

The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe

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Abbreviations

ACO	<i>Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum</i> , 17 vols. (Berlin, 1914–1984), ed. E. Schwartz and J. Straub
AfD	<i>Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde</i>
AHP	<i>Archivum historiae pontificae</i>
AL	<i>Annales Laureshamenses</i> (Annals of Lorsch), ed. E. Katz (St Paul, 1889)
AM	<i>Annales Mosellani</i> , ed. I. M. Lappenberg, <i>MGH SS</i> 16 (Hanover, 1859)
AMa	<i>Annals of Massay</i> , ed. P. Labbé, <i>Novae bibliothecae manuscriptorum librorum</i> (Paris, 1657), vol. II, pp. 733–6
AMP	<i>Annales Mettenses priores</i> , ed. B. von Simson, <i>MGH SRG</i> 10 (Hanover, 1905)
Annales ESC	<i>Annales: économies, sociétés, civilisations</i>
AP	<i>Annales Petaviani</i> , ed. G. H. Pertz, <i>MGH SS</i> 1 (Hanover 1826)
AQ	<i>Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters</i> (Darmstadt, 1955–)
ARF	<i>Annales regni Francorum</i> , ed. F. Kurze, <i>MGH SRG</i> 6 (Hanover, 1895)
BAV	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BHL	<i>Bibliographica hagiographica latina</i>
Blaise, Dictionnaire	A. Blaise, <i>Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens</i> (Turnhout, 1954)
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
BT	<i>Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana</i> , 1849–
CC	<i>Codex Carolinus</i> , ed. W. Gundlach, <i>MGH Epp.</i> III (Berlin, 1892), pp. 469–657
CCCM	<i>Corpus christianorum continuatio medievalis</i> (Turnhout, 1966)

CCSL	<i>Corpus christianorum series latina</i> (Turnhout, 1952)
CLA	Lowe, Elias A., <i>Codices latini antiquiores: A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts prior to the Ninth Century</i> , 11 vols. plus supplement (Oxford, 1935–71)
Continuations	Fredegar, <i>Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegarii Scholastici libri IV cum Continuationibus</i> , ed. B. Krusch, <i>MGH SRM 2</i> (Hanover, 1888)
CSEL	<i>Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum</i>
DA	<i>Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters</i>
EA	<i>Epitaphium Arsenii</i> , ed. E. Dümmler, 1900
EME	<i>Early Medieval Europe</i>
FrSt	<i>Frühmittelalterliche Studien</i>
Hjßb	<i>Historisches Jahrbuch</i>
HT	Cassiodorus, <i>Historia ecclesiastica tripartita</i> , ed. W. Jacob and H. Hanslik, <i>CSEL 71</i> (Vienna, 1972)
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
LHF	<i>Liber historiae Francorum</i> , ed. B. Krusch, <i>MGH SRM 2</i> (Hanover, 1888)
LM	Dhuoda, <i>Liber manualis</i> , ed. P. Riché (Paris, 1975)
LP	<i>Liber pontificalis</i> , ed. L. Duchesne, <i>Le 'Liber pontificalis': texte, introduction et commentaire</i> , 2 vols. (Paris, 1886–92; 2nd edn. with vol. III ed. C. Vogel, Paris 1955–7)
MBK	<i>Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz</i> (Munich, 1918–2009)
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
AA	<i>Auctores antiquissimi</i>
Capit.	<i>Leges: Capitularia regum Francorum</i>
Conc.	<i>Concilia. Legum Sectio III, Concilia II</i> , ed. A. Werminghoff, Hanover (1906–8); III, ed. W. Hartmann (Hanover, 1984).
DD Kar.	<i>Diplomatum Karolinorum</i>
Epp.	<i>Epistolae III–VIII (= Epistolae Merovingici et Karolini aevi</i> , Hanover, 1892–1939).
Epp. Sel.	<i>Epistolae selectae in usum scholarum</i>
Fontes iuris	<i>Fontes iuris Germanici Antiqui in usum scholarum separatim editi</i>
Poet.	<i>Poetae latini aevi carolini</i>

SRG	<i>Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi</i>
SRL	<i>Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum, saec. VI–IX</i> , ed. G. Waitz (Hanover, 1885–1920)
SRM	<i>Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum</i>
SS	<i>Scriptores in Folio</i>
MIÖG	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung</i>
NA	<i>Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde</i>
OLD	<i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i>
PL	J.-P. Migne (pr.), <i>Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina</i> , 221 vols. (Paris 1841–64)
RB	<i>Revue Bénédictine</i>
Reviser	<i>Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi</i> ('Revised' version of the <i>Annales regni Francorum</i>)
RHEF	<i>Revue d'Histoire de l'Église de France</i>
Settimane	<i>Settimane di Studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo</i> , Spoleto (1954–)
SM	<i>Studi Medievali</i>
TRHS	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
VB	Willibald, <i>Vita Bonifatii</i> , ed. W. Levison, <i>MGH SRG 57</i> (Hanover, 1905)
VK	Einhard, <i>Vita Karoli Magni</i> , ed. O. Holder-Egger, <i>MGH SRG 25</i> (Hanover, 1911)
VL	Alfred, <i>Vita Liudgeri</i> , ed. W. Diekamp, <i>Die Vitae Sancti Liudgeri</i> (Munster, 1881)
VV	<i>Vita Vulframni</i> , ed. W. Levison, <i>MGH SRG 57</i> (Hanover, 1905)
VW	Alcuin, <i>Vita Willibrordi</i> , ed. W. Levison, <i>MGH SRM 7</i> (Hanover, 1920)
ZRG Kan. Abt.	<i>Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Kanonistische Abteilung</i>

15 Transformations of Late Antiquity: the writing and re-writing of Church history at the monastery of Lorsch, c. 800

Helmut Reimitz

At the beginning of the 790s Alcuin, one of the most eminent scholars at the court of Charlemagne, wrote a letter to his former pupil, Ricbod, the abbot of the monastery of Lorsch. In addition to his good wishes and advice, Alcuin cautioned Ricbod against his love for Virgil. Ricbod ought to direct his interests to the research of holy writings rather than to the study of Virgil's (*Utinam evangelia quattuor, non Aeneadem duodecim, pectus compleant tuum*).¹ For a long time such remarks have been seen as evidence for a 'Carolingian' Renaissance, and Ricbod's admiration of classical culture and education was regarded as typical of widespread efforts in the Carolingian kingdom and empire to revive and emulate classical models and standards. More recent research has shown, however, that the political necessities of the eighth-century West drove the emphasis on learning.² The 'Carolingian' Renaissance was in many ways an experimental process which responded to a new need for a culture of wide-reaching political and social integration created by the political and military success of Carolingian politics.³

Consequently, the 'resources of the past' re-appropriated by Carolingian politicians, scholars and intellectuals included more than the resources of the classical and late classical Roman world. They also drew on the adaptations of late Roman models and resources developed in the post-Roman kingdoms in the centuries before the Carolingian rise to power. In my contribution to the study of this multifaceted process I shall focus on the writing and rewriting of Roman and post-Roman history in the monastery of Lorsch during the time of Ricbod (784–804), the admirer of Virgil, and of his successor Adalung (804–37). A closer

¹ Alcuin, *Epistolae*, 13, p. 39.

² Nelson, 'Kingship and empire', p. 52; on Carolingian politics as a learning process see also her *Opposition to Charlemagne*.

³ See McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, esp. ch. 5; and already Brown, 'Introduction: the Carolingian Renaissance'.

look at the transmission and appropriation of histories at Lorsch will show that Ricbod's love for Virgil might well be connected to much more specific reflections and debates about the resources of the past and their use for the creation of new visions of community than simply an esteem for classical culture.

Due to its close ties to the bishopric of Metz as well as the Carolingian court, Lorsch became one of the most vital laboratories for research into the resources of the past soon after its foundation. Founded in the 760s by members of a noble Rhineland family, it was soon placed under the jurisdiction of Chrodegang, bishop of Metz, a relative of the founders,⁴ and one of the driving forces behind the early Carolingian reforms under Pippin III.⁵ The monastery stayed in close contact with the bishopric under Chrodegang's successor Angilram, who took over the see in 769. Angilram, like his predecessor, had close connections with the Carolingian court, and after the death of Fulrad of St Denis in 784 he was in charge of the royal chancery.⁶ Lorsch's close connections with the Carolingian court were not just mediated through the bishops of Metz; the Carolingian rulers themselves took the monastery under their protection. The entire royal family was present at the consecration of the Church in 774.⁷ The abbots Ricbod and Adalung both enjoyed close connections with the Carolingian court.⁸ Consequently Lorsch became one of the wealthiest and most important monasteries in the Frankish kingdoms and at the same time one of the most influential cultural centres of the Carolingian reforms.

This is also impressively documented in the extant manuscripts from Lorsch. Thanks to the transmission of several ninth-century library catalogues and many manuscripts of the time (and their comprehensive palaeographical and codicological study by Bernhard Bischoff⁹) we have extraordinarily detailed evidence for reconstructing the creation of the library in the context of the intensified cultural efforts of the Carolingian *correctio*.¹⁰ The most comprehensive catalogue of the books at Lorsch

⁴ Cf. Innes, *State and Society*, p. 18; Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space*, pp. 99–100; Corradini, 'Lorsch', pp. 610–11.

⁵ Claussen, *The Reform*, pp. 19–57.

⁶ Wattenbach, Levison and Löwe, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, p. 251; but see the discussion in McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, pp. 44–7, with n. 163; Häring, 'Angilram', col. 635; Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space*, pp. 124–7.

⁷ Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space*, p. 124.

⁸ Semmler, 'Die Geschichte der Abtei Lorsch'.

⁹ Bischoff, *Die Abtei Lorsch*; see now the digital reconstruction of the library www.bibliotheca-laureshamensis-digital.de/ (accessed 18 July 2013).

¹⁰ Brown, *Rise*, pp. 437–62; de Jong, 'Charlemagne's church'; and McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, pp. 292–372.

was written in 860 and lists about 500 titles and 300 extant manuscripts or manuscript fragments from the library.¹¹ The oldest library catalogue dates from about 830, to the time of Abbot Adalung, but the catalogue lists many works that must have come to the library under his predecessor Ricbod.

Even a brief and superficial look at the catalogues and extant manuscripts shows that the main focus of the Lorsch scholars was the study of patristic texts.¹² The existing copies demonstrate that they are not the result of random copying and collection but rather of serious research and careful selection. As the layout, format and other traces in the extant manuscripts reveal, some of the exemplars that were used to produce these manuscripts must have been very old copies. They may well have been papyrus rolls or early parchment codices.¹³ However, age does not seem to have been the only criterion for their preservation. The texts were also carefully read, checked against other traditions and meticulously edited to be brought into line with the new standards of the Carolingian *correctio*.¹⁴

Similar processes can be observed with regard to the production and reception of historical texts at the monastery of Lorsch. Although the number of history book manuscripts written and kept at Lorsch cannot compete with the quantity of patristic texts, Lorsch still had an impressive historical collection.¹⁵ The great importance accorded to historiography is most evident in the catalogue drawn up around 860, in which the list of historical works directly follows the list of biblical books.¹⁶ The active interest in history at Lorsch already becomes apparent in the oldest manuscripts written in the 'Older Lorsch Style'. This script, used until the first decade of the ninth century, is so similar to the minuscule used at Metz and the Carolingian court that Bischoff even regarded it as a product of the interaction and exchange of scribes between these three cultural centres.¹⁷ Bischoff identified twenty-three extant manuscripts written in this style. Among the many patristic works and authors there are six historical works: Orosius' *Septem libri historiarum adversos*

¹¹ Bischoff, *Die Abtei Lorsch*, pp. 102–35; Häse, *Mittelalterliche Bücherverzeichnisse*.

¹² Becker, 'Präsenz'. ¹³ McKitterick, *History and Memory*, pp. 201–8.

¹⁴ See Becker, Licht and Weinfurter (eds.), *Karolingische Klöster*; esp. the contributions of Julia Becker, Kirsten Tobler, Ulrich Eigler and Tino Licht. The volume publishes some of the results of a larger project on 'Wissenstransfer von der Antike ins Mittelalter: Bedingungen und Wirkungen dauerhafter Verschriftlichung am Beispiel des Klosters Lorsch' at the University of Heidelberg.

¹⁵ McKitterick, *History and Memory*, pp. 196–210.

¹⁶ Katalog Ca, p. 137, in Häse, *Mittelalterliche Bücherverzeichnisse*, pp. 189–91; McKitterick, *History and Memory*, p. 197.

¹⁷ Bischoff, *Die Abtei Lorsch*, p. 36.

paganos;¹⁸ the Latin translations of the Antiquities,¹⁹ and the Jewish Wars²⁰ of Flavius Josephus. Rufinus' translation and continuation of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*,²¹ Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*²² and a Carolingian version of Gregory of Tours' *Histories* augmented with the fourth book of the *Chronicle* of Fredegar with its *Continuations* until the death of Charles Martel in 741.²³ Rosamond McKitterick has suspected the use of very old exemplars for some of the late antique works on the basis of the format of the manuscripts.²⁴ However, even here the old texts were not merely copied; they were carefully studied, sometimes compared with other versions and prepared as new editions.

A good example for the careful and critical study of the texts is the copy of the first Latin Church history, the translation and continuation of Eusebius' *Church History* that Rufinus of Aquileia wrote at the beginning of the fifth century.²⁵ Its modern editor, Theodor Mommsen, regarded the Lorsch copy of the text (BAV, Pal. lat. 822) as the best extant version. Mommsen's judgement, however, was not based on an understanding that the manuscript presented the most faithful copy of an old exemplar. It was rather based on his observation that the Lorsch copyists punctiliously edited and corrected many of the errors and misunderstandings of the exemplars of Rufinus' history in circulation at the time. While Mommsen appreciated the work of the Lorsch editors as a careful and intelligent critical edition, he also mentioned the many interpolations they had added to Rufinus' text as the downside of the scribes' ability to think on their feet.²⁶ In his preface to the edition Mommsen promised a more detailed discussion of these interpolations but he obviously did not find the time to publish it before his death in 1903, the same year his edition appeared.²⁷

¹⁸ BAV, Pal. lat. 829; Häse, *Mittelalterliche Bücherverzeichnisse*, no. 64, p. 190.

¹⁹ BAV, Pal. lat. 814; Häse, *Mittelalterliche Bücherverzeichnisse*, no. 62, p. 189.

²⁰ BAV, Pal. lat. 170; Häse, *Mittelalterliche Bücherverzeichnisse*, no. 63, p. 189.

²¹ BAV, Pal. lat. 822; Häse, *Mittelalterliche Bücherverzeichnisse*, no. 61, p. 189.

²² Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Weiss 34; Häse, *Mittelalterliche Bücherverzeichnisse*, no. 189, p. 259.

²³ Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Pal. lat. 864.

²⁴ McKitterick, *History and Memory*, p. 203.

²⁵ BAV, Pal. lat. 822; on Rufinus' translation and continuation, see Humphries, 'Rufinus' Eusebius', and on Rufinus still Thélamon, *Paiens et chrétiens*.

²⁶ See the introduction of Mommsen in Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. Schwartz and Mommsen, vol. II, pp. ccli–cclxviii, here cclxiii. See also the comments of F. Winckelmann *ibid.*, vol. I, p. IX; and Hammond Bammel, 'Das neue Rufinfragment', pp. 491–3.

²⁷ Some interesting insights into the circumstances and shortcomings of the edition can be found in the correspondence between Mommsen and Adolf Harnack, published by Rebenich, *Theodor Mommsen und Adolf Harnack*, pp. 199–204; 600–7; 780–8, 800–5, 872–3, 954–5, 975.

A closer study of these interpolations is beyond the scope of this chapter, the more so as it would involve the comparison with even more manuscripts than Mommsen included in his edition, something which was attempted by Caroline Hammond Bammel who produced a fine study of the earliest manuscripts of the text. To the three manuscripts that Mommsen included in his edition (from Lorsch, Chelles and Lucca respectively),²⁸ she added three further manuscripts (from Corbie (books 6–11), the Alemannic region, and Freising) and three fragments which were all written in the late eighth and early ninth century.²⁹ As Hammond Bammel rightly remarked, the preliminary character of Mommsen's edition of Rufinus as a complement to the Greek 'original' of Eusebius and his selective use of manuscripts clearly complicates the comparison of different versions, their relation to each other and to a reconstructed archetype of the texts.³⁰ Nevertheless, her survey of the early manuscript transmission impressively demonstrates the intensified interest of Carolingian scholars, compilers and copyists in the late antique *Church History* of Rufinus.

While a detailed study of the interpolations into the text mentioned by Mommsen would require a new edition of Rufinus' *Church History*,³¹ the Lorsch copy can still provide a number of interesting traces in relation to how it was intended and used for further study of its contents and models. There are, for instance, traces which show that the Lorsch scribes and compilers tried to help readers to navigate through the comprehensive eleven books of Rufinus. The manuscript has a table of contents at the beginning of every single book. On these pages the copyists or librarians inserted fixed strips of parchment to mark the pages where each book begins.

²⁸ BAV, Pal. lat. 822; Paris, BnF lat. 18282 (Chelles, s. viii/ix; *CLA* V, 674), the third manuscript that Mommsen used, Lucca, Bibliotheca Capitolare 490 (Lucca, s. viii/ix; *CLA* III, 303b), is not discussed in Mommsen's introduction of the edition because he died before he could finish it. It is only mentioned in the introduction of Eduard Schwartz: Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. Schwartz and Mommsen, vol. II, p. 32.

²⁹ Paris, BnF lat. 12527 (Corbie (s. viii/ix; *CLA* V, 643); Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek 347 (975) (Alemannia, s. s.viii/ix; *CLA* VII, 878); Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6383 (Freising, s. viii/ix; *CLA* IX, 1279; Bischoff, *Katalog*, p. 240). Fragments: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek lat. Ser. N. 3644 (Anglo-Saxon minuscule written either in England or in an Anglo-Saxon centre on the continent, s. viii; *CLA* X, 1515); Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 29041 (Würzburg?; s. ix; Bischoff, *Katalog*, p. 288; Paris, BnF lat. 10399 and 10400 (Chelles, s. viii; *CLA* V, 594); see Hammond Bammel, 'Das neue Rufinfragment', pp. 499–505; for a brief overview over the manuscript transmission until the twelfth century, see Siegmund, *Die Überlieferung*, pp. 78–9.

³⁰ Hammond Bammel, 'Das neue Rufinfragment', pp. 492–3.

³¹ Lapidge, 'Rufinus', p. 124.

Another example of the careful reading and study of the exemplar for this copy is provided in the many marginal notes added by Lorsch scribes. Some of the marginal glosses of the manuscript correspond exactly with the words in the so-called *Leiden Glossary*, an early medieval glossary containing lists of words in batches extracted from a number of different texts, including a selection from Rufinus' *Historia ecclesiastica*.³² Hitherto, the production of these glossaries has been envisaged as a process of assembling marginal notes and interlinear glosses in texts from standard authors such as Rufinus.³³ More recent research has shown that the creation, dissemination and use of these glossaries was a much more complex process. They seem to have been created in a process in which scholars continued to register key passages from religious and literary authorities in close cooperation with their students. As Michael Lapidge and Bernhard Bischoff argued in their study of the Biblical commentaries from the School of Canterbury, such notes could be created 'as much by the activities of the students recording a master's observation as by the annotating activity of the master himself'.³⁴ The marginal notes in Rufinus' *Church History* of the Lorsch manuscript can be seen not only as evidence for the complexities of intertextual relations between glossaries and the texts that inspired the batches in these collections of glosses. They also suggest a constant interchange between masters, students, scholars, scribes and the religious and literary authorities they explored. Lapidge suggested that the dialogue documented in the manuscripts with Rufinus' *Church History* originated in the school of Canterbury during the time of Aldhelm, whose interest in Rufinus' *History* is indeed well attested.³⁵ This might well have been the case. But the marginal notes are written in different hands.³⁶ This indicates that the batches were not just copied from the exemplar but

³² Examples: BAV, Pal. lat. 822, fo. 32v: *archisinagogus* (ad Rufinus, *Historia ecclesiastica* 3, 4, 10, p. 195,9, cf. *Leiden Glossary*, XXXV, 130, ed. Hessels, p. 35 and Lapidge, 'Rufinus', p. 126); fo. 33v: *dispicatis: incises vel inruptis* (ad Rufinus, *Historia ecclesiastica* 3, 6, 6, p. 201, 27 cf. *Leiden Glossary*, XXXV, 134, ed. Hessels, p. 35 and Lapidge, 'Rufinus', p. 126); fo. 44v: [*pet*] *alum vestis in quo scriptum [est] nomen dei vel tetragrammaton* (ad Rufinus, *Historia ecclesiastica* 3, 31 3, p. 265, 13; cf. Latin-Anglo-Saxon glossary IV, 34, ed. Hessels, p. 8 and Lapidge, 'Rufinus', p. 126); for the Leiden glossary see now McKitterick, 'Glossaries'.

³³ Lapidge, 'Rufinus', p. 119; with reference to Lindsay, *Ancient Lore*.

³⁴ Bischoff and Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*; quote from Lapidge, 'Rufinus', p. 119; see now also McKitterick, 'Glossaries'.

³⁵ Lapidge, 'Rufinus', pp. 128–9.

³⁶ See, for instance, Rufinus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 8, 10, p. 761, 21 (*post tergum alii vincitis manibus adpendebantur et trochleis distenti membratim divellebantur*) with the gloss in BAV, Pal. lat. 822, fo. 130v: *trochos grece, rota latinen per quas funes trahuntur*. Lapidge, 'Rufinus', p. 127.

that some of the words in them were also added to the notes from c. 800 onwards.

Lapidge preferred to see the Lorsch Eusebius-Rufinus as a direct copy from an exemplar written at Canterbury around 700 and brought to Lorsch around 800. Hammond Bammel, however, suggested that the exemplar of the Rufinus manuscript came to Lorsch from Canterbury via the Carolingian court.³⁷ The close connections between Lorsch and the court might indeed be the more plausible context for the scholarly exchange reflected in the Lorsch manuscript of Rufinus. It belongs to a group of manuscripts with a number of the same scribes in common and who share an interest in Anglo-Saxon scholarship.³⁸ One of these scribes was Rado, who was Angilram's successor as archchancellor at the Carolingian court.³⁹

In any case, as many further marginal notes, nota-symbols and other signs, such as pointing fingers, highlighting certain passages show, the scholars and students at Lorsch continued to read and study the text. Other members of the group of manuscripts written in the Older Lorsch style also indicate that the learned monks at Lorsch were not only interested in Rufinus' history of Christianity, Church and empire in the late Roman world but also in the application of its model to the history of the post-Roman West. One of the scribes who compiled the Lorsch manuscript of Rufinus' *Church History*, for example, was also involved in the copying of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, a text clearly influenced by the structure, scope and language of Rufinus' work.⁴⁰

A few years after the production of the ecclesiastical histories of Rufinus and Bede, the compilers and scribes at Lorsch created their own *historia ecclesiastica*: a new Church history in which the Lorsch historians combined Gregory of Tours' *Histories* with the fourth book of the Fredegar *Chronicle* and its *Continuations* until the death of Charles Martel in 741. The manuscript is one of the most spectacular examples of the editorial work inspired by earlier models at Lorsch. The labelling of this

³⁷ Hammond Bammel, 'Das neue Rufinfragment', p. 50.

³⁸ The other manuscripts are BAV Pal. lat. 1753, which contains the *Ars grammatica* of Marius Victorinus, the *Cento* of Proba along with Aldhelm's treatise *De metris*; Paris, BnF, lat. 1668 with Bede's *De arte metrica* and Aldhelm's *Carmen de virginate*; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Weiss. 34 with Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*. and BAV, Pal. lat. 207 (Augustinus, *Tractatus in evangelium Johannis*); see Bischoff, *Die Abtei Lorsch*, pp. 31–3; and the comments on the script in the manuscript description of the digital publication of the manuscript www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/digi-pdf-katalogisate/sammlung51/werk/pdf/bav.pal.lat.822.pdf (Bibliotheca Laureshamensis digital).

³⁹ I owe the information about the identification of Rado's hand in the manuscript to Julia Becker: see her contribution in Becker, Licht and Weinfurter (eds.), *Karolingische Klöster*; for Rado see also Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle*, p. 81, nn. 104 and 108.

⁴⁰ Lapidge, 'Rufinus', p. 122.

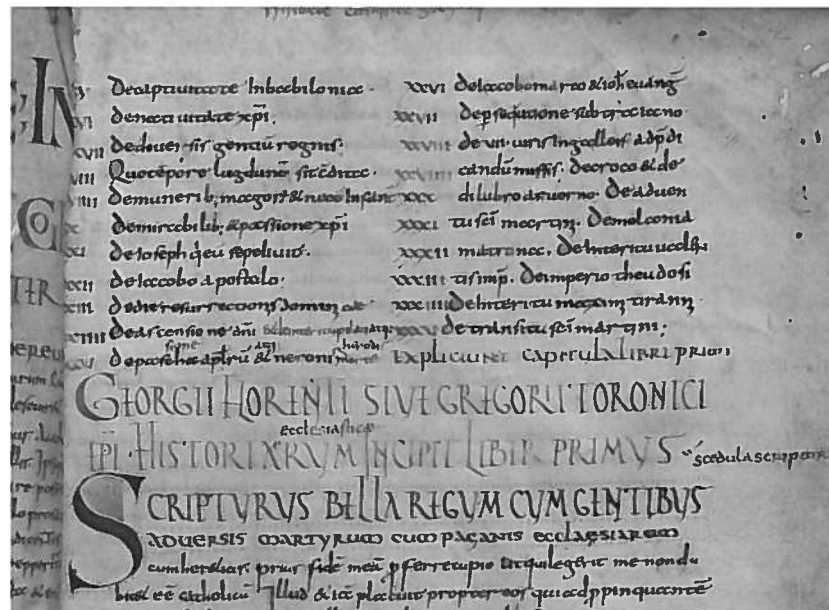


Figure 15.1 Beginning of Book 1 of Gregory's *Histories* in the *Historia ecclesiastica* of Lorsch (Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Pal. lat. 864, fo. 2r)

history book as a Church history seems to have been quite important to the compilers of the manuscript. The scribes had originally started the first book with the heading *Georgi Florenti sive Gregorii Toronici episcopi historiarum incipit liber primus*.⁴¹ However, a contemporary corrector who had inspected the text by comparing what had already been copied against another exemplar or draft changed the heading to *historiae ecclesiasticae liber primus* (see Figure 15.1). In the same script, he also inserted the note *scedula scriptoris* on the margin of the page. Words like *schedae* and *schedulae* were often used to describe smaller booklets or unbound leaves,⁴² but it is entirely possible that in this case *schedula* could also be translated as 'rough draft'.⁴³

It is actually difficult to imagine the complex production of this manuscript without an intermediate drafting process. This version of

⁴¹ Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Pal. lat. 864, fo. 2r; for the title of Gregory's *Histories* see Heinzelmann, *Gregory of Tours*, pp. 104–7.

⁴² See Pilsworth, 'Vile scraps'; Poulin, 'Les libelli', with further references.

⁴³ Tengström, *Die Protokollierung*, pp. 35–49.

Gregory was neither a copy of the complete *Decem libri historiarum* nor a copy of the Merovingian recension produced only a generation after Gregory's death. In order to update Gregory's vision of community to the transformed political and social circumstances of the seventh century, the Merovingian compilers had rewritten Gregory's text in a six-book version, from which they omitted not only the last four books,⁴⁴ but also a series of chapters in the first six books. This six-book version became quite popular in the Merovingian period. It is extant in no fewer than five Merovingian manuscripts, and in a further manuscript copied probably in northern Italy in the second half of the eighth century.⁴⁵ One copy of the six-book version must also have been available to the compilers of the new *historia ecclesiastica* at Lorsch. The codicological autopsy shows that they worked with one Merovingian six-book version as well as a relatively complete version of Gregory's *Ten Books*.⁴⁶ For their compilation of the narrative of the first six books, the compilers worked on the basis of the Merovingian six-book edition and used certain chapters from the complete *Decem libri* (though by no means all of them) to supplement it. After the end of the first six books, the use of Gregory's text grows particularly selective. Above all, the last two books (9 and 10) were dramatically shortened and brought together into one ninth book. The text concludes with a tenth book comprising the fourth book of the *Fredegar Chronicle* and the first twenty-four chapters of the Carolingian *Continuations of Fredegar*.⁴⁷

The care with which the compilers combined the account of the *Fredegar Chronicle* with Gregory's is already evident in the prologue to the fourth book of the *Chronicle*. First, the compilers skipped all the remarks in the prologue that referred to sources other than Gregory and only included the chronicler's statement that he had picked up the story where Gregory had ended. But the *Fredegar* chroniclers had worked with the

⁴⁴ For a more detailed discussion of the six-book version see Reimitz, *History, Frankish Identity*, ch. 2, section 1.

⁴⁵ Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, 624 (684) (B1 in Bruno Krusch's *Stemma*); a near-complete version of books VII to X was added as late as the first half of the eighth century; the same version is also transmitted by the possibly north Italian Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale lat. 9403 (produced around 800) (*CLA* X, 1544); Paris, BnF lat. 17654 (beginning of eighth century); *CLA* V, 670, possibly written at Jouarre, see McKitterick, 'Nuns' scriptoria', p. 5; Paris, BnF lat. 17655 (Corbie, end of seventh century, *CLA* V, 671); Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLQ 63 (Tours, first half of the eighth century); a fragment is Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Fragm. Aug. CIV (France, beginning of the eighth century, *CLA* VIII, 1122); see Bourgain and Heinzelmann, 'L'œuvre de Grégoire de Tours', pp. 282–3.

⁴⁶ Reimitz, 'Social networks', pp. 262–3.

⁴⁷ For the *Continuations of the Fredegar Chronicle* as part of a comprehensive rearrangement and continuation of the original text see now Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*.

six-book recension which ended with Chilperic's death in 584. Consequently, the prologue of the *Fredegar Chronicle* ended with the sentence: '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' (*quo Gregori fines gesta cessavit et tacuit, cum Chilperici vitam finisse scripsit*).⁴⁸ This was no longer valid in the case of the Lorsch version because the compilers had used all ten books of Gregory. So besides omitting references to all the sources that the *Fredegar Chronicle* had used before the start of the 'fourth book' (in addition to Gregory), they also omitted the last clause of the prologue (*cum Chilperici vitam finisse scripsit*) in order to adapt the prologue to fit their own compilation.⁴⁹

The compilers, however, not only built on different versions of texts written in the Merovingian kingdoms for their reorganisation and reinterpretation of Gregory's *Histories*. They also built on the models of earlier Church histories (Rufinus and Bede) copied a few years before they embarked on the compilation of the new *historiae ecclesiasticae*.⁵⁰

Although none of the scribes working on the above-mentioned group of manuscripts to which the copies of Rufinus' or Bede's *historiae ecclesiasticae* belong, can be identified as having a hand in the production of the manuscript now in Heidelberg, Pal. lat. 864, this codex shows striking similarities in layout and organisation of the text to the Rufinus manuscript (cf. Figure 15.2).⁵¹ Like the Lorsch Rufinus codex it has a table of contents at the beginning of every single book where inserted fixed strips of parchment again mark the pages where each book begins.

The arrangement of the new *historia ecclesiastica* was oriented towards the model of the Rufinus manuscript with more than simply the text's navigational aids. The model also seems to have played an important role in the arrangement of the whole compilation. In the foreword to his translation and continuation of the Eusebian ecclesiastical history, Rufinus described his reorganisation of Eusebius' text. He specified that he had shortened the last two books of the Greek text (9 and 10) and combined them into a ninth book. To this ninth book he appended – like 'two little fish' (*pisciculos duos*) – his own continuation.⁵² This model appears to have been adopted for the rewriting of a *historia ecclesiastica*,

⁴⁸ *Fredegar, Chronicae*, IV, praefatio, ed. and trans. Wallace-Hadrill, p. 3.

⁴⁹ Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Pal. lat. 864, fo. 112r.

⁵⁰ For Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Pal. lat. 864; as a late representative of the Older Lorsch Style, see Bischoff, *Die Abtei Lorsch*, p. 32.

⁵¹ Bischoff, *Die Abtei Lorsch*, p. 32.

⁵² Eusebius-Rufinus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, Prologus, II, ed. Schwartz and Mommsen, p. 952.

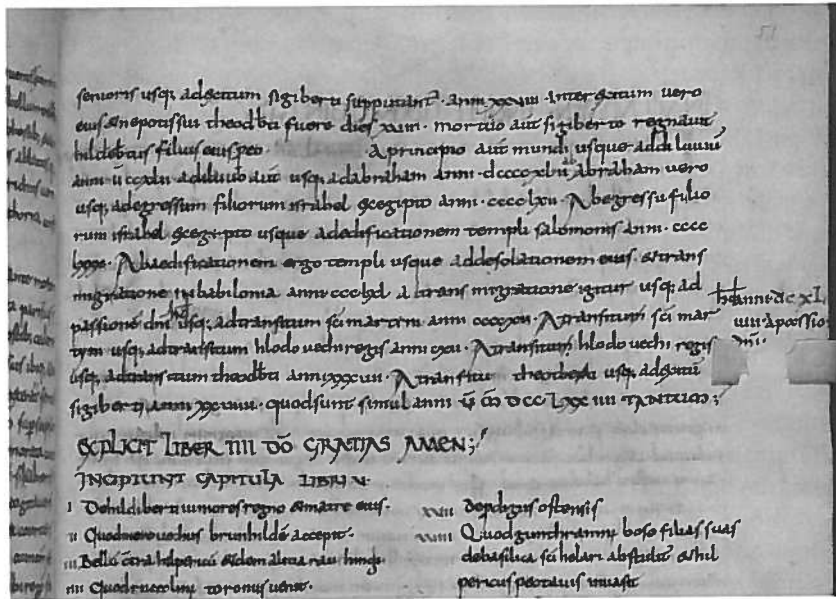


Figure 15.2 Bookmarks in the Lorsch *Historia ecclesiastica* (Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Pal. lat. 864, fo. 51r)

in which a selection from Gregory’s ten books was now reduced to nine (by combining Gregory’s books 9 and 10 to a new ninth book) and was continued with the text of the ‘Fourth Book’ of the Fredegar *Chronicle* and the first twenty-four chapters of its Carolingian continuation.

Through this continuation the compilers connected Gregory’s Christian vision of community to the framework of the Carolingian-Frankish *regnum*. However, it should not be overlooked that such a continuation was also a very specific choice of a particular past for an alternative vision of community than that developed in the Fredegar *Chronicle*. The fourth book of the Fredegar *Chronicle* was part of a larger world-chronicle which included the oldest extant narrative about the descent of the Franks and their kings from the heroes of Troy. In doing so, the chroniclers took up a discussion with Gregory about the early history of the Franks.⁵³ In Gregory’s *Historiae* the Franks only appear as historical players after Gregory has already laid out the foundation of his spiritual topography of Gaul in his first book. At the same time he carefully avoided giving the Franks a common history grounded in an ancient and mythical past.

⁵³ See Reimitz, *History, Frankish Identity*.

In a lengthy discussion of the impossibility of finding reliable sources for the history of the first Frankish kings, Gregory shows that only after their arrival in Gaul did the Franks have kings; only then can the Franks be located in time and space.

Instead Gregory’s vision of a common history strongly privileged the long past of Christian Gaul. This history begins during the time of the emperor Decius when seven holy men were sent from Rome to Gaul where they proceeded to spread Christianity *in Gallias per omnibus*.⁵⁴ They went to cities where only a ‘few believed’; they ordained priests, taught them how to chant psalms. They gave instructions on building churches, and how one ought to worship the Almighty God. Building on the foundations of these saintly men and bishops, Gregory proceeded to compose a spiritual genealogy of Christian Gaul, its cults and bishoprics. In mapping this spiritual topography he provided a new structure for the integration and identification of all social groups in Gaul, and not just for the Franks and their kings. While Gregory developed the foundations of his spiritual topography in his first book which ends with the arrival of St Martin of Tours, he recounted the establishment of the political framework of his time, the Merovingian kingdom, in his second book. As Gregory presented it, the establishment of Merovingian rule over all of Gaul – *per totas Gallias* – was an immediate consequence of the Merovingian kings’ decision for Gregory’s vision of a Christian society – a history that had begun with Clovis’ conversion to Catholic Christianity.

The compilers of the Lorsch compendium were certainly well aware that they were replacing the conception of Frankish history and identity of the Fredegar *Chronicle* and its prestigious origins in Troy with Gregory’s vision of community and its origins in the Christian past of Gaul. To produce their new *historia ecclesiastica*, they had used the version of the Fredegar *Chronicle* which had most likely been authored or authorised by the uncle and the cousin of Pippin, the first Carolingian king, Childebrand and Nibelung.⁵⁵ The two Carolingians not only continued the text, they also rearranged and reworked the collection of older chronicles which preceded the fourth book. Among other changes, they interpolated an additional text on the Trojan origins of the Franks into the chronicles’ epitome of Jerome, namely, the *historia Daretis de excidio Troiae*, a fictitious eye-witness account of a certain Dares of the siege of Troy probably composed in the fifth century AD.⁵⁶ The text of Dares was

⁵⁴ Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, I, 30, ed. Krusch and Levison, p. 22.

⁵⁵ For a comprehensive discussion see now Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*.

⁵⁶ Favre d’Arcier, *Histoire et géographie*.

slightly altered and extended in order to fit its new title in the chronicle where it is transmitted as a *Historia Daretis de origine Francorum*.⁵⁷

The fact that a manuscript of this version must have been in Lorsch is not only documented by the copy of the fourth book of the *Chronicle* of Fredegar and its continuation in the new *historia ecclesiastica* of Lorsch. The above-mentioned Lorsch-catalogue which was drawn up after the mid-ninth century mentions the 'little book of Quintus Julius Hilarion on the origins of the world until the resurrection; in the same book excerpts from the *Chronicle* of Jerome and then the *Chronicle* of Hydatius from the first year of the emperor Theodosius to Justinian in one codex' (*Libellus Quinti Julii Hilarionis de origine mundi usque ad resurrectionem Item in eodem libello Hieronimi chronica excerpta inde Idacii ab anno primo Theodosii Augusti usque Iustinianum in uno codice*).⁵⁸ This certainly refers to the reworking of the Fredegar *Chronicle* by Childebrand and Nibelung that starts with Hilarian's *De cursu temporum* instead of the *Liber generationis* with which the Merovingian version of the chronicle begins. A manuscript that is now in Troyes and which transmits those selfsame parts has long been believed to be this Lorsch codex.⁵⁹ However, Bischoff showed that this manuscript was actually written at Fulda and suggested that it was in fact a copy of the (now lost) Lorsch codex.⁶⁰ As the Fulda manuscript was written at the beginning of the ninth century, the Lorsch exemplar must have been in the library of Lorsch before that time. It is thus very likely that it was in the library of Lorsch when the Lorsch historians and scribes compiled the new *historiae ecclesiastica* comprising their selection of Gregory of Tours and parts of the Carolingian version of the Fredegar *Chronicle*.

Another interesting codex from the early Lorsch library, in which the history of Troy and the Trojan ancestry of the Franks plays an important role is Paris BnF lat. 7906 (fos. 59–88). This book was probably written in the 780s and transmits part of Virgil's *Aeneid*, the *Historia Daretis de excidio Troia* and the first seventeen chapters of the *Liber historiae Francorum*, another Merovingian history which even starts with its own version of the Trojan origins of the Franks.⁶¹ Although the *Aeneid* is written in two columns whereas the other two texts are written in long

⁵⁷ See Dares Phrygius, *Historia de origine Francorum*, ed. B. Krusch, *MGH SS RM* 2 (Hanover, 1888), pp. 194–200.

⁵⁸ Cat. 3a, ed. Häse, *Mittelalterliche Bucherverzeichnisse*, no. 106, p. 137.

⁵⁹ Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, 802; see Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 99–100, where the manuscript is erroneously dated to the second half of the ninth century.

⁶⁰ Bischoff, *Die Abtei Lorsch*, pp. 75–6.

⁶¹ Paris, BnF lat. 7906 (+ Paris, BnF lat. 5018); see Bischoff, *Die Abtei Lorsch*, p. 36; Gerberding, 'Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Latin 7906'.

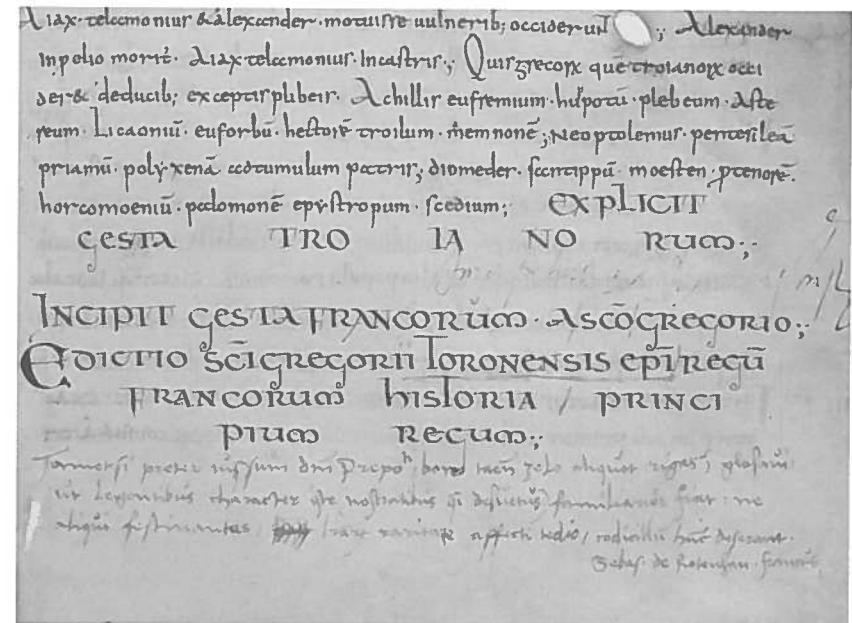


Figure 15.3 End of the *Historia Daretis* of Dares Phrygius on the Fall of Troy and beginning of the *Liber historiae Francorum* (Paris, BnF, lat. 7906, fol. 81r)

lines, both the script and the ruling show that the *Dares* text was copied in the same scriptorium as the *Aeneid*. The relationship between the *Historia Daretis* and the *Liber historiae Francorum* is even more striking. The text of *Dares* ended with an explicit written in a display script, *Explicit Gesta Troianorum*. Below it, in the same script, the *Liber historiae Francorum* begins with *Incipit Gesta Francorum* (Figure 15.3). Bernhard Bischoff suggested with his usual caution that the codex belonged to a group of manuscripts that had been written at Lorsch before the scriptorium had developed the Older Lorsch Style. Bischoff also pointed out that the manuscript accorded with Abbot Ricbod's interest and love for Virgil as criticised by Alcuin.⁶²

Whether or not Ricbod was behind the composition of this manuscript, it nevertheless perfectly documents a critical study of these texts. The texts were corrected, and certain remarks in the margin of the pages also show that they were carefully read and studied. One particularly

⁶² Cf. above, p. 262 with n. 1.

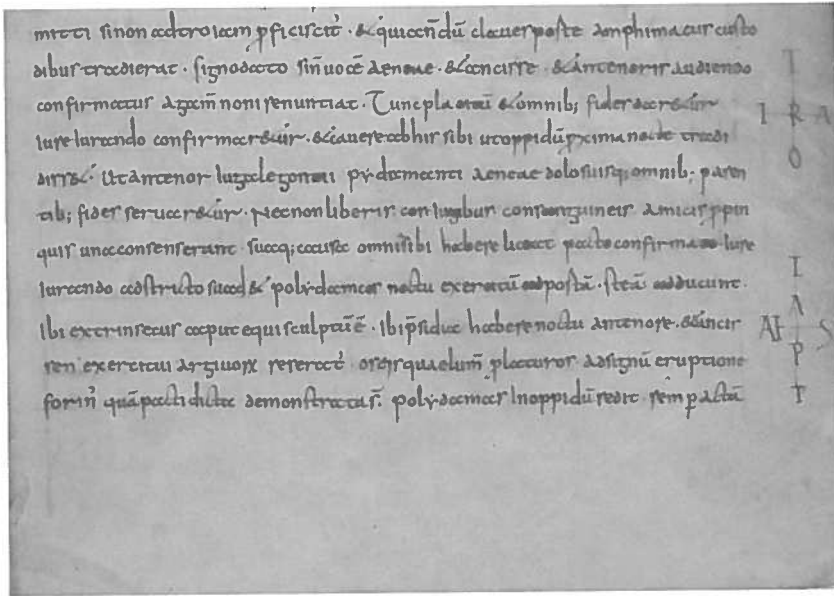


Figure 15.4 *Troia capta est* (Paris, BnF, lat. 7906, fo. 80r)

interesting case is a marginal note to Dares’ *Historia de excidio*. Someone wrote in the margin on fo. 83r, in a cross-like script, *[Quomodo] Troia capta est* (see Figure 15.4). The phrase *Troia capta est* is used liberally and flashily in many manuscripts of the Eusebius-Jerome *Chronicle* – some of them even devote an entire page to single out this particular event (which in the chronicle itself takes place long after the beginning of biblical history) (see Figure 15.5). Some of the extant manuscripts of the Eusebius-Jerome *Chronicle* also transmit their words in pictorial arrangements.⁶³ Such correspondences show forcefully that not only should the connections between different texts compiled within a single manuscript be considered. They have also to be understood as just one part of a broader ensemble of texts and works of Trojan, Roman and Frankish history.

In this context, the Paris compilation’s titling of both the *Historia Daretis* and the *Liber historiae Francorum* as *Gesta* might well be treated as the result of a critical appraisal of the available traditions of the Franks’ Trojan lineage. The version of the *Fredegar Chronicle* that was available at Lorsch claimed that one could find evidence of the Franks’ Trojan

⁶³ For a comprehensive discussion of the layout of the extant manuscripts of Jerome’s chronicle, Schöne, *Die Weltchronik des Eusebius* and McKitterick, ‘Glossaries’, pp. 33–9.

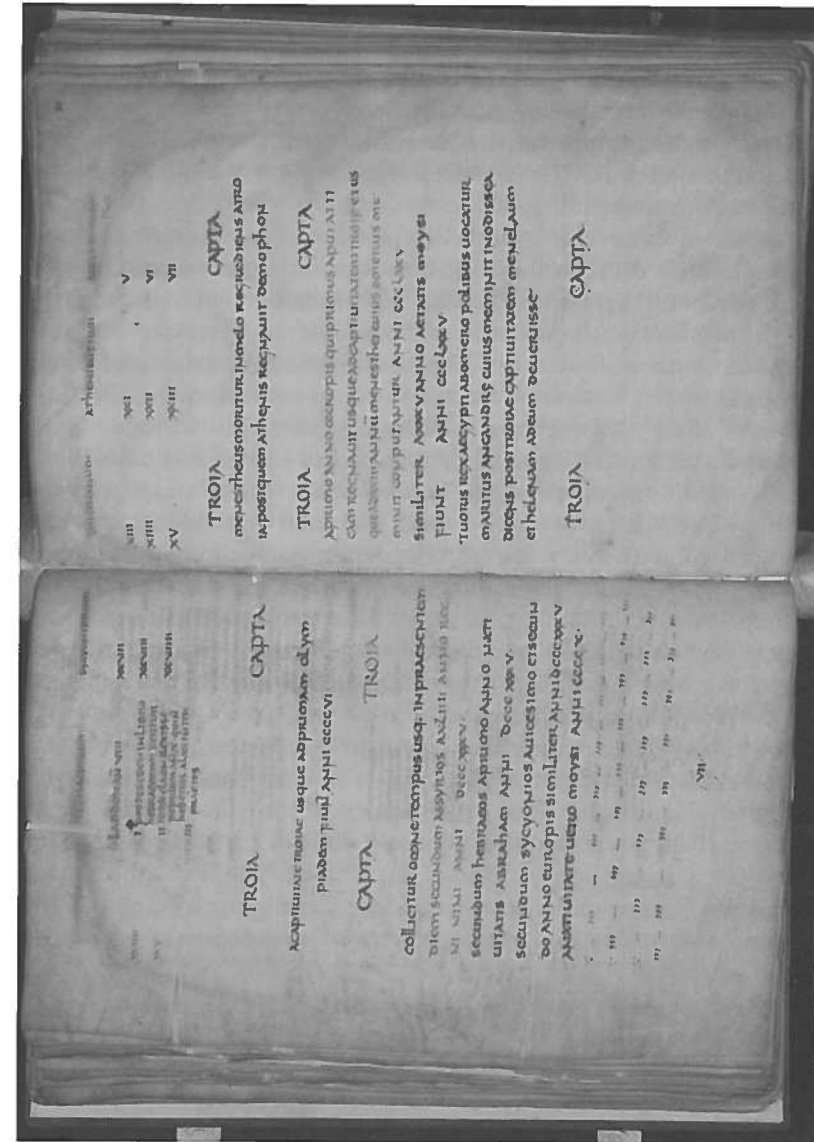


Figure 15.5 Eusebius-Jerome *Chronicle*, c. 800 (Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ms Scaiger 14, fos. 57v/58r)

ancestry already in the writings of the poet Virgil.⁶⁴ Lorsch's version of the *Chronicle* (probably the exemplar of Troyes BM 802) also featured the text of *Dares* which had been interpolated into the epitome of Jerome as *Historia de origine Francorum*. Nevertheless, the collection in the Paris manuscript does not attest to that version. The Lorsch historians' objection was not (yet) used to pursue what they had learned from Gregory of Tours' hopeless search for an early Frankish history. Rather, one might conclude from the compilation that some historians at Lorsch considered the version of the Franks' Trojan ancestry in the *Liber historiae Francorum* to be the most convincing.⁶⁵

In the first decade of the ninth century, however, when the Lorsch historians compiled their Church history with their version of Gregory of Tours and parts of the Fredegar *Chronicle*, they clearly privileged Gregory's vision of a common past over the one of the Fredegar *Chronicle* and the *Liber historiae Francorum*. This seems to have been in accord with wider trends as they were also reflected in the intensified interest in Rufinus' *Church History* at other places in the Frankish world around 800.⁶⁶ However, the creation of a new Church history in Lorsch might well have been motivated by more specific reflections about history and identity in the bishopric of Metz with which Lorsch had such close connections. At precisely the time when the Lorsch historians compiled the new Church history, members of the *ecclesia* in Metz reworked the shared history of the bishopric with the Carolingian rulers. Like the Lorsch historians, the Metz genealogists replaced an emphasis on a Frankish-Trojan past with a Gregorian Christian vision of community defined by the descent from saintly ancestors from southern Gaul.

About three decades earlier Bishop Angilram of Metz had instructed the Lombard scholar Paul the Deacon, who was then staying in the Carolingian kingdom, to draw up a history of the bishops of Metz.⁶⁷ In doing so, Paul connected the spiritual family of the bishops of Metz with the Carolingian family through the link of Arnulf of Metz, who was celebrated as one of the ancestors of the Carolingians.⁶⁸ In his *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus* Paul presented Arnulf as descendant of a most

⁶⁴ Fredegar, *Chronicae*, III, 2. p. 93.

⁶⁵ For the conception of Frankish identity and history in the *Liber historiae Francorum* see my *History, Frankish Identity*, Chapter 8, for further references.

⁶⁶ See above, p. 266.

⁶⁷ See Pohl, 'Paulus Diaconus'; and now the new edition and translation of Paul the Deacon, *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, ed. Kempf. I am very grateful to Damien Kempf who sent me the manuscript before it was published.

⁶⁸ See the introduction of Kempf in his edition and translation: Paul the Deacon, *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus* pp. 10–3; Wood, 'Genealogy'.

noble and powerful Frankish family, *ex nobilissimo fortissimoque Francorum stemate ortus*.⁶⁹ According to Paul, the Trojan origins of the Franks meant much to the Carolingian ancestor. Arnulf had named one of his sons Anschisus (Paul's Lombard interpretation of the name Ansegisel, the father of Pippin II).⁷⁰ Paul explained to his readers that the name referred to Anchises, the father of Aeneas, 'for the people of the Franks, as it is told by the ancients, see themselves as descendants of the Trojan progeny (*prosapia*)'.⁷¹ Frankish ancestry, however, is emphasised for the bishops of Metz as well as for the Carolingians. Later in the text, the *Liber* mentions Angilram's relative Chrodegang, who was also his predecessor as the bishop of Metz.⁷² Chrodegang is described as a *vir egregius* born in Hesbaye (*ex pago Hasbaniensi*), the son of Sigram and Landrada and a member of one of the leading Frankish families of the region (*ex genere Francorum prime nobilitatis progenitus*). The Hesbaye was also one of the old heartlands of the Carolingian family.⁷³

The genealogical construct of the *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus* may well have supported the plans to connect the families through the marriage of Louis the Pious and Irmingard.⁷⁴ Angilram, however, died in 791, three years before the familial bonds of his family with the Carolingians came true in that marriage. In Metz, however, no member of Angilram's family was immediately elevated to the see.⁷⁵ The see remained vacant for more than two decades.⁷⁶ It was in this situation that the family of the *ecclesia* of Metz decided to reorganise its genealogical bonds with the Carolingians in a 'Memorial about the genealogy of the most glorious emperor the Lord King Charles' (*commemoratio genealogiae domni Karoli gloriosissimi imperatoris*).⁷⁷ Otto Gerhard Oexle has convincingly argued that the text was written between 800 and 814 as a literary attempt on the part of the *ecclesia* of Metz to end the vacancy. The emphasis on the

⁶⁹ Paul the Deacon, *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, p. 70.

⁷⁰ I would like to thank W. Haubrichs (Saarbrücken) for this clarification.

⁷¹ *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* (Paul the Deacon, *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, ed. Kempf. p. 72.)

⁷² Paul the Deacon, *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, p. 87; on Chrodegang, see Claussen, *The Reform*.

⁷³ Werner, *Der Lütticher Raum*.

⁷⁴ Boshof, *Ludwig der Fromme*, p. 59; de Jong, *Penitential State*, p. 17.

⁷⁵ Oexle, 'Die Karolinger'; for the organisation and reorganisation of the episcopal sees under Charlemagne see McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, pp. 299–305.

⁷⁶ Oexle, 'Die Karolinger', pp. 311–28.

⁷⁷ *Commemoratio genealogiae*, ed. Waitz, pp. 245–6; the best and most comprehensive discussion is still Oexle, 'Die Karolinger', p. 296; see also Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space*, pp. 115–16; Wood, 'Genealogy', pp. 235–6.

old and new familial bonds of the Carolingians with the bishops of Metz was supposed to remind the emperor of his particular responsibility for the bishopric.⁷⁸

In order to emphasise the emperor's accountability for these bonds, the authors of the *commemoratio* built upon the main elements of Paul's construction, focusing on Arnulf as the most important link between the church of Metz and the Carolingians. In contrast to Paul, however, they did not associate the Carolingians with the Franks' Trojan origins or emphasise any common Frankish past. The 'common' ancestor Arnulf is not presented as a descendant of a most noble and powerful Frankish family who named his son after Anchises, the father of the Trojan hero and Frankish ancestor Aeneas.⁷⁹ Instead, the commemoration presents Arnulf as the grandson of Ansbertus, a member of a noble senatorial family of southern Gaul – *ex genere senatorum*.⁸⁰ It is very likely that this formulation was inspired by Gregory of Tours, who had used the phrase again and again in his *Histories*.⁸¹ The senatorial ancestry that the text claims for Arnulf is then described in greater detail: it turns out to have included a number of saints and bishops from southern Gaul who also played an important role in Gregory's *Histories*. Oexle suggested that Gregory was the main source of the Metz genealogists at the beginning of the ninth century. As he showed in his detailed study, the *Histories* helped the Metz genealogists to construct common spiritual genealogies between the churches of Aquitaine and Metz, specifically Metz's cathedral church of St Stephen. It was particularly the donations to St Stephen in and from Aquitaine that he identified as the substrate of the genealogical web of the *commemoratio*.⁸²

It may well be that the historians of Lorsch provided the historiographical background for this relatively brief commemoration through their compilation of the Lorsch *historia ecclesiastica*. As we have seen, there were close contacts between Metz and Lorsch from the foundation of the monastery from 764 onwards, which are also apparent in the similarities between the scripts that their respective scriptoria used.⁸³

The parallels between the Lorsch compilation and the reconfigured genealogical connections of the bishops of Metz to the Carolingians are indeed striking. Both built on the many stories and episodes about the

⁷⁸ Oexle, 'Die Karolinger', pp. 279–80, 345. ⁷⁹ Cf. above, n. 71.

⁸⁰ *Commemoratio genealogiae*, ed. Waitz, pp. 245–6; see also Reimitz, 'Ein fränkisches Geschichtsbuch'; Wood, 'Genealogy', p. 242.

⁸¹ Heinzelmann, *Gregory of Tours*, pp. 7–29.

⁸² Oexle, 'Die Karolinger', p. 279; see also Ewig, 'L'Aquitaine'; Levison, 'Metz und Südfrankreich'.

⁸³ Bischoff, *Die Abtei Lorsch*, p. 36.

history of southern Gaul that Gregory's *Histories* provide, and actually use them in the same way. In fact, it seems as if the Lorsch compilers had created exactly the history that the Metz genealogists needed so as to be able to replace the belief of the Trojan and Frankish descent of the Carolingians and bishops of Metz with one of a senatorial and saintly ancestry from Aquitaine. In its continuation using the narrative of the Fredegar *Chronicle* with its respective continuations they also connected Gregory's vision to the framework of the Frankish *regnum* ruled by the Carolingians.

In doing so, the compilers not only supported the relocation of the common origins of the Carolingians with the family of the bishops of Metz; they also connected this common past to a specific vision of a *historia ecclesiastica* and the formation of a shared Christendom. The emphasis on the church of Gaul as the subject of this history involved not just a suggestion but the moral demand that the future of the *regnum Francorum* was to be safeguarded through its continual care for this specific Christendom. As with Gregory, this was based on the admonition that it was the duty of the rulers to maintain and strengthen the *religio*. In contrast to Gregory, however, through the continuation of his vision with a narrative until the death of Charles Martel, the political framework in which this moral demand was to be achieved was the Carolingian *regnum Francorum*.

To have this Christendom framed with the name of the Franks was surely against everything Gregory ever wanted. But the Lorsch compilers were not arguing against Gregory. Just like the Merovingian compilers before them, they tried to extrapolate his vision within the changed circumstances of the Carolingian empire. With the expansion of Carolingian rule over half of Europe, the Franks were forced to assert themselves ever more forcefully as representing the one true manifestation of Christendom (in the sense elaborated by Peter Brown) against other forms of Christian belief.⁸⁴ From the end of the eighth century onwards, the question of compatibility and convergence of these diverse Christian traditions led to intensified theological disputes in the Carolingian empire.⁸⁵ The more firmly Charlemagne believed the solution to this question was to present himself as *pastor, praedicator gentium* and patron of the Christian Church, the more intransigent the debates became.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ Brown, *Rise*, esp. pp. 220–66.

⁸⁵ De Jong, 'Charlemagne's church'; Ganz, 'Theology'.

⁸⁶ De Jong, 'Charlemagne's church'; Lauwers, 'Le Glaive et la parole'; Diesenberger, *Sermones*.

From the beginning of the ninth century, the churches north of the Alps were increasingly concerned with their influence on the formation of Carolingian Christendom. Charlemagne's new role as Roman emperor crowned by the pope in Rome in 800 certainly intensified these concerns.⁸⁷ It is no coincidence that such questions preoccupied the members of the church of Metz at this time. Metz was on the one hand one of the oldest bishoprics in Francia and a former royal residence,⁸⁸ and Bishop Chrodegang had been one of the key figures in the reforming efforts of the eighth century.⁸⁹ The *historia ecclesiastica* of Lorsch might therefore have been written to remind the Carolingian emperor that it was the alliance with the 'Frankish' church and their acceptance of its special 'Christendom' that had allowed the Carolingians to pursue their providential mission so successfully.

This was a message that was equally important to the community of Lorsch whose members and abbots had established their prominent role at the Carolingian court and in the Carolingian reform movement within the same ecclesiastical networks that connected the bishopric of Metz to the Carolingian court. Gregory's *Histories* were an excellent foundation on which to build this message, in which the Franks were integrated into a spiritual topography that had already been developed, and in which the key to their integration and political success was above all the willingness of their kings to support the Christian vision of community. In their efforts to delineate this peculiarly Frankish 'Christendom', however, the Lorsch compilers linked Gregory's *History* to the rise of the Carolingian rulers as Frankish *principes*. The model of Rufinus' *Church History* certainly helped to underline that it was the church which should be the main subject of historical reflection and future imperial politics. But with their compilation of a post-Roman Church history in the Frankish kingdoms the Lorsch historians also stressed that the history of the Christian Church had moved on. Important as the study of older Roman and Christian models was for the scribes and scholars at Lorsch, it was also crucial to emphasise that these models and resources were already being adapted and accommodated within the new spiritual and political horizons of the successor states of the Roman empire in the Latin West.

⁸⁷ See Reimitz, *History, Frankish Identity*.

⁸⁸ Halsall, *Settlement and Social Organization*, pp. 262–82; and Esders, "Avenger of all perjury".

⁸⁹ Claussen, *The Reform*.

Conclusion

Mayke de Jong and Rosamond McKitterick

The central focus of this book has been the role played by the resources of the past in forming the cultural memory and the identities of communities in early medieval Europe. These resources were textual, and the communities were political and religious. The distinction between politics and religion is a modern, not an early medieval one. What we now think of as two separate domains, commonly referred to as 'church' and 'state', were then perceived as the complementary constituents of an all-encompassing *ecclesia*. It was not unusual to refer to the secular public sphere in terms of a *respublica*, yet this republic was contained within the *ecclesia*, together with the ecclesiastical institutions we currently call 'the church'. The Carolingian conception of *ecclesia* far exceeded the modern institutional view of 'church'. On the contrary, *ecclesia* was the closest equivalent of the polity in its most inclusive and general sense, be it a kingdom or an empire. As the chapters by Ian Wood and Mayke de Jong have made clear, this was therefore a world in which political discourse could be conducted in the form of biblical exegesis. This is but one instance of how various groups in early medieval Europe orchestrated the complex process of (re)appropriating and constructing different versions of the past, within the wider context of identity formation. In our separate case studies we have investigated this process, and the early medieval literate elites who were engaged in it. They had different and therefore potentially conflicting models at their disposal, so eclectic and often pragmatic choices were made between competing views of what constituted an authoritative model for the present: Roman history, biblical history or late antique imperial historiography, which was defined as much by Christian emperors as by Church Fathers.

These three legacies were integrated and transformed in a long-drawn-out process between c. 500 and c. 1000 into a new and authoritative vision of the past. This process entailed a tremendous cultural effort, mostly sustained by royal courts and the elites who emulated their example. It