in *The Long Seventh Century: Continuity and Discontinuity in an Age of Transition*, ed. by Alessandro Gnasso, Emanuele E. Intagliata, Thomas J. MacMaster, and Bethan N. Morris (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2015), pp. 61–86 and 'Pagans, Rebels and Merovingians: Otherness in the Early Carolingian World', in *Resources of the Past*, ed. by Gantner, McKitterick, and Meeder, pp. 155–71.

to have utilised either the *Chronicle of Fredegar* or one would expect the *Historia vel Gesta Francorum* but there are no discernible references to those parts that are only found in the *Historia vel Gesta Francorum* and not in the *Chronicle of Fredegar*. Yet, it is certain that he used the *Historia de origine Francorum* to narrate the Trojan origins of the Franks that is only associated with the *Historia vel Gesta Francorum*. The way in which Paul the Deacon relates the Franks to the Trojans does not betray any sources and furthermore, there is no evidence in his entire corpus that he knew either the *Chronicle of Fredegar*, or the *Historia vel Gesta Francorum* or the *Liber historia Francorum*. So the reason why he thinks the Franks were descendants of the Trojans simply cannot be linked securely to any existing source.

Another point that stands out from this survey is the ascription of the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks to certain authors. In the *Chronicle of Fredegar*, the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks is found in those sections that are claimed to be excerpts from Jerome's *Chronicon* and Gregory of Tours's *Historiarum libri*. When the works that are examined in this chapter are considered, it is seen that the story of the Trojan origins in the *Liber historiae Francorum* is not credited to a source but the work itself is attributed to Gregory in the majority of manuscripts. Similarly, the *Cosmographia* does not attribute the information regarding the Trojan origin of the Franks to any specific authority but then again, the work itself is claimed to be written by Jerome. On the other hand, the *Historia vel gesta Francorum* keeps the sections about the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks derived from the *Chronicle of Fredegar* intact; thus, attributing the information once again to Jerome and Gregory. The *Chronicon universale* utilises both excerpts from Jerome's *Chronicon* and Gregory's *Historia* as found in the *Chronicle of Fredegar* as well as incorporating information from the *Liber historiae Francorum* yet on two occasions the story is explicitly ascribed to Jerome and only to Jerome. The *Historia de origine Francorum* outright credits Dares of Phrygia as the author of the text in its title. And, towards the end of the eighth century, all Paul the Deacon has to say is that the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks is common knowledge and that the 'the *gens Francorum*, as it is told by the ancients, sprang from a Trojan lineage'. Finally, writing in the early ninth century, Frechulf not only utilises solely the *Historia de origine Francorum* for the section on the Trojan origins of the Franks but also explicitly provides Dares of Phrygia as his source on the matter. Thus, by the mid-ninth century, it is seen that three

auctores, Dares, Jerome, and Gregory, none of whom in fact wrote anything about the Trojan origins of the Franks end up being credited with the story.

This research began with a study of the *De excidio Troiae historia* attributed to Dares of Phrygia and the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani* attributed to Dictys of Crete based on the established assumption in the scholarly community that these are the two major medieval sources for the narrative of the collapse of Troy. Although these two works are almost always discussed together by modern scholars, close reading of the texts revealed that the content and style of the works were quite different and that they contradict each other in certain aspects. The survey of secondary literature on both works has also shown that modern scholars mostly ignore the fact that these works were considered historical accounts during the Middle Ages, and that modern scholarship regarding both works have mostly been involved in defining the sources of these texts and analyzing the works on a linguistic level. The study of manuscript evidence has further revealed that the two works did not exclusively circulate together during the early Middle Ages, and that the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani* was considerably less popular and possibly less widespread than the *De excidio Troiae historia* throughout the medieval period. Furthermore, during the research, it was discovered that the less studied *Excidium Troie* was very influential throughout the Frankish region during the early Middle Ages. Despite the smaller number of witnesses, the *Excidium Troie* was initially more widely disseminated than the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani*. Not only that but both the *De excidio Troiae historia* and the *Excidium Troie* was envisaged together with the *Liber historiae Francorum* in early medieval manuscript compilations. Further evidence with regard to the prominence of Dares of Phrygia as part of the transmission of the Trojan narrative in Frankish history is the later work entitled the *Historia de origine Francorum*. Attributed again to Dares and narrating for the most part the story as it is told in the *De excidio Troiae historia*, this new rendering did not only strengthen the authority of Dares of Phrygia on the Trojan War but also, along with Saint Jerome and Gregory of Tours, established Dares as one of the three *auctoritas* on the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks.

It is not surprising then, of these three late antique accounts, even though all of them enjoyed some fame, the popularity of the *De excidio Troiae historia* attributed to Dares of Phrygia surpassed all in the later medieval period. In addition to renderings in

verse such as an anonymous twelfth-century *Historia Troyana Daretis Frigii*,⁶ another short poem found in a late-twelfth-century manuscript entitled *Versus contra Daretem*,⁷ the *Frigii Daretis Ylias: De bello Troiano* composed by Joseph of Exeter in the late twelfth century,⁸ and so on, during the mid-twelfth century, Benoît de Sainte-Maure based his *Le roman de Troie* in French on the *De excidio Troiae historia*. This was going to be the first vernacular treatment of the work. Guido delle Colonne, in the thirteenth century, cited Dares among his sources for his *Historia destructionis Troiae*, which is, if not a translation, proved to be heavily influenced from *Le roman de Troie*. In the mid-fourteenth century, Giovanni Boccaccio used both Benoît de Sainte-Maure's and Guido delle Colonne's accounts in his *Il filostrato*. Geoffrey Chaucer not only mentioned Dares of Phrygia in a number of his works, but also used Boccaccio's and Joseph of Exeter's accounts for his *Troilus and Criseyde* toward the end of the fourteenth century. During the first decades of the fifteenth century John Lydgate adapted Guido delle Colonne's Latin prose into English verse under the title of *The Troy Book*. In 1460s Raoul Lefèvre composed a poem in French based on Guido delle Colonne's work under the title of *Le Recueil des histoires de Troye*, which would be the first book printed in the French language. Within a decade, William Caxton translated the book from French into English as the *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*. Interestingly enough, Caxton's translation would be the first book to be printed in the English language. These accounts later inspired, among others, William Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*.

The Frankish interest in the Trojan narrative also had an impact on other narratives of *origo gentes*. For example, the *Historia Brittonum*, which is thought to be compiled around 830s, depicts the Trojan Brutus as the ancestor of the British.⁹ The attribution of the Trojan origins to the British clearly has its roots in the story of the

⁶ Jürgen Stohlmann, *Anonymi 'Historia Troyana Daretis Frigii'. Untersuchungen und kritische Ausgabe*, Beihefte zum Mittellateinischen Jahrbuch, 1 (Dusseldorf: Aloys Henn, 1968).

⁷ This quatrain only survives in Douai, BMu, 880. For a discussion, see Jacob Hammer, 'Some Leonine Summaries of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* and Other Poems', *Speculum*, 6 (1931), 114–23.

⁸ 'Frigii Daretis Ylias: De bello Troiano', in *Joseph Iscanus: Werke und Briefe*, ed. by Ludwig Gompf, *Mittellateinische Studien und Texte*, 4 (Leiden: Brill, 1970) and *Trojan War. I-III*, ed. and trans. by Alan Keith Bate (Bristol: Bolchazy-Carducci, 1986).

⁹ 'Historia Brittonum cum additamentis Nennii', in *Chronica minora. Saec. IV. V. VI. VII. Volumen III*, ed. by Theodor Mommsen, *MGH AA*, 13 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1898), pp. 111–222. For the dating, see also David Dumville, 'Historia Brittonum: An Insular History from the Carolingian Age', in *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. by Scharer and Scheibelreiter, pp. 406–34.

Trojan origins of the Franks. The story of the Trojan origins of the British was also elaborated and recorded by other authors but the transmission of the Trojan narrative in British history was going to happen much later on compared to that of the Frankish. The most influential of these works was Geoffrey of Monmouth's twelfth-century *Historia regum Britannie*, which also traces the origins of the British back to Troy.¹⁰ It is thus no coincidence that, in addition to its wide circulation both in Latin and in different French translations on the continent, from the twelfth century onwards, the *De excidio Troiae historia* began circulating with the Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britannie*.¹¹ Furthermore, Clarke recently suggested that the Irish origin stories, earliest of which date back to the late ninth century have also been influenced by the development of the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks during the Carolingian times.¹²

It is clear that the present study promises whole new vistas of new research areas. First of all, a more detailed study of the relationships among the manuscript witnesses of the three late antique accounts, the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani*, the *De excidio Troiae historia*, and the *Excidium Troie*, may be conducted. Such a study could also stretch beyond the early Middle Ages and thereby offer other interesting points of comparison. From the findings of the present study, the correlation between the survival and circulation of these works and the interest in the story of the origins of the Franks at least during the early medieval period, is clear but would certainly benefit from a more detailed examination of the surviving manuscript witnesses. Since this study is a survey of the Trojan narrative in Frankish history spanning over five centuries, it was not possible to give a balanced coverage to all the works mentioned. Therefore, a more detailed, comparative and in-depth analysis of the three late antique accounts would also be welcome. In addition, the intertextual relationship between the *De excidio Troiae historia* and the *Historia de origine Francorum* merits a closer investigation.

¹⁰ For an analysis see, for example, Ingledew, Francis, 'The Book of Troy and the Genealogical Construction of History: The Case of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*', *Speculum*, 69 (1994), 665–704.

¹¹ Julia C. Crick, *The 'Historia regum Britannie' of Geoffrey of Monmouth. III. A Summary Catalogue of the Manuscripts* (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1989).

¹² Michael Clarke, 'The *Leabhar Gabhála* and Carolingian Origin Legends', in *Early Medieval Ireland and Europe: Chronology, Contacts, Scholarship. A Festschrift for Dáibhí Ó Cróinín*, ed. by Pádraic Moran and Immo Warntjes, *Studia Traditionis Theologiae*, 14 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), pp. 441–79.

Due to the focus and scope of this study, elaborating on questions such as the following also have to remain for future research: How did the authors define the Trojans and the Franks, and what did they understand by these terms? What were the uses of the story of the Trojan origins of the Franks? Was it used to explain ‘national’ origin, or was it granted to a particular dynasty or class among the Frankish people? If so, what was the role those particular classes played in the definition of the ‘national’ or any other category they helped to constitute? If the Trojan origin story served to establish dynastic rights, what was the significance of having a Trojan derivation? What socio-political function did the conjecture of the Trojan origin serve among the Franks at particular points in their history?

It is also clear from the findings of the present study that not only the transmission of specific works but also the make-up of different compilations should be considered more closely. Different historical compendia and miscellanies should be treated as whole works in themselves and should be taken into consideration in the discussions of the circulations of various works. Considering manuscripts as a whole and not only looking at texts side by side but also examining manuscripts side by side will benefit all scholars working in the field.

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